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TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

OF AMERICA

1886.

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I.—*Study of Modern Languages in our Higher Institutions.*

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I purpose to treat the subject of the study of modern languages in our higher institutions. By reason of my absence from the convention last year, I failed to hear two or three papers of great value treating the same general matter. It is, however, a subject of perennial interest, and though I shall not claim to contribute anything very new or original to the discussion, it seems worth while to go over again the different aims and methods of modern language study and to emphasize the importance of treating our classes with definite regard to these aims.

By our higher institutions, I mean those that give degrees, such as B. A., Ph. B., B. S., or B. L., and I have treated the subject on the assumption that for the present, at least, the knowledge obtained of the modern languages by students before entering these institutions, will not be sufficient to count as much of a factor in the discussion. If this assumption is incorrect, (as I hope it soon may be), some modification of my first position ensues, but even then the general drift of the paper seems to me rational.

THERE are at least four distinct aims with which and hence four methods in which a language may be studied, and the wisdom of each method will depend on the conditions of the student and the relations of the method to his higher aim in life. Four aims have marked, as has recently been shown, four different eras in the study of Latin.<sup>1</sup> The value of the aims

<sup>1</sup> By Prof. E. P. Morris, of Williams College, in a monograph on 'The Study of Latin.'

differs somewhat, as I conceive, when ancient and modern languages are compared. The opposition to the modern languages exhibited by the friends of classical learning and the impatient recoil of the friends of the newer culture against the classics have to a large extent proceeded from a failure to define clearly the purposes in view, and to show how differently in one or two respects the two groups of study stand related to training and culture. The overlooking of this difference has tended to confuse the issues and to sharpen the antagonism.

With the spirit that accepts or rejects the old, because it is old, a company of scholars can have no sympathy. In estimating the value of the ancient or modern languages in systems of education, we must inquire first what the methods of study are, then how the two groups of languages stand related to these methods as applied to one or the other of these groups. We concern ourselves this evening mainly with the modern.

I. An important aim in studying a language may have reference to the practical use of the language in conversation. In days when Latin was the language of the church and the courts, and later the medium of conversation between learned men and diplomatists, a method of study tributary to fluency in speech had for that language some importance. But the increase in travel, the facility with which men of different nations visit one another, and the broader interest of scholars in common things and common men make some knowledge of foreign languages now a matter to many of advantage. Whereas three centuries ago the number studying modern languages for conversational use was relatively small, it has become essential in the leading countries of Europe, that at least two modern languages should be thoroughly studied in the schools with this practical use in view.—As far as our own country is concerned, we are three thousand miles from European culture; and England is the country which we as a rule first visit when traveling in the old world, England offering our own language and conferring in that language on all lovers of wisdom and culture a priceless literature and impressing, if I may say so, her language on the great cities of Europe. Certainly we are not forced by geographical position to this as the chief method of study of the new tongues, as are the French and Germans. Undoubtedly, however, this is the earlier and first idea with which foreign languages were studied. It is largely the idea of the natural method, the

method of a child. But it is by no means a childish performance to master the fine idioms and the large vocabulary of a modern language, so as to speak it with fluency after reaching the age of eighteen or twenty. It seems to me so difficult a thing, and so relatively unessential a thing to most American students, that I cannot regard it as worth while in our large college classes to attempt to enforce it with reference even to one language, much less to two or three, on those who had no opportunities when children to get some elements of this facility, except so far that a correct pronunciation and an ability to construct easy sentences shall be secured. If the student is studying modern languages for the sake of this facility or foreign travel, that is one thing. If he is studying modern languages as essential elements of use and culture in future scholarly activities, that is quite another thing. If the speaking of a language were a thing of value enough to be sought for its own sake, then the more difficult the language, the higher and more valuable the power. Fluency and correctness in speaking Latin or Greek would indicate higher training than the mastery of conversational French or German, as the highest skill at chess indicates a greater mental power than highest skill at draughts. But it would be absurd, if not impossible for one living all his life in America to spend his time in mastering conversational Russian. The speaking of a language implies the necessity, or at least the opportunity, of speaking it with some one, and in the presence of modern learning he would seem beside himself, a grotesque anomaly, who gave his life to attaining skill in speaking or writing a language, if that acquisition were to be of no greater use than the luxury of a game of chess, and it is certainly true that most of our graduates never visit Europe nor really need a conversational use of any modern language.

It is doubtful, as Hamerton says, if a person, even a careful scholar, can speak more than one language accurately, that is with actual mastery. Indeed the power over the native language is the gauge of the power and training of the man. The number of words a man uses will increase with his knowledge of various departments of learning, but the skill with which he uses his vocabulary will depend largely on the thoroughness of that knowledge and his power of combination. If a man is master of one department, like that of physics, he need not perhaps have so wide a vocabulary or so general a control of it, as the

master of philosophy. As philosophy is the crown of all studies, as its subject-matter must include all the relations of matter, life, and mind, the true philosopher should have the largest vocabulary and the most perfect control of it, a dominion over his own tongue, not equalled, perhaps, by that of the greatest poets. It is plainly impossible for the scholar whose attention is mainly given to the facts and laws of a department of science, to thinking thoughts about a circumscribed series of objects and relations and expressing these thoughts in one language to be really the master of more than one language. It seems equally probable that while the professor of a modern language will have had a great advantage over most scholars in learning the vocabulary, and idioms, and phonetics of that language, he will not have mastered it as completely as his native tongue. It may be assumed as certain that, unless he accustomed his organs of speech to its sounds as a child, there will generally be a touch of strangeness in his pronunciation. A knowledge of phonetics, though carefully applied, cannot efface the hardening effects of years, and the prepositions, genders, and vocabulary will with most students even after years of practice be less natural than the same features of their own tongue. It is, then, for every student a question of degree as to how perfect his conversational use of a foreign language may become, a question determined by accidents largely, by the aims of the scholar, by the breadth or narrowness of acquisitions sought. Too much time given to perfecting one's self in this accomplishment, means time taken from other, and often more important, pursuits.

Still, if no one beginning at eighteen can become a perfect master of a foreign language, it must nevertheless be well worth while for some, especially those who are to be teachers, to aim at it, and approximate it as closely as possible, and it is always true that that language of which one knows so much of the vocabulary and grammar that it can be used with some correctness in conversation on ordinary subjects is so far forth more truly an instrument, and this condition gives a truer sense of enjoyment and mastery.

How far composition in the foreign tongue, a somewhat different attainment from fluency in speaking and yet closely related to it, how far the accustoming of the ear to the foreign sounds by the reading and speaking of the language on the part of the professor shall be carried, are questions depending

also on the purpose of the student. In a technical school it seems that this sort of training should be made subordinate. In college or university teaching, while it is more possible to learn idioms and sounds and speech, it is again true that facilities in the methods tending to finished conversation must be less than in a foreign country—and that the power to read the printed page easily, the command of the information and literature that the language contains must be regarded of greater importance; but the reading of the foreign language in its own sounds should be in every class constant, much more so than mere translation, for a language is not a language to any one, unless it can be correctly pronounced, and unless the sounds can be clearly distinguished when pronounced correctly without too much rapidity. For a scholar truly accomplished in any direction there is a certain sense of limitation and disappointment, when brought into personal contact with a distinguished man, especially if he be distinguished for attainments in the same department, unless he can freely talk with him. A living mine of wealth is at hand and he has not the key to open it. But I think such disappointments rarer than is sometimes supposed. A scholar speaks a foreign language with the brains not less than with the organs, and sometimes a reading knowledge will under a vigorous effort become a speaking knowledge. So a distinguished art critic and litterateur told me that, when he was thrown for a single day with the man of all others whom he admired and whom he admired for his mastery over his own tongue, namely, our Emerson, though he could speak no English and Emerson could speak no German, under a deep sense of what he should lose, unless they could communicate, by a vigorous effort he transmuted his reading knowledge of English into a speaking knowledge, and for a few short hours actually spoke English and understood the great thinker.

Those who have read Macaulay's life will remember how when he conversed with his Italian teacher, he needed to learn the colloquialisms of the road and the hotel, but when the conversation turned upon politics or literature, the preceptor was amazed at the profusion of his vocabulary. To be sure it was archaic, but it was intelligible.

But suppose the interchange of opinions difficult, because neither of two scholars can speak the other's language freely, it may be that the time which these men have saved from practice

in language speaking has been transmuted into solid gold, and that each scholar is really worth more to the other, because they know one another only through the printed book. Nevertheless I hold with the scholar whose paper in our 'Transactions' for last year treats of this subject, that where class exercises can be conducted in the foreign tongue without giving too much time to secure minute accuracy; when this training of the voice and ear can be made tributary to opening the great stores of learning and wisdom that the language contains; when the language becomes thus living to nearly every member of a class, and a more intimate relation is established by sound and idiom between the mind of the author studied and the mind of the student, great good results. In such an exercise more faculties are engaged and a higher discipline is attained. I regard such a conversational use of German for instance as of much more value in securing true results for the average student than the method of study by which modern languages are pursued in imitation of the philological scientific treatment now generally applied in our colleges to ancient languages. This method then has great advantage, when it can be made subservient to higher uses without too great expenditure of time and thought, first, for those who will teach the language and second, for those who will become students of the literature.

II. It is by no means an uncommon utterance that English, French, and German should be studied by our college students with the same strict regard to a scientific philology, that is, to construction, etymology, and history of words that is observed by the best teachers of Latin and Greek. That the best teachers of a modern language will be able to teach in that way, will have that loving interest in the language, its parentage, its modification of roots, its revolutions and complete evolution that would enable them to light up every page and every line with rays from a remote or nearer past, is undoubtedly true. Furthermore it will always be of immense benefit, an inspiring and broadening impulse, when occasionally such an illumination is thrown in upon the modern writer, and the instrument which he uses to express his thought is shown to be old in most of its elements, and these elements are exhibited as bearing the marks of the profound agitations of the collective minds of various epochs. In one sense there is a greater interest attaching to these abridged and closely pruned root-fragments in modern

language that represent so great an antiquity and exhibit so little of their early exuberance, but this interest is not felt by the ordinary student, because he does not possess the requisite knowledge for the perception of the changes in the roots.

Further, this side of modern language study loses for us interest in comparison with the same elements in Latin and Greek, because the warm inflections have been abraded by the glacial descent of northern forces, and the study of Romance words in their formation and changes is comparatively difficult. This pulverizing process has so affected the leading languages of modern thought that they do not display, as the Latin and Greek do, evidences of fine organization in their structure. The Latin and Greek are like the Venus of Melos, not without some loss from the original, more highly organized type, but still with the calm majesty of antiquity looking forth from the perfect features—or like the Niobe group, displaying here and there a less perfect whole, but exhibiting the elaborate articulations even in arrested movement of an alien civilization by their very attitude and drapery. The modern languages are these very marbles, broken and pulverized, remade into vessels of use, vehicles of modern thought, that deserve study less for what they are in themselves, less for what their form or organization can give to culture, than for the ministry they serve in generations looking not mainly at form, but at content, for men in earnest in scientific research or in philanthropic conflict with modern evils, “men who have no time to waste” in the chemical analysis of material whose use is understood and immediately needed. Or they are like the vertebra of the mastodon that was dug up by a New York farmer who, without any idea of its organic relations, set it as a crachoir by the side of the kitchen fire. It takes a comparative anatomist to determine and designate a bone. It takes an etymologist to discern the relations and give the organic history of an English root.

Certainly both in Latin and Greek construction and syntax, so different from our own or from that of any Romance tongue, where a single root is capable of revealing so many different significations, where fine idioms depend often on subtle, but uniform rules of position, where modal and personal endings, voices and tenses are pushed into a single vocable, these elements enforce a demand on the attention, and exact an activity of memory and judgment that no leading modern tongue

claims for its single vocables. It has been truly said that this is scientific training for a scientific age. And whatever the relation sustained by modern languages to modern science, to technical or liberal schools, this relation of purely scientific training is not to be insisted upon as of prime importance. Over and over again it has been seen that in the universities and technical schools of the world, those students who had had scientific training in Latin and Greek out-stripped in the long run in thoroughness and breadth of attainments those who were trained by other studies, for instance by previous natural science, or by modern languages. I know that great allowance must be made for superiority in teaching, and for greater aptitude in pupils; that long traditions and inheritances of culture have combined to lead the more promising pupils into the old paths, but on this side of their utility, for mere discipline, for the scientific training of eye and memory and judgment, there can be no comparison between the study of the modern and the ancient languages, and we gain nothing by asserting a superiority or even a parity for the languages of today.

The two ancient languages have inflections; are far enough from the newer to require for their mastery close attention and very patient work. Then the thoughts expressed in them are the thoughts of other ages; of civilizations great, but unlike our own; thoughts that require long and careful study for their assimilation. The baffling difference of construction, the synthetic relations of words require a keen analysis for their comprehension, and imbedded in their constructions and words the baffling differences of thought make these two languages of immense value in teaching English, in teaching to think and express the thoughts in the 'mother tongue. Translation from no modern language can give the student such a mastery of English speech as from either of these dead languages. It is a new application of the old saying of the master; "Except the corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it shall bring forth much fruit." Because these languages are *dead*; because the institutions of these "two extinct peoples," as an eminent author calls the ever-living Greeks and the ever-commanding Romans, died, but had in them the impenetrable germs of all modern history, and cannot be cheated of resurrection, but impart life by their quickening spirit to every scholar who studies them properly, they are of great value.

Under their influence what stately majesty of speech comes in English to Milton and Macaulay! What broad command of facts, what lofty discipline of the understanding, what subtle insight in German to Mommsen and Curtius! The blood of the Greeks has ceased to flow, but it has become the inspiration of the great, the ichor of the gods.

This does not mean that every student should study Latin and Greek, regardless of his capacities or aims. Nor does it mean that teachers whose life work is in the modern languages may not teach some classes after the method of modern scientific philology, nay, must not, if they have had no other philological training, but it means that if discipline preparatory to the pursuit of scientific studies be the main end in view, the modern languages are not to be compared as instruments for the attainment of that discipline with the ancient languages, and that the study of Latin always and that of Greek generally, when taught in the modern spirit, will develop powers of observation, comparison, analysis, synthesis, generalization with more rapidity and thoroughness than the study of the modern tongues can. But time is limited, and while it remains doubtful whether young men preparing for scientific careers would not make more rapid progress towards their goal, which must be not a degree, but high working power in a special line, to spend three years on the study of Latin and Greek, the parent languages, early in their preparatory work, there are cases where for various causes this is impossible. For these persons the bulk of their linguistic study must be in the modern languages. These will not have that mastery of English and breadth of thought that years of self-reliant translation from or into the ancient languages would give; will not in most cases write as compact and idiomatic English, but may secure much discipline under instruction in the modern languages, especially German, but also in French or other Romance tongues imparted according to the scientific method. To such students this scientific instruction will be of great value as giving to them glimpses at least into the wonderful processes of growth and decay that constantly accompany or rather are the life of a language, and at the same time training, observation, and analysis. For those who will be teachers, this scientific philological training at least of their own tongue is indispensable. One good thing this attempt to teach the modern languages in the scientific spirit of modern philology

has done. It has elevated the conception of modern language study and banished the associations that once existed connecting for many, under the title of professor of French, instruction in lingual, pedal and manual gymnastics, in French pronunciation, dancing, and chirography, and if a modern language professor may coin a Greek word, *chiro-pody*—or suggesting under the title of Italian professor one who taught the language of Dante and the music of the banjo. All honor be paid to that enlarging brotherhood of scholars, worthy teachers, who have changed this conception and who are in this country pushing their scientific studies in modern philology in every direction; who, building on the achievements of the great European scholars and imparting to selected pupils the inspiration of their researches, are becoming each year more truly the peers of the best teachers in any department of study in any country of the world.

III. We come now to that value of modern language study which without doubt has been the chief cause of the more recent enlargement of facilities for that study in all our better schools and colleges. I refer to the contents of these languages; to the books and treatises, the records of the brains and workshops of modern civilization; civilization in which science, not art or conquest, research, not literature or eloquence, strikes the keynote of progress and governs the activities of the busiest and probably the most influential men. To this new, resistless spirit of inquiry, guided by natural systematic methods, theology not less than sociology, the history of man not less than the biology of all organisms, geography not less than astronomy is immensely indebted. The stores of exact and thorough learning which have been accumulated in these and other departments of learning are found in the modern languages, in German, English, and French, in a less degree in Dutch, Italian, and Swedish and some of the others. These languages, notably the English, have also an extensive and beautiful literature and, as I understand it, it is not largely for conversation, still less primarily for mental discipline, but for what these languages now contain and daily gain of great and ever-increasing value for the student in any department of learning that we are today making so much of them in our best colleges. The minuteness with which studies are prosecuted, the readiness with which an earnest man limits his field, but seeks to know all that has been done in it, the

rapidity with which investigations are made and old theories attacked and sometimes supplanted make it imperative on a true scholar to keep up with the published results in his special line of research in all modern tongues. And this is the direction in which modern languages must become more and more important, while the ancient will become less and less so. The valuable facts in the Latin and Greek authors have long since become more accessible in the modern languages. I am not now speaking of the modes of ancient thought or of the principles of the old civilizations which it is of much value to know at first hand, and I know that there is danger of underestimating the worth of the facts that the records of the classical peoples may yet be obliged to unfold. I know that inscriptions will be found and deciphered; that art relics will be uncovered; that now and then a new manuscript will be opened. I doubt not that the natural history of Aristotle, the mathematics of Euclid, the influence of Phidias, the policy of Fabius will all a hundred years hence have received important illumination and our views upon these subjects have undergone great changes and seem almost re-made from the study of ancient records, but all the modifications and single details that have led to them will be in the modern languages, not in the ancient, and the issues from the presses that obey the scholars, in the universities and laboratories of the world, on any single day of the coming century will probably contain more new material for scholars than the product of any single year's delving in the sources of classical learning, and whatever is secured from these sources will be translated at once into the modern vocabularies of men and itself become a part of the ever-rising tide of knowledge contained in the languages of today.

Now if this be the great advantage of modern language study, (and of course this advantage concerns in our colleges mainly the foreign languages, not our own), the advantage that in the pursuit of thorough scholarship or culture the busy thought of the modern world is opened to us by the knowledge of these languages, facility in reading the thought treated in these languages is worth more to the general student than any facility in using a limited or a large vocabulary, or any knowledge of derivations or of comparative grammar resting simply on modern words. It seems to me to be a corollary from this truth that the teacher who leads his ordinary pupils to the easy and rapid and intelligent reading of

difficult German does for him a much truer and greater service than he who imparts the ability to use a few hundred words with considerable fluency and some grammatical correctness. I do not say that this use of a few hundred words may not be made tributary to the power of reading; I believe it may. I do not say that a sufficient acquisition of vocabulary and enough training in sentence-making might not be attained while gaining this power of reading to make a foundation for one who is going abroad, but I believe that for general classes in our best colleges everything should be tributary to securing a mastery in reading, and here I include pronunciation and some training of the ear. Certainly for those pupils (and this still applies to nearly all in our older colleges) who have had from three to five years of scientific training in the study of the classics the acquisition of the modern language should not involve much time spent on matters outside of this main purpose of securing as complete a mastery as possible over the printed resources of the language. One thing should be kept in mind, that the reading should be intelligent reading; that allusions to historical or scientific facts, to other writers or civilizations, or to previous passages in the work cannot be left unexamined, that the scholarly habit should accompany every page of reading; that a student should hold no page as read, on which there is a reference undeciphered that can give light to the sentence in which it occurs. But etymologies and comparative grammar are luxuries in modern language study—necessary to the teacher, to his knowledge, his enjoyment, his self-respect, but rarely contributing much to the pupil's better knowledge of the author, though it may be admitted that a well-established etymology does occasionally contribute something even to the elucidation of the thought. The learning of the forms and words is for the sake of reading connected discourse. The practice in speaking and reading connected discourse is for the sake of getting at the knowledge in the language, and the knowledge in the language is to be transmuted into living thought in professional or technical activity. Now the teacher is often tempted to forget these facts and to regard the pupil as given to him to make just as much of a Frenchman, or German, or Scandinavian as possible in the brief time that he can keep him, which is well, so far as this naturalization in another country can be put under contribution to a manhood limited to no country; can be transformed into

utility for the kingdom of letters or of truth, but wrong, when it deluges and bewilders or diverts the pupil with ill-assorted facts from a wide and unorganized domain. The true aim ought to be to guide the teaching so that the pupil's knowledge of modern languages shall be tributary to broad scholarship; shall give him power over an instrument for future use. The teacher ought not to load him with the learned pedigree of words or learned observations on grammar, unless both his aims and attainments justify it. The things that interest the teacher for the time being are not for that reason best for the pupil. I am not speaking of advanced pupils who are to become teachers, or of the higher grades of university work. The highest charm for the earnest and able teacher must belong to that work. The more a teacher knows, the better equipped he is, but the knowledge and power must be strictly subordinated to the attainments of the pupil and the aim which he has in view.

IV. We come now to the study of literature, the study of a language for something different from its contents considered as tributary to professional or technical scholarship; the study of a language for the sake of acquaintance with thought expressed in the most perfect form. There are many ways of stating a fact, of presenting a deduction in history or political economy. Good mathematical definitions have this in common with literature that they are the perfect expressions of conception, but they have this great unlikeness to literature that they are limited to necessary relations in space and number, whereas literature presents all possible relations in history, morals, and art. It is customary to extol the literature of the Greeks, to emphasize the simplicity and correctness of Homer, to acknowledge the breadth and intensity of Aeschylus, to recognize in the unaffected, flowing style of Thucydides the truly literary historian, and it is well. That much of this admiration is simulated does not make it any less true that to the Greek scholar the literatures of the world have charms, as they exhibit the exactness, the simplicity, the moderation, the reality, the symmetry of the best Greek authors. Every modern sweetness to be truly sweet must have for the Greek scholar at least a suggestion of the honey sucked by the bees from the wild-flowers of Mount Hymettus. But by the great mass of those who study Greek in our colleges, a genuine admiration of Greek literature is never attained. Our students too often grope among the strange characters, the fine

inflections, and if at last they can by the dictionary's help read a page of Herodotus in an hour, the force is expended in getting a connected sense. It is a pity that influences quickening to breadth of vision and correct taste should be so easily missed, and it is just here that the denunciation of Greek study has its standing ground. It is too little, not too much, and often not of the right kind. It was Juvenal, I believe, who first established the connection between a little Greek and heaven (*Graeculus in coelum ibit*)—excuse the confusion of gender and the loose translation,—but there have been many to follow him. There is much tribulation in that little Greek, but it is, many to the contrary notwithstanding, not the kind of tribulation that opens the way into the kingdom of literature. If the study be so broad and enlightened that at last the author's full meaning, not isolated sentences, or detached lessons, are mastered, that the taste is formed after those perfect models, an enjoyment of literature is gained, a fine culture (I say it with some hesitation before this audience) that nothing else can supply.

This attainment in literature requires much time and I think different teaching from that which many of our Grecians give. Great good, a different good, is gained in the way of discipline by studying Greek in the modern scientific spirit. But why should an architect be always so absorbed in looking at the stones of the Parthenon that he cannot see the Parthenon itself? And inestimable as is our debt to the Greeks, dominating and pervasive in modern literature as are the canons of their authors, it is not to be forgotten that the history of human life is broader than Greek history; that two thousand years of aspiring, thinking, building, emigrating, colliding peoples have passed across the stage of Europe since the destruction of Corinth by Memmius, and a new and powerful civilization has risen in a new and wonderful world. Into the literatures of modern times have entered the thoughts of these peoples under the influence of Judean Christianity, the Roman Catholic church, the reformation and science, individual repentance, religious authority, and national liberty, and what ever may be said of the perfect form of the Greek authors, how rich and varied, how complex and subtle the emotional and intellectual life that finds expression in our best modern literatures. The great modern masters do indeed owe much to the Greeks, as for instance, Milton, and Lessing, and Goethe,

Voltaire, and Runeberg. Some of them are under immense obligations to Homer,

“ Monarch of sublimest song  
That o'er all others like an eagle soars,”

and I should be glad to have every college boy know and love Homer. But there is one nearer to us, and in him are all the elements of past history, and the greatness of English literature is not to be measured by his name alone. Were it measured by that name alone, we may well question whether it would not contain more fructifying germs for the coming student, more power to inspire and broaden thought than all the Greeks. Such comparisons are foolish, because there would have been no Shakespeare without Homer; because Greek art was the fountain of all great modern art, and though the stream from that fountain has been broadened and deepened by the inflowing of other streams of equal mass and greater rapidity, certain indispensable elements came from the fountain head. But the best thoughts and the great works of modern literature, in part because they include Greek culture, and in part because they have enlarged it, deserve the attention of every educated man. Nor do I see how an education can in any wise be symmetrical that does not at least offer a completer knowledge of the masterpieces of modern thought, and especially of one's own tongue than of the writers of two thousand years ago. As we speak English and inherit Shakespeare, is it not quite as much a duty and quite as necessary an education for rightly estimating modern thought to have a knowledge of Shakespeare as of Sophocles?

The study of a modern language in college may be so directed as to give a fair knowledge of two or three authors, and a fairly thorough knowledge of two or three authors is more fertilizing and valuable than a superficial acquaintance with twenty. We are here still pursuing the contents of the language and to have access to the masterpieces of great authors, to be able to read them, and actually to read them with thoroughness and genuine ease is a noble attainment. The refining and elevating influence of Dante, Montaigne, or Goethe may go far towards forming a pure taste; may quicken the judgment of correct English expression. Comparative literature is a higher exercise for those who are not to be teachers, perhaps for those who are, than comparative grammar, especially in the study of the modern tongues. The one is anatomy, the other is life

organized, though a certain measure of comparative grammar is essential to good teaching of comparative literature, and in comparative literature the contrasts between ancient and modern are most profitable. Happy the teacher who has the learning and ability to explain, and pupils with the requisite training to understand how complex the motives are in the modern as compared with the ancient! How for instance, in the ancient drama the motive of the play controls the action, whereas in the modern drama the action is evolved from the character. Such comparisons, though not equally instructive, are yet of great value when confined to modern literature. The historical tracing of ideas up to their embodiment in some great literary monument, such work as has been done by Kuno Fischer and the lamented Scherer, is most stimulating and is properly tributary to and belongs with the study of literature. The influence of Richter on Carlyle is an interesting problem. Even inside of English poetry a comparative study of the three or four great elegiac poems would under a wise teacher give quickening knowledge as to the charm of literature and the great variety of shades of thought possible to be perfectly expressed on a common theme. By most persons doubtless ideas of literature must be gained chiefly through the reading or study of works in their native language, but to those students who in our higher institutions are instructed in modern languages, even if they have had Latin and Greek training, a great advantage is secured, if they receive discerning teaching as to the masterpieces of two or three foreign authors. Nor is it much less valuable and may be more enjoyable for those who have had training in ancient languages. A great American scholar once told me that if he could succeed in interesting his students (they had been trained in the classics) in Dante, as he generally did, he kept them out of the mud. Such acute instruction as another eminent American teacher gives on the plays of Shakespeare, if we may judge from a discussion on Hamlet which he gave before the American Philological Society in 1875, in which much evidence was adduced to prove that Hamlet is one of the early plays of the author, must be quickening for the reading of a lifetime. Even such a simple distinction as that between Byron and Shelley, that the one is immoral, while the other is unmoral, put before a class with a sufficient number of proof-texts may be the germ of much fruitful thinking: The majority of the students in our

best colleges have not learned to think before beginning the study of foreign literatures. In deciphering their Latin and Greek it is the single sentence that they consider, and mainly as to whether their rendering makes sense. In processes of mathematics and science it is too often fixed rules that they follow. To lift them into the spontaneous consideration of the true, the beautiful in thought, and the study of the development of character as related to these other elements, is a noble service, a service to education and culture which the teachers of modern languages in our colleges have exceptional opportunities of rendering. These opportunities are all the fuller, that most young persons have an interest in living languages and feel the affinity between the foreign modern thought and that of their own language. This service calls for the highest talent, for the amplest learning, for the most skilful guidance, the most patient condescension, the severest devotion. This service properly rendered will store minds with wit and wisdom, and the committing to memory and the repetition of the most perfect thoughts of an author ought to be a daily exercise: this service properly rendered will give canons by which the reading of a lifetime will become intelligent. It will develop the power of analysis, but not less sympathy; it will fit a young man, make him able and intellectually worthy to hold converse with the great. It seems to me that the increased time now given to these languages in the best colleges puts an increased obligation on every professor to exalt in his own work this value of the modern language and requires him to have at least one course extending over a year in which the fine art of literature shall be studied; requires him to teach the pupils to love the best thoughts of the best authors, to reverence Dante, or Corneille, or Goethe, as great masters, as at once the highest expression and the best teachers of their times, and to know the secrets of their greatness; to read the criticisms of Lessing, Sainte Beuve, and Matthew Arnold with sympathetic and yet with scholarly analysis, to note their great acquisitions, and to honor their stores of learning, and discern their subtle wisdom and fine moderation; to discover that to be a good critic means something quite other than to be smart, or cynical, or accurate, or caustic, or all these together, means first and last to be cosmopolitan, many-sided, calm and genial; to see that a man may be a good humorist without knowing the ancients, hardly a fine critic, and that it is not safe to assume the critic's role

at too tender an age. This higher study of thought and expression in the perfect forms of the great writers cannot be without influence on the thought and expression of the student, and it should never be forgotten that the use of one's native language is the ultimate test of that union of culture and power that marks an educated man. I say union of culture and power. Sometimes power may be the primary aim and when this is the case, the acquisition of the reading power just discussed is of more service than the study of literature. But for a truly educated man the use of his own language means much thought before expression. The subtle simplicity of Newman or the rhythmic force of Ruskin is only mastery of English—only the superb control of highly gifted and trained minds over a great instrument. No study is useless or dull that contributes to this mastery. No study is vital that does not help somewhat to its attainment, and a careful and sympathetic and broad acquaintance with the greatest masters of any modern tongue should issue, will issue in acuter perceptions; in masterly analysis, in severer taste, in fairer balance, and in an exacter expression of those considerations that on any subject demand utterance of the educated man.

To this result then of study should we lead our pupils, those that are engaged in technical or professional study, to the ability to read easily and thus to deepen research in any direction; those that seek liberal culture beyond this facility of reading, to the knowledge and enjoyment of the best thoughts in the modern languages, aiming always at the complete knowledge of many-sided humanity and the perfected mastery of the native tongue. Whatever contributes at any particular time to this end however slightly, is not despicable, whether it be the improbable question, "Have you the hat of the shoemaker?" the analysis of the descent of the article from the pronoun, the translation of an English story into the foreign tongue, or the reading, which is not uncommon in some colleges, of thousands of pages in the second year of study, outside of the required work. Patience and constantly varying devices will lead from the childish question to the mastery in German of the best thoughts of Lessing and Goethe, in French of Corneille and Racine, or in Italian of Dante, and in Spanish of Cervantes.

How wonderful the growth of organisms and of mind! It seems strange when we reflect that the great Shakespeare was once a speechless infant "mewling and puking in the nurse's

arms." Did he hold up and gaze in wonder at that little hand that has since ruled the world? Did he learn to spell the words that afterwards, marshaled in certain order, keep the centuries entranced? Did he crawl on all fours in the low cottage at Stratford, who afterwards walked so securely across the stage at London, and taught the majesty of kings how to comport itself? The humblest beginning of the study of a modern language may be the quickening impulse that shall lead to the scholarship of a Grimm, a Diez, or a Scherer, to the beneficent reproductions of a Longfellow, the stately history of a Motley, or may add the cosmopolitan element to the genius of a Shakespeare yet unborn.

II.—*The Development of English Prose From Elizabeth to Victoria.*

BY HENRY E. SHEPHERD, LL.D.,

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THERE has been produced up to the present time no complete manual or treatise, exhibiting the origin and development of our prose. The works of Minto and Saintsbury are characterized by marked excellences, but they fail in some points of essential interest and importance. Our standard literary historians ignore, for the most part, this phase of their subject, and there is more of stimulating, suggestive criticism to be gathered from the terse prefaces that accompany Mark Pattison's edition of Pope, than from the elaborate manuals of Morley and Arnold. In discussing the growth of English prose from Elizabeth to Victoria, it is not my purpose to ignore the periods that precede the Elizabethan age. The germ of our English prose antedates by many generations the advent of that era. It may be traced back as early as the epoch of "the blameless King," Alfred, in whose ideal character were concretely displayed those qualities of mind and heart of which the romancers of the Arthurian cycle but dreamed.

The translations executed under the auspices of Alfred during the closing decades of the ninth century, together with the versions of the Anglo-Saxon gospels, the exact date of whose rendering into English is not ascertained, may be regarded as the dim beginnings of that prose which, under many complex influences and through many strange vicissitudes ripened into the incomparable cadence of our Authorized Version, the golden harmonies of Taylor and Newman, the antithetic brilliance of Macaulay. The translations of Alfred from Latin into the vernacular, exhibit a measure of scholarly audacity to which the native tongues of contemporary Europe could present no parallel. The creation of our English prose may then be fixed as far back as the so-called Anglo-Saxon period of our language, and, notwithstanding the dialectic corruptions and variations produced by the Norman Conquest or stimulated by it, the germ out of which all subsequent evolutions of our prose have

descended, must be referred to this era. There is little to be said in regard to the prose of those intervals that divide the Norman Conquest from the fourteenth century. The English chronicle terminates abruptly in 1154 A. D. and passing by its purely philological interest, there are few passages in the earlier memorials of any literature that excel the graphic portrayal of the Conqueror, whose colossal personality wrought so abiding an impress upon the minds of the simple and artless makers of our most olden history. . . . Mr. Saintsbury is correct in attributing to the process of translation so marked an influence upon the expansion of our prose, but he seems to err in not recognizing that influence in periods antedating those which he assumes as the *terminus a quo* of his investigations.

While not disposed to press the doctrine of historic or literary continuity to any extreme degree, I am unable to detect any sufficient reason for passing over without consideration, the epochs that precede the fifteenth century. Supreme among the earlier influences that gave an impulse to the formation of an English prose was the translation of the scriptures from Latin versions into the vernacular. This effect of this may be discovered, as has been indicated, during the Anglo-Saxon era, but when we approach the epoch of Wickliffe, the prelude season of the English Reformation, the process of Biblical translation becomes a marked and determining feature. The intense conservatism of our Bible English has always been one of its distinctive characteristics. Its function has been both to restrain and to develop, to guard against unseemly innovation while affording the noblest field for the exercise of creative power. Many of its finest features were impressed upon it by Wickliffe: since the admirable translation of Tyndale from the Greek, it has suffered no essential modification, if we except the abuses perpetrated by the revisers of 1881 in the subordinating of rhythmic grace to technical accuracy. Translation, didactic, Biblical, philosophic may be regarded as the earliest form in which English prose expressed itself. Indeed, no external influence has constituted a more potent factor in our literary history, whether in prose or verse. Without this expanding power, Shakespeare would have been "scarce half made up;" had Keats not heard "Chapman speak out loud and bold," he would have "lived forgotten and died forlorn." It is needless to multiply illustrations of this admitted truth. . . . It is, perhaps, an error to assume as

Saintsbury seems to do, that there was no endeavor to construct an artistic prose before the age of Elizabeth. There was assuredly an advance in the *character* of our prose under the auspicious culture of More, and his great antagonist, Tyndale. The style of Tyndale, revealing the influence of that classic culture which was so potent an element for good during the earlier decades of the sixteenth century, as well as the robust simplicity of Latimer, is a marked advance upon the constrained and rambling prose of Pecock's "Repressor," produced about the middle of the fifteenth century, the first *formal* endeavor of theology to express herself in the vernacular tongue. The prose of More, Tyndale, Latimer, Ascham, is concrete proof of sensible development, partly resulting from the salutary impulse communicated by the first phases of the classical revival, partly the outcome of native vigor inspired by religious fervor. The first impression of the classical culture upon our English prose, was, as we have pointed out, productive of excellent results as the mode of appropriating the graces of ancient art was during the earlier stages of the revival, rational and judicious. When the process went beyond the legitimate end of domesticating acknowledged beauties, and degenerated into a fixed purpose of engrafting upon the logical structure of English, the idioms and the periods of the ancient writers, the result was discord and incongruity in full measure. The perverted imitation of classic graces which distinguishes, in some degree, all our periodic stylists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite their occasional passages of unsurpassed brilliance, was in the nature of an artistic or æsthetic aberration, carefully to be separated from the more native diction of More and Tyndale, from the rugged vernacular of Latimer, from the Euphuists and pamphleteers of the Elizabethan day. It was a superimposition upon the natural style, rich in individual or isolated excellences, but still a departure from the genius of our tongue. The continuity of the native style is never lost, even amid the obscuring brilliancy of the classical types, and when the era of our modern prose, the age of revision and refinement, the epoch of Temple, Dryden, Halifax, Swift, Addison and Steele is reached, we encounter an assertion of the consciousness of our speech, a reaction toward the style that had been subordinated, but not repressed, rather than a process of development *out of* the

elaborate periodic structure of Hooker, Taylor, Clarendon, Browne and Milton into the terse syntax of the Augustan masters. . . . The one receded, the other came into the foreground, the former was an exotic, the latter the genuine outcome of native spirit and taste. Like so many developments in English constitutional history, it was rather a reversion to original principles, than a conscious deviation from a recognized and established standard. That the simple style of our earlier prose was immensely developed, that it advanced both in vigor and refinement under the culture of Dryden, Swift, Steele, Addison, and their contemporaries, will be evident at a glance. Yet the proposition appears irrefutable, that they did not create a *new* style, but rather recurred to the natural type of our prose, which had not been entirely effaced, during the ascendancy of the classical school. . . . The expansion of our speech during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, both in its prose and poetic phases, has rarely received adequate treatment at the hands of our literary historians. Never has any tongue undergone a more thorough reconstruction in the space of a single generation. Every feature was subjected to a rigid scrutiny, metrical forms, structural laws, the harmony of prose and the harmony of poetry were analyzed with a rigid minuteness that equalled the fastidious procedures of our Augustan era. Wilson, Ascham, Puttenham, Sidney, Harvey, Levin, and a goodly company of others, are entitled to grateful recognition in any scholarly narrative of our literary development. Nor is the strength of our creative age restricted to its noble manifestations of power in lyric and dramatic poetry. The advance in our prose style is conspicuous, and in the superb English of Sidney's "Apologie," there may be discovered several touches of that golden and sunny language which so often lights up the sermons and essays of Cardinal Newman. Such, for example, is Sidney's famous distinction between the world of the poet, and that of nature. Indeed that entire phase of our tongue, so often travestied under the name of Euphuism, assuming its concrete and most polished expression from the culture of Lyly, is the tendency of the language towards its modern and more concise form. However much its growth may have been stimulated by foreign influences, Italian or Spanish, yet the movement was in the direction of simplification of structure, and inherent in the speech, as it is inherent in every speech at some period of its

development. The antithetical features of Euphuism have been reproduced with great artistic skill in the diction of Lord Macaulay; its influence may be detected in the English of Gibbon, in a more marked degree, perhaps, in his Memoirs than in his History. The style of Bacon's Essays, of the pamphleteers and lighter authors of the time, is suggestive of the same tendency. Note for illustration the famous apology of Chettle to Shakespeare, which followed the appearance of Greene's Groat's Worth of Wit. The strangely modern style of our eminent statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, men of the world and of affairs, has not been noted with sufficient attention. The History of the World by Sir Walter Raleigh is a splendid illustration of Elizabethan eloquence, but the political tracts produced in connection with his ill-starred South American expedition are models of conciseness, and would scarcely suffer by comparison with Mr. Gladstone's recent pamphlet upon the Irish question. The prose of the Elizabethan drama must have exercised an influence by no means inconsiderable in preparing our language for that simplification of structure which it assumed during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the compass of literature there is rarely to be found more superb prose than that which sometimes breaks in upon the dramas of Shakespeare: note such passages as Hamlet's eulogy upon man. The critical temper was by no means wanting during this, the greatest of our creative epochs. It is the dominant note of all Ben Jonson's art. The measure of In Memoriam is found with its peculiar sweetness of metrical effect, in Ben's XXXIX. elegy; even in his estimate of Shakespeare, the same critical vein is discernible. The creative and the regulative faculty appear in full vigor during "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," but the *dominant* æsthetic and artistic impulse was creative, as it must needs have been under the peculiar historic influences that shaped the era. Our prose advanced immensely during this period, and the stimulating agencies brought to bear upon it, were varied and most efficient in their action. Many of them are discussed at length in my History of the English Language, Chapters XIX-XXI, and I cannot trespass upon the proprieties of the occasion by reproducing them in this essay. The germs of every succeeding development of our language and literature, may be discovered in the manifold richness of this age. All preceding linguistic

growth converges toward it, all subsequent literary evolution diverges from it. The culture of the critics and refiners, the school of Euphuists, the novelettes and pamphlets, the essays of Bacon, the strangely modern prose of Raleigh's tracts, the cadence of Sidney, the climaxes of Hooker, the critical note of Ben Jonson, the passionate ardor of Marlowe, are all blended in the versatile luxuriance of the Elizabethan day. . . . It is to be deplored that the history of our literary evolution has not been written with more especial regard to the contemporary or corresponding philosophic evolution of our race. The study of the dominant philosophy of an era, as has been illustrated in the growth of strictly historic composition, will reveal many of the *arcana* of its literary form and character. Let us test the soundness of this principle by its application to the history of our own literary expansion during the first half of the seventeenth century in the sphere of prose. A marked feature of our older classical prose, as adorned and illustrated by Milton and by Taylor, was an individuality of style that has in a measure disappeared since the establishment of the modern typical prose during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The classic influence is conspicuous in the fashioning of our later, as well as our earlier prose form, but the character and the result of the influence is different in the later as compared with the earlier. The distinction is most happily illustrated by a reviewer of Gosse's "From Shakespeare to Pope" in the *Quarterly* for October, 1886.

It was during the first half of the seventeenth century, that strangely complex and fascinating age, that Bacon was unfolding his philosophic system, a system which, though an admitted failure from the standpoint of practical application, was in accord with the tone and spirit of the modern era. The *Novum Organum* upon which the Lord Chancellor based his highest philosophic hopes, was intended to supersede all those differences of intellect which God and nature have erected between men: the efficacy of the instrument was to assure the result, not the skill or genius of the operator. Original and essential distinctions are levelled; the method takes precedence of him who applies it; it is the *opus operatum* in its most vicious form. In his conception of this new source of power, Bacon anticipated perhaps, unwillingly, some of the characteristic features of our modern educational empiricism. It is more relevant to our

purpose to note that the temper of his philosophy is in harmonious relation to the impelling spirit of the seventeenth century, as exhibited in the aggressive genius of Puritanism, which despite its inconsistencies and anomalies, is the reflection and expression of the modern spirit. In the advancement of physical science, in the constitutional and religious growth of the seventeenth century, the same spirit is revealed, and he who has failed to study intently the evolution of our history during this complex and bewildering period, is to that extent disqualified for apprehending or appreciating the later developments of our speech, whether in prose or poetry. . . . In no field of investigation is the relation between history and literature more intimate, in none are the fruits of research more easy of attainment. The student of our modern prose must devote his "days and nights" to the *Memoirs of the Reign of James I. and Charles I.* to the *Fairfax Memoirs*, and the *Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys*.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency towards simpler prose form was stimulated by the influences that have been specified, and they may be regarded as one phase in the growth of that modern spirit, under whose expanding power,

"The individual withers and the world is more and more."

When we approach the later decades of the seventeenth century, the labor of revision exercised itself in establishing a more concise form of prose, polished and refined by a judicious application of classic influence, the basis of operation being that original simple type which had never been absolutely lost during the ascendancy of the periodic style. The principal achievement of the eighteenth century, so far as it relates to prose, was the culture and expansion of that style, a process which was essentially aided by the development of periodical literature and the rise of the modern novel. . . . It has been frequently observed that the prose of those epochs which immediately follow seasons of great poetic activity is marked by a diction strikingly poetic in character. This has been pointed out by Mr. Saintsbury as distinctive of the era following the Georgian galaxy of poets, and Carlyle, Ruskin and Newman are among the most conspicuous illustrations of this tendency. The same

<sup>1</sup> Taylor's *Retrospect of The Religious Life of England*, and Masson's *Life and Times of John Milton*, Vol. VI., will amply repay diligent study in this connection.

phenomenon may be traced in the prose literature of the seventeenth century. . . . The prose of Taylor and Milton succeeded the poetic splendor of the Elizabethan age, as that of Carlyle, Newman and Ruskin followed the epoch of Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott and Coleridge. In either case it seems to have been a transmitted radiance, an after-glow by which these "warblers of poetic prose" kept alive the spirit of the preceding dispensation. The essay of the late Principal Shairp upon *The Prose Poets*, will repay a diligent reading by the student of the period now under consideration. . . . Since the advent of this generation of prose poets, the preëminence of our Augustan or Addisonian style has been seriously impaired. Whether it will again become the accepted model of purity and idiomatic grace, is a question that cannot now be determined. The present ascendancy of sensational, rhetorical and poetic prose is not productive of hope or enthusiasm in regard to the future.

. . . The style of Lord Macaulay has exerted so potent an influence upon that of his contemporaries, and is so unique in character as to demand more than an incidental allusion in the most superficial outline of English prose. He was the product, in large measure, of our Addisonian age, his studies and his sympathies lay largely among the heroes and the writers of that time: with the literary tendencies of his own day he had no genuine sympathy, as is abundantly attested in the fascinating biography produced by his nephew, Mr. Trevelyan. Yet the most efficient agencies that determine intellectual character are sometimes those whose presence is least suspected, or whose activity is least apparent. The obligations of Macaulay to the rhetoric of Burke, which assumed a richer coloring with the advent of declining years, are too clear to be mistaken. Then, too, his most susceptible period (1800-1815) was passed amid the convulsions that followed an unparalleled revolution, which for the time seemed to annihilate all the traditions of the eighteenth century. Still, in spirit and in sympathy, he belonged rather to the days of Pope and Johnson than to those of Wordsworth and Scott. This is pointed out by Shairp with wonted clearness, in his *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*. . . . My purpose has been to submit to the Association a concise account of the forces that have affected the growth and the character of our prose style during the successive periods of its history.

The intent is not to exhaust or even to elaborate, merely to suggest and quicken.

The whole subject of melody in its relation to style, is one worthy of minute investigation, and there is a rich as well as fascinating field reserved for him who shall blend literary attainment with technical knowledge of musical science, and shall trace the mutations of our prose and poetic form as determined by changes of musical appetency or phonetic sensibility. Valuable hints may be gathered from the great work of Helmholtz;<sup>2</sup> something has been achieved by Sidney Lanier, Theodore Watts; and R. L. Stevenson in the *Contemporary Review*. Our language is still marred by an exuberance of cacophony, a prime obstacle in the path of every instructor who deals with the delicate art of composition. We must revive the æsthetic criticism of the Greeks and apply its principles to the elucidation and culture of English prose . . . It is earnestly to be hoped that some rational mode of criticism may counteract the tendency of our prevailing philological style, if, forsooth, it have not already ripened into that "maturity of corruption" so graphically portrayed by Junius, "at which the worst examples cease to be contagious." I make this stricture in the most abstract and impersonal sense, "more in sorrow than in anger," yet its justice and its propriety no dispassionate mind can question. In concluding, I desire to express the hope that the subject, as well as the *subject-matter* of this paper will receive the critical consideration of the Modern Language Association. Its importance from every view-point, scholarly or pedagogic, commends it to the regard, and the scrutiny of all teachers and students of the English tongue.

<sup>2</sup> Sensation of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music.

III.—*French Literature in Louisiana.*

BY ALCÉE FORTIER,

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## I.—INTRODUCTION.

IN the paper which I had the pleasure of presenting at the last convention of our Association, I spoke of the French language in Louisiana, and took the opportunity, while giving a brief history of the language in our State, to assert that the Louisianians speak a pure and correct French. I think, in order to prove this, that it may be advisable this year to give an account of our Louisiana literature, and I hope that the subject may be of interest to the members of the Modern Language Association.

During the French domination, the colony of Louisiana improved very slowly, and although the inhabitants were generally men of culture, the population was so small that there could be no literary enthusiasm. We find, therefore, during that period, no works written in Louisiana, except the reports of officers, among which may be mentioned a paper in 1745 by Deverges, an engineer, upon the mouths of the Mississippi river. Another document is also of great importance; it is the celebrated "Mémoire des négociants et habitants de la Louisiane sur l'événement du 29 octobre 1768," written by Lafrénière and Caresse, two of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768, which was to end so unhappily by the execution of several distinguished men.

During the Spanish domination, the most warlike and popular governor was Galvez. As Achilles found a Homer to sing his exploits, so Julian Poydras wrote in 1779 an epic poem in French on the campaigns of the young governor. The work, unfortunately, has not come down to us, but the poet has not been forgotten, for one of our principal streets in New Orleans bears the name of Mr. Poydras.

In 1794, appeared 'Le Moniteur de la Louisiane,' probably the first paper published in Louisiana.

Jefferson having acquired the colony for the United States in 1803, its population and the material interests of the people increased so rapidly, that the territory of Orleans became a State in 1812. Two years later, the first book of our own literature was published, a tragedy, "Poucha Houmma" by Le Blanc de Villeneuve. I shall not speak at present of this work, as I wish to divide my subject into several parts: history and biography, the drama, poetry, novels, and miscellaneous works. I may add that in this review of our Louisiana Literature I do not speak of the journalists, of whom many were quite distinguished.

## II.—HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The history of Louisiana is exceedingly interesting, and it early attracted the attention of a distinguished man, Judge François-Xavier Martin, of the Supreme Court, who wrote in 1827 his history in English. Before that time, we had had the works of Charlevoix, of Le Page du Pratz, of Laharpe, of Bossu, of Chevalier, of de Vergennes, of Barbé-Marbois, and several others, but these histories or travels had been written in French, and were very incomplete.

As the majority of Louisianians in the beginning of this century only spoke French, a history in that language was very necessary to them, and Mr. Gayarré evinced his patriotism when he published in 1830 his 'Essai Historique sur la Louisiane.' The author was then but twenty-five years old, but we can see on every page a great enthusiasm for his subject and his devotion to the State. The narrative is clear, and the method is good, and we can already recognize in this essay the author of the "History of Louisiana." Mr. Gayarré has been the Henri Martin, we might add the J. R. Green of Louisiana. He has spent almost his whole life in writing and re-writing the history of his native State.

In 1846, he published his 'Histoire de la Louisiane'<sup>2</sup> in two volumes. It comprises only the French domination, but the work is of great value, as Mr. Gayarré, who had been United States senator and afterwards Secretary of State of Louisiana, had been able to procure many documents of our colonial period,

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES GAYARRÉ, 'Essai Historique sur la Louisiane.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 441 pp. Imprimé par Benjamin Levy, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1830.

<sup>2</sup> CHARLES GAYARRÉ, 'Histoire de la Louisiane.' 2 Vol. 8vo. Magne and Weisse, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1846 and 1847.

and had given them in full in his history. The author seemed in this work to wish to divest his writings of his own personality, and he adopted the plan which has rendered de Barante's 'Ducs de Bourgogne' so interesting, that of giving the documents of the times, and causing the personages to relate, as it were, their own history. This method is very attractive, but it is not the philosophy of history. Mr. Gayarré's own views were of too great importance to be ignored, and his countrymen were highly pleased when he gave his last work on Louisiana written in English a more philosophical cast. Mr. Gayarré was greatly honored by his State in his youth, and although he has now no official position, no one is more venerated and esteemed in Louisiana than our historian.

In 1841, Mr. Victor Debouchel published his 'Histoire de la Louisiane, depuis les premières découvertes jusqu'en 1840.'<sup>3</sup> The work is interesting and the style is clear and concise. The aim of the author was to write a history for schools, but which might be read with profit, even by men of culture. The dates are very carefully given at the beginning of every paragraph treating of a different subject, and the contents of each chapter or "esquisse" are indicated by a well chosen title. Mr. Debouchel gives some amusing details about our old laws: in 1808, the fees of a lawyer were \$16.00, before the Supreme Court or the Circuit Court, and before a parish court \$5.00. In 1809, however, the fee was fixed at \$11.00 for every case. The last part of Mr. Debouchel's book is devoted to the great financial crisis of 1840, when a spirit of speculation seemed to have taken possession of the Louisianians. The history ends with the following very encouraging enumeration of the schools in Louisiana in 1840: three large colleges: Franklin in Opelousas, Jefferson in St. James, Louisiana at Jackson; thirty academies, of which six were for young ladies, and three convents.

Mr. Debouchel's work was followed in 1854 by Mr. Henri Rémy's, who published a well written 'Histoire de la Louisiane'<sup>4</sup> in the "St. Michel," a weekly paper of the parish of St. James. It is very much to be regretted that the publication of this history was discontinued when the author had only gone

<sup>3</sup> VICTOR DEBOUCHEL, 'Histoire de la Louisiane.' 1 Vol. 16mo, 190 pp. J. F. Lelièvre, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1841.

<sup>4</sup> HENRI RÉMY, 'Histoire de la Louisiane.' cf. *Le Journal St. Michel*, Paroisse St. Jacques, 1854.

as far as 1731. The wars against the Natchez and the Chicasas are related with many details and great impartiality, and we see very often that justice was not always on the side of the white man. If the savage was cruel in his warfare, it must be admitted that he had generally been led to hostility by the act of some inferior French officer, as was the case with Chépar, at Fort Rosalie. Mr. Rémy praises Bienville as governor, but is very severe against the French government and its unwise colonial administration.

Two works written by ladies, both teachers of reputation in New Orleans, are now to be examined. Mme. Laure Andry imitated Lamé Fleury's simple and conversational style, and succeeded in producing a really charming 'Histoire de la Louisiane pour les enfants.'<sup>5</sup> I have never read a book which pleased me more; it is so unassuming and, at the same time, so entertaining.

Mme. D. Girard, an old lady of most wonderful energy, who still teaches, although some of her pupils are now grandmothers, published in 1881 her 'Histoire des Etats-Unis suivie de l'Histoire de la Louisiane.'<sup>6</sup> It is a small book and more a chronicle or chronology than a history, but is very useful for reference.

We now come to a work which was received by the people of Louisiana with almost filial respect. Bernard de Marigny, whose ancestor had been a companion of Iberville, after having been a member of two State constitutional conventions, and for many years, of the House and Senate of Louisiana, presented in 1854 to the legislature of the State his 'Réflexions sur la Politique des Etats-Unis. Statistique de l'Espagne, de l'Île de Cuba, etc.'<sup>7</sup> The author was then seventy years old and struggling with adversity, although he had once a fortune of \$4,000,000, and his father had received with princely hospitality the exiled Louis-Philippe d'Orléans. Mr. de Marigny was one of the most typical men of the old régime, generous, elegant, brave and witty. His "calembours" have become as celebrated as his duels, and his eloquence was natural and pleasing. His work begins with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, explains

<sup>5</sup> MME. LAURE ANDRY, 'Histoire de la Louisiane pour les Enfants.' 1 Vol. 16mo, 163 pp. Eug. Antoine, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1882.

<sup>6</sup> MME. D. GIRARD, 'Histoire des Etats-Unis suivie de l'Histoire de la Louisiane.' 1 Vol. 18mo, 84 pp. Eug. Antoine, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1881.

<sup>7</sup> BERNARD DE MARIGNY, 'Réflexions sur la Politique des Etats-Unis, Statistique de l'Espagne, de l'Île de Cuba, etc.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 95 pp. J. L. Sollée, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1854.

the causes of the American Revolution, and gives a rapid review of the annexations to the United States, urging on the latter to take possession of Cuba. The author then enumerates the conquests of the European nations, and gives a glowing account of the future of our union. Strange to say, only seven years before the Civil War began, he did not seem to have foreseen the terrible events that were approaching. Mr. de Marigny ends by claiming in a few touching words the indulgence of his fellow-citizens: "en raison des motifs qui raniment mes forces et me font presque oublier mes malheurs et mes vieilles années."

'Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas,'<sup>8</sup> by Alexandre Barde, is a true story, but has all the interest of a romance. It relates the efforts of some valiant men to free their parishes from the bandits, who, like the *chauffeurs*, were committing the greatest atrocities, and whom the law was powerless to punish. The vigilants were men of courage, of wealth, and of culture, and among them, were Alexandre Mouton, ex-governor and United States Senator; his son Alfred Mouton, the brave general killed only a few years later at Mansfield; Major St. Julien, a real *chevalier*; Alcibiade De Blanc, afterwards a judge of our Supreme Court; Alcée Judice, most eloquent and intrepid; the Martins, the Voorhies, the Broussards, and many others of the best and most respected families. Mr. Barde not only gives the history of the committees; he describes most accurately the picturesque Tèche country, and relates all the legends and traditions of the Attakapas region. I do not think that any history of Louisiana can give as correct an idea of life in our country parishes before the war as Mr. Barde's work. No one can begin to read it without finishing it, and the adventures of our Louisianians are as interesting as those of Dumas' celebrated "mousquetaires."

'Esquisses Locales'<sup>9</sup> par un Inconnu (Cyprien Dufour) 1847. This work was first published in the "Courrier de la Louisiane," and excited the greatest interest. The author presented a series of pictures of the most prominent men of the day, and showed the most consummate tact and skill in his criticisms. His style is sprightly and witty, and he displays throughout the utmost

8 ALEXANDRE BARDE, 'Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 428 pp. Imprimerie du Meschacébé et de l'Avant-Coureur, St. Jean-Baptiste, 1861.

9 UN INCONNU (CYPRIEN DUFOUR), 'Esquisses Locales.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 147 pp. J. L. Sollé, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1847.

finesse. For us who read that book after forty years, and who are almost posterity for the men mentioned by Mr. Dufour, we must admit that his judgement about his contemporaries was almost always correct, and that his predictions about their future were quite prophetic. For instance, when he speaks of John Slidell, the great Louisiana politician, so widely known afterwards through the "Trent" affair, he portrays the wily diplomat in the most graphic manner. 'Esquisses Locales' is a very useful work for the student of the history and literature of Louisiana. He can see in looking over the pages of this little book all manner of men of the old régime: lawyers, statesmen, journalists, prose writers, and poets. I only regret that Mr. Dufour did not extend his gallery of portraits to the physicians of the time, of whom so many were distinguished, and that he did not give us a glimpse of old plantation life, by presenting to us some of our refined, chivalric and intelligent sugar planters. It is a great loss to our literature that "Un Inconnu," who was an able lawyer, has produced only one work, for such a brilliant pen could have given us some charming comedies of real life.

In the parish of St. James, there is at a distance of five miles from the river a settlement in the woods; it is called "la Grande Pointe," and is very prosperous. The inhabitants are all descendants of the Acadian exiles, and have retained the energy of their fathers. The men are great deer and duck hunters, and cultivate the land; the women are very pious and industrious. It is there that old Perique manufactured the famous tobacco *carrots* which bear his name. 'Le Destin d'un Brin de Mousse,'<sup>10</sup> by Mlle. Désirée Martin is an autobiography, and reveals to us the daily life of these worthy people. The author speaks with great reverence of her parents, especially of her grandfather, a patriarch surrounded by a progeny of seventy-eight children and grandchildren. From having been a most happy "gardeuse d'oies," Mlle. Martin became an unhappy nun. After many years passed in a convent, she retired to "la Grande Pointe," and related her story and that of her ancestors to her little nephews. Although an ex-nun, there is not a word of irreverence against religion in the book; the author seems to have been of a thoroughly truthful and honest disposition. She communicates to us all her feelings and we can but respect her

<sup>10</sup> Mlle. Désirée Martin, 'Les Veillées d'une Soeur ou le Destin d'un Brin de Mousse.'  
1 Vol. 16mo, 230 pp. Imprim. Cosmopolite, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1877.

filial piety, her devotion to her God and her love for Louisiana. Here is a pleasing characteristic passage: "Avant de mettre pied à terre, devinez donc, mes chers enfants, quelle idée enfantine me vint?—De boire de l'eau de votre fleuve tant aimé? . . .

. —Tout juste, chère Louisa; je me fis apporter un verre d'eau du Mississipi et je le vidai d'un trait en disant; 'Fontaine, je ne boirai jamais de meilleure eau que la tienne.'

Before passing to another subject, I wish to mention, under the head of history, though not strictly belonging to it, an address by Mr. Gayarré in opposition to Mr. Livingston's report to the Legislature on the abolition of capital punishment.<sup>11</sup> The work was published in 1826, and was one of the earliest in our Louisiana literature.

### III.—THE DRAMA.

Before the revival of the drama in France by the rise of the romantic school; before 'Henri III et sa Cour,' before 'Hernani,' and while Marie-Joseph Chénier, Lemercier, and Ducis were still masters of the stage, we had in Louisiana a tragedy which may be read with some interest. Le Blanc de Villeneuve, an ex-officer in the French army, wrote at the age of seventy-eight, a drama on an episode of Indian life. While employed by the government among the Tchactas, from 1752 to 1758, he heard the story of the father who had sacrificed himself to save his son's life, and he says that many years afterwards he thought of writing a play on this subject, in order to defend the Indians from the imputation of having been savages without any human feelings.

This work, 'Poucha-Houmma,'<sup>12</sup> is a regular classical tragedy, and the unities of time, place, and action seem to be well observed. The style is somewhat too grandiloquent and Cornelian for Indian personages; for instance, the play begins thus:

Augustes descendants d'un peuple sans pareil,  
Très illustres enfans des enfans du Soleil,  
Enfin voici le jour, où la saison prospère  
Va payer vos travaux d'un précieux salaire:  
Ce jour, vous le savez, jadis par nos ayeux,

<sup>11</sup> CHARLES GAYARRÉ, 'Discours adressé à la Législature, en réfutation du Rapport de Mr. Livingston sur l'Abolition de la Peine de Mort.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 35 pp. Benj. Levy, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1826.

<sup>12</sup> LE BLANC DE VILLENEUVE, 'Poucha-Houmma.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 58 pp. Imprimerie du Courrier de la Le, Nouvelle-Orléans. 1824.

Fut toujours mis au rang des jours les plus heureux.  
 Je n'ai jamais manqué d'en célébrer la fête,  
 Depuis soixante hivers écoulés sur ma tête.  
 Que vos cœurs satisfaits s'expriment par vos chants ;  
 La terre, sous vos yeux, a placé ses présens :  
 A notre bienfaiteur offrez-en les prémices.  
 Puisse-t-il agréer vos pieux sacrifices !  
 Pour moi, triste jouet du sort le plus cruel,  
 Je ne puis présider à l'acte solennel.  
 L'ancien de nos vieillards pourra prendre ma place,  
 Je dois me retirer, je le demande en grâce.

(à part).

Malheureux que je suis, un rêve me confond. . . .

We see then that, as in 'Athalie,' a dream is pursuing Poucha-Houmma with its sinister omen. He does not wish to preside over "la Fête du Petit Blé," the most important of all the festivals of the Hoummas. Tchilita-Be, Poucha's brother, exhorts him to attend to his duties of chief, and asks him to relate his dream. The latter says that he had dreamed that his son Cala-Be, who had escaped after having killed a Tchacta, was to be put to death the next day. In the second act, Cala-Be, accompanied by his wife Fouchi whom he had married among the the Attac-Aspas, returns to his village. In the third act, is related the festival of the "Petit Blé," one feature of which was that the children were to be flogged unmercifully by their mothers on that day. While the "Petit Blé" was being celebrated, arrives Nachouba, a friend of Poucha-Houmma, who says that the Tchactas are coming to claim the murderer. The Houmma chief, thereupon, orders his son to escape from his enemies, and there is a touching struggle between the father, who wants to save the son, and the latter and his wife who want to brave the enemies. At last, Cala-Be and Fouchi withdraw, and Poucha-Houmma receives the Tchacta envoys. There is an assembly of the tribe, and the Houmma chiefs offer all their treasures for the life of Cala-Be. The Tchactas insist, however, upon the law of retaliation, and Poucha surrenders himself to save his son. The tribe, in consternation, allow their chief to be led away. In the fifth act, Cala-Be returns to submit to his fate, but he only arrives after his father has been put to death, in his place, and he listens with horror to Nachouba's recital of the last moments of Poucha-Houmma.

If we consider that the author of this tragedy was seventy-

eight years old when he wrote it, and if we remember 'Agésilas' and 'Pertharite' of Corneille's old age, we must admit that our first Louisiana drama was, under the circumstances, a work of some merit. At our last Exposition, was the portrait of Mr. de Villeneuve dressed as a Tchacta chief.

In 1839, A. Lussan published in Donaldsonville 'Les Martyrs de la Louisiane,'<sup>13</sup> a tragedy in five acts. It is worthy of notice, as the personages are the heroes of the Revolution of 1768. The Louisianians could hear on the stage their ancestors uttering words of defiance to O'Reilly and offering their lives for their country. The principal character is Joseph Villéré, father of our second governor, a man of a magnanimous temper. Having heard of the arrest of his friends in New Orleans, he left his plantation to share their fate, and was placed on a frigate; where he was killed by the sentinel on his attempting to run to his wife, whose voice he had recognized. His last words are really fine :

Je te devais mon sang....toi....que j'ai tant chéoir....  
 Louisiane adorée....ô ma noble patrie....  
 Dis, si j'ai su garder....l'honneur....et mon serment....  
 (Giving his bloody handkerchief to a sailor).  
 Pour ma femme....elle est là..c'est mon dernier présent!

In the last act, Lafrénière and his friends are in prison, and the former says :

Adieu donc à la vie, à cet amour sacré,  
 Dans le fond de nos cœurs si longtemps épuré!  
 O mon pays! adieu! nous tombons sans nous plaindre,  
 Si par notre trépas, tes maux doivent s'éteindre.

The conspirators are then led to execution, all of them dressed most elegantly, and Lafrénière exclaims :

Nous sommes prêts, monsieur! D'aujourd'hui cette enceinte  
 Pour la postérité devient illustre et sainte;  
 Et, martyrs du devoir, son burin redouté  
 Grave nos noms au seuil de l'immortalité.

This tragedy is of the Romantic school; the unities of time and place are not observed, and the play seems to be of the style of 'Hernani' and of 'Marion Delorme.' All Louisianians, all Americans will read 'Les Martyrs' with enthusiasm, for it is indeed a most patriotic work.

<sup>13</sup> A. LUSSAN, 'Martyrs de la Louisiane.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 122 pp. E. Martin and F. Prou, Donaldsonville, 1839.

Mr. Lussan's second drama 'Sara, la Juive,' in five acts and in prose hardly deserves to be mentioned.

Among our most popular dramatists is Mr. L. Placide Canonge of L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans. He wrote the librettos of several operas and many poems which have not been gathered in book form. His two most celebrated works are 'Qui perd gagne,'<sup>14</sup> a comedy in one act and in prose, and 'Le Comte de Carmagnola,'<sup>15</sup> a drama in five acts and in prose. The comedy appeared in 1849, and was dedicated in a very clever letter to Alfred de Musset. The work is a proverb, and Mr. Canonge has succeeded quite well. His comedy is light and witty. A husband wagers with a friend that he will come to a ball with him and leave his young wife at home. The latter has heard their conversation, and induces her husband to play a game of cards with her, on condition that if he loses, he will spend the evening at home. She renders herself so agreeable during the game that the husband loses on purpose, and then acknowledges that he has played "A qui perd gagne."

"Le Comte de Carmagnola" (1856) was acted several times in New Orleans, and was always seen with pleasure. The subject was well chosen, as the history of the Milanese shepherd who rose to be general-in-chief of Milan and then of Venice, is in itself intensely dramatic. The author supposes that the duchess Beatrice de Tenda, while being led to the scaffold, gives a paper to the young Carmagnola in which she says that Bianca de Visconti is not her daughter, but an illegitimate child of the duke, and that the real heiress to the throne is Michaela, who has been brought up by Carmagnola's father.

Carmagnola is in love with Michaela, and it is in order to recover her crown that he becomes great. A pretty incident in the play is that both daughters of Visconti love Carmagnola, whom the duke fears and hates. The captain, after many thrilling events, falls at Venice in the presence of Michaela and Bianca, who had vainly tried to save him.

This drama, by its numerous incidents, may be reckoned in the class of the 'Trois Mousquetaires' and of the 'Bossu.'

Among our Louisiana authors Dr. Alfred Mercier is one of the best known. He has tried all subjects except history, and

<sup>14</sup> 'Qui Perd Gagne.' 1 Vol. 8vo. Le Courrier de la Louisiane, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1849.

<sup>15</sup> L. PLACIDE CANONGE, 'Le Comte de Carmagnola.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 58 pp. Le Courrier de la Louisiane, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1856.

has succeeded well in every one. He is a dramatist, a poet, a novelist, an essayist, a philosopher and a scientist. His views are always original, and his style, both in poetry and in prose, is elegant and correct.

Dr. Mercier published his first works in Paris in 1842. They comprise 'La Rose de Smyrne,' 'L'Ermite de Niagara' and 'Erato.' I shall mention at present only 'L'Ermite de Niagara,'<sup>16</sup> as it may be ranked as a drama, the author himself calling it a mystery.

Père Daniel, a hermit dwelling among the Tuscaroras, has received in his *ajoupa* (his hut) a stranger, Ellfrid, whom he loves as his son. Adina, a young Indian girl, comes every day to visit the good father, and soon loves the white man. She relates with a charming and almost biblical simplicity her first interview with Ellfrid:

Un jour, j'allais puiser à la source voisine :  
C'était un jour superbe, et j'allais en chantant,  
Heureuse de l'air frais et d'un ciel éclatant.  
Je l'aperçus à l'ombre, auprès de la fontaine,  
Aussitôt je me tais, et j'hésite, incertaine  
Si je dois avancer, mais avançant toujours.  
Il paraissait pensif : ses yeux suivaient le cours  
De l'eau qui murmurait à voix plaintive et basse.  
En tremblant j'y plongeai ma vide calèbasse ;  
Il la prit sans rien dire, et sans rien dire encor,  
Sur ma tête il la mit pleine jusques au bord.  
Moi, je lève les bras pour prendre l'équilibre.  
Mais lui, voyant alors que je ne suis plus libre,  
Il dépose un baiser sur ma peau qui brûlait.

In the second act, we are introduced to the council of the chiefs, where Maktagol, jealous of Adina's love for Ellfrid, excites the Indians against the pale-face. The warriors attack the young man's hut, but are repulsed, and Ellfrid wanders in the night around the cataract. There, he is met by the genius of the Falls, who, Adamastor-like, addresses him, and exhorts him to go and explore the subterranean palace of the River God, old Niagara. The young man throws himself in the cataract, and sees at the bottom Niagara and his tributaries. The description of the poet is here very fine :

<sup>16</sup> DR. ALFRED MERCIER, 'L'Ermite de Niagara. 12mo, 176 pp. Jules Labitte, Paris, 1842.

Je ne sais quels rayons éclairent ce lieu pâle,  
 Pareils à des reflets d'aurore boréale :  
 On dirait qu'une gaze, un crépuscule d'or,  
 Tend de plis transparents le profond corridor.

On his return from Niagara's palace, Ellfrid meets Adina, whose joy, on seeing him alive, betrays her love. Père Daniel marries them, and the Indian girls conduct the bride to her hut. During the night, however, the Tuscaroras attack Ellfrid, who is mortally wounded with a poisoned arrow. Adina sucks the blood from the wound, but Ellfrid cannot be saved, and his wife does not survive him.

The plot of this mystery is interesting, and the verses are good. As it is the only work of the kind in our literature, I thought necessary to give some details about it.

The last dramatic work published in book form in Louisiana is a comedy in verse by Dr. C. Deléry, '*L'Ecole du Peuple*.'<sup>17</sup> It is a keen satire of carpet-bag rule in our State, and very entertaining to those who have known the personages who appear on the stage.

Although but few dramas have been published in Louisiana, many good comedies have been written to be played by amateurs. Judge Alfred Roman and Félix Voorhies, of St. Martinville, have probably been the most successful in these "*comédies de salon*."

#### IV.—POETRY.

Louisiana, with its romantic history, its stately river, its magnificent forests, its luxuriant vegetation, its numerous bayous overshadowed by secular oak-trees, and its picturesque scenery on the coast of the Gulf, seemed to be a fit abode for poets. They were inspired by the climate, by the nature of the country, by patriotism, by the chivalry and bravery of the men, and above all, by the beauty and grace of the women. Our literature, therefore, is rich in poets, richer perhaps than that of any other State. We have many verses published in Louisiana, and probably more still which their authors have not given to the public. Often has the father or the mother recited touching lines, which have been treasured by the children of the family as most precious legacies, and which were yet to remain unseen by alien eyes. I am familiar with many Creole poets whose works,

<sup>17</sup> DR. CHAS. DELÉRY, '*L'Ecole du Peuple*.' 1 Vol. 12mo. Imprimerie du Propagateur Catholique, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1877.

though unknown to the great world of literature, would be read with emotion and pleasure, their themes being the most sacred feelings of humanity. Indeed, the gift of verse seems a not uncommon endowment among a people characterized by so much sensibility and vivacity as our Creoles. Of the poems published by my countrymen, I regret to say that I have not read all. In spite of their merit, the works of Louisianians are now rare in our State, and many of them I have not been able to procure.

Among our earliest poets is Mr. Tullius St. Céran, who wrote 'Rien-ou Moi,'<sup>18</sup> in 1837, and 'Mil huit cent quatorze et mil huit cent quinze,'<sup>19</sup> in 1838. In this author we find a lively imagination and the greatest enthusiasm for his subject. His poetic talent cannot be said to have been of a high order, but his works may be read with interest, as they show a sincere patriotism, and give an idea of the feelings of the time.

Another work of great local interest is an epic poem in ten cantos by Urbain David, of Cette, a resident of Louisiana. The book, like that of Mr. St. Céran, was inspired by the glorious events of 1815 and is entitled 'Les Anglais à la Louisiane en 1814 et 1815.'<sup>20</sup> The history of Packenham's defeat is related with some force and with many details which must be pleasing to the descendants of the heroes of the battle of New Orleans.

In 1846, there appeared in New Orleans a poetical journal called 'Le Taenarion.'<sup>21</sup> Mr. Félix de Courmont took the satirical pen and wrote several satires which were severely criticized. It is amusing to read the defence of the author; his replies are sometimes quite correct, but he generally allows himself to be carried away by his passion, forgetting that it is as natural to be criticized as to be praised. Mr. de Courmont was neither a Juvenal, a Horace, nor a Boileau, and it is with pleasure that we turn from his satires to his minor pieces. 'Le Morne Vert,' 'L'Amour,' 'Le Dernier des Caraïbes' are really graceful poems.

<sup>18</sup> TULLIUS ST. CÉRAN, 'Rien-ou Moi.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 194 pp. G. Bruslé, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1837.

<sup>19</sup> Mil huit cent quatorze et Mil huit cent quinze.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 51 pp. Gaux et Cie, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1838.

<sup>20</sup> URBAIN DAVID, 'Les Anglais à la Louisiane en 1814 et 1815.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 60 pp. Nouvelle-Orléans, 1845.

<sup>21</sup> FÉLIX DE COURMONT, 'Le Taenarion.' 1 Vol. 8vo. Gaux and Cie., Nouvelle-Orléans, 1846-47.

'Les Vagabondes'<sup>22</sup> by Camille Thierry, contains some charming verses. 'L'Amant du Corsaire' begins thus :

Petit oiseau de mer, toi qui reviens sans doute  
D'un rivage lointain,  
Oh! dis-moi, n'as-tu pas rencontré sur ta route  
Le svelte brigantin.

'Mariquita la Calentura' is a work of touching melancholy; it speaks of a poor woman, legendary in New Orleans, pursued in the streets by the *gamins*, and who had once been a beautiful Spanish girl:

Tu parlais de l'amant fidèle,  
De l'Espagnol qui, chaque soir,  
Agrafait sa légère échelle  
Aux murs vieillis de ton manoir.

'Les Cenelles,'<sup>23</sup> a word which signifies a small berry, is a collection of poems which are of some merit. The authors are Valcour, Boise, Dalcour, Dauphin, Desbrosses, Lanusse, Liotau, Riquet, St. Pierre, Thierry, and Victor Séjour, whose work 'Le Retour de Napoléon' was favorably received in France.

Mr. Constant Lepouzé,<sup>24</sup> a Frenchman residing in Louisiana for twenty years, may be considered one of our most correct and classical poets; he translated beautifully the odes of Horace and his ninth satire, 'Le Fâcheux.' It is to be regretted that Mr. Lepouzé's translations are so little known, for the author must have been a remarkable Latin scholar.

'Les Lazaréennes,'<sup>25</sup> 'Fables et Chansons, Poésies Sociales,' by Joseph Déjacque, is the only work of its kind published in Louisiana, where, I may add, it had very little success, although it contains poems of no little literary merit. The author seems to have been a socialist, and in his book attacks the family ties and property, repeating with emphasis Proudhon's celebrated words: "La propriété, c'est le vol." This is the only work published in Louisiana which speaks unfavorably of our city and its inhabitants; the others evince a most sincere patriotism. Mr. Déjacque had talent, as can be seen from the following lines: 'D'Esprit Rebelle à Malin Esprit.'

22 CAMILLE THIERRY, 'Les Vagabondes.' 1 Vol. 12mo. Paris.

23 'Les Cenelles.' 1 Vol. 16mo. Nouvelle-Orléans.

24 CONSTANT LEPOUZÉ, Poésies Diverses. 1 Vol. 8vo, 188 pp. Bruslé and Lesseps, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1838.

25 JOSEPH DÉJACQUE, 'Les Lazaréennes, etc.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 199 pp. J. Lamarre, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1857.

Il semble qu'une Fée, à titre d'apanage,  
 A sur vous, blond lutin, semé ses dons d'amour,  
 Qu'elle a d'un diamant formé votre visage,  
 Et dérobé vos yeux au tendre émail du jour !  
 Que des plus belles fleurs exprimant les fluides,  
 Elle en fit une argile et modela vos chairs,  
 Ou bien,—comme Cypris, de ses langes humides,—  
 Qu'elle vous a tirée, autre perle ! des mers.

During our civil war, Mars and Bellona, as the poets would say, had chased away Apollo and the Muses, and but one poem, inspired by the war, was produced. It is 'Les Némésiennes Confédérées'<sup>26</sup> (1863) by Dr. C. Deléry. The work, as was to be expected, is most bitter against the Federals, and stigmatizes General Butler.

We have one specimen of didactic poetry in Louisiana, 'Homo,'<sup>27</sup> by Mr. Chas. Oscar Dugué, a well written poem in seven cantos, but which is of little interest, and no more read than 'La Religion,' 'La Navigation,' or 'Les Jardins.' Mr. Dugué also published, under the title of 'Essais Poétiques,' a volume of poetry said to be very good. Unfortunately, I could not procure a copy of the work.

It is with pleasure that, according to the division of my subject, I return to Dr. Alfred Mercier's poetical works: 'La Rose de Smyrne'<sup>28</sup> and 'Erato.' The former is a graceful and touching *orientale*, and relates the love of Hatilda, the Moslem's wife, for a young and beautiful *giaour* and the sad fate of the lovers. The introduction of this work is another proof of the intense love of all Louisianians for their State :

D'où vient donc cette voix qui me traverse l'âme,  
 Comme passe le soir la brise sur la lame ;  
 Vague comme le son que soupire à longs traits,  
 La harpe éolienne au milieu des forêts ?  
 C'est la voix du passé, cette voix caressante  
 Qui parle au voyageur de la patrie absente.  
 Une ombre, un mot, que sais-je, un rien l'éveille en nous.  
 Ainsi, doux souvenirs, toujours me suivrez-vous ?  
 Oh ! maintenant, tandis que sous ce ciel de brume  
 Entre mes doigts glacés je sens frémir ma plume,  
 Sous ce ciel, où juillet est plus froid à Paris  
 Que ne le fut jamais décembre en mon pays.

<sup>26</sup> DR. C. DELÉRY, 'Les Némésiennes Conf. dérées.' 1 Vol. 16mo. Mobile, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> CHAS. OSCAR DUGUÉ, 'Homo.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 205 pp. Paul Daffis, Paris, 1872.

<sup>28</sup> DR. ALFRED MERCIER, 'La Rose de Smyrne.' 'Erato.' 12mo, 103 pp. Jules Labitte, Paris, 1842.

'Erato' is a collection of short poems, of which the best are 'Sur Mer,' 'Patrie' and 'La Lune des Fleurs à la Louisiane.' I cannot resist the temptation of giving a few lines of 'Patrie':

Après huit ans écoulés dans l'absence,  
 Je viens revoir le ciel de mes aïeux :  
 Doux souvenirs de mon heureuse enfance,  
 Apparaissent un moment à mes yeux !  
 Voici mon fleuve aux vagues solennelles :  
 En demi-lune il se courbe en passant,  
 Et la cité, comme un aiglon naissant,  
 A son flanc gauche étend ses jeunes ailes.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Après huit ans écoulés dans l'absence,  
 Fidèle oiseau je reviens à mon nid ;  
 Le souvenir vaut parfois l'espérance :  
 C'est un doux songe où l'âme rajeunit.

Scarron, the first husband of Mme. de Maintenon, whose sole title to a pension was to be "le malade de la reine," found the time, in spite of his sufferings, to write 'L'Enéide Travestie' and to ridicule the heroes of antiquity. His was not a touching note, and the song of his poetic lyre had no pathos. If his body was affected, his mind did not seem to suffer, very different in this from Gilbert and Millevoye, whose beautiful elegies one cannot read without being deeply moved. Louisiana had her Gilbert, her Millevoye; his talent was of the highest order, and his tender and melancholy verses can well be compared to 'Le Poète Mourant' and 'La Chute des Feuilles.' It was in 1841 that Alexandre Latil published his 'Ephémères, Essais Poétiques.'<sup>29</sup> The author was an invalid and a prey to an incurable disease, and his poems are a lamentation and a prayer. Very often did the pen fall from the weak hand, while from the heart were surging his rhythmical complaints. The preface to the work is exceedingly well written; it is a protest against the modern school and, at the same time, an affectionate dedication of his verses to his countrymen. The book was well received in Louisiana, and Alexandre Latil's name will be long remembered as that of our most sympathetic poet. Among the 'Ephémères,' I have noticed 'Amour et Douleur,' 'Déception et Tristesse,' 'Désenchantement,' 'A mon Grand-père,' and 'A mon Père et à ma Mère,' the dirge of the poet:

<sup>29</sup> ALEXANDRE LATIL, 'Les Ephémères, Essais Poétiques.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 198 pp. Alfred Moret, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1814.

Encore un dernier chant, et ma lyre éphémère  
 S'échappe de mes mains, et s'éteint en ce jour,  
 Mais que ces sons mourants, ô mon père, ma mère !  
 Soient exhalés pour vous, objets de mon amour.  
 De cet hymne d'adieu si la note plaintive  
 S'envole tristement pour ne plus revenir,  
 Vous ne l'oublierez pas ; votre oreille attentive  
 L'emprendra pour jamais dans votre souvenir.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Hélas ! si du tombeau perçant l'étroit espace,  
 Mon nom pouvait, un jour, voler à l'avenir,  
 Il irait, parcourant sa lumineuse trace,  
 De vos douces vertus graver le souvenir.

Dans son sillon de gloire à travers tous les âges,  
 Il parlerait de vous aux êtres généreux ;  
 Il leur dirait combien furent nobles et sages  
 Les sentiments divers de vos coeurs vertueux. . .  
 Mais non ! le faible accord de ma lyre plaintive  
 Expire autour de moi sans produire d'échos.  
 Ainsi soupire et meurt la brise fugitive  
 Qui d'un lac azuré vient caresser les flots.

Ah ! si l'affreux oubli dans son linceul immense  
 Ensevelit bientôt et mon nom et mes vers,  
 Je conserve, du moins, la touchante espérance  
 Qu'ils seront à vos coeurs toujours présents et chers.

One of our most prolific writers is Dr. Chas. Testut;<sup>30</sup> he tried poetry and prose, but has a greater reputation as a poet than as a novelist. His small volume, 'Les Echos,' contains many pieces written in all kinds of rhythms. One can see that the author is a thorough master of versification, and whether he tries the Alexandrine, or the short verse, even the four foot verse, his poetry is always correct and natural, and the rhymes are remarkably rich. Dr. Testut is a striking example of the generally unsuccessful practical life of a poet; he is now quite old, and although he has written many volumes and been much admired, he is now, after fifty years residence in New Orleans, in a position to which a man of his talent should not have been reduced. His poems are graceful and usually sad, and his subjects are principally meditations or descriptions of touching domestic scenes. His verses to Latil are among his finest, and also 'La Dernière Heure du Condamné,' 'Le Jour des Morts' and 'Aux Jeunes Filles,' from which I take the following lines :

<sup>30</sup> DR. CHAS. TESTUT, 'Les Echos.' 1 Vol, 12mo, 204 pp. H. Méridier. Nouvelle Orléans, 1849.

Si vous saviez quel rêve, ô jeunes filles,  
 Nous jette au cœur votre regard si doux ;  
 Comme souvent, au bruit de vos mantilles,  
 Nous tomberions muets à vos genoux !  
 Si vous saviez, quand votre front balance  
 Les songes d'or cachés dans votre œil noir,  
 Quels chants d'amour tout remplis d'espérance  
 Nous confions à la brise du soir. . .  
 Si vous saviez comme, au front des poètes,  
 Vos beaux noms d'ange allument des rayons ;  
 Comme nos voix à vous chanter sont prêtes,  
 Comme pour vous, loin des yeux, nous prions !  
 Nos premiers chants, notre premier délire  
 Viennent de vous comme l'air vient des cieux ;  
 Et des doux sons qu'exhale notre lyre,  
 Nous vous devons les plus harmonieux.

In our Creole population, many ladies write French admirably, but through a mistaken sense of modesty, their works have not been published. It was not possible, however, in the nineteenth century, where women, in Europe and in America, have shown themselves equal to men in mental ability, that no poetical work written by a woman should be published by a Louisiana lady. It is, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I read 'Une couronne Blanche, Roman poétique,' by Mrs. Emilie Evershed.<sup>31</sup> Don Fernand de Herès, after a life of dissipation, marries a very young girl whom he loves, but whom his jealousy renders unhappy. A child is born, and is the consolation of the countess ; every day, over the little cradle a white wreath is placed, emblem of innocence and piety. The infancy of the child is beautifully described, and we look with joy at the little thing, when she tries her first steps, and when she fondly caresses her mother. One day, a little girl knocks at the gate of the palace ; her name is Rosita, and she is blind. She pronounces the word Dolora and holds a picture in her hand. The countess understands the sad story : on her death bed, Dolora, the victim, sends her child to her father. The injured wife pardons the guilty husband and receives Rosita as her daughter. She and Biancha are brought up together, but when the white wreath is placed on Bianca's forehead for her first communion she dies, and "la couronne blanche" is deposited on her tomb. Is not this plot of a romance simple and poetic,

<sup>31</sup> MME. EMILIE EVERSLED, 'Une Couronne Blanche.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 263 pp. H. Bossange, Paris, 1859.

and do we not recognize the delicate touch of a woman in those charming pictures ?

Quand je ne pleure plus... je vois ces jours heureux  
 Où je pouvais baiser tes chers petits pieds roses,  
 Et tes petites mains, et tes lèvres mi-closes ;  
 J'effeuille en souvenir tous ces biens précieux !  
 Parfois je rêve encor tes premières caresses,  
 Et tes premiers baisers, et puis tes petits bras  
 S'attachant à mon cou... je suis tes premiers pas !...  
 Mais pour ces biens perdus, je n'ai que mes tristesses.  
 Est-ce donc murmurer, Dieu qui brisez mon coeur ?  
 Vous me l'aviez donnée et vous l'avez reprise  
 Ma douce fleur du ciel, pur souffle de la brise :  
 Est-ce donc murmurer un long cri de douleur ?

'Les Epaves, par Un Louisianais,'<sup>32</sup> a volume large and well bound, published in 1847, is now before me. According to the editors, the manuscript was found in a trunk saved from the wreck of "l'Hécla," a steamboat on the Mississippi river. Although a well known Louisianian was supposed to be the author, the name of the poet was never positively ascertained.

The work comprises many poems written in a lively and witty manner, but what is of greater interest than the original verses of "Un Louisianais" is his translation of the epigrams of Martial, which may be compared to Lepouzé's translation of Horace, mentioned above.

We now see the names of two brothers more widely known outside of Louisiana than any other of our poets: Dominique and Adrien Rouquette.<sup>33</sup> To them may truly be applied the "poeta nascitur, non fit." From their earliest youth, they held in their hands the lute and the lyre, and in old age, the language of poetry seems to be natural to them. Only yesterday, I met Dominique Rouquette and, on my asking him a few questions about his works, he began reciting with the fire and enthusiasm of a young man some of his favorite verses, and I could not help admiring the old bard's real love for his art. Poetry was a passion in the two brothers, and both have written many poems. Born in Louisiana, they were educated in France, in the old Armorica, the land of druidical legends, where everything recalled poetical souvenirs. On their return

<sup>32</sup> 'Les Epaves, par Un Louisianais.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 388 pp. H. Bossange, Paris, 1847.

<sup>33</sup> DOMINIQUE ROUQUETTE, 'Les Meschacébéennes.' 1 Vol. 16mo, 159 pp. Paris, 1838.

——, 'Fleurs d'Amérique.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 303 pp. H. Méridier, Nouvelle Orléans, 1859.

to their native State, they lived in solitary Bonfouca, in the magnificent pine forests watered by those romantic rivulets, the Tchefuncte, the Bogue-Falaya and Bayou Lacombe. Around them were the remnants of the Chactas, the faithful allies of the French; and in the wigwams of the Indians, the brothers used to sit to smoke the calumet with the chiefs, or to look at the silent squaws skillfully weaving the wicker baskets which they were to sell the next morning at the noisy "Marché Français." It is thus that Adrien and Dominique Rouquette learned how to love nature and solitude, and that they were impregnated with the sentiment of poetry. When they write about the prairies, and the forests and the Indians, their descriptions are most realistic, and it seems to us that we see the graceful Chactas girl in her canoe or swimming in the limpid waters of the bayous, that we hear the cry of the whip-poor-will, and that we are permeated with the perfume of the *mélèze*, of the *bois-fort* and of the resinous pine tree.

We may perhaps regret that the brothers Rouquette did not vary their themes a little more, but their poems have "*un goût du terroir*" which cannot fail to be appreciated.

Dominique Rouquette's first work was 'Les Meschacébéennes' published in 1838. He published also in 1857 a large volume 'Fleurs d'Amérique.' I shall quote only a few lines of the latter:

LE SOIR.

Déjà dans les buissons dort la grive bâtarde :  
 La voix du bûcheron, qui dans les bois s'attarde,  
 A travers les grands pins se fait entendre au loin ;  
 Aux boeufs libres du joug ayant donné le foin,  
 Sifflant une chanson, le charretier regagne  
 Sa cabane où l'attend une noire compagne,  
 Et fume taciturne, accroupi sur un banc,  
 Sa pipe, aux longs reflets du mélèze flambant.  
 Loin de l'humide abri des joncs qu'elle abandonne,  
 La moustique partout et voltige et bourdonne,  
 Et nocturne taureau caché dans le limon,  
 La grenouille bovine enfle un rauque poumon. . . .  
 Un silence imposant et formidable plane  
 Sur les eaux, la forêt et la noire savane ;  
 La nuit, comme l'upas, sous une ombre de mort,  
 Semble couvrir au loin la terre qui s'endort.

Adrien Rouquette is a priest; his principal work is 'Les

Savanes,<sup>34</sup> a book of poems on Louisiana subjects. He has also written 'l'Antoniade ou la Solitude avec Dieu,'<sup>35</sup> a long eremitic poem from which I take the following patriotic lines :

Amérique, ô patrie ! Amérique, ô ma mère !  
 S'il est un de tes fils assez lâche et vulgaire,  
 Pour t'entendre offenser et pour te renier,  
 Seul sans pleurs, sans regrets, qu'il meure tout entier !  
 Que son nom effacé des pages de l'histoire,  
 Effacé de tout coeur et de toute mémoire,  
 Entorué du linceul d'un éternel oubli,  
 Dans la nuit du tombeau descende enseveli !

The following extract from 'les Savanes' is very fine :

L'ARBRE DES CHACTAS.

C'était un arbre immense ; arbre aux rameaux sans nombre,  
 Qui sur tout un désert projetait sa grande ombre.  
 Ses racines, plongeant dans un sol sablonneux,  
 Rejaillissaient partout, boas aux mille noeuds ;  
 Et, se gonflant à l'oeil, comme d'énormes veines,  
 Ou eût dit d'un haut-bord les cables et les chaînes.  
 Arbre immense et géant, les arbres les plus hauts  
 A son pied s'inclinaient comme des arbrisseaux.  
 Déployant dans les cieus sa vaste et noire cime,  
 Il s'y plaisait aux chocs que l'ouragan imprime.  
 De sa circonférence embrassant l'horizon,  
 Sous son dôme sonore, en l'ardente saison,  
 Il pouvait abriter, endormis sur les herbes,  
 Tout le peuple chactas et ses troupeaux superbes.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Puis, autour de cet arbre, arbre aux rameaux immenses,  
 Voltigeaient colibris, aux changeantes nuances ;  
 Papes verts, geais d'azur, flamboyants cardinaux,  
 Nuages d'oiseaux blancs et de noirs étourneaux  
 Et leurs plumes semblaient d'éblouissantes pierres !  
 Et l'aigle, en les voyant, eût baissé les paupières ! . . .

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Eh bien ! cet arbre-roi, ce géant des forêts,  
 Cette arche, celle échelle aux infinis degrés,  
 Un homme aux muscles forts, un homme à rude tâche,  
 Suant des mois entiers, l'abattit de sa hache !  
 Il l'abattit enfin ; et puis, s'assit content ;  
 Car, dans l'arbre, il voyait quelques pièces d'argent !

\* \* \* \* \*

34 ADRIEN ROUQUETTE, 'Les Savanes.' 1 Vol. 12mo, 306 pp. Jules Labitte, Paris. Alfred Moret, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1841.

35 ———, 'L'Antoniade.' 1 Vol. 8vo. L. Marchand, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1860.

Mais si tu fus vainqueur de l'arbre des Chactas,  
 Impie, il en est un que tu n'abattras pas ;  
 Un arbre bien plus haut, bien plus fort, et dont l'ombre  
 Couvre l'Eden si frais et l'univers si sombre.  
 Et cet arbre est celui que Dieu même planta,  
 L'arbre saint de la Croix ; l'arbre du Golgotha ;  
 L'arbre que l'homme en vain frappe aussi de sa hache ;  
 Il le frappe en tous points, et rien ne s'en détache ;  
 Rien ; car l'arbre toujours, gigantesque, éternel,  
 S'élance, et va se perdre aux abîmes du ciel !

We had also in Louisiana, besides the authors whom I have mentioned, some poets whose works I could not procure, among whom are Alexandre Barde, Duperron, Guirot, and Calongue. In the different poems which I have read their names are mentioned quite favorably ; Mr. Barde seems to have been the best.

Of the poets whose works have not been published, Anatole Cousin, Valérien Allain and Euphémon La Branche were the most popular.

In speaking of our Louisiana authors, I do not refer to those who have left our State, such as Albert Delpit, Henri Vignaud and Mme. Hélène Allain.

In concluding this review of our poets, I think that it can truly be said that a selection of their works would compare favorably with those of many authors, whose réputation is much greater.

#### V.—NOVELS.

It is extraordinary that with her romantic history our State did not produce more works of fiction. The romances of Louisiana have not yet been written in prose, although our poetic scenery has inspired many a songster. We have, however, a few novelists, whose success should have encouraged others to follow their example.

I have read two novels of Dr. C. Testut : 'Le Vieux Salomon'<sup>36</sup> and 'Les Filles de Monte Cristo.' The former is intended to represent scenes of plantation life, and was written in 1858, but published only in 1873. It is to be regretted that the author, in his pity for the institution of slavery, should have introduced in his work a planter worthy of Mrs. Beecher

<sup>36</sup> DR. C. TESTUT, 'Le Vieux Salomon.' 1 Vol. 4to, 176 pp. Nouvelle-Orléans, 1872.

'Les Filles de Monte-Cristo,' Pamphlet form. 8vo, 520 pp. Imprimerie Cosmopolite, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1876.

Stowe's Legree, presenting thus as a type what was really an exception, a planter cruel to his slaves.

'Les Filles de Monte Cristo' is a continuation of Dumas' admirable epic, and has a moral purpose. In the original novel, Dantes the millionaire, appears as inexorable as fate, and punishes sternly and without pity, rewarding sometimes, but those always who had been good to the poor sailor boy. In the sequel, Monte Cristo devotes his immense fortune to aiding all who are unhappy. Having lost Haydée, he returns to France, after an absence of twenty years, with his daughters, Mercés and Gemma. On meeting his Mercedes, his old passion returns, and the beautiful *Catalane* becomes his wife. Surrounded and assisted by all those whom he had saved formerly, Dantes now forms an association of which the aim will be to look for misery and relieve the unfortunates. Mercés and Gemma, from fear of being loved for their money, live as *ouvrières* for some time and are married to two deserving young men. They and their husbands help Monte Cristo in his great undertaking, and every day some wretch is reconciled to life. At last, Mercedes dies, and the count soon follows to the grave his adored one. Their bodies are conveyed to the isle of Monte Cristo, and the filial piety of the daughters transforms into a blooming oasis the barren rock, where had landed, so many years before, the escaped prisoner of the "Château d'If."

One can see in Dr. Testut's book a generous idea and an ardent love for everything good and true, and many incredible events and visionary ideas may be pardoned when one remembers that the author was inspired by a genuine philanthropy.

Mme. S. de la Houssaye,<sup>37</sup> of the Attakapas, a member of one of our oldest families, is another of our lady writers. She has published several novels in the papers of her parish, and she is said to be preparing for a Paris editor a work on Louisiana, for which she is well qualified on account of her lively imagination and her numerous family traditions. Her most interesting novel is 'Le Mari de Marguerite,' published in "l'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans" in 1883, as a *feuilleton*. It is the story of a spoilt and vain Virginia girl, proud of her grandfather's plantation and fortune, and dreaming only of heroes of romance. She discards her cousin and intended husband at the sight of a

<sup>37</sup> MME. S. DE LA HOUSSAYE, 'Le Mari de Marguerite.' *Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, 1883.

handsome man, and abandons her home to follow him to New England. Very soon, however, she regrets the luxury of her Virginia life and treats her husband most unkindly. The great civil war breaks out, and Wm. Gray is reported to have been killed. Then begins the punishment of Marguerite: her grandfather dies in a battles and she loses her fortune. Reduced to poverty, the frail southern girl, like so many noble women, shows an indomitable energy, finally becoming a governess. Her husband returns under an assumed name and refuses to recognize her; he is at last touched by her love and sorrow, and they both live happily in the old family mansion recovered from the Federals.

The story is quite romantic, and the style is good.

Father Rouquette published in 1879, *La Nouvelle Atala*,<sup>38</sup> an Indian legend. The work is admirably written, and one can see the great enthusiasm of the author for his subject. As in 'l'Antoniade,' father Rouquette speaks of solitary life, and exalts the sacrifice of a young girl who leaves the world to live in a forest. The descriptions of nature are very poetic, and Chatah-Ima's Atala is no unworthy sister of Chateaubriand's.

Dr. Alfred Mercier's first work of fiction, 'Le Fou de Palerme,'<sup>39</sup> is a novelette, in which is related a touching love story. The plot is very simple, but at the same time attractive.

'La Fille du Prêtre' is a work of great philosophy; the author attacks the celibacy of priests with as much vehemence as George Sand had attacked confession in 'Mademoiselle de sa Quintinie.' The novel is divided into three parts: "Fausse Route, Expiation, Réhabilitation." A young man, Théotime de Kermarec, is forced into the priesthood by his parents, and, shortly after, succumbs to his passions. His victim, Jeanne Dubayle, flees from her home, and writes to her lover that she is going to die. Théotime, in despair, abandons the priesthood, and wants to sacrifice his life for a noble cause, the independence of Italy. He joins Garibaldi's army and behaves as a hero. After the fall of the kingdom of Naples, he takes part in a revolt of Poland against Russia, is taken prisoner and sent to

<sup>38</sup> ADRIEN ROUQUETTE, 'La Nouvelle Atala.' 1 Vol. 16mo, 138 pp. Propagateur Catholique, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1879.

<sup>39</sup> DR. ALFRED MERCIER, 'Le Fou de Palerme.' 1 Vol. 16mo, 140 pp. Nouvelle-Orléans, 1873.

—, 'La Fille du Prêtre.' 3 Vol. 8vo. Imprimerie Cosmopolite, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1877.

Siberia. This is *Expiation*. *Réhabilitation* must soon follow, for Théotime has suffered and his crime has been forgiven.

Jeanne had not killed herself, for while in the act of throwing herself in the Seine, she is saved by maternal love for her unborn babe. She becomes the friend of Louise, a woman who is in the same position as herself, and both go to the hospital, where a young physician, Ludovic, takes the greatest interest in Jeanne. The description of the hospital and the philosophical thoughts inspired by it have merit, and can be compared to the like scene in 'Les Mystères de Paris.' Jeanne dies and leaves a daughter, Jeannette, who is adopted by Ludovic.

Many years passed, and France has been vanquished at Sedan, and the Commune has begun its atrocious deeds in Paris. Théotime is a captain in the army of Versailles, when the capital is taken. There is a terrible fight in a cemetery, and Ludovic, Louise and Jeannette are engaged in it. Théotime saves his daughter without knowing her, and after the war, goes to Italy. He finally finds Jeannette, marries her to Ludovic, and is rehabilitated by paternal love.

I give the entire plot of this work, because it created quite a sensation in New Orleans, where there are so many Catholics. Whether Dr. Mercier was right or wrong in his crusade against celibacy does not concern us; but we must admit that he handled his lance fearlessly and well.

'L'Habitation St. Ybars'<sup>40</sup> is a Louisiana story, in which life before the war on a large sugar plantation is very well described. Although the work is of great interest as a novel, it is of still greater importance for the study of philology. Dr. Mercier, who is a master of the Negro-French or creole patois, uses it, freely in his book and keeps thus an admirable *couleur locale*. The following extract is really charming for its simplicity and truth:

"Démon, St. Ybars' little boy, comes into the kitchen with a cage, and Mamrie, the old nurse, tells him: "Asteur assite lá é conté moin coman to fé pou trapé pap laié."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Démon termina son épopée, en accompagnant sa parole de grands gestes qui épouvantèrent les oiseaux; le mâle renouvela ses efforts pour passer à travers les barreaux de sa prison; sa

<sup>40</sup> 'L'Habitation St. Ybars,' 1 Vol. 12mo, 231 pp. Eug. Antoine, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1861.

tête était en sang. Démon le repoussa à l'intérieur, en disant avec impatience :

Resté don tranqui, bête !

To bon toi; lui dit Mamrie ; to oté li so la-liberté é to oulé li contan. Mo sré voudré oua ça to sré di, si yé té mété toi dan ain lacage comme ça.

Mété moin dan ain lacage ! s'écria Démon sur le ton de la fierté indignée ; mo sré cacé tou, mo sré sorti é mo sré vengé moin sur moune laïé ki té emprisonnin moin.

Ah ! ouëtte, tou ça cé bon pour la parol, répliqua Mamrie ; si yé té mété toi dan ain bon lacage avé bon baro en fer, to sré pa cacé arien ; to sré mété en san, épi comme to sré oua ça pa servi ain brin, to sré courbé to latéte é to sré resté tranqui comme pap là va fé dan eune ou deu jou.

Non ! repartit Démon, mo sré laissé moin mouri de faim.

Ça cé ain bel :éponse, dit Mamrie ; to fier même ! to pa ain St. Ybars pou arien.

La malhenreux pape, brisé, de fatigue était affaissé sur ses pattes ; sa poitrine se gonflait douloureusement ; ses yeux noirs étincelaient de colère. Sa femelle, réfugiée dans un coin, faisait entendre de petits cris plaintifs, Après un moment de silence, Démon dit :

Mamrie, ga comme fumel là triste.

Cé pa étonnan, reprit la bonne negresse, lapé pensé à so piti ! yé faim, yapé pélé yé moman ; mé moman va pli vini ; cé lachouette ou kèke serpen ka vini é ka mangé yé. Démon devint pensif. Tandis que sa nourrice voyait à une chose ou à une autre, il contemplait ses prisonniers. Il se leva, et sortit sans rien dire. Au bout de quelques minutes, Mamrie le vit rentrer ; son trébuchet était vide.

Eben ! dit-elle d'un air étonné, "coté to zozos." Une fausse honte empêcha Démon de dire ce qui en était ; il répondit d'une voix mal assurée : "Yé chapé."

"Yé chapé ? reprit Mamrie en secouant la tête, to menti ! mo parié to rende yé la liberté.

"Eben ! cé vrai, avoua Démon, cé vou faute ; ça vou di moin su fumel là é so piti té fé moin la peine."

Les yeux de Mamrie se remplirent de larmes ; elle tendit les bras à Démon en lui montrant toutes ses dents et en disant :

"Vini icite, célera ! vini mo mangé toi tou cru."

It is a pity that 'l'Habitation St. Ybars' has not been

translated into English, for it is a much more correct picture of Louisiana life than is to be found in many other works better known outside of our State.

#### VI.—MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Under this title we may mention a collection of thoughts and maxims of different writers, prepared by L. N. Fouché.<sup>41</sup> It is the only work of its kind published in Louisiana, and contains some maxims of real philosophy.

'Les Yankees Fondateurs de l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis et Initiateurs du Droit de Sécession,' by Dr. C. Deléry,<sup>42</sup> was written like 'les Némésiennes Confédérées' during the war, and is of course a party work.

Not only did father Rouquette write 'l'Antoniade' and 'la Nouvelle Atala' in which he describes the charms of solitary life, but in 1852 he had produced 'la Thébaïde en Amérique ou Apologie de la Vie Solitaire et Contemplative.'<sup>43</sup> I must admit that, in spite of the numerous quotations from the fathers of the church and the piety of the author, the book had no attractions for me, and that I found it most dry and uninteresting, and better suited to the monks of the middle ages than to the christians of the nineteenth century.

'Gombo Zhèbes,' by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn,<sup>44</sup> is a dictionary of Creole proverbs selected from six Creole dialects. I have read with pleasure the fifty-one proverbs in our Louisiana patois. The translations in English and in French are very accurate. Major John Augustin has published in the *Times-Democrat*<sup>45</sup> some charming Creole songs.

Our literature for the last ten years is contained almost exclusively in three large volumes, 'Les Comptes-Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais,'<sup>46</sup> the journal of a society established in order to encourage the study of the French language and literature. It is almost impossible to mention all the papers

41 L. N. FOUCHÉ, 'Nouveau Recueil de Pensées.' 1 Vol. 18mo, 144 pp. Capo. Nouvelle Orléans, 1882.

42 DR. CHARLES DELÉRY, 'Les Yankees Fondateurs de l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis et Initiateurs du Droit de Sécession.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 31 pp. Paris, 1864

43 ADRIEN ROUQUETTE, 'La Thébaïde en Amérique.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 144 pp. H. Méridier, Nouvelle Orléans, 1852.

44 LAFCADIO HEARN, 'Gombo Zhèbes.' 1 Vol. 8vo, 42 pp. W. H. Coleman, New York, 1885.

45 JOHN AUGUSTIN, 'Creole Songs.' *Times-Democrat*.

46 'Comptes-Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais.' 1 Vol. 4to, 518 pp. 1876-1881. 1 Vol. 8vo, 718 pp. 1882-1884. 1 Vol. 8vo, 521 pp. 1885-1886.

published in the 'Comptes-Rendus.' Many of them are works of great value. I notice in the first volume: 'Chroniques Indiennes,' by Dr. C. Deléry. 'Souvenir,' a touching Indian story, and 'de l'Interjection Ha! Ah!' by Dr. C. Turpin; 'Cession de la Louisiane à la France' and 'Esquisse biographique de John Rutledge' by Hon. C. Gayarré; 'Emploi des Torpilles, Batteries blindées, et Canons rayés à Charleston' by Gen. Beau regard; 'de la Poésie dans l'Histoire et de quelques Problèmes sociaux' by Mr. C. Bléton; 'de l'H dite aspirée' by Dr. Dupaquier; 'La Tarentule' by Dr. Havà; 'Etude sur les Eclairs' by Dr. Alfred Mercier, and by the same author an interesting paper on 'la Langue Créole;' 'Elle,' a poem by Mr. J. Gentil. It is with particular pleasure that I mention 'Etude sur Racine' by Miss Léona Queyrouze, a work of literary criticism which excited the highest opinion of the author's talent. Mr. O. Debouchel contributes several pretty fables, and Mr. George Des-sommes, many poems, of which 'Geoffroy le Troubadour' is a charming romance of the times of Chivalry.

In volume II. of *l'Athénée* I note Dr. O. Huard's remarkable paper, 'De l'Utilité de la Langue Française aux États-Unis;' 'Longfellow,' by Jas. S. Hosmer; 'Un Ancêtre de la Sainte Alliance' by Mr. P. V. Bernard; 'Cent huit Ans' by Mr. B. Rouen; 'Le Matin,' poésie by Dr. Alf. Mercier; and two lectures, one classical by Dr. Mercier, 'La Femme dans les Poèmes d'Homère,' and one philosophical, 'l'Indulgence,' by Miss Queyrouze. In this volume also, is a poem on La Salle by my old father, Mr. Florent Fortier. May it be permitted to his son to inscribe in the 'Transactions' of our society the verses of one who was so dear to him, and who was a true representative of our Creole planters, whom the war had ruined, but who were to the last energetic and noble.

LA SALLE. (1682-1882).

Quel est donc ce héros, ce fils de l'ancien monde,  
 Qui bravant la tempête et la fureur de l'onde,  
 Argonaute nouveau, sur des bords inconnus,  
 A planté son drapeau? Deux cents ans révolus  
 L'ont vu s'agenouillant sur la terre étrangère,  
 Offrir d'abord à Dieu sa fervente prière,  
 Et prenant du Sauveur le symbole adoré  
 L'élever vers le ciel dans un concert sacré.  
 Vous l'avez tous nommé: Ce héros, c'est Lasalle!

Lasalle, dont la gloire est pour nous sans rivale,  
 Si le Seigneur créant un miracle nouveau,  
 Te fesait, aujourd'hui, sortir de ton tombeau,  
 Quel sentiment d'orgueil gonflerait ta poitrine,  
 En voyant les bienfaits de sa grâce divine.  
 Ce fleuve, malgré lui, retenu sur ses bords,  
 Faisant pour les briser d'inutiles efforts,  
 Dompté par le génie, et portant sur son onde,  
 Dans des palais flottants, tous les trésors du monde.  
 Ces cités, ces palais, ces églises, ces tours,  
 Remplaçant le wigwam disparu pour toujours.  
 Et ton nom, prononcé dans la langue chérie,  
 Par les fils descendants de ta noble patrie,  
 Ce nom ne mourra pas, et tu verras demain  
 Tous les peuples unis, se tenant par la main,  
 Le cœur rempli d'amour, relever sur la plage,  
 Cette croix, que jadis tu plaçais au rivage,  
 Et qui pourra redire aux peuples à venir,  
 De fils reconnaissants le pieux souvenir.

Volume III. of *l'Athénée*, like the two others, is quite interesting, but I shall note specially: 'les Abeilles' by Mr. J. J. Martinez; 'la Race Latine en Louisiane' by Hon. C. Gayarré; 'Influence d'un grand Caractère en Bien ou en Mal sur la Destinée des Différents Peuples' by Mr. Maxime Queyrouze; 'Dante Alighieri,' conférence, and 'La Curée, poésie' by Dr. Alf. Mercier; 'Le Bouvreuil,' a story by Dr. C. Turpin; 'Le Soir, poésie' by Dr. J. J. Castellanos; 'Le Talisman de Gérard, nouvelle,' by Mr. Gustave Daussin; 'A ma Soeur' and 'A ma Fille, poésies,' by Mr. Max. Cousin. Miss Léona Queyrouze contributes several poems to this volume, and I think that there is no better way of maintaining the reputation of Louisianians for chivalry and courtesy to ladies, than by closing my very long review of our Louisiana authors, by the last work published in the journal of *l'Athénée* for 1886, a delightful sonnet by Miss Queyrouze:

## SONNET.

Réponse au quatrain suivant de mon vieil ami, Monsieur Anatole Cousin.

"J'aurais voulu garder pour votre doux visage  
 Tous les baisers d'un autre temps ;  
 Ils ne sont désormais qu'une injure à votre âge,  
 Et ne font plus qu'outrager le printemps." A. C.

“ Sous son premier baiser le printemps qui s'éveille  
Fait du sein de l'hiver s'épanouir la fleur ;  
Ranimant la Nature à sa lèvre vermeille,  
Il lui rend de nouveau la vie et la chaleur.

Dans sa coupe embaumée il distille à l'abeille  
Un parfum qu'elle change en divine liqueur ;  
Versant l'ardente sève aux doux fruits de la treille  
Qui fait veiller l'amour et dormir la douleur,

Sous ton beau front blanchi l'éternelle jeunesse  
Palpitè, et le printemps et toute sa tendresse,  
Et l'art te garde encor ses plus chaudes lueurs.

Toujours t'aime la muse, amoureuse immortelle ;  
Quand s'incline ton front, ce n'est pas sous les pleurs,  
Mais c'est pour écouter cette amante fidèle.”

Receive, ladies and gentlemen, my sincere thanks for your kindness in listening to this lengthy paper. The pages which I have read to you are the results of several months labor. Let me hope that my toil has not been in vain, and that you will carry to your homes the idea that the great Latin race has not degenerated in Louisiana, the old colony of two noble countries, France and Spain.

IV.—*The Course in English and its Value as a Discipline.*

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AT its last annual session, this Association listened to two papers, one on "The Place of English in the College Curriculum," by Professor Hunt, of Princeton College, and the other on "The Requirements in English for admission to College," by Professor McElroy, of the University of Pennsylvania, and at its preceding session to one on "The College Course in English Literature, how it may be Improved," by Professor Hart, of the University of Cincinnati,—the subjects of all of which, taken together, are cognate with that of the present paper. I do not design, however, to go over the same ground as that so well treated in those papers.<sup>1</sup>

The object of this paper is to ascertain what it is practicable to teach in a full course of English, and what results for mental discipline are likely to follow from such teaching. In this inquiry, I regard the school and college course as one connected whole, for the college teacher must have a suitable basis to build on, or he will work at great disadvantage.

Every college teacher of English has been struck, I doubt not, with the lack of preparation in English on the part of his students. Even elementary mistakes in spelling, punctuation, and grammar are met with; but those who do not make such mistakes are incapable of explaining the most common forms and constructions. They are frequently guilty of blunders which, if made in Latin, would meet with the severest condemnation. *Credite experto*. In Hamlet (II. 2, 145), occurs the line,

"Which done, she took the fruits of my advice,"

(the advice of old Polonius to Ophelia, as some may remember): not only were certain students unable to trace the

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was written, I have received a copy of the TRANSACTIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION for 1884-5, so that the papers themselves are now accessible in full, and I do not doubt that they will be very serviceable to many teachers of English.

antecedent of "*which*," but several could not explain the construction "*which done*." Even at this late day there is shown ignorance of the terms *strong* and *weak* verbs. Jacob Grimm would turn in his grave at some of the answers to a question for a definition of these terms given at an entrance examination. Also, with many students every word in *-ing* is necessarily a present participle, and the forms of the verb *to wit* are in hopeless confusion. But when we find Bishop Wordsworth, in his "Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible" (pp. 25 and 41), speaking of "The letter 'a' prefixed to nouns, adjectives, and to *participles*, as—to 'go *a-fishing*,'" and talking of "*Wis, Wit, and Wot* (originally the *past* tense of the former),"—to quote his words exactly,—we cannot wonder at young men just out of school, but I thought that we had made some progress in the last twenty years. As to elementary phonology, the most complete ignorance is displayed. Many students are unable to designate the diphthongs, or classify the consonants, in the English alphabet. Even in the examination for scholarships I have been advised that no questions in Rhetoric ought to be asked, and only the simplest in English Grammar, for the official requirement of "a complete acquaintance with the grammatical and rhetorical structure of the English language," is to be judged from the way in which the Latin and Greek translations are made. I have also been told that students find the entrance examinations in English harder than those in any other subject, when only the smallest modicum of knowledge of the most elementary parts of the subject is required. It argues simply gross lack of proper preparation. If we pass from grammar to versification, the state of knowledge, or ignorance, is much worse. Unless students happen to have studied Latin versification, they know nothing about metre, not even the common terms used, so that the college teacher must begin at the beginning even for Shakspeare, much more for Chaucer. As to the history of the language, their minds are a perfect blank. They would as soon call English a Keltic as a Teutonic tongue; they have not the slightest idea of its elements, nor of the historical development of the language on English soil; their notions are extremely foggy as to who the so-called Anglo-Saxons were, or where they came from,—which argues a slight deficiency in historical instruction also. As to the literature, the case is almost as bad.

Occasionally some have studied an outline of its history, and have read some of Shakspeare's plays. But with the majority King Alfred is but a name, Chaucer but little more, and the most elementary historical facts as to later writers are unknown, or *misknown*, any acquaintance with their works being out of the question. I presume that the experience of others will confirm this, although some may be more favorably situated, and still we are told that it is useless to study *English*, that the knowledge of English comes naturally; verily, *such* knowledge.

This being the state of the case, such the complaint, can we not "reform it altogether?" Is it not possible to get the *schools* to remedy the matter, to improve their courses in English, even if they have to leave out something else? It seems to me to be possible for the schools to teach something more than elementary English grammar, spelling, punctuation, and composition, though if all would teach even these well, it would very much relieve the college teacher. To these subjects the school should superadd elementary instruction in versification, in the history of the language, and at least in the *history* of the literature. These subjects are eminently suitable for the higher classes in schools and are easily taught in connection with the reading of authors. Many schools read a play or more of Shakspeare: they should teach their pupils to read rhythmically and to understand the structure of the verse;—to understand also the language of Shakspeare and its points of difference from present English. There is a great hue and cry raised in some quarters against using Shakspeare for instruction in grammar and versification. I have no sympathy with that, no more than with such a cry against the similar use of Vergil and Horace. But this should not be the *whole* instruction in either case; a knowledge of the contents and spirit of the work read should be required in both cases, for the teaching of the classics fails of its end if it stops with grammar and versification. By a little effort on the part of the teacher Chaucer might be similarly taught in schools and to great advantage. The light thrown on present English in the explanation of forms and constructions would abundantly repay the extra labor required. When once a common possession, the language of Chaucer would be no longer regarded as uncouth, but would be known to be as "good English" as we speak to-day. There is a better opportunity here for teaching grammar and versification than in the case of

Shakspeare, and for widening the linguistic horizon of the student.

Whether these particular authors are read in the schools or not, the history of the language and of its literature should be taught. We have long since had a very useful Primer of the history of English literature (Stopford Brooke's), and there are numerous Manuals suitable for school use.

I am not of those who condemn the use of such works because they talk *about* literature and are not literature itself. For the stage of instruction that I am speaking of, they are most suitable. It is just these facts, hard facts contained in such works, that college students should know, and if they do not get them now, at school, they must get them at college, when they should be otherwise occupied, for they must have them in order to know the historical development of English literature. But we are not so fortunate with respect to a suitable Primer of the history of the language. Teachers who have not studied the language historically "fight shy" of Dr. Morris's "Elementary Lessons in Historical English Grammar," and even of Prof. Lounsbury's useful "History of the English Language." I should like to recount my experience with the former work in the Freshman class of a college, and its consequences,—*sed de praeferitis nil nisi bonum*. As soon as Prof. Lounsbury's book was published, I substituted it. Doubtless a suitable Primer will come in time, and this is but a temporary disadvantage. Only let the *teachers* learn English historically, and they will never rest until they teach the history of the language in their schools. A similar experience seems to have been felt in Great Britain also, as witness the very recent work of Prof. Meiklejohn, of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, "The English Language, its Grammar, History, and Literature," prepared expressly for the training of teachers. The author hopes "that the book will also be useful in Ladies' Colleges and Middle-Class Schools, to candidates for Local Examinations, and to other classes of students." The book is open to objections, and it were easy to find fault with it. Some may doubt the wisdom of trying to include so many things in such small compass. There are omissions in the section on Literature, and the section on Language is merely descriptive. The author himself realizes that these sections are only "slight sketches of the History of our Language and of its Literature," but he hopes that they

will "throw the student into the attitude of mind of Oliver Twist and induce him to ask for more." The author is on the right track, and whatever criticisms may be made of his book, if the young ladies master it thoroughly, they will soon know more about the English language than the majority of college graduates in this country.

If the schools will not do this work, some of it must be done at college; for, as already stated, the college teacher must have a basis to work on. Happy will he be if he does not have to supply most of the elementary knowledge that his students should have acquired long ago. It is rigidly required that the schools shall impart some knowledge of the elements of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, but it is by no means required that an equivalent preparation in English shall be given. One would naturally suppose that a more advanced preparation in English would be required, but this is regarded as a Utopian dream.

Until the schools do better, and teach carefully Shakspeare and Chaucer, the *college* teacher may base his elementary instruction in the language on these two writers; and in addition to instruction in grammar and versification, he will be able to treat points of textual and of æsthetic criticism to greater advantage than can be done at school, owing to greater maturity of mind on the part of his students. It will be possible, too, to treat more thoroughly the progress of the language between Chaucer and Shakspeare, and since Shakspeare, than can be done at school. If it is possible, however, I should advise the college teacher to begin his study of the language with its oldest form, the so-called *Anglo Saxon*, or *Old English*, as our modern scholars will have it,—which appellation will suit well enough provided that it is understood. In this way we build our house upon a rock, we secure a foundation that cannot be shaken, and the later study of *Middle English* will be thereby greatly facilitated. It seems to me useless to begin the study of Middle English of the twelfth or thirteenth century without a knowledge of Old English, for the student will meet, at every turn, with difficulties that he cannot explain, and we shall be needlessly delayed in our work. It seems also insufficient to study Anglo-Saxon (Old English) alone, either before or after Chaucer, and not to continue the course through the Middle English period, for this is the most difficult period of English, far more so than Old English, and a knowledge of it is neces-

sary in order to bridge the chasm. Without it we lack the link to make the chain serviceable. During this period we might limit the reading of our students to specimens of the *East Midland* dialect alone, as the forerunner of the language of Chaucer, but it is very desirable that the student should know also something of the Northern and the Southern dialects, for both contributed to the formation of Modern English, and he might easily read a few specimens of these along with those of the East Midland dialect, while paying special attention to the development of the last-named. This historical method in the study of English is decidedly the most fruitful, and the best suited to secure a knowledge of the origin and history of the language, which knowledge is as desirable for college students as that of any other language in the curriculum, to say the least of it. I have been teaching this method,—and preaching it, too, on suitable occasions,<sup>2</sup>—now for many years, and it seems to me the only method by which philological training in English can be satisfactorily secured, and by which English can hold its own as a discipline by the side of the classical and the other modern languages.

But before dwelling upon this, let us glance at the college course in English from the *literary* side, though I might now content myself with referring to the papers of Prof. Hart and Prof. Hunt. Here it is usual to begin with the study of Rhetoric, and this is, perhaps, necessary, unless the schools will take that up, but I am almost inclined to agree with Prof. Hart that it should be excluded from the course of literature (Proceedings of the Modern Language Association for 1884, p. xi; Transactions, Vol. I, p. 85). Any extensive study of Rhetoric in college seems to me productive of very little fruit; "it costs more than it comes to." The elementary principles can be easily learnt at school in so far as they are an aid to English composition, which is the only practical use of the study. It is a question whether the more advanced study of Rhetoric is of any service beyond that of formal discipline, which can be better attained by the study of Mathematics and of Logic, and Logic does not at all belong to the course in English, though it is sometimes tacked on to it. The principles and rules of English composition should be learnt by the student, and if they have

<sup>2</sup> See a paper on this subject in the Proceedings of the National Educational Association for 1879.

not been learnt at school, they must be taught at college, hence the reason for placing Rhetoric in the literary course. But taking up the study of *literature*, we want first a general view of the whole field, and here the advantage of a previous study of the history of English literature at school will be manifest. It will save time for the college teacher, and he will be able to take up representative authors and treat them at greater length, the students meanwhile reading selected works of the authors treated. The study of separate periods of literature, or of separate forms of literature, as the drama, may well form a part of the college course, which should consist of something more than an historical outline of writers and works, as it now frequently is, owing to the lack of previous preparation at school, the limited time allowed to the course in college, and the want of suitable books for private reading, books published at a cost within the student's means. It is productive of little good for the teacher to talk about an author and his works unless the student has in hand at least some one work of that author to read and judge for himself of the style and thought. The college library has usually but one copy of the works of any author, and that is not enough to "go around." The student cannot purchase even *one* work of each author, for he has not the means to buy a small library. It seems to me that, in a historical course of English literature, we want a short representative work of each prominent author, printed in cheap form, paper-back say, so that the student can own it and read it for himself, following the lectures on that author. We need, for example, a companion volume to Minto's "Manual of English Prose Literature," which shall contain a short work, or an extended extract from a long work, of each leading writer discussed in that book, in order to give an idea of the author's style and manner, and it should be, too, of sufficient value as literature to make it worth the reading. Mr. Saintsbury's "Specimens of English Prose Style from Malory to Macaulay" is on the right plan,—and his preliminary essay on English Prose Style is admirable,—but the extracts are too short to give an idea of an author's writings; we want a much fuller work for such illustration. Both of these books relate to prose. For poetry, Minto's "Characteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley" is excellent for criticism as far as it goes, but it stops too soon. It should be used in connection with Ward's

"English Poets," or some similar work, although this contains more minor poets than most teachers will have time or inclination to treat. Also, it omits the drama, and for the course in that form of literature, a separate work will be needed, such as Keltie's "British Dramatists," which is very useful for the Elizabethan drama and ought to be accessible to students in a cheap form. For the early drama we can refer to Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley's "Old English Plays" (in fifteen volumes), and of this the library copy can circulate in the class. I have dwelt upon the need of works of authors for students to read, as there is no lack of Manuals of the history of English literature, which some teachers may, however, prefer not to use, but to give their own lectures instead, though experience shows that time may be saved by the use of a good text-book, as it consumes time to take notes and some students find great difficulty in taking them. After all, lectures are but the teacher's own text-book, which may be more satisfactory to him than any printed text-book, although the latter may be equally as beneficial to the student. Where the saving of time is important, some teachers may prefer to use the text-book as an outline and to supplement it by means of lectures, for the preparation of lectures certainly promotes the teacher's knowledge of his subject, and this is reflected in his students.

Having thus sketched the main outlines of the course in English, let us briefly consider its *value as a discipline*. This is necessary, for, in the preparatory stage of education, no study can claim pre-eminence solely on the ground of the knowledge to be gained from it, but it must also possess some disciplinary value. I do not intend to refer to the contest between language and science, for I premise, as a fundamental and indisputable proposition, that *all* language study has a certain amount of disciplinary value of the greatest benefit in mental training. No teacher of language can have failed to observe this, and if in any particular case it has failed to produce fruit, the result is so much the worse for both pupil and teacher. The teaching of language is as strictly *scientific* as that of any one of the natural sciences, and it has its necessary place in the training of the mind. Nor do I intend to discuss the modern versus the classical languages, for I have no quarrel with the classicists. I realize too well the benefit derived from the study of the classical languages to care to dispute it. I always advise my

students to study, if they can, both ancient and both modern languages (i. e. French and German); if they can study only one of each, to study Latin and German, and at all events to try to learn some one other language than their own, for without it they lack the great advantage of comparison of languages, and of seeing how other peoples express the same ideas with themselves; but, unfortunately, all cannot study even *one* ancient or *one* modern language. Moreover, in discussing the value of the study of English as a discipline, we are relieved from considering the *natural* method, or the *unnatural* method (as our friends would probably call it), for all boys have learnt some English after a fashion, and we wish to know what benefit the further school and college study of it will bring them.

It is the general experience of teachers that it is difficult to interest boys in the formal study of English grammar, but this is, nevertheless, a necessary discipline and should not be abandoned on that account. At the very beginning the pupil should learn the classification of sounds by the organs of speech and the quality of breath with which the sounds are uttered, so that he will have nothing to unlearn hereafter in any language, and will have an elementary basis for phonetic training; that also it may not be possible to find a young man of twenty who cannot tell the difference between a dental and a labial, or between a surd and a sonant, and cannot distinguish either when he hears it, for this is no imaginary case. He should learn, too, that *letters* are but signs of sounds, and that the English sounds are by no means the necessary ones for particular characters. If he is studying any other language, this may be easily illustrated, but it is hard sometimes to get the idea out of older heads that the English sound is the absolute and necessary sound for a particular letter. He will then comprehend much more easily, at a later period, how the sounds of letters have greatly changed in English itself, and how certain characters, both vowel and consonant, have replaced others. Here is a phonetic discipline that should not be lost sight of in the earliest stage. The extreme simplicity of English forms of nouns and adjectives does not present much for the pupil to learn here, but he should be carefully taught the origin of such inflections as remain, particularly of the so-called "irregular" plurals of nouns and comparison of adjectives. The pronouns afford a wider field for linguistic teaching, especially the personal pro-

nouns, which have preserved most inflections, and which become more interesting as the pupil learns more about them. The verbs, however, when correctly classified, supply the best means for linguistic training. Let the appellation "irregular" for the *strong* verbs be forever banished from the terminology of the English grammar, and let the pupil understand that these verbs are as regular,—if the grammar-makers would only treat them rightly,—as the so-called "regular" or *weak* verbs: if the term is kept at all, it should be applied only to the modal auxiliaries, the preteritive-presents, or *strong-weak* verbs. Most English grammars present their *strong* verbs in inextricable confusion, and expect the pupil to commit them to memory in alphabetical order. Even Mason's, so excellent in many respects, has a wrong classification of the *strong* verbs, one almost as empirical as that of other grammars. The origin of the verbal inflections should also be taught, that the pupil may avoid the blunder already mentioned of confounding forms in *-ing*, and other like blunders, and may have a sounder knowledge of his own language.

The comparative absence of inflections in English renders the teaching of syntax a better mental training than it is in a more highly inflected language. The relations being strictly logical, the thought of the pupil is exercised to discern them, and while this can usually be easily done on account of the narrow limits of variation in the position of words, this study exercises the mental powers of boys and serves to impress grammatical categories upon their minds. The analysis of sentences in this elementary stage is an excellent training, and I fail to see why it cannot develop the mental powers as well as in any other language. The more highly inflected languages present greater difficulties to the memory,—though it may be questioned whether this is an advantage,—but the relations of sentences are the same in these different members of one common family of languages.

Passing to the *collegiate* teaching of the English language, if we begin, as suggested, with the teaching of the oldest form of English, *Anglo-Saxon*, we are at once confronted with a much more highly inflected language, one that possesses all the advantages that may be claimed for the study of inflectional languages, and, at the same time, one not too far removed from present English to make it an essentially different language. It is, too, a representative Teutonic language, preserving fully

the common scheme of Teutonic phonology and inflection, analogous to that of other Indo-European languages. The linguistic training to be obtained from the earnest study of the Anglo-Saxon language is of the highest order. The phonetic basis of the *strong* verb may be seen here in all its forms, and the operation of phonetic laws common to other Teutonic languages may be scientifically studied, while here they are not so complicated in their working as in some other languages, the Old Icelandic, for example. As a purely grammatical discipline,—leaving out of view for the present all other considerations,—this study is worthy of a place in all of our colleges, particularly for those students who have failed to secure such discipline by the previous study of the classical languages. But it has this one peculiar and inestimable advantage over any classical or other modern language that, being the oldest known form of English, we may trace historically the development of the present language out of this earlier prototype, a kind of discipline that can only be secured otherwise by a knowledge of Latin, Old and Modern French, or of Old, Middle and New High German. Knowing then the beginning and the end of the development, we can readily supply the missing links by the study of *Middle English*, already stated to be a necessary step in the thorough knowledge of Modern English. It is, too, a study, in which, when this necessary basis is once secured, students will become much interested. The wearing away of inflections, the phonetic changes in both roots and terminations, the historical derivation of words and forms, are phenomena to which the classical languages, as studied in college, present no parallel, and as the study of the modern languages is usually limited to the study of the *present* forms of French and German, it is a discipline that the student will get in no other way. Besides training his linguistic faculty, it enables him to see *how* his own language has come to be what it is.

Moreover, in the study of Middle English, we trace the contact of Norman-French and English, the influence of the former upon the latter, the consequent changes in the phonology of old words and the introduction of new words, so that we study in the language itself the historical origin of our composite phonology and vocabulary. Is not this a linguistic discipline worth securing, altogether apart from its results in furthering the student's knowledge of English itself? This is not a study to be

relegated to a post-graduate course, which few attend. Inasmuch as a knowledge of English is of more value to an English-speaking man than a knowledge of any other language, the students in general should have the opportunity of pursuing the historical study of English as an undergraduate course. If they decline to pursue it, the college at least is blameless. But if there are no "protected" studies, if this study is put on a par with every other in the requirements for *all* degrees, if the students are encouraged to find out for themselves by actual trial what is to be gained from the study rather than discouraged from it by a lack of appreciation of its advantages, students will not decline to pursue it, and it will, in time, become one of the most popular courses in the college curriculum.

Regarding then as settled the value of the study of English as a *linguistic* discipline, let us, for a moment, in conclusion, glance at its value as a *literary* discipline. This can be but briefly noticed, but there is less need for such notice, as it is not generally disputed. In fact, it is regarded by many as the sole object of the study of English. The literature is here brought into prominence, and the student is introduced to master-pieces of English style and thought. It will, I presume, be readily conceded that the student will appreciate more easily and more highly the essential qualities of style in a classic of his own language than in a classic of the Greek, Latin, or any modern language. We may talk of Demosthenian Greek and Ciceronian Latin, but if the ordinary student of Greek and Latin can, by much thumbing of grammar and lexicon, write his short Greek or Latin exercise without gross blunders in grammar, to say nothing of style, he will be more than satisfied, and will pride himself on his superior knowledge of Greek and Latin composition. For the large majority of students the only *stylistic* discipline that they get will come from the study of English models, and if they learn to write English without grammatical or rhetorical errors, pure in vocabulary and clear and forcible in expression, even if it lack elegance, the teacher will be abundantly satisfied.

As to those benefits from the study of literature that are dependent on æsthetic criticism, his own literature is the proper field for their acquisition by the student. The careful analysis of a play of Shakspeare, and the study of his delineation of the prominent characters, will furnish an excellent training for

the student's taste. The analysis of an essay, or any single prose work, of one of the masters of English literature, will supply an exercise for his literary judgment and reasoning powers. If reasoning, judgment, and taste are faculties of the mind whose training must be kept in view as the objects of literary discipline, where can more suitable means to this end be found than in the study of the works of English authors? Besides training his mind, the student will also be providing himself with sources of endless pleasure.

Finally, if we are convinced that the study of the English language and literature will supply all the advantages to be gained by the student from both linguistic and literary discipline, let us lose no time in at least giving him the opportunity to secure them. Whether anything, and if so, what is to be displaced to make room for this study in every school and college course, must be left to the decision of those interested; it does not fall within the limits of this paper. It has been my object to set forth what it is practicable to teach in English, the value of the study of English for all purposes of scholastic discipline, and its equal importance with any other study in the school and college curriculum. The individual teachers must settle how and where they are to place it; only let them not leave it out of their courses of instruction, and not fail to give it equal prominence with any other subject, for only so will its advantages be realized. No half-way measures will answer; for, if a study is to yield the fruit that it is capable of yielding, like time and opportunity must be afforded to it as to any other with which it may be compared. "A fair field and no favor" is all we ask.

V.—*Some Disputed Points in the Pronunciation of German.*

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LANGUAGE is changeable and language is unchangeable. It is unchangeable in the sense that the laws governing its development can not be arbitrarily changed by human action; it is changeable in the sense that the rules governing the use of language are never precisely the same for any two successive periods.

These rules are determined for us in two ways; (1) by oral tradition and (2) by written or printed documents, but since all languages had passed through a large portion of their development before they were written down, it follows that most of our grammar is the result of a tacit understanding among a certain number of individuals to speak in a certain way. Where intercommunication is difficult, this interchange is limited to a comparatively small area and the result is the growth of dialects which are numerous in proportion to the extent of country, influenced somewhat, also, by its geographical conformation. If literary activity does not begin until after these dialects have become mutually unintelligible, the result is generally the formation of new languages. So Latin split up into the various idioms usually called *Romance Languages*. If literary activity begins earlier, one dialect, for reasons mostly apparent, will take the precedence of the others and become the literary language of the country. England, Germany and Italy furnish familiar instances of this and it is worth noting, too, that in all these cases the literary language had its origin not far from the geographical centre of the country. The vulgar dialects always continue their development alongside of the written language for an indefinite length of time. So in Germany with which we, at present, wish more particularly to deal. No one of these dialects is privileged to erect itself above the others and call itself *the German Language*. It is purely local pride or

prejudice that causes one locality to claim to speak the purest German. The German language must be better than any of these dialects. What is to be regarded as the best German is rather the average found by comparing the pronunciation of all parts of Germany, and the pronunciation of the majority must be regarded as German *par excellence* and as that which will in the end prevail. This was the process followed by Luther and he thereby *created* the modern German language. As it happened, he was a native of Saxony, and therefore had less to unlearn than if he had been a native of Suabia or Mecklenburg, but he did not follow the authority of the Saxon chancery because he was a Saxon, but because observation showed him that it came nearest to being the average German. Luther, likewise studied the language of the peasant and the *Bürger* in order to adapt his speech more perfectly to the wants of all. "So complete was his success that, during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, *Upper Saxon*, as his language was called, gradually absorbed the different literary dialects that had been in use all over the country, and by about 1700 Modern High German had not only firmly established itself as the common language of religion, of education and of public business, but was also in North German society considered a more refined medium of intercourse than the Low German vernaculars."

But what we are at present concerned about is to find out what the average German of the present day is. We know that some eminent German philologists, advocate what is commonly called *die schnabel Sprache*. Professor Schleicher said that any one who tried to get rid of his native brogue was a sinner against his own language. Claus Groth has defended this position with great skill, but not many Germans of note now advocate this view and, even if they did, it would not do for us to advocate such a pronunciation in our schools. No German is fully qualified to teach his native tongue in our schools unless he pronounces it in such a way that his pronunciation does not reveal what part of Germany he came from.

Vietor's "*Zeitschrift für Orthographie, Orthoepie und Sprachphysiologie*," for 1881-2, contains the results of a painstaking investigation of the German pronunciation in different parts of the empire as collected by Aug. Diederichs. Of these results I have availed myself in the preparation of this paper.

The result of such a comparison of dialects can be observed in any respectable theatre in Germany. In any serious drama the actors are not concerned about speaking Hanover German or Berlin German, but a language which is the result of a comparison of the speech of educated persons from different parts of the country. These persons, coming from various localities and associating with each other for a considerable time would naturally influence each other, and each would unconsciously lose some of the peculiarities of his own dialect. This is particularly the case when each one is concerned to acquire the best possible pronunciation.

This leveling of dialects is also made necessary by the fact that actors must speak so as to be readily understood by all classes in any part of Germany,—Germany being used here in its widest sense—and, therefore, it is not advisable to follow the dialect of any locality. Again; such a leveling is necessary for æsthetic reasons. Imagine Goethe's Iphigenia talking in the dialect of Fritz Reuter or Lessing's Nathan declaiming in the idiom of a Black Forest Bauer! It would be considered a burlesque, no matter how serious the actors might be.

But there is another method of determining what is the best German pronunciation, viz. usage—*usus quem pènes est et jus et norma loquendi*. True, we can find authority for almost any barbarism in German as well as in English, but we are trying to find out what is the most uniformly established usage. There is good reason for believing that Goethe called himself *Geete* but that is no sufficient reason why we should do so any more than that we should imitate him in the thousand and one sins against German Grammar of which he was guilty. In language, as in most other things, the majority is likely to rule, especially if it be an intelligent majority, and if we find that a majority of the German pronounce in a certain way, it is reasonable to believe that this pronunciation will finally survive as being the fittest to survive.

We know that there is a certain amount of prejudice in favor of the Hanoverian pronunciation, but Germans generally do not admit that it is any better than that of many other parts of the empire. In 1879, Dr. Hermann Huss published a pamphlet called "*Das Deutsche im Munde des Hannoveraners*" in which he remarks that since the Hanoverian German is in such great request by foreigners he desired to set it forth more fully.

He, however, gives us an ideal pronunciation and not that of the average Hanoverian. One might find individuals in any city of Germany who pronounce quite as well as a native of Hanover. When it comes to the real *shibboleth* of *st* and *sp*, Dr. Huss yields the point by saying that *scht* and *schp* are just as good as *st* and *sp*. Professor Brandt on page 175 of his German Grammar, points out some of the provincialisms of the Hanoverian German, to which might also be added that of pronouncing *au* very nearly like *aa*, so that *Haus* sounds like *Haas*.<sup>1</sup>

Some other cities in Germany think quite as well of their own pronunciation as the Hanoverians do of theirs. Leipzig, Dresden, Braunschweig and even Berlin, notwithstanding the popularity there of the *jute*, *jebratene Jans*, all maintain that their German is a little better than that of any other city. Professors Gottsched and Adelung, certainly very high authorities in their day, say that the best German was spoken in Saxony and since neither of them were Saxons by birth their preference for the Saxon pronunciation cannot be attributed to patriotism or native prejudice. Professor Hildebrand, of the University of Leipzig, makes the same claim for Saxon pronunciation. My own observation has taught me that even the common people of Leipzig have a German pronunciation that most American teachers of that language would do well to imitate. True, you might hear a countryman in the market say: *Ich hab een scheenes kleenes Hoos gekoft*," but no native Leipziger would speak thus.

The English prejudice in favor of Hanover German may be attributed to two things. I. Hanover is nearer London than almost any other important city in Germany. Secondly and chiefly, England has for nearly two hundred years been ruled by Hanoverians.

It is true, however, that in most respects the pronunciation of educated Germans in all parts of the country is substantially the same; only in respect to a few letters or digraphs is there a noticeable difference. Let us look at these more closely. *Sp* and *St* in South Germany are uniformly pronounced broad,—blade-point-surd, according to Sweet's system,—so that the South German not only says *schprechen* and *schtehen*, but *du bischt* and *er ischt* and *weschpe* for *wespe*. The

<sup>1</sup> See O. Rocca, "*Die richtige Aussprache des Neuhochdeutschen.*" p. 60.

Hanoverian, on the contrary, has the thin pronunciation (blade-surd) and he, therefore, says *sprechen* and *stehen* as well as *bist*, *ist* and *wespe*. If now we take the average pronunciation as well as that in use on the stage, we find that the best German is *schprechen* and *schtehen*. That is, initial *sp* and *st* blade-point-surd,—but medial and final, blade-point. This thin pronunciation was formerly much more common, but is now confined to the northwestern portion of the empire and is doomed to disappear. As Diederichs says: “*Die Sache der Hannoveraner ist offenbar verloren.*” Even in the city of Hanover itself, on the stage you hear only *schprechen* and *schtehen*. Of this Hanoverian provincialism, Professor Vietor says: “In Middle High German not only the present initial *sp* and *st*, but also modern initial *schl*, *schm*, *schn*, *schw*, were spelt with *s*, instead of *sch* and pronounced accordingly. From explicit statements of German grammarians, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, we know, however, that in all these cases, *sp* and *st* included, the *s* had in their time come to be pronounced *sch* and that *sch* instead of *s* was often, as now regularly, written before *l*, *m*, *n* and *w*, but rarely before *p* and *t*, where the old habit of writing *s* prevailed to the end, probably on account of the frequent occurrence of initial *sp* and *st* in Latin and because such a combination as *schpr* and *schtr* would have looked very ungainly. When the Low Germans in learning literary High German came across such spellings as *sprechen* and *stehen* they pronounced *sp* and *st* all the more readily as initial *sp* and *st* had always been and even yet are uniformly so pronounced in that region. Thus *sprechen* and *stehen* are clearly hybridisms which cannot be admitted in good pronunciation and have deservedly been banished from the stage even in the town of Hanover itself.” The Hanoverian peasant says *swimmen*, *slagen*, *smieden*, *sneiden* just as he says *sprechen* and *stehen* so that he has, at least, the merit of consistency. It is sometimes urged that we ought to pronounce all these words as they are spelt, to which I would reply that it is the business of orthography to represent as nearly as possible the actual pronunciation and not of pronunciation to follow the spelling. There are many other German words which we do not pronounce as they are spelt. If we did, there would be no difference between the vowels in *Floss* and *Stoss*, between those in *Fuss* and *Nuss*, and many others. It would be well if the spelling could be brought

somewhat nearer the pronunciation than it is as present, but this is not likely to happen. Some musicians such as Wagner and Hilfer defend *sprechen* and *stehen*, but they speak simply from the stand-point of singing teachers and as such deserve no consideration at our hands. Teachers of English singing say we should trill the *r*, although this letter has almost disappeared from spoken English (especially in England) unless it is followed by a vowel.<sup>1</sup> Professor Fricke reports that a certain Spelling Reform Association in Hanover resolved to adopt the German pronunciation of *sp* and *st* and drop the Hanoverian.

We shall now turn our attention to *g* and *here*, as Professor Bartsch says, "*wird es am schwierigsten sein die Laute alle unter einen Hut zu bringen.*" The initial *g* will cause us no trouble for that is always hard, back shut-sonant—(except in Berlin). *G*, properly pronounced, has five different sounds, but these may be reduced to three for the difference between *g* when followed by a back vowel and when followed by a front vowel need not be discussed here for in practice that matter always regulates itself. These three sounds may all be heard in *gegenwärtig*. Initial *g* is the shut-sonant, medial *g* is the open-sonant and may be front or back according to the preceding vowel, final *g* is the open-surd and may also be front or back. It is always so pronounced in the termination *ig*, as *traurig*.

The greatest dissimilarity prevails in final *g*, in such words as *Tag*, *Berg*, *Sieg*, *Hang*, *Sang*, etc. Professor Brandt recommends the back-shut-surd (*k*) in such cases and says, moreover, that this is the stage pronunciation. Professor Vietor, in his work on German pronunciation, says: "The older pronunciation of final *g* as in Middle High German may still be heard, not only among the population in some parts of the country as in Suabia and Silesia but also—yet with many exceptions—on the stage and in the concert-room. According to contemporary grammarians, however, it had become the Midland practice to pronounce final *g* as a continuant=*ch* as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century and of late it has been and still keeps on rapidly spreading North, East and South. It may safely be said to be used by at least two-thirds of all speakers of German, also by many of those who still pronounce medial *g* as a voiced stop (as in *go*) as is done in Hanover. Pronounce *g* after front vowels, etc., exactly the same as *ch* in *ich*, i. e., as a sharp,

<sup>1</sup> See Sweet's "Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englische," p. 20.

voiceless continuant. To use *k* instead would not be wrong but old-fashioned and would sound formal in ordinary conversation." This subject is discussed at length in the second edition of Viator's *Phonetik* pp. 114-117 and additional proofs given of the correctness of these views. He says further: "That even in singing, the surd can no longer maintain itself is shown by recent writings of professional musicians." *Theoretically* the surd is certainly still correct, but as long ago as 1878 or 9 a correspondent of the "*Gegenwart*" uttered a protest against the spreading evil (as he thought it) of the sonant (=ch). Viator also says: "In modern comedy and conversational pieces, the open sonant is extensively heard in the best theatres, and the members of the Meininger troupe, even in classical drama, usually pronounce final *g* as a sonant and as a surd only by exception." In a recent letter to the writer, Professor Viator further says: *Kräuter* is about the only *Phonetiker* who defends the surd. Besides myself (my home is Nassau), there are in favor of the sonant (final) Diederichs (Rheinpreussen), Trautmann (Thüringer), Schröer (Wien), Kewitsch (Ost-Preussen), and Francke (Lausitz), i. e., *alle Phonetiker*, except *Kräuter*, whom I can now recall, without respect to birthplace or dialectic pronunciation. The ordinary scholar is absolutely incompetent in these questions since every one considers his native pronunciation the best."

Diederichs reports as the result of his investigations that the open surd (*ch*) prevailed north of a line drawn through Mannheim and Nürnberg. In *tag*, the *g* should be pronounced as a back, open surd (*ch*). In the plural *Tage* it becomes sonant. In *Sieg*, we have the front, open, surd. In the plural *Siege*, it becomes a front sonant. Professor Paul of Freiburg, says: "*Auf der Bühne hat bis vor kurzem tak, berk als mustergültig passiert, jetzt wird aber auch hier vielfach Tach, Berch gesprochen.*"

One more point remains to be discussed, final *ng*. It has been recommended that since the other sonants *b* and *d* final are made surd, so should *g* also, which would do very well in theory but unfortunately in this, as in many other cases, practice disregards theory, and in language *usage* is the proper guide. As we have seen, final *g* is not usually pronounced as a shut surd but as an aspirate, or open surd, so the *g* after *n* is pronounced as a shut surd by even a smaller number of Germans.

That *Ring*, *Sang*, etc., in Middle High German were written with a final *c* we all know, but it does not seem to me that the conclusion is inevitable that they pronounced these words *Rinc* and *Sanc*. It is well known that in *Ring* and *Sang* there is no *g* actually heard and it is possible that the Germans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not pronounce a *c* any more than the moderns pronounce a *g*. These nasals have always made trouble in orthography, and in English they are tormenting us to this day. To the end of many words actually ending in *m*, we attach a superfluous *b*, as in *lamb* and *comb*. Now in pronouncing such words, if the lips are opened before the current of air has ceased to vibrate, something like a *b* is certainly heard but in putting another syllable to the word, as in *combing*, the *b* disappears. So in Luther's German we frequently see the preposition *um* written *umb*, *Lamm*, *Lamb*, just as in English, and many others of the same kind, showing that the writer was trying to represent precisely what he heard or thought he heard. Something of the same kind occurs in the pronunciation of final *ng*. If the vibrations are suddenly arrested, something besides the pure nasal sound is heard, and since in Middle High German a sonant was never written at the end of a word, but always the corresponding surd, so it seemed as if here too the *nachklang* ought to be represented by a *c* rather than by a *g*.

It is also worthy of note that while all critical texts of Middle High German poems have *nc*, yet an examination of the various readings will show that *ng* was frequently written. Rocca, on page 82 of the work above quoted, says concerning the pronunciation of final *ng*: "The rule that final *ng* is not to be pronounced *ñk* or even *nk* but *ñ* (as in English *sing*) is often met with doubt even though it has been accepted by all theatres, by most scholars and almost all orthoepists. The Middle High German wrote *danc-dankes*, *sanc-sanges*, but New High German always *Dank-Dankes*, *Gang-Ganges*; whence this difference in the letters of the nominatives if the sounds were similar and *Gank* as well as *Dank* was pronounced? Evidently the *nc* of the Middle High German, where it became *ng* by the lengthening of a word, underwent an etymological change. This change is made by the South German who consistently pronounces Middle High German final *c* like *k*, even when modern orthography substitutes a *g* as in *Tag*, but he

dose not pronounce *Sang*, *Sank*. The North German, however, although he changes every final *k* of the older language into *ch*, retains the *k* after *n* even when *g* is written according to the emology of the lengthened word (*Sang-es*). Twofold inconsistency!.....Almost all Germans are at one on this point. The very small minority that still insists on the *nk* must therefore yield." There can be no doubt but that the South German—especially the Swiss—pronunciation is more archaic than that of the North. Now in Switzerland you may still hear *wip*, *lip*, *min*, *sin*, etc., for *weib*, *leib*, *mein*, *sein*, just as they appear in the Nibelungenlied, for example, but you do not *Rink* and *Sank* but *Ring* and *Sang*, i. e. the pure nasal sonant. Since the Old High German uniformly has *g* after *n*, it seems more probable that the pronunciation of final *ng* has always continued to be the same rather than that it should have changed twice, from the pure nasal sonant to *nk* and then back again.

Diederichs and Vietor also agree in asserting that this *nk* pronunciation is gradually disappearing.

VI.—*Recent Educational Movements in their Relation to Language Study.*

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UNDER every great political, social, religious, and educational movement, there are found certain truths or principles that act as motive power. The movement may be very complex and varied in its manifestations, but the underlying truths or principles are generally clear and simple. The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, for example, with all the civil and ecclesiastical disturbances it brought about, was based on these two well-known principles: 1. Men are saved by faith alone; and 2. The Bible is the only rule of faith and practice in religion. The American Revolution, with all its multiplicity of events, was founded on the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny. Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely; but the truth will hardly be questioned that great movements in society generally derive their impulse from one or more principles which admit of perspicuous statement.

When the principles or truths that originate a general movement are once announced, usually at first in a more or less imperfect form, they win the assent and support of growing numbers of people. The judgment of the masses, when they are unbiased by passion or selfishness, is usually sound. The proverb *vox populi, vox Dei* is not always delusive. When the principles that appeal for popular support are erroneous, or when they affect no important interest of society, they will be received with but little favor. The zeal of agitators will be lost upon the intelligent inertia of society. It is only when the new principles advanced are believed to be true and conducive to the best interests of society that they gain adherents and ultimately conquer ascendancy. The victory may be long deferred; but if the principles underlying the movement are just, they will triumph in the end. When the agitation was

once begun, the abolition of slavery was inevitable; for the anti-slavery movement represented just views of human freedom. If the principles underlying recent educational movements are correct, we may confidently expect them to prevail.

That a great movement has been going on for some years in the educational world admits of no reasonable doubt. The present is justly regarded by many as a period of transition. First of all, there is an unexampled interest in education. Learning is no longer confined to any class; on the contrary, all Christian nations, and even some heathen nations are making strong efforts to increase their facilities for popular instruction. The subjects of study have been largely increased in schools of every grade. In our colleges and universities the subjects of instruction have been so multiplied that it has become necessary to arrange parallel and elective courses. The mother tongue, modern languages, natural sciences, history and civics have won at least partial recognition. The harsh and mechanical methods of a few decades ago have been largely supplanted by scientific methods. Pupils do not exist for teachers, but teachers for pupils. It is thus seen that the educational movement of the present embraces a number of particulars; but in general it may be said to exhibit a single practical tendency; that is to say, it aims at such a training of the young as will fit them for life in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The way for recent educational changes has been in process of preparation for a long time. Not simply one, but many preachers in the wilderness have proclaimed the evils existing in the education of their day. Some of them, with prophetic eye, saw and foretold the advent of a better era. Montaigne, who held that the mother tongue and the languages of neighboring countries should be first learned, said: "No doubt Latin and Greek are very great ornaments, and of very great use; but we may buy them too dear." Bacon, to whom the present age is indebted beyond measure, threw off the tyranny which the ancients had so long exercised over human thought, and attained to an independence of judgment that enabled him to appreciate the treasures of the modern world. "It would indeed be dishonorable to mankind," he says, "if the regions of the natural globe, the earth, the sea, the stars, should be so prodigiously developed and illustrated in our

age, and yet the boundaries of the intellectual globe should be confined to the narrow discoveries of the ancients." Milton, who has treated of education with a fearless and masterly hand, declares that "a complete and generous education is that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." He condemns severely the "pure trifling at grammar and sophistry" which characterized the schools of his day. Comenius, the greatest educator of the seventeenth century, condemned the schools of his time, and pointed out with surprising acuteness and truth the path of reform. "Hitherto," he says, "the schools have not labored that the children might unfold like the young tree from the impulse of its own roots, but have been contented when they covered themselves with foreign branches. They have taught the youth, after the manner of Aesop's crow, to adorn themselves with strange feathers. Why shall we not, instead of dead books, open the living book of Nature? Not the shadows of things, but the things themselves, which make an impression on the senses and the imagination, are to be brought before youth. By actual observation, not by a verbal description of things, must instruction begin." Locke maintained that French should precede Latin, and that English should receive more attention than either. "This I think will be agreed to," he says, "that if a gentleman is to study any language, it ought to be that of his own country, that he may understand the language which he has constant use of with the utmost accuracy." These are some of the mighty voices that were raised against wrong subjects and methods—but voices that were hushed before the light of the new day blessed the earth.

As a rule the principles characterizing a great movement are the result of a process of development. Men are so influenced by environment, are so controlled by traditional ideas and prevailing customs, that they can not at once rise to a clear and full appreciation of newly-discovered truth. Many years elapsed, for example, before the Copernican system was generally adopted. The injustice of England continued a long time before the colonists were able to attain to the principles of human liberty set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The principles of education that supply impulse to current educational movements are no exception to the general law

of growth. Beginning with Montaigne, Bacon, and Comenius, a long line of educational reformers successively made contributions to the store of pedagogic truth. Finally, through the genius and self-denying labors of Pestalozzi, the most influential schoolmaster of the present century, this body of truth was further developed, somewhat systematized, exemplified in practice, and brought to the attention of educators throughout Christendom. The principles, on which the progressive educational movements of the present are based, did not reach a tolerably complete scientific statement for more than two hundred years. It is only within the last decade or two that they have gained extensive recognition.

The science of education that is giving impulse and power to present educational movements and reforms is essentially Baconian. It is based on a careful study of man's nature. It assumes as a fundamental truth that the principles of education are to be derived from a study of the being to be educated. In its essential nature, education is regarded as a development of the physical, mental, and moral powers of the student. An impulse toward development is inherent in the various faculties of man. The function of the teacher is to direct and facilitate this natural growth, that each student may realize the best he is capable of. Pestalozzi has well said: "Sound education stands before me symbolized by a tree planted near fertilizing waters. A little seed, which contains the design of the tree, its form and proportions, is placed in the soil. See how it germinates and expands into trunk, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruit! The whole tree is an uninterrupted chain of organic parts, the plan of which existed in its seed and root. Man is similar to the tree. In the newborn child are hidden those faculties which are to unfold during life. The individual and separate organs of his being form themselves gradually into an harmonic whole, and build up humanity in the image of God." But education has another side that must not be disregarded. The being to be educated is destined to share in the world's activity. Various duties pertaining to his vocation, to the State, the Church, society, and the family, are to devolve upon him. The culture he receives should bear a just relation to the duties of practical life. The young should be educated for useful and righteous living in the world into which they have been born.

This is Milton's view, as expressed in a sentence already quoted. Comenius held that nothing should be taught that is not of practical utility. Herbert Spencer has declared with great force and justice that "To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges such function."

In intellectual education we must begin with the senses. These are the avenues to the mind; and it is through them that the intellect is to be excited into activity and the foundation of all knowledge laid. The law of intellectual growth is exercise. There is little educating power in what the student receives passively. His interest must be awakened; his faculties must be active in grasping objects and truths; and whatever he studies must be kept within his power of comprehension and assimilation. During the first years of the pupil's progress, the concrete should precede the abstract in study; ideas should go before, or along with the words representing them; examples and operations should precede rules and principles. It is only after the pupil has reached a stage of considerable development that this order of instruction can properly be reversed. At no time should the studies pursued be of a nature to destroy mental elasticity—the condition most favorable to rapid development. Instruction should begin with what lies nearest the student, and thus appeals to his interest and wants. In this particular, Nature points us to the right path. The child begins by gaining a knowledge of its surroundings in the house; then it explores the unknown regions of the flower-yard and neighboring fields; as its strength increases, it learns the names and properties of the objects with which it has to deal. Beginning thus with what is near, our knowledge should go on increasing by ever-widening circles till we compass the remotest truth. As a rule, what the pupil learns should connect itself naturally with what he already knows. The educators are wrong who, at any point in the pupil's progress, suddenly transplant him in a region where everything is foreign to his nature.

We are now prepared to state and appreciate two of the fundamental principles underlying the educational movements of the present—principles that are active in changing subjects and methods:

1. Education consists in developing the physical, mental, and

moral powers of man in such a way that he can act his part to the best advantage in the world.

2. The law of this development is the student's own activity in learning facts, truths, and principles pertaining to nature, society, and God.

The adoption of these principles with all that they involve has been greatly favored by existing circumstances. The increasing prominence achieved by the masses since the American and the French Revolution, or to carry the principle back to its source, the growing appreciation of the worth of individual men as taught in the Gospels, goes far toward accounting for the general spread of education. International relations are growing closer every year, and already poets are beginning to dream of a federation of mankind. The vast enlargement of the field of knowledge—an enlargement that has rendered the old curriculum narrow and inadequate—explains the increased number of studies. A better understanding of the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of man has led to an abolition of the cruel methods in vogue a hundred years ago, and has demonstrated the truth that no two or three studies have a monopoly of educating power. In a word, the world has out-grown the swaddling clothes that were wrapped around it in the seventeenth century. The whole educational movement of the present is, in its essential features, a protest against a narrowness from which the world has suffered too long.

It is a matter of regret that general reformatory movements are usually attended with objectionable manifestations. While it is a mistake to say, as Carlyle has done in a cynical moment, that the people of a country are "mostly fools," we have everywhere one-sided men who as enthusiasts advocate extreme views. In the Reformation, a movement so rich in historical illustration, there arose by the side of the reformers a body of fanatics who sought to turn their newly-won liberty into license, and to overthrow the existing order of society. These enthusiasts are a hindrance to the cause that they seek to advance. It is greatly to be regretted that recent educational reforms have been retarded by the inconsiderate and often radical measures of one-sided and superficial men. It is through their unfortunate influence that the name "New Education," which would be so convenient to characterize the educational tendencies of the present day, has been robbed of its honorable significance.

Education has needed, not sweeping radical changes, but a natural expansion and improvement in order to adjust it to existing conditions.

Returning to an application of the two principles laid down above, we find that they relate to the study of natural science, and civics no less than to the study of language; but it is in reference to the languages that their influence will now be briefly traced.

1. These principles require that a greater emphasis be placed on the utility of languages for practical life. To study a language, whether ancient or modern, for disciplinary purposes alone is not the wisest use of time; for discipline can be secured by other studies which offer the additional advantage of being serviceable in after life. Besides, a study pursued only for discipline is apt to lack that interest which calls the student's powers into the most healthful activity. The mental effort that is the result of compulsion and against which the student's feelings constantly protest, tends to rob the mind of its elasticity, blunts its perceptions, and weakens its creative power.

2. These principles are unfavorable to the old theory that grammatical drudgery is the best mental discipline. The gymnastic theory is only partly true. Education is not a mechanical leading forth of the various powers, as it is too often conceived to be. The etymology of the word education—*e*, out, and *ducere*, to lead—has often been grossly misunderstood. Education is a development that is secured by activity in assimilating truth suited to the mind's condition and wants. Languages should be studied in order to be mastered, with the ultimate view of acquiring their treasures of thought. Other ends in language study are entirely secondary. To study a language simply as a mental gymnastic, to hold the student for years in what Milton calls "the flats and shallows" of language, is an educational mistake. Neither a grammarian nor a philologist represents the highest type of culture. Though the world has been slow in realizing it, Milton was right in saying "that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned

man as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only."

3. These principles supply us with a new standard in judging of the results of education. A perfect man is the ideal aimed at. Physical, mental and moral culture—the ability to judge correctly and to act wisely in the present—this is the object to be sought. The pale scholar with stooped shoulders who lives in an idealized past, who thinks more about mythology than about Christianity, who can talk learnedly about Greece and knows nothing about Germany, who can explain the causes of the Peloponesian war, but not of the Franco-Prussian struggle—such a man may be interesting and useful, but he does not represent the culture demanded at the present day, and especially in this country. The educated man needed to-day is one that makes his knowledge of the past subservient to the present, and finds his highest intellectual efforts and pleasures in the age to which he belongs. A man should not make himself an anachronism.

4. These principles encourage the practice of presenting to the student what is best in human thought. The ancients are estimated at their true worth; but no self-delusion or unintelligent enthusiasm is allowed to attribute to them imaginary excellencies of thought or style. They belong to the youth of the world; and the best results of human thinking, whether in philosophy, politics, morality, or religion, is not embodied in their writings. Whatever they have produced worthy of remembrance, whatever conduces to the great end of education, is retained; but the student is directed to the results of modern thought and investigation for what is to equip him for his place in the world. There is scarcely a department of thought, excepting perhaps oratory and poetry, in which the ancients have not been superseded. To cite but a single instance, was not Macaulay right, with his own or Gibbon's great work before him, to characterize the history by Herodotus as "delightful childishness?" While the ancient classics, as the original sources of much of modern culture, are not to be neglected; while every comprehensive scheme of education must embrace them, either in the original languages or in good translations, they are not to be exalted, either by the force of tradition or the blindness of prejudice, into an undue pre-eminence. Our highest studies must be in the more fully developed thought of the present day.

Such is believed to be the trend of the educational world, together with that which gives its movement force. Along with the natural sciences, history, civics, and the mother tongue, the modern languages, especially French and German, have acquired greater prominence. This prominence is destined to increase, as international relations become more intimate, and as these languages embody from year to year the best achievements of human effort. As mankind progresses from age to age, it is naturally led to reshape education to suit its needs.

VII.—*The Methods of Wilhelm Scherer as a Critic of Faust.*<sup>1</sup>

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AMONG the most difficult questions with which the student of *Faust* has to deal are those which modern criticism has raised concerning the unity and coherency of the work and the continuity of the author's plan. That there are serious perplexities of this sort will be admitted, I presume, by all, except perhaps those for whom the interpretation of *Faust* is only an exercise of the speculative imagination. The long and peculiar genesis of the poem has left marks upon it.

Here we find a passage which seems to ignore or to contradict what is said somewhere else. There the text seems to pre-suppose a knowledge of facts not mentioned in the poem or in the legend. Once or twice Mephistopheles seems to utter that which is out of tune with his character as elsewhere depicted. The last dialogue between Faust and Mephisto just previous to the scene with the Student is, do the best we can with it, somewhat nebulous. The text, as we have it, is hardly compatible with a rational chronology of the tragedy of Margaret. From the play as a whole, one would get the impression that Mephisto is acting on his own responsibility. Once or twice, however, he seems to be represented as an envoy of the Earth-Spirit, and in the Prologue he appears as in some sense at least an emissary of the Lord in heaven. In the Prologue Mephisto declares that he does not care for dead men, but in the compact with Faust he takes as his sole compensation for the service he is to render, a mortgage upon the soul of Faust in the life to come. And so forth. I will not dwell upon these things for it is an old story.

But now the question arises, what attitude shall criticism assume toward these real or apparent incongruities? Shall we

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—A few sentences of this paper have already appeared in a review of Scherer's *Aufsätze über Goethe* contributed by the writer to the *Nation* of June 16, 1887.

insist upon their importance and offer them as evidence that Goethe's poetic intentions and conceptions really underwent radical changes in the course of his work? Shall we infer always from a textual difficulty of this kind a change of plan on the part of the author? It is easy to see in what direction one will be led who is disposed to say 'yes' to these questions. He will scrutinize the text for evidences of vacillation in the author; he will be on the alert, here for a gap that failed to get filled up and there for a superfluity which failed to get pruned away. He will be on the lookout also for juxtaposed scenes or passages which do not really belong together and were not originally intended to go together. He will endeavor to imagine the contents of the missing scene. He will endeavor to discover also what there was, either in the poet's mind or in the nature of the subject, that led him to change his plan.

The foremost representative of this species of criticism as applied to *Faust* is the late Wilhelm Scherer. Others as Kuno Fischer, Friedr. Vischer and Julian Schmidt, have worked in the same general direction. But these men wrote more from a philosophic point of view, whereas Scherer was essentially a philologist. His art consists in applying to *Faust* the same methods of study which have been applied with such striking results in modern times to the Homeric poems, the Bible, the Nibelungen Lied. Such a procedure is, plainly enough, not to be taken as a matter of course. The Homeric poems, the books of the Bible, the Nibelungen songs, came into existence long ago amid literary conditions very different from those of modern life. Of the genesis of them we know next to nothing from sources extraneous to the text. *Faust*, on the other hand, is a thing of yesterday. We know who wrote it and, in a general way, how he wrote it. We are familiar with the sources from which he drew. We can follow the entire history of his mind and art and, quite apart from the text, we know much about the genesis of his great poem. All this might seem to require from the critic of *Faust* another art than that which he would apply to works of the other sort. But for Scherer these considerations are invested with no especial significance. He goes on his way, I will not say ignoring, but paying upon the whole comparatively little attention to, the consciously designing, choosing, rejecting, moulding personality of Goethe. A hiatus, a metrical accent, a rhythmical form, a peculiar turn of

phrase, a fact of style—these are, let me say again, not exclusively but quite largely, the material upon which he operates. From such facts taken together he builds important and far reaching conclusions relative to the history of his author's poetic intentions.

It would be unnecessary here to enter upon a detailed account of Scherer's work as a critic of *Faust*. I content myself with the briefest possible characterization of his more important studies and a somewhat fuller analysis of one in particular to which I shall invite especial attention. The little volume "Aus Goethe's Frühzeit," published in 1879, contained three essays relating to *Faust*. The first one, "Herder in Faust," has but little that is especially characteristic for Scherer's method. Rejecting, or at least accepting with a qualification which amounts to a rejection, the singular theory of Grimm that Herder is the basis of Mephistopheles, and rejecting likewise the fantastic notion of Julian Schmidt that Herder is the basis of the Earth-Spirit, Scherer proceeds to find Herder in the mysterious "wise man" of the line

"Jetzt erst erkenn'ich was der Weise spricht."

The second of the three essays named, "Der Faust in Prosa," is an attempt to show that the drama was first conceived and partly written down in prose and that the two prose scenes, and the various unrhymed passages which are found here and there intercalated in the rhymed text are remnants of this early prose version. The third essay, "Der erste Theil des Faust," attempts to separate the First Part into five strata each corresponding to a more or less radical change of mind in the author.

Subsequently to the publication of these essays Scherer returned several times to the theme which possessed such peculiar attractions for him. Besides writing the magnificent conclusion of his "Literaturgeschichte," the last fifteen pages of which are devoted mainly to *Faust*, he contributed to the *Rundschau* for November, 1882, an article "Neue Faust-Commentare," to the same periodical for May, 1884, an essay called "Fauststudien," and to the Goethe-Jahrbuch for 1885, a study entitled "Betrachtungen über Faust." The first of these was a review of the works of Schörer, Schreyer and Marbach. The second and third are most truly characteristic performances and give us Scherer's critical art in its perfection. Especially is this true of the latter part of the essay "Betrachtungen über Faust," which deserves

to be pointed to either as a brilliant triumph or as a solemn warning, according to the view one takes of the critic's *modus operandi*.

In this study Scherer examines the "First Monologue" from the beginning to the disappearance of the Earth-Spirit. This portion of the text belonged, it will be remembered, to the "Fragment" of 1790, and so far as I am aware, its dramatic homogeneity had never before been questioned. But under Scherer's scrutiny it turns out to be full of surprising incongruities. He first compares lines 1-32 with lines 33-74, and discovers that the two passages are very different in their presuppositions, in their language, their meter and in a number of stylistic peculiarities to which in the aggregate he gives the name "inner form." The first passage he finds to be essentially prose. It is the idiom of the people, cast in the doggerel of Hans Sachs. It consists of statements put together logically with "now" and "then" and "therefore" and "in order that." It is poor in epithets and compounds expressive of feeling. The meter is rough and the anacrusis often wanting. Then as to presuppositions: Faust *has devoted* himself to magic. He tells us why and with what hopes. The four faculties have not given him the kind of knowledge he craves, and he does not wish longer to be compelled to teach what he does not understand. Evidently, however, the appeal to the spirit-world through magic has not yet been made. The text presents Faust to us as in an attitude of hope. And then just as we are expecting him to go on and see what magic will do for him, just as we are expecting him to open his book and try to evoke the spirits, he surprises us by suddenly apostrophizing the moon:

"O, sähst du, voller Mondenschein,  
Zum letzten Mal auf meine Pein,"

And now comes the second passage: This passage is all poetry, emotion, "Stimmung." It does not consist of propositions, qualifications and conclusions, but of longings, disgusts and repinings. There is nothing in it of colloquial diction. It is rich in adjectives and compounds expressive of feeling. The meter is a regular iambic tetrameter and the anacrusis is never lacking. Also the passage has a new presupposition. It is constructed not as if Faust were to remain in his room and operate there with a magic book, but as if he were going to escape to the open fields. The text even tells us that this is the

sole condition upon which the magic signs in the book will do their work.

“Umsonst dass trocknes Sinnen hier  
Die heil'gen Zeichen dir erklärt,”

And then at last to our great surprise, instead of seizing the book and rushing out “in's weite Land” as he has just been vehemently urging himself to do, he suddenly utters the words

“Ihr schwebt, ihr Geister, neben mir,  
Antwortet mir wenn ihr mich hört,”

and then throws the book open and perceives the sign of the macrocosm.

Then comes a third passage embracing lines 75-114, in which Faust contemplates the signs of the macrocosm and the Earth-Spirit and experiences their magic effects. The passage taken by itself is entirely coherent but it belongs logically after the first passage. Throughout it presupposes that Faust sees the magic signs, feels their influence, and tries to evoke the Earth-Spirit *for the first time*. Any other supposition would be absurd. But now comes a fourth passage, lines 115-164, embracing Faust's dialogue with the Spirit. He says, line 122,

Ich fühl's, du schwebst um mich, erflehter Geist.”

“Aber,” says Scherer, “der Geist ist noch gar nicht erfleht. Faust hat ihn noch mit keinem Wort um sein Erscheinen gebeten. Er hat nur sein Zeichen auf sich einwirken lassen. Er hat auch nicht ‘lang’ an der Sphäre des Geistes gesogen, wie dieser, Z. 131 behauptet.” Scherer accordingly concludes that passages three and four can not have been originally intended to go together and he develops his theory of the First Monologue thus:

First passage: Faust has devoted himself to magic but lacks the means of evoking spirits.

Lacking scene: A book is brought to him.

Third passage: He opens the book and experiences the magic influence of the signs.

Lacking scene or lines: He attempts unsuccessfully to evoke a spirit. After this the fourth passage would be quite in order.

But what then of the second passage? Scherer concludes that this was written as a substitute for the first. The assumption here was to be that Faust had the book but that in his study it was of no use to him. He was, therefore, to go out into the open air and mayhap evoke a spirit there, as in the Volks-

buch. This plan was then given up but instead of rejecting the lines written in accordance with it, Goethe simply inserted them where we find them, bridged over the awkward gap with the words

"Ihr schwebt, ihr Geister, neben mir,  
Antwortet mir, wenn ihr mich hört,"

and counted upon the world's never discovering what he had done. He did not think, observes Scherer, that people would scrutinize his work as closely as we have just done. He thought that the general connection was clear and that the imagination of the reader or the spectator would help him over trifling inconsistencies. And this is what has happened. Multitudes have read the lines and have heard them on the stage without discovering that there is anything wrong with them. Scherer concludes the entire essay with a highly interesting remark concerning the general bearing of investigations of this kind. "If," he observes, "in a work of Goethe, which has the appearance of unity, there are found differences of style, contradictions, and varying presuppositions with regard to the same thing, then it follows incontestably that these things do not necessarily prove the workmanship of different authors."

What now is to be said of all this? I desire to draw attention to what I can not help regarding as the weakness of this line of criticism. Let no one suppose that I am about to engage in a wholesale or over-confident polemic against Scherer. I should hardly venture upon such an enterprise as that even if my sense of gratitude to him were much weaker than it is. To be perfectly frank, it is chiefly my admiration of the man and of his work that has compelled me, as a student and a teacher of *Faust*, to endeavor to make my peace with his theories. Let this much, then, be said at the outset: Interesting and plausible his reasoning is beyond a doubt. He has certainly given us much to think of. Further; that his speculations and conclusions are *possibly* correct, and that this part of the great mosaic *may* have been put together as he suggests, is undeniable. But the question which I wish to raise is: Is the evidence after all in any proper sense of the word decisive, so that Scherer's view deserves to be accepted as a part of our knowledge with regard to the *Faust*-poem. I wish to accent certain considerations which he has not, indeed, ignored, but kept less prominently in view, perhaps, than they deserve. In doing this,

I do not feed my fancy with the sugared supposition that I shall offer anything altogether new to those who are learned in the literature of Faust-commentary or even that I shall be able to build up an overwhelming argument. It will quite content me if, keeping on tolerably familiar ground, I succeed in presenting clearly certain lines of reflection which, to my own mind at least, have some weight as a counterpoise to Scherer's conclusions.

Let us inquire first as to the *a priori* probability that Scherer's analysis of the First Monologue is correct. I am aware, of course, that *a priori* reasoning cannot count for much before the tribunal of philology, but it may at least help to give us the right point of view from which the First Part of "Faust" is to be looked at and from which the philological argument can be estimated at its true value.

As Schröder very properly argues, it has been too commonly assumed by critics that those portions of the First Part of *Faust* which first appeared in 1808, were not in existence in 1790; and were written after work upon *Faust* was resumed by Goethe in 1797. But we know not only from the most convincing internal evidence, but also from external testimony, that Goethe did not in 1790 send to his Leipzig publisher everything that he had upon the subject of *Faust*. In one of Schiller's earliest letters to Goethe, written in November, 1794, the writer expresses a desire to read the unprinted scenes of *Faust*, and Goethe replies characteristically that he does not dare open the package containing them. So there were unprinted scenes in 1794. How extensive were they? I cannot pause to discuss the question here but it appears to me probable that one-half the new matter of 1808 was really in existence substantially as we have it in 1790. But whatever be the value of this estimate, the "Fragment" was in no sense the emptying of a chest. If any doubt on the point could still remain it would be set at rest by the words of Goethe written November 5th, 1789: "Faust ist fragmentirt, das heisst in seiner Art für diesmal abgethan." He would not have used that curious verb "fragmentiren" for the mere decision to publish an incomplete work. It means, of course, that he had on that day completed the selection and arrangement of materials for publication. On what principle was this selection made? I am unable to see that the mere exigencies of book-making had anything to do with it. Nor can the choice have been determined by considerations of poetic merit since, unless all in-

dications fail, much of that which was kept back was of the very best that Goethe ever wrote. There seems to be no conclusion left except that the Fragment was the result of a deliberate artistic selection performed with reference to the contingency of future completion. The poet gave to the public at that time the scenes with which he was satisfied; the scenes that he was sure of, both as to their inner structure and as to their connection with his general plan. And he published them designedly in such form that he could thereafter, should the time ever arrive, complete the work by a process of filling in and without retracting or erasing anything.

But if we take this view of the Fragment, how is it possible to suppose that the opening monologue is what Scherer would have us suppose, a concatenation of discordant elements? Why was not that dissonant second passage, the product according to Scherer of a new plan and a new beginning, withheld? It would have been so easy to withhold it when so much else was kept back. But Goethe counted, says Scherer, upon the world's not discovering the incongruity. This is to my mind unsatisfactory. Goethe had, especially at this time of his life, a sensitive poetic conscience. If the first scene of *Faust* had really been a rather clumsy piece of patchwork, such as Scherer finds it to be, it would have seemed a serious thing to its author. Those awkward and unintelligible transitions would have stuck in his throat whenever, as he often did, he attempted to read the scene to his friends.

Or if there were numerous lacunae in the scene, how is it that they were not subsequently filled up? July 1, 1797, Goethe writes to Schiller: "Ich lasse jetzt das Gedruckte wieder abschreiben, und zwar in seine Theile getrennt, da denn das Neue desto besser mit dem Alten zusammenwachsen kann." Why, then, was not the First Monologue distributed and the gaps filled up? That is precisely the kind of work which the poet was doing for the next four years. How seriously he took this work, how earnestly he pondered upon it, we can see from the Schiller-Goethe correspondence. Even when, from his recently acquired classical predilections he was writing to Schiller contemptuously of *Faust*, he was nevertheless giving the best powers of his mind to it and especially to the poetic and philosophic coherence of the whole.

My contention is then that the First Part of *Faust* underwent

a careful redaction at the hands of its author with reference to its inner congruity, and that when in 1806 he put his poetical *imprimatur* upon it and sent it away to his publisher he supposed he had made an intelligible work of art. Or is this after all a mistake? In the "Tag=und Jahreshefte" for 1806 we read this entry: "Faust in seiner jetzigen Gestalt fragmentarisch behandelt." Concerning which Scherer comments as follows: "Fragmentarisch behandelt, was heisst das? Das Werk war kein Ganzes aber es sollte als solches gelten: der Plan war nicht ausgeführt aber er sollte als ausgeführt angesehen werden." But is not this to make words mean more than they do mean? Goethe had discovered, just when nobody knows, that he could not carry out his plan within the limits of a single drama and so had decided to publish a First Part.

How he intended that First Part to be looked upon cannot be doubtful. The work appeared at Easter, 1808, in vol. 8, of the first Cotta edition. The first thing in the volume after the title page and the table of contents, is the title occupying a full page, *Faust eine Tragödie*. Then come the *Zueignung*, the *Vorspiel* and the *Prolog*, and after that the title *Der Tragödie erster Theil*. How painfully wide of the mark it is, then, to write as Prof. J. S. Blackie writes in the *Nineteenth Century*, for April, 1886. "There certainly was not to be looked for" (namely, in Goethe's old age), says Blackie, "a consistent continuation of what had been for thirty years before the public as a 'tragedy'—for a tragedy certainly it is as the title page bears, in the main: a very human tragedy in which a dreamy vague speculation, joined to a monstrous intellectual ambition, plunging for relief of its overstrain into a current of sentimental sensuality, lands all concerned, as it always must do, in ruin . . . . . In this last scene and with these last words ("hither to me"), the tragedy is both dramatically and morally wound up. No continuation is required."—Surely Faust-criticism of this sort need not detain us.

I find then no difficulty in the words "fragmentarisch behandelt," and no occasion for resorting to Scherer's line of reflection. He would have us believe, apparently, that toward the end Goethe became weary of *Faust*. He was too much preoccupied, or too indolent or too indifferent to carry out his necessary plans, and so, anxious to be rid at last of a matter that had been perplexing him so long, he cut short his work, leaving gaps

that he had planned to fill, contradictions that he had hoped to remove, imperfect scenes that he had intended to complete and bundled the whole off to Cotta and entered in his journal by way of private commentary on this procedure "Faust fragmentarisch behandelt." But surely no such interpretation is forced upon us. It is true that many a plan had been given up; many a motif, after awhile engaging the fancy of the poet and being partly worked out, had been abandoned. But it was abandoned because something else seemed upon the whole better. The rejected idea we find, or perhaps we do not find, in the *Paralipomena*. That which seemed better we have in the text.

This, therefore, I deem a sound principle to go by in the study of *Faust*. When we find an apparent incongruity, we are to ask ourselves the question: What did the poet probably think of this matter? Did he see it? Possibly he did not; in which case it must be indeed a trifle. But if we conclude that the difficulty could not have escaped the poet's attention, then it will be proper to inquire how he could let it stand. And if we reject for the most part, as I am disposed to do, the theory of listlessness and the theory of clandestine botchwork, we shall generally be brought to the conclusion that the author of *Faust* let the incongruity stand because, considering the character and scope of the work, he did not deem it of sufficient importance to be worth the trouble and the risk of rewriting. And then we shall be disposed to inquire how he could look upon it as unimportant; by what process of thought he could allow his mind to glide over it without a shock.

One who looks at *Faust* constantly from this point of view will be led, I think, to a critical attitude somewhat different from that of Scherer. Such a student will not close his eyes upon real difficulties or try to reason them out of existence by means of far-fetched metaphysical explanations. But, on the other hand, he will not go in search of incongruities or press too hard those that cross his path. In general he will be rather disinclined to build up complex theories relative to changes of plan. His delight will be not so much in working that hypothesis as in showing how it can be dispensed with. In endeavoring to think the thought of Goethe he will prefer to find order and coherency if possible and when he meets with a difficulty, will put forth his utmost exertions to find a rational, plausible, philological explanation of it. Only when his best efforts in that

direction fail will he fall back upon a theory which really means, when one stops to think of it, that his poet has been slyly imposing upon him.

I return after this somewhat prolonged discussion to Faust's Monologue. Is it possible to find for that a rational, plausible interpretation which shall evade none of Scherer's arguments and, at the same time, render his hypothesis unnecessary? I mean, of course, a philological interpretation, since any resort to metaphysic would be for myself tantamount to an unconditional surrender. If we must have a *deus ex machina*, let it be by all means the "change of plan." The following attempt is submitted for what it is worth.

I begin by remarking that we have to do in the early portions of Faust with two elements, the *feeling* of the Storm-and-Stress epoch and the *externals* of the sixteenth century. It is the essential character of the drama at this point that the youthful Goethe speaks to us through the mouth of the legendary Faust. In places the legendary element is dominant, in other places, the modern element. We have passages which give us little more than sixteenth century *costume* and others which are instinct with the emotion of the era ushered in by Rousseau, of the Storm-and-Stress era, of the man Goethe. Now the drama begins with a costume-passage. The poet is following the crude dramatic art of the puppet-plays. Faust sets forth his disappointment over the results of his study. He has sacrificed enjoyment and has gained neither wealth nor worldly honor and no dog would live longer thus. So he has devoted himself to magic in the hope of finding out many a secret and in order that he may no longer have to teach what he does not understand. We may go on and supply what the text does not say, but implies further on. He has got hold of a book—the book of Nostradamus, but thus far it has been of no use to him. He has pored over its symbols and has tried to put himself into communication with the Spirit-world, but in vain. This is a part of his trouble. As he broods in perplexity his attention is drawn to the light of the moon shining in at his window, and he bursts out into the apostrophe: "O didst thou but look for the last time upon my pain!" And here begins a passage which is not of costume but of the heart. What precedes is not the real characteristic Faust of Goethe at all, but only his adaptation of the popular Faust. But now the poet begins to breathe the

breath of his own life into him. In these lines speak the world-weariness and the transcendental longings of the Werther period. Faust's bitter description of his room, his interpretation of his pain as due to the unnaturalness of the scholar's life—all this is part of the great Rousseau gospel and came from the heart of Goethe. Much of it can be closely paralleled from his early letters. His mind was full of the antithesis—books and study *versus* nature and life. The soliloquist continues: God made man for the companionship of living nature and not for that of skeletons and mould? Why not go forth, then, into the open fields and take the book with me? Perhaps that it is the one thing needed to make the magic effective. It is idle to pore over the sacred signs in such a place,—the spirits can not hear me. And then, as if to give himself one last assurance that flight is necessary, he exclaims, "Ye are hovering near, ye spirits, answer me if ye hear me," i. e. if ye can and do hear me in such a place as this. And then he throws the book open, and it turns out that he is mistaken as to the necessity of flight. The spirits do hear him and the magic signs are efficacious.

All is in order so far. If any one is disposed to urge the question: Why should the spirits hear him this time when they have not heard him before, one can only say, why shouldn't they? Why should they hear him at all or why shouldn't they? Why does the ghost of the king appear just when needed to put the time out of joint for young Hamlet? In matters of this kind which lie at best outside the range of ordinary probability all must be left in the last analysis to the poet's fiat. Schröer explains this passage thus: At the words

"Umsonst, dass trocknes Sinnen hier  
Die heil'gen Zeichen dir erklärt,"

Faust is diverted from his purpose of taking the book out into the open air by subjective sensations which tell him that there are spirits near—a matter which would of course be readily managed upon the stage. In accordance with his view he punctuates with a period after "erklärt." Von Loeper and Düntzer have a colon, Hart a semi-colon; but the Fragment of 1790 has only a comma, and, while in general not the slightest importance attaches to the punctuation of the first edition, yet I am not sure but that in this case it is significant.

But whether one take Schröer's view of the connection of thought here intended or the one I have suggested, there is no

difficulty which need call for a formidable theory like that of Scherer. Nor do I see any such difficulty in what follows. As Faust looks at the sign of the Earth-Spirit he experiences a sudden accés of energy and of the will to do and dare. Feeling confident of the Spirit's proximity he exclaims:

“Ich fühl's! Du schwebst um mich erflehter Geist.”

I will not put myself in the ridiculous attitude of seeming to have an opinion against Scherer on the meaning of a German word. But I will say, that but for his confident language I should not have supposed it necessary to take the participle “erflehter” precisely as he takes it. A little further on the Spirit says:

“Mich neigt dein mächtig Seelenflehn,”

and if this metaphor was then in the mind of the poet it would seem possible to take the compound “erflehen,” as referring to the “entreaty of the soul.” But I attach no importance to this suggestion, very likely it is worthless. Let the word be taken in the sense, “der du von mir erfleht worden bist.” Is it then so difficult to imagine that Faust has previously entreated the Spirit to appear? And is the necessity for this use of the imagination proof conclusive that a scene is lacking in which an unsuccessful attempt should be brought before the spectator? It is not necessary to understand that Faust now sees the sign and invokes the Spirit for the first time, but only that former experiments have been futile. This time, however, he is to succeed, as he is admonished by the tension of his own feelings and by the supernatural phenomena duly provided for in the text.

In the seven unrhymed lines beginning

“Es wölkt sich über mir,”

Scherer sees of course a part of his original prose *Faust*. I, however, go with Schröer in thinking them an afterthought—a later interpolation, though I cannot agree with him in thinking that they were inserted for “picturesque effect.” They were a histrionic necessity. Faust is supposed to be in a condition of intense excitement. But to the spectator there is no occasion for excitement. All that he would see without the unrhymed lines would be a man looking at a picture in a book. It was needful to provide ocular grounds for Faust's confidence in the proximity of the Spirit and for his consequent excitement. I

conjecture that Goethe saw this and inserted the lines after his own experience as an amateur actor had sharpened his sense for stage requirements.

As to the last line to which Scherer takes exception, . . . . .

"Du hast  
An meiner Sphäre lang gesogen,"

the same reasoning applies to it as to the phrase "erflehter Geist."

And therewith we are at the end of our difficulties. We have found nothing in the connection of the thought which necessitates Scherer's hypothesis. But how is it with the stylistic and metrical considerations upon which he lays such stress? What I think of these has been hinted at. The first passage is a passage of costume. It is prosaic, popular, discursive, cold, poor in epithets and in compounds expressive of poetic feeling *because there is no poetic feeling in it*. The author is imitating a model and holding his subject at arm's length. The second, on the other hand, is a passage of the heart. It is poetical, warm, rhythmical, rich in adjectives and compounds expressive of emotion, because it is *poetry* and voices the inner being of the man who wrote it. It is precisely the characteristic of Goethe that his rhythmical form weds itself perfectly to the character of his thought. For a prosaic matter he has a prosaic rhythm, and for poetic feeling a poetic measure. This art may be largely unconscious, but it is none the less real. Difference of meter, of poetic temperature and of color, does not prove difference of age or change of poetic intent.

But obviously the crucial test of the worth of my argument would be the production of other juxtaposed passages in which the same differences of language, meter and "inner form," can be seen as in those just discussed. Scherer in effect challenges the world to do this. I turn to the first scene headed "Studierzimmer." It begins with a passage of the heart:

"Verlassen hab' ich Feld und Auen,  
Die eine tiefe Nacht bedeckt,  
Mit ahnungsvollem, heil'gem Grauen  
In uns die bessere Seele weckt.  
Entschlafen sind nun wilde Triebe,  
Mit jedem ungestümen Thun;  
Es regt sich die Menschenliebe  
Die Liebe Gottes regt sich nun."

The lines are all poetry, all Stimmung. They are rich in

epithets expressive of feeling. The meter is regular the anacrusis never wanting. Then follows a passage of costume :

“Sei ruhig Pudel ! renne nicht hin und wieder.  
An der Schwelle was schnoperst du hier ?  
Lege dich hinter den Ofen nieder,  
Mein bestes Kissen geb' ich dir.  
Wie du draussen auf dem bergigen Wege  
Durch Rennen und Springen ergötzt uns hast,  
So nimm nun auch von mir die Pflege,  
Als ein willkommner stiller Gast.”

The language is prosaic, argumentative, cold. It has but few adjectives and those are of neutral character. The verse is doggerel, the anacrusis twice wanting. Then follows a passage of the heart, concerning which the same is to be said as concerning the first :

Ach ! wenn in unsrer engen Zelle,  
Lie Lampe freundlich wieder brennt,  
Dann wird's in unserm Busen helle,  
Im Herzen das sich selber kennt.  
Vernunft fängt wieder an zu sprechen,  
Und Hoffnung wieder an zu blühen,  
Man sehnt sich nach des Lebens Bächen,  
Ach ! nach des Lebens Quelle hin.”

Then follows a passage of costume whereof the same is to be said as of the second :

“Knurre nicht Pudel !” etc.

I find in these alternating passages substantially all the marks of difference upon which Scherer relies to prove the heterogeneity of the First Monologue ; and unless one is prepared to contend that we have here proof of two or more different poetic plans, it is difficult to see why the same sort of evidence should lead to that conclusion with regard to the scene discussed by Scherer.

VIII.—*Guillaume de Dole: an unpublished Old French Romance.*

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THE only known manuscript of the Old French metrical romance quoted as *Guillaume de Dole*, but entitled by its author the "*Romans de la Rose*," is preserved in the Library of the Vatican at Rome (Regina, No. 1725). It is a small folio of the fourteenth century, on parchment, 130 leaves, inscribed in a neat and sufficiently legible Gothic character, without ornamentation; and, with the exception of several leaves at the beginning, which are lost, is in a good state of preservation. The MS. contains:

(1) The *Roman de la Charrette*, by Chrestien de Troyes, of which the first part is wanting as far as the verse "El que tot plot desus le flot," col. 49 by the old numbering (col. 1, by the new. This poem extends to fol. 34<sup>b</sup>).

(2) The *Chevalier au Lyon*, by the same author, (fol. 34<sup>c</sup>-68<sup>b</sup>).

(3) *Guillaume de Dole* (68<sup>c</sup>-98<sup>c</sup>), author unknown.

(4) *Meraugis de Porlesguez* (98<sup>d</sup>-130<sup>d</sup>) by Raoul de Houdenc.

Apparently the earliest mention of the poem of *Guillaume de Dole* is made by Claude Fauchet, Historiographer and President de la Cour des Monnaies, in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It appears at present established that Fauchet was acquainted with the poem through the manuscript now at Rome. This opinion has been several times expressed. Ferdinand Wolf, in his work on Raoul de Houdenc, p. 4, note 2, (Ueber Raoul de Houdenc, und insbesondere seinen Roman Meraugis de Porlesguez Wien, 1865, 4to), cites Fauchet, "in desser Besitz wohl früher die Vaticanische Handschrift war." Compare also 'Histoire littéraire de la France,' xxiii. 707, "Fauchet, d'après ce roman, qu'il avait lu peut-être dans le manuscrit qui

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his work: *De l'origine de la langue et poésie française, ryme et romans*, Paris, 1581, 4to, pp. 139, 145, &c.; and *Oeuvres*. Paris 1610, fol. 529b.

est maintenant à Rome." M. Servois, of the Archives Nationales at Paris, informs me that the Vatican MS. Regina 1725 is marked with Fauchet's name—a fact which I did not discover in my own examination of the manuscript. From M. Gaston Paris I learn that most of Fauchet's manuscripts found their way into the possession of Queen Christina. Fauchet's citations, moreover, from Guillaume de Dole accord with my own copy in such a way as to indicate that the variations are only inadvertences of printing.

Roquefort, *Glossaire* II. 769, col. 1, mentions "Guillaume de Dole, fonds de Cangé."

In the early part of the present century, J. Görres<sup>2</sup> refers to this MS. as "unter Nro., 1725, in der Bibliothek Christine in Rom aufgestellt."

No analysis of the poem has hitherto appeared. Görres, (l. c.) indicates in a few words its subject and plot with sufficient completeness to make it seem probable that he had read the entire poem, but his chief interest was confined, as was the case with Fauchet and the few subsequent investigators who have consulted the MS., to the numerous chansons and fragments of chansons which are intercalated in the romance. Fauchet directs especial attention to these chansons, citing the names of several of the authors, as given in the text, and quoting, at the same time, longer or shorter specimens of the chansons.

Mention is made of the MS. by F. H. von der Hagen, *Briefe in die Heimath*, Breslau, 1818, Thl. II., p. 342, (cf Wolf, l. c., p. 4, note 2), but I have not been able to consult this book.

Many years later, in *Romvart, Beiträge zur Kunde mittelalterlicher Dichtung aus italiänischer Bibliotheken*, Mannheim & Paris, 1844, Adelbert Keller published extracts of some length, from the beginning and end of the poem, including a few of the chansons. (1-406; 5597-5624).

Towards 1850, Messrs. Daremberg and Renan, upon their "mission scientifique et littéraire en Italie," undertook, at the instance of M. Paulin Paris, to examine the Vatican MS. with special reference to these chansons. Their report, in the "Archives des Missions, etc.," for the year 1850, Paris 1855, pp. 279-292, contains a considerable number, but by no means all of them. In two instances the copyist, in making his transcrip-

<sup>2</sup>Altdeutsche volks- und meisterslieder S. XLVIII—an error of pagination; read LVIII—Frankfort-am-Main, 1817. 8vo.

tion, appears to have turned two leaves at a time, without discovering his error. This fact, together with a certain number of other inaccuracies in transcription, has led the authors of the Report to believe in a serious corruption of the text, which later investigations fail to establish.

The quotations given by Fauchet and by Keller were the only resource of M. Littré in the preparation of the notice of Guillaume de Dole which appears in the *Histoire littéraire*, XXII, 820-828.

In his edition of "*Romanzen und Pastourellen*," Bartsch published several of the longer and more complete chansons, including a few that had already been published by MM. Daremberg and Renan. Later, in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, XI (1870), Bartsch collected all of the remaining unpublished songs and fragments of songs. The subject of these chansons will be recurred to further on.

Various interesting questions concerning the title, subject, authorship, date, sources, etc. of the poem, which call for treatment in this study, will be more clearly raised and more intelligently discussed after the presentation of a summary analysis.

In an introduction of thirty verses the author dedicates his poem to Miles de Nantheuil (of whom later) and asserts his claim to being the first to intercalate chansons in such a work, an invention in which he boasts of having so happily succeeded in making the songs suit the circumstances they are intended to embellish, that they could readily be thought to be of his own composition. In the present analysis no attempt will be made to indicate these frequently recurring intercalations, which lend so graceful a charm and so pleasing a variety to the simple narrative which follows:

There reigned long ago in Germany an Emperor Conrad, endowed with every royal grace and every manly virtue. Never, since the famous siege of Troy, has there been seen his equal in courtesy, gallantry, prowess and honor. It was often his wont to invite from far and near the lords and ladies of his realm to join him in the pleasures of the chase, and in all the festivities naturally attending such a sport. The old and the poor as well, in their turn, are made the objects of his munificent generosity. One only anxiety troubles the hearts of his loyal subjects; it is the fear lest he who had gained them 'maint jor maint grant honor,' but who is still unmarried, may die without

leaving an heir and successor to his throne. Often, but in vain, the great vassals of the empire exhort him to lay this case to heart. The Emperor responds to their importunities only by inaugurating new sports in field and forest. (31-617).

Now it happened that the Count of Guerre (Gueldre) and the Duke of Bavaria were at war, nor would the latter, for indemnity or entreaty, grant a truce. The Emperor repairs to the scene of hostilities, "appeases" the parties, and induces the Duke (not without difficulty) to give the Count the kiss of conciliation. Peace is thus restored, and Conrad sets out to return to one of his castles on the Rhine. One afternoon, as the day grows sultry, the Emperor begins to suffer drowsiness from the heat and fatigues of the way. In order to arouse and refresh himself, he sends for Juglet, his wise and witty "vieleur." Rallying him for being so chary of his company, the Emperor throws an arm about his neck, and begs him for a story. Juglet relates of a certain valiant and love-stricken knight of Champagne whose merits and beauty he so highly praises that Conrad is fain to interrupt him with the exclamation, "Would that it might cost me five hundred marks, and the burning of my castle this very night, if only I could meet with such another knight as he. But say on, Juglet, for if the lady were as charming as the knight was valiant, that were a marvel indeed!" "*Mult preux* was the knight, replies Juglet, but all that is nothing compared to the lady's beauty,"—whose description he proceeds to give at length. At its close the Emperor declares that, as for the knight, if he were well assured that such a one existed in France, not a day should pass without his summoning him to court. But as for the lady, he has not a word to say. He expects to die without having had such a friend, for her like is surely not to be found within his realms. "*Vos dites merveille*," rejoins Juglet, "I myself know a brother and sister who, between them, more than answer all the conditions." Conrad continues his inquiries, and learns that the knight in question is called Guillaume de Dole, and his sister Lienor—a name which love stamps as with a stencil on his heart. The decision is at once reached to despatch a messenger for Guillaume the next morning. (618-849).

Meanwhile the Emperor and his suite have arrived at the Royal Castle. Dinner ended, Conrad retires, and the guests disperse, while Juglet summons to the Emperor's bedside a

“clerc,” who is provided with ink, parchment and all necessary articles, and the letter of invitation is duly indited. The next morning the messenger, Nicole, is off for Dole, where in less than eight days he arrives. After refreshing himself at the inn, he repairs to Guillaume’s manor, to deliver the letter and an accompanying oral message. This mission he accomplishes with the most becoming grace, in the presence of a company of knights, recently returned from a tournament at Rougemont, whom he finds Guillaume entertaining in the great hall. Before breaking the golden seal, Guillaume carries the letter to his mother’s room, in order to open it in her presence. The seal he gives to his sister Lienor for a brooch. “Now I have good reason to congratulate myself,” she responds, “since I am presented with a king.” It is promptly decided, in family council, that Guillaume shall accept the royal invitation, and he then leaves his mother and sister to join his guests at dinner. Guillaume loses no time in announcing to his companion knights that he had hoped to spend a week with them in the chase, but that now he must set off to-morrow for the Court. After the repast he again retires to consult with his mother as to the companions he will take with him on his important visit. The choice of two being made, he sends for them and bids them prepare to depart with him on the morrow. (850-1102).

Not till now does Guillaume present to his mother and sister the royal messenger. Be well assured that this introduction was no ordinary favor, for such uncommon beauty their unexpected guest had never seen before. After directing Nicole’s attention to the needlework on which his mother is engaged and having praised her skill and industry, Guillaume requests her to sing for them, to which she graciously accedes. The sister’s turn follows, and only when Lienor has sung a second song does her brother consider her acquitted. For the honor of Guillaume and the love of the Emperor, the mother bestows on the delighted Nicole an *aumônière*, and the daughter presents him with a brooch; then Guillaume and he return to the great hall, where a handsome supper is awaiting them. (1102-1269).

The next morning, many are the tears shed at parting.—On the last day of their journey to court, Nicole and one of the knights pass on ahead, to arrange for Guillaume’s arrival. Before going to the Castle, Nicole stops in the market to engage lodgings with a bourgeois, and sends back word to Guill-

laume, who arrives close behind. Meanwhile Nicole presents himself before the Emperor, to whose many questions he replies, while Juglet hurries off to find and welcome his friend Guillaume. Calling Nicole apart, the Emperor inquires of him if he has also seen Guillaume's sister, "Hush!" replies Nicole, "say no more, for no man, unless he have confessed, should venture to speak of such a marvel. For beauty and simplicity she is without a peer; nay rather, Belle Lienor surpasses all others as gold excels all the other metals in the world." "It seems," rejoins the Emperor, "that she does no discredit to her beautiful name; and what have you to tell me of her brother?" "He is all that is bravest and best, replies Nicole.—"Go quickly and see that he has all that he desires at his hotel; I shall have no comfort till he comes." (1270-1437).

Meanwhile Juglet has found his friend Guillaume, who is indebted to him for this happy honor of an invitation to Court. Their greeting is joyous, and Juglet explains the meaning of the unexpected summons from the Emperor, and all the circumstances leading up to it. Luncheon, to which the host, the hostess, and their pretty daughter are invited, is served to Guillaume and Juglet at the hotel, before starting out for the Castle. And upon their arrival there, to make the story short, never since Paris of Troy, was knight received at emperor's court with so much joy and honor. "*Biaus amis,*" is the Emperor's greeting "*m't ai desirre voz solaz*; twenty days have I been waiting your coming." Hand in hand they move to the "dais," and the others follow two by two. Conrad wishes to seat the gentle knight at his side, but with becoming modesty, the latter and his companions take their places a little lower down. The conversation is now turned by Juglet upon an approaching tournament, to be held in a fortnight at Sainteron. Guillaume at once proposes to Juglet that they attend it, adding that he has all the necessary armor, with the exception of the helmet; he has lost his at the Rougemont tournament. "Then you shall have the best in all Germany," remarks the Emperor. Forthwith his chamberlain Baudoin is sent to fetch a magnificent helmet of Senlis make, studded with precious stones, whose price would build a tower. After the helmet has been graciously accepted and praised by the proud recipient, the table is set and dinner served. The conversation still runs upon the tournament, but while the rest boast of their prospective feats, Guill-

aume confirms the Emperor's esteem by guarding a modest and prudent silence, (1438-1728).

The report ended, the *ménétriers* make their appearance. Some sing, and others relate. Roncesvaux and Perceval are the themes of their song and recitation. And when conversation follows in its turn, Guillaume shows that this is an accomplishment in which he can easily hold his own with the courtly barons, and now, without a word, the Emperor takes him by the hand and conducts him aside—but not to listen to the story of Charlemagne.

Ainz s'en vont en .i. lit seoir  
 Ou il gastent pres tot le soir  
 En demander de ses noveles;  
 Celes qui plus li fussent beles  
 N'osa il onques amentoiure,  
 Por ce qu'il doute l'aperçoiure  
 De lui et de ses compegnons.  
 Et Jougles lor a dit chançons  
 Et fabliaus ne sai .iiij. ou .iiij.

As the party is breaking up, the Emperor exclaims, "It is good to drink after singing." So the '*eschanson*' are summoned, and after the King the brother of Belle Lienor is the first to quaff. Who drank last even the author does not know, but Guillaume's two companions do not forget to remind Juglet of a promise he has given the hostess' daughter to return and sing for her. Accordingly he accompanies the party with his "viele," Baudoin also carrying the helmet. So they come to their lodging, torches are lighted, the Belle Aaliz is found, mother and daughter accompany the jolly party to their apartments, and there fruit and wine are served in plenty. Till nearly midnight the company sing and entertain, themselves. When Baudoin, the chamberlain, is about to take his leave, the gentle Guillaume presents him with a 'sorcot' of finest quality, and then gives a 'chape' to the host and an ermine robe to Juglet; last of all he presents a *fermail* to the worthy hostess, and then a parting song is sung by the hostess' daughter to Juglet's accompaniment on the *viele*.

Putting on the "sorcot" to do honor to the giver, Baudoin repairs forthwith to the Emperor, who is already in bed. The latter's first question is, "Baudoin, who gave you such a sorcot?" "One," replies the chamberlain, "who has no wish to lend on usury. Never was there so generous a being. Since

I left you he has given away in dress and jewels the value of a hundred pounds. At this rate he will soon be rid of his fortune."—"Never fear," said the Emperor, "for he shall have enough." (1729-1879.)

The next morning Conrad bethinks himself of his generous guest. He sends him five hundred livres 'couloignois' in ready money, and to his two companions two 'destriers de prix' and two silver 'coupes.' At early mass Guillaume meets the Emperor and thanks him. He then dictates three letters: one to his mother, with three hundred pounds of the Emperor's gift for the expenses at home; the second to his companions at Dole, bidding them make all preparations and come without fail to the approaching tournament; and the third to one of his burgher friends at Liège, of whom he orders a full suit of armor for the grand occasion. To pass more pleasantly the fortnight until the tournament, the Emperor decides to go to Trèves. From there Guillaume and many of the Court send on to Sainteron, to engage their lodgings in advance. Guillaume retains quarters for forty knights. He also arranges to disguise himself from the Emperor on the day of the tournament; and sets off ahead, with thirty followers, for Sainteron, where he finds awaiting him the armor he has ordered from Liège. The next day his companions arrive from Dole, and Guillaume learns from them that there is not a brave knight in all the country who is not on his way to Sainteron—among them the Count of Champagne, the Sire of Coucy, Gaucher de Châtillon, and many others. The knights are coming in from all directions, four times as many as one would think could find accommodations in three such towns. The next day Juglet follows, and finds Guillaume already installed in his hostelry. The latter rallies Juglet on his abandonment, and asks who has come with him. "A crowd of Germans," replies Juglet, "who have wearied me to death. I am dying of hunger and thirst."—"Go along with your Germans," retorts Guillaume—but notwithstanding, he orders refreshments for Juglet in haste. (1880-2205).

It is Sunday, and many of the knights, in order to honor the day, have taken a vow not to bear arms, so they saddle their horses and start out for a ride. But no sooner have they passed the gate, than a messenger from the Duke of Louvain brings them word not to go out into the fields, for at the Castle it is the *fête* that night of the good martyr, St. George. There is

nothing for it but to return to the city. There they pass the rest of the afternoon in the pleasures of the table. When night has come on, it seems as if the whole city were in a blaze, so brightly is it illuminated with torches; while the sound of instruments of music is so great, that it would drown the thunder. But, with all the coming and going, Guillaume prefers to remain at his own hotel and to have the others come to him; for he wishes it to appear how great is the joy that reigns there. And so it happened that all the dukes and distinguished personages make their way to him, and entertain themselves in his company with conviviality and music. It was a feast to satisfy even the most affluent of the guests. In order, at length, to break up the company, it is proposed to consider him the most courteous who shall be the first to leave. (2206-2398).

The next morning, after mass and breakfast, an early start is made for the lists, for it is the great day of the tourney. Mounted on the finest palfrey of them all, and followed by a hundred and twenty valets only to carry the lances, Guillaume, with his companion knights, sallies forth. Juglet and others sing upon the road. Guillaume is admired by all the fair damsels along the route, and soon his cavalcade passes before the Emperor, who is stationed on horseback. Notwithstanding the knight's disguise, Conrad soon singles out his favorite guest by the admiration Guillaume excites in all who see him pass. Making his way through the crowd, the Emperor rushes up to Guillaume and throwing his arms about his neck exclaims:

—“Guillaume, par S. Pol  
Bien vos estes vers moi celez!”

What greater honor could a knight desire?

The Emperor and the Comte d'Aloz move off together to review the French as they arrive. Guillaume opens the tournament by jousting with a Fleming, whom he unhorses. A second antagonist he takes prisoner, and makes a present of his horse to Juglet. Guillaume then contends in eight jousts, seven of which he wins, and finishes the days exploits by splendid struggles with Michiel de Harnes, and Eudes, Sire de Ronqueroles. In this tournament the Germans highly honor their Emperor, and the French their “Seignorie de France.” To crown all, Conrad sends out his seneschals, after its conclusion, with money to redeem the pledges of all those who wish to avail

themselves of so generous an offer. Upon his return to Sain-teron, Guillaume is again the observed of all observers, and at supper he sits down with no less than fifteen prisoners. All night long foreign knights and barons arrive at the hotel in search of their companions, whom they either ransom or provide with hostages. Guillaume makes easy terms with all who come to him, but at the same time sends away his companion knights and valets rich with gains and presents, while he himself returns to court. (2578-2945).

Next morning the Court sets out for Cologne, and the Emperor improves the occasion offered by the journey to open his mind to his still unsuspecting guest. "Come with me, Monseigneur Guillaume, I have something to say to you." They withdraw from the throng of courtiers, and the Emperor continues: "I hear you have a sister who is worthy of high honor."—"None would be more happy than I were she to win it."—

*Guill.* "Sire," fet il lues, "s'el l'avoit,  
Nujs n'en seroit plus liez de moi.

*Conrad* Fet 'li rois," "par l'ame de moi,  
L'en m'a dit que el est ml't bele  
Et si est encore pucele."

*Guill.* "Sire, certes," fet il, "c'est mon."

*Conrad* "Dites moi coment el a non,"  
(Ha! Dex, por qu'à il or ce dit?  
Ja l'a il si ou cuer escrit,  
Le non qui n'en puet issir fors).

*Guill.* "Si a non bele Lienors."

*Conrad* "Certes," fet l'Empereres frans;—  
L'amor en est lors plus plesans.  
Quant il en oit autrui parler;  
Et por ce ne l'osa nomer  
Por doutance de l'aperçoïure.

After so felicitous an introduction of the subject, Conrad reveals at length his desire to raise Guillaume's orphan sister to the dignity of empress. At first the modest knight believes the Emperor is only making sport of him; but being reassured, he replies seriously that this alliance cannot be, because all the high nobility would feel aggrieved. He recommends Conrad to sue rather for the King of France, and to give up all thought of the "orfenine" whom he (Guillaume) loves better, for that matter, than any Queen in the world. But Conrad will listen to

no objections, and explains how all difficulties may be overcome. His barons, he remarks, have long besought him to marry, in order to insure an heir to the kingdom. So now he is ready to accomplish their desire. "As soon as we arrive at Cologne," says he, "I will cause letters to be sent to all the barons of Germany, summoning them for the first of May to a parliament at Mayence. On that occasion, I will engage them, before divulging my wish, to grant me beforehand what I am about to ask:"

*Conrad* "Si lor proierai belement  
 Q'il me doignent entr'aus .i. don,  
 Par amors et par guerredon.  
 Ge sai bien qu'il le me donront ;  
 Et si tost com il le m'auront  
 Creanté debonerement,  
 Je ferai par lor sairement  
 Erroment le don confermer,  
 Q'il n'en porront arrier aler.  
 Puis lor dirai tot mon corage,  
 Que je voeil fere mariage  
 De moi et de vostre seror,  
 Que nule n'est si de l'onor  
 Digne por estre empereriz."

*Guill.* "Sire," fet il, "c. merciz ;"  
 "Or voi ge bien que c'est acertes."  
 Jointes ses mains li a offertes,  
 Si dit qu'il est a toz iors soens,  
 Qu'il a et de cuer et de sens  
 La parole bien devisee,  
 Puis ont la fin de lor jornee  
 Usee en deduit et en joie.

Guillaume being thus gained over, and the royal party having arrived at Cologne, the letters to the barons are prepared that very night. (2946-3103).

The Emperor has a noteworthy Seneschal, "qui tenait la terre vers Ais." He had not appeared at court since Guillaume's arrival, but he joins the Emperor at Cologne, where he occupies the highest rank in the royal household. Conrad, nevertheless, continues to pass all his time, whether at home or abroad, in Guillaume's company. As a consequence, the Seneschal

"En ot erròment grant envie :  
 Il fu toz les iors de sa vie  
 Assez plus fel que ne fu Keus.

Il estoit ades ovoec eus  
 Por engignier et por deçoïure,  
 Savoir s'il peüst aperçoïure  
 Por qu'il i a si grant amor.

He succeeds in overhearing their conversation, and in particular one of the songs into which Conrad is betrayed by the state of his feelings, from which he correctly concludes that all this sentimentality is not pure "chivalry," but is to be charged to the account of the stranger's sister. His treacherous plan for separating the two friends and bringing their designs to naught, is soon arranged. Leaving a part of his "gent" at court, he starts out, in all haste, for Dole, commending his excuses to the Emperor with the explanation that he has gone to arrange an affair of business in his own province, and will return without delay. On the way, he plans to ingratiate himself with Lienor, by representing himself as Guillaume's special friend at court, and so he hopes—perhaps only to extract some family secret or other piece of information which he may turn to account in bringing her into trouble. Having presented himself at Guillaume's "fort manoir," he is made most cordially welcome. His hostess, Guillaume's mother, invites him to remain, but he declines, on the ground that he must push on to Besançon, in order to judge a case the next morning. But he would have been ashamed, and Guillaume disappointed, if he had passed so near without stopping to see her. He accepts offered refreshments, and expresses a desire to see Mademoiselle, the sister of his friend. But this pleasure is denied him, the mother explaining that no man can be permitted to see Lienor during the absence of her brother. The Seneschal is disappointed, and prepares to take his leave; but before doing so, he makes use of a final ruse, in presenting the mother with a precious ring. She is so much affected by this mark of favor, as to be drawn into confidential conversation on the subject of her daughter, and so reveals the secret of Lienor's hidden birth-mark.

Ainz qu'en montast por chevauchier  
 Le son cheval qu'en tint au soeil,  
 Li ot ele dit a conseil  
 Tot son estre et son covine.  
 Uns beaus dons a mout grant mecine,  
 Qu'il fit maint mal plet dire et fere,  
 Si li a conté tot l'afere  
 De la rose desor la cuisse

Jamès nuls hom qui parler puisse  
 Ne verra si fete merveille  
 Come de la rose vermelle  
 Desor la cuisse blanche et tendre.  
 Il n'est merveille ne soit mendre  
 A oir, ce est nule doute.  
 La grant beauté li descript tote,  
 Et la maniere de son grant.  
 Ml't en est li berres en grant,  
 De tot enquerre et encerchier.  
 Quant il n'i ot mais qu'empeschier  
 Qu'en peüst par reson savoir  
 Par oir dire sanz veoir,  
 Lors dit a la dame, "il est tart;"  
 La dame lesse, si s'en part,  
 Et dit qu'il ert a toz jors soens.  
 Chetive vieille, hors dou sens,  
 Si mar vit cel jor et cel heure!

The Seneschal returns to Court, bearing with him the fatal secret:

Ci apres vient granz encombriers  
 A son hoes et a hoes autrui. (3104-3366).

Upon the Seneschal's return, the Emperor's first thought is to take him into his confidence, as one of the principal officers of the Crown, in regard to the desired marriage. He conducts the Seneschal apart, and broaches to him the subject of matrimony. The Seneschal feigns pleasure at the information, and inquires if he is to form an alliance with the royal house of France, and whether he expects to acquire large accessions of territory by his marriage. "The man" replies Conrad, who procures a wife

"——bonne et sage et bele  
 Et de bon lignage et pucele,"

has thereby found a handsome "*dot.*" "Such are hardly to be discovered now-a-days," returns the Seneschal. "That may be true in general," is the Emperor's response, but since the person in question possesses all these good qualities combined, why is she not as worthy of a kingdom as the daughter of a king? The Seneschal then inquires her name and having learned it, praises Guillaume freely, and admits that as far as beauty and elegance go, Lienor has certainly no rival. There is only one objection to the marriage, but that is a sufficiently grave one. At this the Emperor loses patience, and accuses the Seneschal

of envy, and of always taking the wrong side. He finally pushes the Seneschal to define his insinuations. The latter boasts, in reply, of what he himself knows, making a treacherous use of the secret confided to him by Lienor's mother, and describing the hidden mark. The cruel effect upon the Emperor can be imagined. He sets out at once with the Court for Mayence, where his low spirits cast a gloom over all about him. Guillaume dares not ask of him the cause of this sudden change. But the Emperor finally sends for him, and discloses to him the Seneschal's story. Guillaume, in turn, when the supposed evidence is produced, is completely broken down by it. He covers his head with his mantle, and flies to his hotel. Conrad also repairs to his palace, and gives way to the keenest regrets. (3367-3761).

One of Guillaume's knights, (who is a nephew of his and who appears now for the first time on the scene) passing before his uncle's lodgings, hears the sounds of lamentations and presents himself before Guillaume, to learn the cause. The latter relates the disgrace that has fallen on them all through the fault of Lienor, who had been destined to be Empress. He knows not how to avenge himself but by his tears. The nephew replies that Lienor is well worthy of death, and that he takes it upon himself to execute the sentence. Guillaume remonstrates, but his nephew, burning to carry out his cruel purpose, sets out for Dole without his knowledge. Guillaume remains shut up in his hotel, and the Emperor, by visiting him in person, does his utmost to render endurable his situation. Meanwhile the nephew arrives at Dole, and alights in the court of the manor. Hurrying past a valet who run out to welcome him, he draws his sword and, crying vengeance, is on the point of entering the house, when he stumbles, falls, and is caught and held fast by two sturdy men-servants. His aunt and Lienor appear, and the former soon learns from him the shameful story. She quickly recognizes her own imprudence, and the treachery of the Seneschal. Overwhelmed with grief, and taking the blame all upon herself, she faints away. But Lienor, by her protestations, succeeds in gaining her cousin's sympathy, and when her mother recovers consciousness, at once bravely promises her that before the month is out she (Lienor) will have dissipated the calumny of which she has been the victim.

Dame, fetes querre chevaux,

S'irai a cort veoir mon frere.  
 Onques si prodom com il ere  
 Ne morut por si fet damage.  
 Li siecles l'a pieça d'usage  
 Q'en dit ainz le mal que le bien ;  
 Or sachiez de fi une rien :  
 Ge m'en reviendrai tote lie,  
 Que cil qui reput sa mesnie  
 De .v. pains et de .ii. poissons  
 Au grant deoil que nos i avons  
 Nos i sauvera noz honorz.

She sends for two vavassors, to accompany her. Her cousin, now completely won to her side, aids in the preparations for her departure, and the four set out for the court. (3762-4085).

The barons are beginning to assemble for the parliament of the first of May. The demoiselle arrives also at Mayence, and obtains a suitable lodging with a bourgeoisie of the city. It is the great day of summoning the Parliament. The first question Lienor addresses to her hostess is to know the reason of the great concourse in the street. She learns for the first that the king has summoned a parliament to treat of the question of his marriage. Lienor calls together her little council, but it is only to aid her in the execution of a plan which she has already well matured. Having heard that the Seneschal was in love with the Châtelaine of Dijon, who has hitherto repulsed his advances, she sends to him, through the mediation of a valet, a belt, an *aumônière* and an emerald ring. These are represented as coming from the Châtelaine, who regrets having been so long obdurate to his entreaties, and who begs him, if he wishes to win her favor, to put on and wear, underneath his clothing, the belt she sends him. The valet finds the Seneschal at the Parliament, conducts him apart, and acquits himself perfectly of his delicate mission. The happy Seneschal makes haste to follow the directions he has received, and returns to the Parliament. During the absence of the valet, Lienor arrays herself in the most exquisite of attires, and upon his return, having learned of the success of her measure with the Seneschal, she mounts on horseback, and, accompanied by her knights, proceeds to the palace. There, in solemn conclave with his barons, sits the Emperor, while, in an adjoining apartment are heard the songs and lays of the minstrels. In his embarrassment and melancholy the Emperor is at a loss which way to turn, when

suddenly appears the Sire of Nivèle, who announces the arrival in the palace court of so wonderful a beauty that it would be difficult to say whether she were "fée ou fèmme." The Emperor, who is glad of any excuse to bréak up the Parliament, rises and leads the way, in order to judge for himself of this unexpected apparition. Lienor falls at his feet and refuses to rise until he shall have promised to repair her wrong. This condition is quickly granted. Conrad lifts the maiden to her feet, and then and there in the presence of all the barons of the realm, she begins her sorrowful plea. (4086-4745):

"Gentils Emperere honorez  
 "Por Deu, biau sire, or m'entendez:  
 "Si m'aït Dex, que mestiers m'est,  
 "Il fu .i. jors qui passez est,  
 "Que cil là vostres seneschaus,  
 "(Lors le mostre as emperiaus).  
 "Vint en .i. lieu par aventure  
 "Qu ge fesoie ma cousture,  
 "Si me fist ml't let et outrage,  
 "Qu'il me toli mon pucelage,  
 "Et apres cele grant ledure,  
 "Si m'a tolué ma ceinture,  
 "Et m'aumosniere et mon fermail.  
 "Ice demant au seneschal,  
 "Et m'onor et mon pucelage.  
 Atant se test, si ne dit mot.  
 L'emperere qui mot l'amout  
 Si resgarde le seneschal  
 Qui tot ce ne prisoit .i. ail,  
 Ainz le tient a borde et a songe  
 Com ce qui tot estoit mençonge;  
 Ce savoit ele plus que nus,  
 Fet l'emperere, "il n'i a plus;  
 "Seneschal, or vos en alez  
 "Conseiller, ou vos responez  
 "Orendroit ci selonc son claim;  
 "Onques mes voir n'oï reclaim  
 "Que vos feïssiez tel outrage.  
 Fet il, oiant tot son barnage:

*Sen.* "Je n'en irai ja a conseil,  
 "Jamès Dex ne me doint cest sueil  
 "Passer, se onques mes la vi,  
 "Et sachiez bien que ge le ni,  
 "Que onques n'oi son pucelage,  
 "Ne ses joiaus a son damage

“ Ne ceinture, ne affichaus.”

*Emp.* “ Oez que dit li seneschaus,”  
“ Fet l’emperere, “ il lè vos nie.”

*Lien.* “ Certes, sire, c’est vilonie ;  
“ Miex li venist dire tot el.  
“ Ja n’istra hors de cest ostel,  
“ Que il ira tot autrement  
“ Se vostre cort ne se desment.  
“ Bons rois, por Dieu, ne vos griet mie  
“ Vos dites ci qu’il lè me nie  
“ Qu’il onques n’ot mon pucelage  
“ Et dit c’onques a mon damage  
“ N’ot mon joial ne ma ceinture.

*Emp.* “ Savez vos de quele feture  
“ Cele ceinture estoit ouvree ?

*Lien.* “ El estoit de fin or broudee  
“ A poissonez et a oisiaus  
“ Et sachiez que li affichaus  
“ Valoit encore bones nois ;  
“ Il i a un rubi balois  
“ Qui vaut encore .xiii. lb’.  
“ N’est pas encore toz delivres  
“ Li seneschaus, bien le sachiez.  
“ Mes or alez et si sachiez  
“ Ses draz amont et sa chemise,  
“ Si verrez qu’il l’a ceinte et mise  
“ Tot nu a nu emprès sa char ;  
“ Se ce n’est voirs, fetes un char  
“ Tornoier par desus mon cors ;  
“ Si verrez m’aumosniere entors,  
“ Ce sachiez, au tiessu pendue.  
“ Partens aura mestier d’aïue  
“ Li seneschaus, ce m’est avis.  
Or li taint et palist li vis  
Por sa parole qui empire.

*Barons* “ Dex,” font li baron de l’empire  
“ Com est malbailliz, se c’est voirs.  
“ Certes, ce fu granz estrelois  
“ S’il en puet estre pris provez.”

*Lien.* “ Sire, sor ce que vos m’avez  
“ Creanté a fere droiture,  
“ Fetes garder a la ceinture,  
“ Si me delivrez sans aloigne.”  
Li arcevesques de Couloigne  
Estoit la ou cils claims fu fais.

*Arceev.* “ Pieça que mes nuls autez plais

“Sire, n'avint en vostre cort.”  
 Il covient cest respit mout cort.  
 Por essayer s'el a voir dit,  
 Sanz delai et sanz contredit,  
 Ou bien li poist ou mal li sache,  
 Un chevaliers li tret et sache  
 La robe amont et la chemise,  
 Que çascuns vit qu'il l'avoit mise  
 Et çainte estroit a sa char nue ;  
 Si fu la chose coneüe  
 Qu'il n'i covint champ ne bataille.

*Emp.* “Gardez le bien qu'il ne s'en aille”  
 Fet l'empereres, “sor voz iex.”  
 As .x. barons sages et viex  
 Le commande sor quanqu'il ont  
 Dou garder si cher com il ont  
 Et lor vies et lor avois.

*Emp.* “G'en sui toz dolanz, fet li rois,  
 “Por ce qu'il m'a bien servi.”

*Amis* “Ha! se Deu plect” font si ami  
 “Si li parra a son besoig.”

*Sen.* “N'est mie mestiers que j'aloig  
 “Cest afere de moz oiseus.”  
 Ml't en sont les genz angoisseus,  
 Li baron, de cele ceinture.  
 Font li un, “de tel feture  
 “En porroit l'en assez trover.  
 “Nuls ne sauroit par ce prover  
 “Que il deüst estre destruis,  
 “Non fust il ne fust li anuis  
 “De la honte et dou pucelage ;  
 “Que des joiaus et dou damage  
 “Peüst il bien venir a chief.”  
 Tuit li baron, de chief en chief  
 En vont proier l'empeoreor.

*Emp.* “Ja n'en voudrez sauve l'onor  
 “La pucele que ge n'en face.”

*Barons* “N'est pas reson q'en le defface,”  
 Font il, “por itel ochoison.”

*Emp.* Fet li rois, “tot ce n'a foison,  
 “Je ne en prendrai d'or mil mars  
 “Que il n'en fust trainez ou ars.  
 “Est or ma terre abandonee ;  
 “Ne li avoie pas donee  
 “Por tels joiaus seneschaucie.”  
 La demoisele l'en mercie

Qu'ele oit bien qu'il li fera droit.  
 Au seneschal revont tot droit  
 S'il li dient qu'il se conseilte.

*Sen.* “ Mal de la cort ou l'en ne lèt  
 fet il “ .i. home parjurer.  
 “ Je li feroie ja jurer,  
 “ S'il voloit, a .c. chevaliers  
 “ Que ciz maus et ciz encombriers  
 “ M'est venuz par enchantement,  
 “ Car ge ne sai certainement  
 “ S'ele fu soe la ceinture  
 “ Mes par Deu et por norreture,  
 “ Por ma deserte et por m'amor,  
 “ Me face encore tant d'onor,  
 “ Que de ce que je mis en ni  
 “ Que onques mes ior ne la vi,  
 “ Ne ne quis honte ne outrage,  
 “ Qu'il m'en let purgier par juise  
 “ En guerredon de mon servise ;  
 “ Et se g'en ce sanz plus atendre  
 “ Eschieue, si me face pendre :  
 “ Ice li mant par vos et pri.”  
 Mout le regretent a haut cri  
 Si compegnon et sa mesnie :

*Barons* “ Ha ! lasse gent desconseillie ”  
 Font il entr'ax, “ que ferons nos ?  
 “ M't somes mort quant nuls de nos  
 “ Nel puet deffendre par son cors.  
 “ Ses vairs, ses griz, ses granz tresors  
 “ Nos ert toz iors abandonez ;  
 “ Les destriers qu'il nos a donez  
 “ Li ont cousté plus de .m. mars.  
 “ Ore sera traînez ou ars  
 “ Cil qui ne l'a pas deservi.”  
 Onc mes en .i. ostel ne vi  
 Por .i. home tant gent dolente ;  
 Nez la pucele s'en deménte,  
 Que li cuide avoir grant pechié  
 Por ce q'el l'avoit porchacié.  
 Li baron sont venu arriere ;  
 Tot en plorant font la proiere  
 Le seneschal a genoillons :

*Barons* Font il, “ Por Deu et por ses nons,  
 “ Face por auls ce qu'il diront,  
 “ Parmi tot ce qu'il garderont  
 “ Sa segnorie et sa droiture.”  
 Mes onques de tele aventure

Nus d'iax n'avoit oï parler.  
 Li oeil en pristrent a larmer  
 A l'empereor de pitié,  
 Por ce qu'il l'avoit sanz fautié  
 Ml't bien servi et longuement.

*Emp.* "Segnor, n'en doutez de noient"  
 Fet l'empereres, "mes sachiez,  
 "Miex vousisse estre alez nuz piez  
 "Outremer, qu'il fust avenu  
 "Ce por qu'il estoient venu.

*Barons* Li distrent a cors moz briement  
 "Qu'ele par son enchantement  
 "Li tresgeta cele ceinture,  
 "Et tant en est de tel feture  
 "Que en en troeue par tot assez.  
 "Si ne seroit pas vostre sez  
 "Que por ce le deffeïssiez.  
 "Si vos prions que souffrissiez  
 "Dou premier ni qu'il fist orains,  
 "Qu'il onques ne devant ne ains  
 "Fors cest ior ne l'avoit veüe  
 "Ne n'atoucha a sa char nue  
 "Dont ele fust pas empirie.  
 "Si seroit la chose esclairie  
 "S'il s'en espurjoit par juise  
 "En guerredon de son servise.  
 "Ice vos prie & nos por lui."

*Emp.* "Ge nel feroie por nului  
 "Se n'estoit por la demoisele."  
 Tuit l'en vont lors au pié que ele  
 Et por Deu et por auls en face  
 Tant qu'il ait lor cuer et lor grace.  
 Tuit l'en tendent les mains amont:

*Barons* "Ha! dame, mal fet qui confont  
 "Ce dont il puet estre au deseure."  
 Tant li prient et corent seure  
 Qu'el lor otroie bonement  
 Et prie Deu si fetement  
 Com el n'i a deservi perte  
 Qu'il i face miracle aperte;  
 Par laienz dient tuit *amen*.  
 L'empereres ml't durement  
 S'en esjoï de cest otroi  
 Et tuit li compegnon le roi.  
 Puis n'i ot onques point d'arrest.  
 Li juises fu lues tot prest  
 Au moustier monsegnor .S.'Pierre,

Qui ert couerz de fuele d'ierre.  
 Tuit i vienent prince et demaine  
 Et li seneschaus qu'en amaine.  
 Et la pucele vint ouoeques,  
 Par le conseil de l'arcevesques,  
 Por veoir la bone droiture.  
 A grant honte par sa ceinture  
 Fu li seneschaus esgardez.  
 Lues droit qu'il fu laenz entrez  
 S'en vet au fons tréstoiz li cors,  
 Si que la bele Lienors  
 Vit qu'il fu sauz, et tuit li autre  
 Qui furent d'une part et d'autre  
 Entor la cuve atropelé.  
 Li clerz en ont ml't Deu loé  
 En lor chanz et en sains sonez.  
 A grant ioie fu remenez  
 Devant l'empereor arriere,  
 Qui s'en est d'estrangle meniere  
 Esjoiz et trestuit li autre.  
 La pucele triez .i. triez autre  
 Si est au palès reueneue  
 Ml't est bien la chose aueneue  
 Si com el l'auoit proposee.  
 El ne s'est nes point reposee,  
 Ainz vet devant l'empereor  
 Qui est liez de le grant honor  
 Que Dex a au seneschal fete.  
 A ce que chascuns se reheté,  
 Sachiez ne pensoit ele point,  
 Mes a la dolor qui la point  
 Au cuer, por l'amor son biau frere.

- Emp.* "Damoisele," fet l'emperere,  
 "Or est li seneschaus delivres."  
*Lien.* "Cil dont li clerz chantent es livres"  
 Fet la gentils, la debonaire,  
 "Set bien tels cortoisies fere,  
 "Et aidier ciaux qui a bien tendent.  
 "Or proieiz voz genz qu'il m'entendent.  
 "Por Deu, Sire, oiez la parclose :  
 "Je sui la Pucele a la Rose,  
 "La suer a mon segnor Guillaume,  
 "Qui l'onor de vostre royaume  
 "M'auoit quise par sa proece  
 (A ce dire ot ml't grant destrece  
 Que toz li vis li cort de larmes.)  
 "Et cil qui soit de males armes

" Despeciez, si que ge le voie,  
 " Si fist au Plessié une voie  
 " Par qu'il deçut ma bone mere,  
 " Qui li dit tot coment il ere  
 " De la rose desur ma cuisse,  
 " Biau Sire Dex ! ausi en puisse  
 " Ge cest ior venir au deseure,  
 " Qu'encor nel savoit a cele heure  
 " Que mon frere et ma mere et gie.  
 " N'est merveille se ge marvie  
 " Qui vos racont ici ma honte.

*Barons* " Biaux Sire Dex ! " font donc cil comte.  
 Tex i ot cui mout en pesa.

*Lien.* " Merveille fist qui ce pensa  
 " De fere teuls desloiautez.  
 " Si vint li desloiaus prouez  
 " Qui onques n'ama mon lignage  
 " Si vos a dit par son outrage  
 " Que je n'estoie pas pucele.  
 " Cil qui fist mere de s'ancele  
 " Si m'en a auques delivree,  
 " G'en serai voir tote honoree  
 " Se Deu plest, ainz que ge m'en aille,  
 " Se vostre cort ne me fet faille ;  
 " Car quant il nia ma ceinture,  
 " S'en li eüst lors fet droiture,  
 " Quant il en fu trovez sesiz,  
 " Il fust lues penduz et honiz,  
 " Com cil qui toz estoit jugiez.  
 " Mes as barons en prist pitié,  
 " Qui firent tant par lor proiere  
 " Que toz li ples revint arriere.  
 " A ce qu'il ot nié et dit  
 " Qu'il onques mes ior ne me vit  
 " Ne ne me fist descovenue  
 " Par qui honte me soit creüe,  
 " Si m'ait Dex, ce ne fist mon.  
 " Ce ont bien veü li baron  
 " Que li juisés l'en sauva,  
 " Et moi et lui ; et qu'il ne m'a  
 " Despucelee ne honie.  
 " Se l'onor et la signorie  
 " De cest regne m'est destinee,  
 " Ceste lasse, ceste exploree,  
 " Quant ele fet n'a la deserte  
 " Por quel reson i aura perte ?  
 " De ce demant a la cort droit."

Lors dit l'empereres lues droit :

*Emp.* "Estes vos ce, mes cuers, m'amie?"  
 Lors dit cele, "n'en doutez mie."  
 "Ce sui ge, bele Lienors."  
 Il saut sus, voiant ses genz lors,  
 Si l'acole en sa bele brace,  
 Les biaux oils, le vis, et la face  
 Li a plus de .c. foiz besiee.  
 Fet il, "Or soiez envoisiee,  
 "Que grant honor vos a Dex fete."  
 De la joie qui l'en reheté  
 Li est ciz chans dou cuer volez :

Que demandez vos  
 Quant vos m'avez?  
 Que demandez vos?  
 Dont ne m'avez vos?  
 — Ge ne demant rien,  
 Se vos m'amez bien.

Et li autre en ont tuit chanté :

Tendez tuit voz mains  
 A la flor d'esté,  
 A la flor de liz,  
 Por Deu, tendez i.

(4746—5085.)

Now, exclaims the emperor, my reason for summoning the Parliament is revealed. You have long wished me to marry. This then is she to whom, with your approval, I have destined the honor of my throne. All hasten to give their adhesion. Guillaume, who is languishing at his hotel, is sent for with all speed. On his entry, Lienor is seated at the Emperor's side. Guillaume approaches her, and kneeling, as before his new sovereign, salutes her.

*Lien.* "Mes biaux freres, mes cuers, mes douz,"  
 Fet ele, "bien soiez venuz."  
 Il puet ml't bien a tels saluz  
 Aucune lerne avoir ploree.

Since all the high nobility are present, it is agreed, instead of summoning them again from their estates after a delay, to proceed at once to the marriage. Court ladies are sent for to dress Lienor for the wedding. The barons conduct her to the "moustier," and there the Archbishop of Rheims marries her to the Emperor Conrad, closing with the coronation ceremony. Next day, the Emperor being in the best of humor, all the barons resort to him, to crave indulgence for the Seneschal. Conrad remains inflexible, but the barons throw themselves at

his feet and beg permission to carry their case to the Empress. Conrad yields, and the barons obtain Lienor's consent to the Seneschal's joining the Templars, on condition of his quitting forever the territory of Germany and of France. This solution is extremely welcome to the courtiers, who return to obtain its ratification from the Emperor. Conrad commands that the Seneschal appear before him wearing the insignia of a Crusader. The Seneschal humbly returns thanks to the Empress for her clemency, and departs.

Puis voudrent le congié auoir  
 Li baron, de l'empereriz.  
 A cours moz et par ml't biau diz  
 Lor dona debonairement  
 Et l'empereres ensement ;  
 Puis departi la cours einsi  
 Et ralerent en lor pais,  
 Ou chascuns ot assez a fere.  
 Mout est li siecles de mal aire  
 Que tote ioie fine en doel :  
 Ja ne queissent mes lor voel  
 Departir, mes il le couint.  
 L'empereres et barons ·XX·  
 Remesent o l'empereriz.  
 Ml't amez et ml't segnoriz  
 Est li bons Guillaume, ses freres.  
 L'empereres fist de sa mere  
 Mout grant ioie quant efe vint.  
 L'empereres bien la maintint  
 Dedenz la cité de Maience.  
 L'arceuesques par reverence  
 En fist en escrit l'estoire ;  
 Bien le deuroient en memoire  
 Avoir et li roi et li conte,  
 Cel prodome dont en lor conte,  
 Por avoir de bien fere envie,  
 Ausi com cil fist en sa vie  
 Por cui l'en chante et chantera  
 Tant com li siecles durera,  
 Qui ne finira mie encore.  
 Et cil se veut reposer ore  
 Qui le ior perdi son sornon  
 Qu'il entra en religion. (5624).

*Explicit li Romans de la Rose.*

## THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The central features of the plot of Guillaume de Dole are (1) the *hidden birthmark* of the heroine, and (2) the treachery of the *mauvais sénéchal*. The feature of the hidden birthmark connects this poem evidently with the stories grouped under chapter lxviii. of F. H. von der Hagen's *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. Band (Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1850), entitled "Zwei Kaufmänner und die treue Hausfrau, von Ruprecht von Würzburg." Von der Hagen says of the motive of the group of tales in question, that "sie geht noch tief ins Morgenland nach Indien zurück, und wie sie dort mit der heimischen Göttersage verwachsen, hat selbst im Christlichen Abendlande noch die Römisch-Keltische und Griechisch Mythologie an ihr gehaftet. Auf Verherrlichung und Erniedrigung ist es auch hier angelegt, jedoch in der eigenen Fassung, dass Frauenlob oder Verunglimpfung, oder beides, eine Wette, Versuchung der Frauentreue, hervorrufen, deren Wahrzeichen der scheinbar Schuldigen Schmach und Tod drohen, bis sie glänzend gerechtfertigt wird."—Note here, under a striking general similarity, the important absence, in *Dole*, of the *wager*, and of any temptation or probation of the heroine. At this point the divergence is almost complete, as will appear from further quotation:

"Die Männer sind theils unbestimmt, meist Kaufleute, dann Baumeister, Krieger, Ritter, Köche; eigentlich zwei, dabei noch zwei Andere, oder auch Viere, als Zeugen oder Mitwettende, Versuchende, zu welchen der die seine Preisende der Dritte oder Fünfte ist. Sie sind Landleute oder vertreten mehrere Völker. Die Schöne ist Ehefrau, *Geliebte, Schwester.*"

—In *Dole* both the latter at the same time. "Ein altes Weib ist meist Vermittlerin, bei der Kiste oder im Bade."—In *Dole*, the Mother takes the place of the "altes Weib," and both chest and bath are dispensed with;—"Oder bei der Täuschung durch Verkleiden, eine auch zwei Mägde, oder ein Schlaftrunk bewirkt die Täuschung. Wahrzeichen ist stäts blühende Blume, rein bleibendes Hemd, Bildniss, *blumenähnliches Muttermal, Warze*; an der Brust, am Arme,"—in *Dole* and its apparent prototype, *Le Roi Flore*, on the thigh; "daneben, oder für sich, abgeschnittener Finger, Haarlocke, Ring, Armband, Gürtel, Börse, Rock"—some of these latter employed, in *Dole*, to inculcate the Seneschal. "Dagagen zeugen der Hundsfuss des

Sklavenbrandmals, die unverletzte Hand und Haar, oder die ganze verschiedene Gestalt (der Verkleideten). Die nicht durchgängige Verurtheilung und Rettung der Unschuldigen bezeugen blutiges Tuch, Augen, Zunge, vom Lamm oder Hunde, und führt sie in Mannstracht, zu mancherlei Abenteuren und Ehren, auch tapferen Thaten bei fremden Fürsten, ja unerkannt zu Diensten des geliebten Mannes,"—nothing of all this in *Dole*. "Die Wiedervereinigung der Gelieben, und *Enthüllung der Bosheit durch Gottesurteil, Zeichen, Bekenntniss*, beschliesst harte Todesstrafe, oder Geldbusse, Leibeigenschaft, Verheirathung mit der Magd,"—in *Dole* the sentence is commuted to banishment.

Von der Hagen finds the earliest traces of this varied and widely ramified tale "in der grossen *Kaschmirschen* Sammlung, *Meer der Sagenströme* von Soma Deva im 12. Jh.," and later "in der *persischen* Erzählung des die Frauentreue hütenden *Papageis*." But apparently the earliest form of the story with which the poem of Guillaume de Dole is intimately connected, is the prose romance, in French, of the *Roi Flores et la bielle Jehane* (Bibl. Nat. fonds fr. 24,430, fol. 169-175.—'Le roman dou roi Flore et de la bielle Jehane; publ. pour la premiere fois d'après un Ms. de la bibl. roy. par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1838.—Also in Monmerqué & Michel's "Théâtre Français au Moyen Age," 1839, pp. 417-30). The brief analysis of this tale, given by Michel in his introduction to the *Roman de la Violette*, of which poem it will be necessary to speak presently, affords scarcely a hint of the numerous points of resemblance between the *Roi Flore* and *Guillaume de Dole*. I have found it interesting to quote a number of passages from the *Roi Flore*, which would seem to indicate that the author of *Dole* drew several of his situations either from this or another closely related version. The *Roi Flore* begins as follows:—(Monmerqué: Théâtre fr. p. 417).

En ceste partie dist li contes d'un roi ki ot à non li rois Flores d'Ausai [Alsace?] Il fu molt boins chevaliers et gentius hom de haut lignage. Cis rois Flores d'Ausai prist à femme le fille au prinche de Braibant \* \* \* \* \* Ses sires, li rois Flores, aloit souvent as tourmois et en Alètagne et en Franche et en mains pais là ù il les savoit, cant il estoit sans guere, et i faisoit molt grans despens et molt de s'onneur.

Or lait li contes à parler de lui, et parole d'un chevalier ki

manoit en la marche de Flandres et de Hainnau. Chîl chevaliers fu molt preûs et molt hardis et molt seurs, et ot à femme une molt bielle fille, ki avoit à non Jehane, et estoit en l'eage de .XII. ans. \* \* \* \* \*

Ne demora gaires ke li chevaliers mut à aler à .i. tournoiment loing de son païs. Cant il vint là si fu tos retenus de maisnie, il et si chevalier k'il avoit de mesnie; et fu sa baniere portée à l'ostel son mestre. Li tournois coumencha, et le fist li chevaliers si bien par, le bien fait Robin son eskuier, ke il emporta le los et le pris dou tournoi d'une part et d'autre. Au secont jour s'esmut li chevaliers à aler vers son païs, et Robins le mist à raison molt de fois et li blasma molt k'il ne mariot pas sa bielle fille. \* \* \* \* \* "Robin, dist li chevaliers, \* \* \* te di ke je me loc molt de toi; et por çou te donrai-ge ma bielle fille, se tu le veus prendre. — Ha, sire! dist Robins, por Dieu mierchi! ke es-çou ke vous dites? \* \* \* \* \* espoir vous me mokiés.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, saces certainement, n'au fac.—Ha sire! ma dame ne ses grans linages ne s'i voroient mie acorder.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, riens de ceste chose ne feroie pour aus tous. Tien, vés chi mont gant; je te raviesc de .ccc. livrées de tiere, et le te garandirai par tout.—Sire, dist Robins, je ne le refuserai mie, cest biaux dons, puis ke je voi ke c'est à ciertes.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, tu as droit. Li chevaliers li balla son gant, et le raviesti de la tiere et de sa bielle fille."

Robert is duly married to the "bielle Jehane." His friend Raoul makes a wager with him that he will render him "coux" during his absence on a proposed pilgrimage. In this attempt Raoul fails; but he has succeeded through the connivance of "une vielle," in seeing Jehane in her bath. Robert returns from his pilgrimage.

Au matin fu grans la fieste et fu li mengiers aparelliés, si mengierent. Quant vint apries disner, si mist mesire Raous à raison monseigneur Robiert et li dist ke il avoit gaegnié sa tiere: car il avoit connute sa feme karnelement, à toutes ces enseignes ke elle a une noire enseigne *en sa diestre cuise* et .i. porion priès de son guiel. "Ce ne sai-je mie, dist mesire Robiers, car ge n'i ai mie regardé si de priès."—"Or vous di-ge dont, fait mesire Raous, sour le fianche ke vous m'aves donnee, ke vous i prendés gardé et me facies droit."—"Si ferai-jou, dist mesire Robiers, vraiment. " Cant vint à la nuit, mesire Robiers jua

à sa femme, et trouva et vit en sa diestre cuise le tace noire et le porion aukes priès de son biel juiel; et cant il sot çou, si fu molt dolans. \* \* \* \* \* Li se mist au chemin vers Paris.

\* \* \* \* \* Molt fu la bielle dame dolante. \* \* \* Molt pensa por coi c'estoit, si plora et fist grant deul et tant ke ses peres vint à li et li dist k'il amast mius ke elle fust enchore à marier, car elle li avoit fait honte et tous ceus de son linage; et li conta comment et pour coi. Cant elle oi çou, si fu trop dolante et nia trop drument le fait; mais riens ne valu, car on set bien ke renommée est si enviens toutes femmes ke se une fame s' ardoit toute, ne seroit-elle mie creue d'un tel mesfait cant on [le?] li a mis sus.

La nuit, au premier somme, se leva la dame et prist tous ses deniers ke elle avoit en ses chofres, et prist un ronci et une houche, et se mist au chemin; et avoit fait choper ses bielles traices, et fu autresi atirés com uns eskuiers. Et esra tant par ses journées k'elle vint a Paris. \* \* \* \* \*

Chi endroit dist li contes ke tant tint mesire Raous la tiere monsegneur Robiert sans droite cause plus de .vii. ans. Si li prist une grans maladie \* \* \* \* \* A grant mesaise fu dou pecié, ki estoit si grans ke il ne s'en osoit confieser. .J. jour avint ke il fu trop destroys de sa maladie: il manda son kapelain. Li dist k'il deist hardient \* \* \* tant ke mesire Raoul li conta tout ensi ke vous avés devant oi. \* \* \* "Sire, dist-il, *vous prenderès la crois d'outre-mer.*" \* \* \* \* \* Or dist li contes ke molt mena bonne vie li rois Flores d'Ausai et sa feme, comme jovene gent ki molt s'entr'amoient: mais molt furent dolant et courecié de çou ke il ne porent avoir nul enfant \* \* \* Et li baron de la tiere et dou païs vinrent au roi Flore et li disent k'il renvoïast sa feme, et li dirent k'il em preist .i. ne autre puis k'il n'en puet avoir nul enfant; et s'il ne fasoient [*read* fasoit] lor conseil, il iroient abiter aleurs; car en nulle fin il ne voroient ke li roiaumes demorast sans oir."

The parallelism here ceases, with the exception of the final rectification. Jehane, still in disguise and unrecognized by her husband, becomes his esquire. They journey together to Marseille, where Jehane makes their fortune, first by her skill in baking French bread, and later by keeping a public inn. Here they entertain Raoul on his way to and from the Holy Sepulchre. Without recognizing Jehane, Raoul relates to her the motive of his journey, but, by a curious perversity, the author

turns this disclosure to no account whatever, in the application of poetical justice at the close. Robert and his esquires return rich to their former home, where Robert regains his lands only after a hard-fought single combat with Raoul, in which the latter confesses the deception of which he had been guilty. The innocence of Jehane being thus established, she reveals herself, and lives for many years afterwards happily with her husband. After his death she is sought in marriage by the Roi Flore, to whom she bears two children: Florens, who becomes emperor of Constantinople, and Florie, who marries a son of the King of Hungary.

We have here not only the birth-mark "sor la cuisse," the intervention of the barons with the King to secure an heir to the realm, and the expiatory journey of the guilty nobleman to the Holy Land, but also the secondary but carefully worked out scene of the preliminary conversation leading up to the marriage. In each case, the return journey from a happily contested tournament is made the occasion for the discussion and arrangement of the marriage of the heroine under strikingly similar conditions in the management of the dialogue.

Still other interesting parallels, of which a mention may conveniently be inserted here, are offered by a Modern Greek folk-song cited by von der Hagen as coming, through Bartoldy, (*Bruchstücke zur Kenntniss Griechenlands*, Berlin 1805, s. 430-440) from the lips of an old fisherman *Andreas* in the bay of Arta: "Beim Königsmale wo Frauen gepriesen werden, erhebt Maurogen (Schwarzbart) seine *blondlockige Schwester* über alle, und reizt dadurch den König so, dass er zwölf Maulthiere mit Kostbarkeiten zu ihr sendet, für eine Nacht, nachdem ihr Bruder sein Haupt verwettet hat, dass kein Reichthum sie gewinnen könne. Ihre Amme nimmt pflichtgetreu ihre Stelle ein, und verliert auch den Finger mit dem Ringe, zugleich noch eine Haarflechte mit Goldband. Maurogen widerspricht diesen Zeugnissen nicht; und wird zur Hinrichtung geführt: da *erscheint die schöne Schwester*, und bewährt sich durch ihre vollständige Hand und Goldlocken, und erklärt den König für ihren Knecht, weil er bei ihrer Magd gelegen. Das Volk stürzt den König und ruft sie zur Königin aus.

Before seeking to establish the relations of two other stories of this group, viz., the *Roman de la Violette* and the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*, to *Guillaume de Dole* and to each other, it

will be of advantage to consider briefly the rôle of the "mauvais sénéchal" as a characteristic feature of *Dole*, in which the jealousy and treachery of the Steward take the place of the wager which so invariably plays its part elsewhere.

In a late volume of the *Histoire Littéraire* (xxviii, p. 141), M. Paulin Paris, in analysing the poem of *Floriant et Florete*, makes this remark: "Le récit commence, avant la naissance du héros. Elyadus, roi de Sicile, avait un sénéchal, *traître comme la plupart des sénéchaux dans nos gestes et nos romans.*"

I have not yet been able to trace the history of the "sénéchal," good or bad, through the "Chansons de Geste," but somewhat careful researches among the "Romans" have brought me upon only a few examples of the sénéchal. In the poem of *La Manekine*, a sénéchal is charged to burn Joïe, the heroine. Again, "Richard 1<sup>er</sup>, pour reprocher à ses barons l'ingratitude qui leur faisait oublier la terre sainte, les comparait au *mauvais sénéchal* tiré de la fosse par le bûcheron, et moins reconnaissant pour son libérateur que le lion, l'abeille et même le serpent. \* \* \* \* \* La fable de l'oiselet et celle du mauvais sénéchal sont comprises dans le recueil qu'on attribue à l'Indien Bidpai," *Hist. litt.* xxiii, 77. [cf. "Bidpay: Calila et Dimna, ou fables de Bidpay," &c., par M. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1816 in-4<sup>o</sup>]

But these cases are scarcely to the point. On the other hand, in *Ille et Galeron*, by Gautier d'Arras, Ille is made Sénéchal of the Empire, but refuses to marry the Emperor's daughter, in order to remain faithful to his wife, of whom, moreover, he has for a long time had no news.

In the poem of *Meraugis de Porlesgues* (édition de Michéant, p. 170) a sénéchal is incidentally introduced:

"Et Enchises li seneschaus  
Qui mult estoit prouz et loyaus;"

while in the second part of the *Comte de Poitiers*, Guy, son of that count, becomes the faithful sénéchal of the emperor of Rome.

In a single instance, however, I have succeeded in discovering the rôle of a sénéchal whose treachery bears a striking resemblance to that of the sénéchal in *Dole*. This rôle is found in the Anglo-Norman poem of *Guy de Warwike*, (which I believe to be unpublished,<sup>3</sup>) contained in the MS. fonds fr. 1669,

<sup>3</sup> An early translation, entitled "Guy of Warwike" has been published (1875) by the Early English Text Society.

Bibl. Nat. [Analysed Hist. litt., xxii.] One or two passages, quoted at length, will illustrate the close relationship subsisting between the seneschals in the two poems. (The MS. is crabbed and difficult, fairly bristling with abbreviations, and the text corrupt. Most of the abbreviations have been resolved, but no attempt has been made to emend the text.)

- (fol. 17<sup>d</sup>) A tant e vus le senescal  
 Ki ml't est faus ne ne leal.  
 "Guy," fet il, "ml't vus pusse amer ;  
 "En mun quer vus ai cher.  
 "Riche tors ay e chateus  
 "Ky ml't sunt bels.  
 "Ben voil ke sunt a vostre p̄leisir,  
 "L'amor de vus ml't desir.  
 "Dedure, sire, kar aluns  
 "A chambre, si enveisuns  
 "A tables e a ches iuer.  
 "Oen! nus porruns enveyser  
 "De Laurette la pucele,  
 "Nostre amy ki est bel.  
 "Sire," fet Guy, "kar aluns ;  
 "Quant il plet vus, fere le poroumes."  
 A chambres dreit sumus, [sic] alés,  
 Mein en mein sunt entrés ;  
 Venu sunt a la pucele  
 Ki ensement les empele :  
 "Sire Guy," fet el, "ben venes,  
 "Venes, sire, si enveises."  
 Guy la prit si la beisa ;  
 Par grant amors a ly parla  
 Pus unt les ches demandé ;  
 Devant la pucele unt jué.  
 Assis en unt la primer ju,  
 Mes le senescal ad tut perdu.  
 Pus tut un autre commencé  
 E Guy' ad hastiment gayné  
 E le terce tut ensement.  
 Dunt est le senescal dolent  
 E grant haye s'en ert leué,  
 Car corus est e yré
- Sen.* "Sire Guy," fet il, "demorés, [fol. 18.]  
 "Od la pucele vus enveisés  
 "E ieo en la cité irray  
 "Hastiment reperyray."  
 De la chambre s'en est Mordargor,  
 Un cheval munt de grant valor,

A l'emperor s'en va tut dreit  
 Kant l'emperirs venir le veyt  
 En contre ly s'en e alé  
 Noueles l' ad pus demandé.

- Emp.* "Ore auant, sir senescal,  
 "Est ce ben u est ce mal?  
 "Por quoy venes tus poynant?  
 "Dites le moy, ie vus commant.  
 "Si de Sarasis oy aves,  
 "Dite le moy, ne me celes.
- Sen.* "Sire," fet il, "je vus diray,  
 "Vostre hunte ne celeray :  
 "Retenu auez un souder;  
 "Honir vus fai è enginer.  
 "De vostre file, la damoysele,  
 "Fet en ad de ly auncele ;  
 "En vus chambres par force entrad  
 "Ou yl Laurette pariu ad.  
 "E ci de ce ne me crees,  
 "De le reperir vus enhastes ;  
 "En vostre chambre porrez trover  
 "Vostre file leysir e ascoler ;  
 "Por yce vint a vus moustrer  
 "Ke vostre hunte ne voil celer.  
 "Si vus prendre le feisez  
 "E en vostre chartre le meysez  
 "En vostre cure fessez juger,  
 "En haut pendre u en mer veer,  
 "Assez sirrez le plus dotes,  
 "De tus yteus de vostre regnes ;  
 "Ne por ly ne lessez mye  
 "Ne por nul de sa eye  
 "Apres ke l'aueret iuié,  
 "E de la traytor sires liueré.  
 "En Almayn vodray aler  
 "Al riche, est por Reiner  
 "Socur de ly ameneray,  
 "Vostre cité ben defendray  
 "De vus mortels enemys,  
 "Ke vus homes unt mors e ocis.
- Emp.* "Ne vus de ce," fet il, "parlear,"  
 "Senescal, lessez ester.  
 "Guy envers mey ne prindray [fol. 18b.]  
 "Ne ce ke dit avez ne le fray,  
 "Por les membres trencher,  
 "Tant le say de chevalier ;  
 "Kar ma file p'omis l'ay,

“Covenant feyndre nel vodray.”  
 Kant le senescal oy avoit,  
 L’emperur oyr ne vodroit,  
 Ml’t durement ly epeisat.  
 A la cité tost reparat  
 A chambre est pus’ entré,  
 Ou Guy fet a pucele veisé.  
 Tant tost cum en chambre entra,  
 Guy a un part apella.

*Sen.* “Guy,” fet il, ‘ml’t yus [pusse] amer  
 Por ce vus voil mustrer :  
 Al amperor est cunté  
 Ke hunt ly as fet e vilté  
 Ke sa file porni aves,  
 En sa chambre par force entres.  
 Si il ce put enteyndre  
 Arder vus fra u en haut pendre.  
 Ales vus en, ie [vus] comandt,  
 Ne demores tant ne qant ;  
 Si en cete cité sirres trové  
 A dolerus mort sirres livré.

The seneschal’s machinations, however, come to naught ; but a little later we find him again full of his wonted jealousy of the Emperor’s favorite and plotting the latter’s overthrow :—

*fol. 20a.*

Ore est Guy de mult grant pris,  
 Ml’t le eyment gent del pais ;  
 L’emperere ml’t ly ad cher,  
 Sun regne quide par ly recovrer.  
 Ce ki ly plet ly est fet,  
 Par nul ert ia retret.  
 Cum ce ad veü Mordagore  
 Li fels, ly traitor, ly gornenure,  
 Dunc comence a porpenser  
 Coment porra Guy enginer.  
 Porpensé ad un felonye  
 Ne itel n’oyte vus mye.

Compare these last verses with the following from *Dole* (3126-3145 ; 3185-3193).

“L’empereres fu a Coloigne,  
 El iloec pres a ses chastiaus  
 .XX. iors, et li seneschaus  
 Toz iors ouoec et sire et mestre.  
 Ml’t resgarda la vie et l’estre  
 Dou prodome et de son segnor,  
 Qui li porte si grant honor,

Qu'il ne poent s'ensamble non  
 En champ n'en bois ne en meson ;  
 Toz iors sont ensamble, lor voel.  
 Cil qui portoit .i. escuel  
 Des armes Keu le Seneschal  
 En son escu boucle d'archal  
 En ot erronment grant envie.  
 Il fu tōz les iors de sa vie  
 Assez plus fel que ne fu Keus.  
 Il estoit ades ouoec eus  
 Por engignier et por deçoïure,  
 Savoir s'il peüst aperçoïure  
 Por qu'il i a si grant amor,"  
 \* \* \* \* \*

"Par envie s'en departit  
 D'ouoec euls, si vet a l'ostel.  
 Onques leres ne fu en tel,  
 De porpenser que il fera,  
 Ne com il les departira,  
 Ou par engin ou par boisdie.  
 Il porpensa une folie  
 Onques nul hom ne pensa tel  
 Por fere traison mortel."

In the romance *Del Conte de Poitiers* (Roman du Comte de Poitiers, publ. pour la première fois, d'après le ms. unique de l' Arsenal, par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1831) we have another form of the same story, differing widely from the *Roi Flore* and from *Dole*, but of interest here because of its having served, in connection with the latter, as the type of the *Roman de la Violette*.<sup>5</sup> Raynouard, it is true, (Journal des Savants, Année, 1831, p. 390) inclines to the opinion that *La Violette* served rather as a model for the *Comte de Poitiers*, but the brevity and more primitive treatment of *Poitiers* as compared with the *Violette*, speak strongly in favor of the contrary view. A comparison of the three romances (*Dole*, *Poitiers* and the *Violette*) will establish that the last named has obtained from *Dole* its manner of intercalating the chansons, and from *Poitiers*<sup>6</sup> the

<sup>4</sup> Keu, who figures so extensively in the romances of the *Table Ronde*, presents the character of a *marplot* rather than of a traitor. His affinity, however, with the *seneschal* in *Dole* is so clearly indicated, that nothing but a momentary distraction can account for my omission, above, to point it out.

<sup>5</sup> Roman de la Violette, ou de Gerard de Nevers, en vers, du XIIIe siècle. Par Gibert de Montreuil; publ. &c. par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Grüber's Zeitschrift, 1832, VI. Band p. 194: "Jedes dieser beiden Gedichte gehört nach den Ausführungen von F. Wolf (In den Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik: Berlin, Juni, 1837, No. 114 und 115) einer ganz anderen Art und Kunststufe an; während der *ungenannte* Verfasser des ersten (*Poitiers*) wahrscheinlich ein Jongleur war, rührt der Roman de la Violette von einem eigentlichen Hof- und Kunst-dichter her."

entire framework of its plot. The relationship however between *Poitiers* and *Roi Flore* is apparently much less intimate than between *Dole* and *Flore*.

Following is Raynouard's analysis (l. c.), somewhat abridged, of the *Comte de Poitiers* :

Pépin tenoit sa cour à Paris, et avoit à sa table des ducs, chevaliers et comtes, parmi lesquels se trouvoit Gérard, Comte de Poitiers, qui assurait que sa femme étoit la plus belle et la plus fidèle des femmes. Piqué de ces jactances, le duc de Normandie offre de gager son duché contre le Poitou, qu'il obtiendra les bonnes grâces de la dame. Le défi est accepté. Le duc se rend à Poitiers, se présente à la comtesse, demande l'hospitalité, qu'elle lui accorde. Pendant le dîner, le duc se permet des privautés qui annoncent ses prétentions :

“ Le pié li marche maintes fois.”

Après le dîner, il fait sa déclaration, que la dame repousse, et elle se retire. La comtesse raconte à sa nourrice les propositions insolentes du duc. Celle-ci vient le trouver, et, trahissant sa maîtresse, offre de le servir de manière à ce qu'il puisse gagner son pari. Le duc promet une grande récompense. Alors cette femme félonne volé à sa maîtresse l'anneau du doigt, sans que celle-ci s'en aperçoive ; en démêlant ses cheveux avec un peigne, elle en dérobe quelques uns ; enfin elle coupe un peu “ del bon samit qu'el ot vestu.” La perfide remet au duc ces trois différents objets, dont il pourra faire usage contre la comtesse. En effet, il se présenta devant le roi Pépin, qui [par suite de ces indications] ordonne que la comtesse vienne à Paris. Le comte donne à son neveu Geoffroi le soin d'aller vers elle et de l'amener : elle arrive, elle nie d'avoir cédé ; mais Pépin prononce en faveur du duc.

Après une longue suite d'aventures son innocence est établie et elle est restituée auprès de son mari. Quand le comte et son épouse sont retournés à Poitiers, ils ont un fils, “ li bons quens Guy.” C'est des aventures de ce fils qu'il s'agira désormais ; il devient empereur de Constantinople.

This poem counts but 1709 verses, of which the first 1228 relate the wager of the count and its consequences, the remainder, in an entirely different strain, are devoted exclusively to the adventures of Guy, his son. With the exception of the wager, and the single combat at the close (not mentioned in

Raynouard's analysis of *Poitiers*) leading to the reinstatement of the wife, the want of resemblance between the *Roi Flore* and *Poitiers* is so conspicuous, that one would be tempted to regard them as entirely independent of each other, but the fact that in each case the restored wife becomes the mother of a future emperor of Constantinople, by way of sequel to the original story, affords a curious and not unwelcome evidence of their community of source.

Of the *Roman de la Violette*, which is a poem of 6656 verses, it is unnecessary to give an outline here.<sup>7</sup> The incidents, as above indicated in the analysis of the *Comte de Poitiers*, and even the names of the two counts Gérard, and the two nephews, Geoffroy, show plainly enough whence Gibert de Montreuil drew his inspiration. For us, it is of greater interest to trace the influence which *Guillaume de Dole* exerted upon the composition of the *Roman de la Violette*.

The pride which the anonymous author of the former takes in signalizing his new and happy thought of intercalating popular chansons in his story, may be taken as establishing beyond a doubt the priority of *Dole* to the *Violette*.<sup>8</sup> Gibert's indebtedness to his unknown predecessor becomes evident from the outset. Remembering that the name of *Guillaume de Dole* is merely a modern invention—probably of Fauchet's<sup>9</sup>—to prevent confusion with the celebrated romance of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung; and that the true name of our poem, as appears from its appropriateness, from the author's own statement (verse 11), and from the copyist's testimony in his *explicit*, was the *Romans de la Rose*, we must consider, in the first place, Gibert's title as due simply to a variation of that of the earlier poem. It is also worthy of notice that in the *Comte de Poitiers*, which the *Violette* follows for a long time so closely, the inculcating *birth-mark* finds no place, so that the idea, as well as the name, is doubtless borrowed from *Dole*.

For the grace and appositeness of his introduction of the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Raynouard, *Journal des Savants*, 1831.

<sup>8</sup> The argument has already been employed by Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt.* xxviii, article "Jakemon Šakesep."

<sup>9</sup> In his '*Origine de la langue et poésie française, Ryme et Romans*, Paris 1581,' p. 145, he calls the poem the *Romans de la Rose de Guillaume de Dole*. The MS. bears, by a later hand, probably his own, "Roman de la Rose ou de Guill. de Dole."

chansons, Gibert de Montreuil has shown himself a happy imitator of the author of *Guillaume de Dole*. It is perhaps the only feature in which he has fully equalled his predecessor. It is interesting to note that it is the "Chastelaine de Dijon"—the same, doubtless, from a literary point of view, at least, of whom we have already heard in *Dole*—who invites the Comte Gérard to sing the chanson which results in the unhappy wager. Another of the personages of *Dole* that reappears in the *Violette*, is the Comte de Forois. But in general Gibert appears to have taken special pains to avoid such repetitions.

For the modern translations, adaptations, &c., of the *Roman de la Violette*, as well as for the use of the same central idea by Boccaccio (*Decamerone*, II. 9) Sansovino (*Cento Novelle Scelte* III. 3) and Shakspeare, (*Cymbeline*), it will be sufficient to refer to the works of von der Hagen, Raynouard and Michel, already cited.

To resume briefly the facts more directly bearing upon *Dole*: it would appear that the prose romance of the *Roi Flore et la bielle Jehane* represents the earliest known form in French of the Indian tale in question; that the *Comte de Poitiers* is its first adaptation, in verse, by an unskilled jongleur who probably derived it from another and perhaps more primitive original; that a later court poet, perhaps without any acquaintance with the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers* drew directly either upon the *Roi Flore* or upon some closely related form for the central idea and several of the developments of *Guillaume de Dole*; and that, finally, Gibert de Montreuil undoubtedly made use directly both of the *Comte de Poitiers* and of *Guillaume de Dole* in the construction of his *Roman de la Violette*.

In view, then, of the conclusions briefly presented above, the statement of the author of *Dole* that

L'arcevesques par reverence  
En fist en escrit l'estoire. (5612, 13).

will certainly not be considered as meaning that the author has followed in his poem the true story of an actual occurrence; and that this history was written by the archbishop who figures in the narrative: but rather that the author has chosen to introduce here an unfounded statement, suited to lend a certain air of reality to his altered form of a traditional story.

## THE DATE OF THE POEM.

For the determination of the date at which *Guillaume de Dole* was written, we have a few indications which make it possible to reach an almost definite result. The question is interesting not only in itself, but also on account of its relation to the other romances with which *Dole* is more or less closely connected. The fact that this poem contains a large number of chansons the precise period of whose authors is uncertain, lends a more than ordinary importance to the establishment of as exact a date as possible for its composition.

By a good fortune that is rare in the case of the "poèmes d'aventure," the author had the happy thought of dedicating his romance to a personage whose name and some of the events of whose life were destined to be preserved to us. The *début* of the poem is as follows:—

Cil qui mist cest conte en romans,  
 Ou il a fet noter biaux chans  
 Por ramembrance des chançons,  
 Veut què ses pris et ses renons  
 Voist en Raincien, en Champaigne,  
 Et que li biaux *Miles* la pregne,  
*De Nantuel*, uns des preus del regne;

The first mention of Miles de Nanteuil which I have been able to discover is that of his election (without confirmation of the choice) to no less important a position than that of Archbishop of Reims. P. Tarbé, in his collection of 'Poètes Champenois,' introduction to 'Chansonniers de Champagne,' p. xlviij, speaks of him thus:—Milon de Nanteuil fut élu archevêque de Reims en 1201 : mais le choix du chapitre ne fut pas confirmé ; il était, comme dit Fleury (Hist. ecclésiastique, liv. 80—Tom. xvij, §17), *plus miles quam episcopus*. Probablement ses habitudes guerrières et turbulentes s'opposèrent à ce qu'il ceignît la mitre. Plus tard, en 1210, il devint prévôt du chapitre, et en 1217 évêque de Beauvais : il prenait le titre de vice-gérant de l'église de Reims. Il fit don au trésor de la cathédrale d'un reliquaire contenant le chef de Ste-Barbe, et mourut en 1235 (v. Tables de Coquault<sup>10</sup> p. 171, 183, 184, 187, 197). The passage of

<sup>10</sup>Coquault: Table chronologique, extraite sur l'histoire de l'église et de la province de Reims, in 4to, Reims M.DC.L.—This is not, however, the edition to which Tarbé makes his references, as the pages do not correspond. The work is an extremely curious one, tracing the history of Reims from the time of the Deluge (the usual starting point, for that matter, of the Middle Age chroniclers) in the form, in many cases, of chronologically arranged hints and suggestions of historical facts, rather than of positive information. Here are one or two illustrations:

The passage of Fleury's 'Histoire Ecclésiastique' referred to by Tarbé, is sufficiently characteristic and important to call for quotation. It is as follows: (Tom. 17, p. 37.)

Le roi Louïs n'avoit encore que dix-sept ans [Saint Louis, 1232], c'est pourquoi on doit attribuer à son conseil, plutôt qu' à lui, la conduite de la cour de France. Or elle avoit en même tems une affaire semblable avec l'évêque de Beauvais. C'étoit Milon de Nanteuil de la maison de Châtillon, plus guerrier qu'évêque. Le trouvant accablé de dettes, il alla trouver le pape Grégoire, pour le servir en sa guerre contre l'empereur Frédéric; et le pape ayant fait la paix donna à Milon le duché de Spolète et de la Marche à gouverner. Ce prélat apres avoir demeuré trois ans en Italie, reprit le chemin de France chargé de richesses: mais les Lombards l'arrêtèrent au retour et le pillèrent, en sorte qu'il perdit plus en son voyage qu'il n'y gagna."

André Duchesne, in his "Histoire de la Famille de Châtillon," pp. 614, 615, gives a notice of Miles de Nanteuil, in which his death is placed in the year 1232. Fleury and Coquault seem, however, to be in the right. Duchesne suggests an additional reason for the opposition to Miles de Nanteuil's confirmation as Archbishop of Rheims, viz.: that of his youth.

As a matter of mere probability, it seems much more likely that a poem of chivalry should have been dedicated to him about this time, than at a later period of his life. It is perhaps, also, not a fortuitous circumstance that the author should have dedicated to Miles de Nanteuil, candidate for the archbishopric of Rheims, a poem in which an Archbishop of Rheims occupies a not inconspicuous place. Would it not, at the same time, be a dubious and unlikely sort of compliment, to dedicate such a work to him after he had become a *defeated* candidate for the exalted post?

We find also, introduced into the narrative of the poem, a number of well-known historical personages, as to whose identity

1226 (p. 290) Du serment de l'Evêque de Beauvais, &c.  
" Si Mile Evêque de Beauvais prit un coadjuteur.

1228. De l' interdit mis par le chapitre en toutes les Eglises de Reims, pour les entreprises faites par les gens du ban del' Archevêque, sur les droits de l' Eglise. L'Archevêque, sur ce requis n'en voulant faire justice, compromis fait par l'Archev. et le chapitre a Milo Ev. que de Beauvais, et la sentence dudit Milo.

1235 (p. 304) Mort de Milo de Nantheil Evêque de Beauvais, étant allé à Rome pour avoir raison contre les habitans de Beauvais, &c.

there can be no doubt. Such are GAUCHER DE CHÂTILLON, cousin, at only one or two removes, of Miles de Nanteuil: RENAUT, comte de Boulogne, one of the most conspicuous noblemen of his time: and MICHIEL DE HARNES, knight and man of letters. In connection with these and others who are sufficiently identified by their names, we find many noblemen mentioned merely by their titles. The question at once arises whether these titles are employed by the author to designate given persons, as is certainly the case with such names (e. g.) as Michiel de Harnes, or whether they are only vaguely introduced as familiar hereditary designations, without being directly associated with any particular bearer of them. It is surely more probable that when we are told that GAUCHER DE CHÂTILLON, GAUTIER DE JOEGNI, RENAUT DE BOULOGNE and the COMTE DE CHAMPAGNE are all on their way to a certain tournament, the COMTE DE CHAMPAGNE represents to the author's mind a definite person as distinctly as the other well-known names must have done. But supposing this to be conceded, is it likely that the author in describing so minutely the tournament which figures in *Guillaume de Dole*, intended to represent some actual event of the kind, the circumstances of which were substantially as here narrated? This question it would be much more hazardous to answer in the affirmative. It may be natural to suppose this, but it would be little scientific to argue from such a supposition. There is another strong probability, however, which is worthy of being advanced. It is that the author would have preferred to abstain from bringing upon the scene, along with persons still living, others who were dead, in prison, or absent, at the time of writing. RENAUD DE BOULOGNE, for example, was taken prisoner by Philippe Auguste at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, and never regained his liberty. In a fictitious narrative, such as we evidently have, in large part, in *Dole*, the author would have shrunk from introducing among the gay chevaliers the name of one who was at the moment languishing in prison. Did the poem present a historic retrospect, the case would be altered, but we have plainly to do here with the introduction of a tournament not as a past historic event, but as a real or imaginary affair of yesterday, in the account of which the readers would be gratified to find their own names and the names of their friends. After his imprisonment in 1214, RENAUT DE BOULOGNE would have had no place

there. If this argument be accepted as forcible, it will help to a still earlier point of limitation for our poem.

We find that in 1201 Thibaut III., Comte de Champagne, dies suddenly at Troyes, leaving his title and inheritance to his posthumous son, Thibaut IV., who is to become later the celebrated *chansonnier*, and King of Navarre. After the lamented death, at the age of twenty-four, of the gay young Thibaut III., who leaves thus his heritage in abeyance, we should hardly have been presented with the picture of the Comte de Champagne pressing to the tournament with as many followers as he could raise. It is the one happy little historic coincidence, almost conclusive in its force, for which I had long sought in vain among the various personages figuring semi-fictitiously at the tournament.

In 1201, the ambitious Miles de Nanteuil was too *young* (for one reason) to be confirmed Archbishop of Rheims, but at the date of our romance he was already "uns des preus del regne," according to the author, who, as we have seen, was perhaps at the time of dedicating the poem, aware of his rising pretensions to the archbishopric: *Guillaume de Dole*, then, could not well have been written very long prior to that date, and were we to assign to its composition the year 1200, we should probably be not far from the exact truth. This however is a date which, if accepted, will necessitate certain slight changes in the current literary chronology of the early part of the XIIIth century. *Guillaume de Dole* contains one of the chansons of the Châtelain de Coucy. In his recent article on JAKEMON SAKESOP, author of the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy* (Hist. litt. t. xxviii.), M. Gaston Paris is inclined to place the chansons in the second decade of the XIIIth century. I cannot now enter into the discussion of his arguments. The whole question of the date of *Guillaume de Dole*, and of its bearings on the date of the *Roman de la Violette*, of the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy*, of the *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy* and of various other chansons intercalated in *Dole* calls for a much more exhaustive treatment than can here be accorded it. That our *Roman de la Rose*, again, is anterior to the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris admits of no doubt. Whether the name is a plagiarism committed by Guillaume de Lorris on the earlier work, or whether its adoption was a mere coincidence, is an interesting question, upon which, for the present, I do not enter. It is

unnecessary to point out that the two poems present no further resemblances. An error of interpretation into which Ferdinand Wolf (Über Raoul de Houdenc, &c.) has fallen, regarding the relative priority of *Dole* and the allegoric *Rôse*, will appear incidentally in the remarks which are to follow, upon the authorship of *Dole*.

THE AUTHOR OF THE POEM.

As has been already stated, the author of *Guillaume de Dole* is unknown. The poem itself contains, at its close, a tantalizing hint that the author's omission of his name was not unintentional:

“Et cil se veut reposer ore  
Qui le ior perdi son sornon  
Qu'il entra en religion.”

Wolf (l. c.) discusses the claims of Raoul de Houdenc to this honor: Zu der Annahme von Raoul's Autorschaft scheint *Fauchet's* durch Nichts begründete Anführung (l. c.): “Car au Roman de Guillaume de Dole, Raoul de Houdenc dict etc.” (folgt eine Stelle aus dem Eingang des Gedichtes), und eine Bemerkung Veranlassung gegeben zu haben, die von neuerer Hand (wohl auch *Fauchet's*?) neben dem Titel in der Vaticinischen Handschrift eingeschrieben worden ist, und die nach Görres Mittheilung (a. a. O.) also lautet: Cō pse cu=semble un moïn (*sic*; vielleicht: comme je pense, ce semble au moins?) depuis le temps Raoul Houdan, puis qu'il en dit les chansons, car Raoul estoit mort avant l'an 1221, ainsi qu'il est dit au Tournoi d'Antechrist.”<sup>11</sup>

The copy taken by myself (without comparison with Görres's) of the note which stands at the head of the poem in the MS., makes a very different showing from that which is above cited by Wolf. It reads as follows: “Cōpse (ce semble) par Raoul de Houden [which name is erased and the following substituted:] Ung moïne depuis le temps Gasse Brulé, puisqu'il en die les chansons. Car Raoul estoit mort avant l'an 1221,<sup>12</sup> ainsi qu'il est dit au Tournoi d'Antechrist.” The meaning of

<sup>11</sup> “Vielleicht hat auch zu der Annahme von Raoul's Autorschaft Veranlassung gegeben, dass in der Vat. Hdt. unmittelbar auf dies. Rom. Raoul's *Meraugis* folgt.”

<sup>12</sup> An error for 1227, cf. Tournoi d'Antechrist.

this is evident. Fauchet recorded on the MS. his first impression: "Composé [not "comme je pense"] (ce semble) par Raoul de Houden." But having later discovered that the poem contained quotations from Gasse Brulé, who was until recently supposed to have written towards the middle of the XIIIth century, and that the author "entra en religion," he considered himself bound to erase the name of Raoul, (who was dead, according to Huon de Méri, before 1227) and to substitute for it "ung moine [not "au moins"] depuis le temps Gasse Brulé, etc."

The careless substitution, by Görres, of the name Raoul Houdan for that of Gasse Brulé in his transcription, leads Wolf to argue against Raoul's authorship, since the poem contains no chansons attributed to him. He continues: Denn weder trägt eines der darin vorkommenden Liederbruchstücke den Namen Raoul's, noch berechtigt der daraus zu entnehmende Charakter des Ganzen dazu, ihn für den Verfasser zu halten. Vielmehr spricht dieser *dagegen*. Denn dieser Roman gehört sowohl der Sprache als seinem ganzen Charakter nach, schon einer späteren zeit, der Mitte oder zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jh. an, als man anfang diese Romans d'aventure durch Einschaltung von beliebten Liedern und Stellen aus den Chansons de geste zu würzen (hier ist auch eine Stelle aus der Chanson de geste de Garin le Loherain eingeschaltet, Rapport, p. 282) wie in den aus nicht viel früherer Zeit stammenden Romanen de la Violette (1225); du châtelain de Coucy (1228) d'Aucassin et Nicolette, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Ferner sprechen einige Stellen gegen Raoul's Verfasserschaft; wie im Eingange (a. a. O.)

En cestui *romans de la Rose*  
Qui est une *novele chose*  
Et s'est des *autres si divers*,

Woraus wir erfahren, dass der Verfasser seinen Roman zwar auch *de la Rose* genannt habe, dass dieser aber eine ganz *neue* Erfindung, ganz verschieden von jenen anderen, d. i. wohl den beiden Romanen *von der Rose* des Guillaume de Lorris u. Jean de Meung sei.—From this interpretation of the passage, Wolf argues that Dole is probably posterior even to the continuation of the *Rose* by Jean de Meung. But there is no difficulty in understanding by "*les autres*" of the passage in question, *les autres romans d'aventure*, or *les autres poèmes en général*.

The context decidedly favors this sense, for the conclusion of the sentence is: [*si divers*] "*Que vilains nel porroit savoir.*" Wolf quotes, in the last place, the closing verses of the poem ("Il entra en religion") with the remark that they "sagen doch ganz bestimmt aus: dass der Verfasser seinen Bei- oder, Zunamen an dem Tage verloren habe, an dem er in den *geistlichen Orden* getreten sei, wie das gewöhnlich der Fall war; aber auch dieser Umstand passt, *wie wir gesehen haben* (the italics are not the author's) *nicht* (Wolf italicizes) auf unserm Raoul." How little "wir gesehen haben" that Raoul did not take orders at some time in his life, will appear by quoting the passage to which Wolf appeals (l. c., p. 2.):

"Fauchet nennt Raoul nebst Chrétien zwar ebenfalls "bons pères" d. i. de la littérature française; aber er und alle seine Nachfolger geben wenig Ausschluss über dessen Leben so dass wir uns hierüber nur auf die paar Daten beschränkt sehen, die dessen eigene Werke enthalten."

This much has been said of Raoul de Houdenc, not with any view to maintaining that he is the author of *Dole*, but in order to show that none of Wolf's objections to such a theory are valid. The fact is that Raoul de Houdenc's style and language resemble sufficiently these traits in *Dole* to warrant a thorough comparison of the latter with Raoul's works, especially with *Meraugis de Porlesguez*<sup>13</sup> and *Messire Gauvain, ou la Vengeance de Raguidel*.<sup>14</sup> The probability appears to be, however, that *Guillaume de Dole* will remain anonymous.

#### THE PERSONAGES OF THE POEM.

I have already had occasion to mention a certain number of the persons whose names are scattered so freely throughout the poem of *Dole*. A simple list will suffice to indicate the richness and interest of the subject. One or two explanatory remarks, however, should not be omitted. In the choice of a German Emperor, Conrad, as one of the most conspicuous characters of his story, the author of *Dole* has adopted the same device as

<sup>13</sup> P. p. H. Michelant, Paris, 1869.

<sup>14</sup> P. p. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862. From a careful reading of these two works I incline strongly to attribute them to the same author. Wolfram Zingerle 'Ueber R. de H. und seine Werke, Erlangen, 1880,' reaches the conclusion that the Raoul of *Raguidel* is not Raoul de Houdenc; but his own showing seems to me to point rather to their identity.

that followed by Chrétien, author of Guillaume d'Angleterre: that is to say, he has attached to a historical name a series of adventures either purely fictitious, or at least not appropriate to the personage in question. The Conrad whose fame commended him to the literary purposes of the author of our poem, was probably Conrad III., Emperor of Germany from 1137 to 1152. The war between the Comte de Gueldre and the Duc de Bavière in which the Emperor is represented as having intervened, appears to have its sufficient counterpart in an event touching a Comte de Gueldre during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor from 1152 to 1190. Towards the year 1180, the Comte de Guerre being at war with Baudouin II., Evêque d'Utrecht, the Emperor Frederick I. "etant survenu \* \* \* \* ménagea une trêve entre lui et le prélat" (L'Art de vérifier les dates, 3<sup>e</sup> éd. III. p. 168). The coincidence is at least worth noting.

A list of the leading persons, real or fictitious, mentioned in *Guillaume de Dole*, may be given as follows:

Le duc de Mayence,	Alains de Roussi,
Le comte de Savoie,	Gaucher de Châtillon,
Le comte de Lucelebourg (Luxembourg),	(Savaric?) de Maulion,
Le duc de Genevois,	Renaut, comte de Boloigne,
Le comte de Sagremors (legendary?),	Le duc de Louvain,
Eudes, sire de Ronqueroles,	Galerans de Lamborc (Limbourg),
"Li Barrois," (perhaps the same as	Le comte de Tré (Trèves)
Le comte de Bar),	Aigret de Graine,
Le comte de Los (Loss),	Gautier de Joegni,
Le sire de Dinant,	Le roi d'Angleterre,
Dan Constanz,	Hues de Braieselve,
Le Prévôt de Spires,	La Bele Marguerite,
Le comte d'Aubours (Augsburg?),	Robert Macie,
La duchesse d'Osteriche (Autriche),	"Mon segnor Gasson" (Brulé),
Le comte de Guerre,	Doete de Troyes,
Le duc de Bavière,	Sire de Pire (Spires?),
Le comte de Perche,	Sire de Nivele,
Le duc de Saissoigne (Saxe),	L'évêque de Liège,
Le chevalier de Saissoigne	Le comte de Clève,
Garandel Auborc "et	Le comte d'Aloz (Alost),
Le duc son père,"	Michiel de Harnes,
Renaud de Beaujeu,	Renaut de Sabloeil,
Le comte de Forois,	Le vidame de Chartres,
Le comte de Champagne,	La châtelaine de Dijon,
	Le sire de Hui,
	Le duc de Borgoigne.
	Gautier de Sagnies,
	Le sire de Coucy.

There remain the more especially philological questions, which would properly call for elucidation in a complete study. Such are, in particular, the discrimination between the language of the author and that of the copyist, and the determination of the dialect of each, that is to say, of the region in which each wrote, and of the dialect peculiarities characterizing those regions. But it will not be possible to present a discussion of these topics at the present writing. I have, however, prepared a complete dictionary of the rhymes in *Guillaume de Dole*, from which I am able to present a certain number of interesting facts; though the fully intelligent utilization of the dictionary would call for an amount of special study which I have not as yet been in a position to bestow.

Of forms peculiar to the copyist the following may be mentioned:

*meisme*: acesime, 956; read *meesme*. Cf. *ferme*: *meesme*, 575.

*lessiee*: boisdie, 3196; read *lessie*.

*escondit*: serviz, 5522; read *escondiz*.

*eschiz*: baillis, 585; read *eschis*.

*empereres*: ere, 2736; } such rhymes illustrate the confusion of the  
*freres*: mere, 5612; } rule of the *s*.

*melle*: valee, 2762; read *mellee*, cf. *mellee*, 3981.

*ferons*: chancon, 1178; read *feron*.

*mises*: *ademise*, 860; read *ademises*?

*lues*: *noef*, 2610; read *nues*.

*deu*: *nevou*, 4063; " *neveu*.

*genz*: argent, 465; " gent.

*jugiez*: *pitil*, 5046; " *pitiez*.

Peculiarities of the author are, among others, that *r* and *s* are regularly treated as silent, before other consonants, and *r* sometimes so, as the last of a consonant group. *L* is occasionally treated in the same manner. Examples are very numerous:

*R silent*: Tierce: piece, 631, 259, 2324, 3574, &c., bos: cors, 165, 175. Bourjois: avoires 591; large: voiage, 1869; marge: lignage, 1632, as: ars, 2852, 4672; angre: change, 4520; volentiers: bries, 882; chevaliers: bries, 3058; dangiers: gries, 3006; vert: vallet, 505; œuvre: proeue, 3831; cors: ados, 2189; dehors: los, 2694; voirs: estrelois, 4824; avoires: rois, 4850; mot: mort: coffre: orfe, 4049;

*S silent*: departist (subjunc.): departit (indic.) 5489; partist: departit, 3184; nuist: nuit, 2596; prime: *aprisme*, 231 (mistaken orthography); cote: oste, 1828.

*S final* is sometimes neglected in the rhyme:

Einsi: pais, 5602; autresi: VI., 2117; autresi: assis, 2892; vert: vers, 4556; or: cors, 5103; estor: tors, 107.

*L silent*: conseil: let, 4882; angoisseux: seuls, 3720; genouls: douz, 5239; onques: oncles, 3827; onques: escharboncles, 2738.

The sounds of *l* and *r* are so dimmed or confused as even to enter together in the same rhyme: apellent: reperent, 777; parole: ore, 4310; paroles: ores, 4372; fille: atire, 1508. The word *fille* rhymes also with *ele*, this rhyme being immediately followed by the rhyme *pucele: ele*; notwithstanding the accepted principle that a rhyme is never immediately duplicated. The text reads as if it had not been corrupted, and I find no explanation of this curious example. The rhyme *fer-mail: cheval*, 1000, 3658, is also to be noted.

Numerous other peculiarities of the rhyme promise to yield interesting results on further study. As a rule the versification is careful and regular; and the number of false rhymes is comparatively very small.

#### THE CHANSONS.

The chansons interspersed throughout *Guillaume de Dole* have already been the object of so much attention on the part of scholars, that it only remains to present here what has not been given elsewhere, viz., a collected list of all the songs, complete or fragmentary, indicating where they have been previously published:—

*Enondeu, Sire, se ne l'ai* (2 verses) Romvart, p. 584.

*La ius desoz la raimé*, (4 verses, intercalated twice in *Dole*), Romvart, p. 584.

*Se mes amis m'a guerpie*, (2 verses), Romvart, p. 584.

*Main se leva belé Aeliz*, (several fragments), Romvart, p. 585; Archives, p. 283, Bartsch, p. 208.

*C'est tot la gieus el glaioloi*, (4 verses), Romvart, p. 585; Archives, p. 208.

*C'est la ius desoz l'olive*, (2 stanzas of 6 verses, intercalated in different places), Jahrbuch XI., p. 160.

*C'est tot la ius en mi les prez*, (4 verses), Jahrbuch XI., p. 159.

*Quant flors et glais et verdure s'esloigné*, (by Gasse Brulé; 7 verses), Jahrbuch XI., 160.

*Li nouviaux tens et mais et roissignex*, (by the Châtelain de Coucy, 8 verses), Archives, p. 279; Jahrbuch, XI., 160.

*Fille et la mere se sieent a l'orfrois*, (8 verses), Archives, p. 280; Bartsch, p. 17.

*Siet soi bele Aye, &c.*, Archives, p. 281; Bartsch, p. 16.

*La bele Doe siet au vent*, (2 Stanzas of 7 and 6 verses, respectively. Bartsch, apparently to equalize the stanzas, omits the third verse of the first stanza), Archives, p. 281; Bartsch, p. 17.

*Lors que li ior sont louc en mai*, (8 verses), Archives, p. 282; Jahrbuch, XI., p. 160.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Umschreibung einer provenzalischen Strophe von Jaufre Rudel, Mahn, Werke der Troubadour, I., 65."

*Des que Fro. au veneor tenca*, (33 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. p. 161; Archives, p. 282, (in part).

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Fragment aus dem noch ungedruckten Girbert de Metz."

NOTE BY P. PARIS:—"Ce passage est tiré de la partie inédite de la chanson de geste de Garin le Loherain."

*Loial amor qui en fin cuer s'est mise*, (by Renaut de Baiuieu, —"Beaujeu," (7 verses), Archives, p. 282; Jahrbuch, XI. 161.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Das Lied steht anonym in St. Germain, 1989, u. in Cangé 66. Der Dichter war bisher nur als Verfasser des Romans *Le bel Inconnu* bekannt."

*Mout me demeure que n'oi chanter*, (7 verses), Archives, p. 284.

*C'est la ius en la praele*, (6 verses), Archives, p. 284; Bartsch, 221.

*Contre le temps que voi frimer*, (9 verses), Archives, p. 285; Jahrbuch, p. 162.

*La bele Aigentine*, (50 verses), Archives, p. 285; Bartsch, p. 4.

NOTE BY P. PARIS:—"Cette jolie chanson est tr's corrompue dans le manuscrit du Vatican. Chaque couplet devait avoir quatre vers de dix syllabes, et un refrain de deux vers inégaux."

*Mauberion s'est main levé, &c.*, (6 verses), Bartsch, p. 221.

*Renaus et s'amie chevauche par un pre*, (3 verses), Bartsch, p. 18.

*De Renaut de Mousson*, (7 verses), Bartsch, p. 18.

*La gieus desoz la raine*, (repeated: cf. 2d chanson).

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Die beiden letzten Zeilen dieser Motets sind ein beliebtes Refrain: vgl. "*Cour de Paradis*," 270, und die Lieder Baudouin de la Kakerie, "*Main se leva*," und von Pierre de Corbie, "*Pensis com fins amoureux*."

*Mout est fous que que nus die, &c.*, (8 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. 163.

*Quant de la foelle espoissent li vergier* (8 verses), Archives, p. 287.

*Quant ge li donai le blanc pelicon*, (4 verses), Archives, p. 287; Bartsch, p. 221.

*Cete d'Oisseri ne met en oubli*, (2 Stanzas of 6 verses each), Bartsch, p. 222.

*Je di que c'est granz folie*, (7 verses), Archives, p. 287; Jahrbuch, XI. p. 163.

NOTE:—Cf. *Violette*, p. 68, "Par Diu! je tienc a folie D'essaier ne d'esprouver."

*Por quel forfet ni por quel ochoison*, (8 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. p. 164.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Lied von Roger d' Andelis."

*Ja de chanter en ma vie*, (8 verses), Archives, p. 288; Jahrbuch, XI. 164.

Attributed by the author of *Dole* to Renaut de Sabloeil. Note by BARTSCH:—"Sonst Gaces Brules beigelegt, Hitt. litt. XXIII., 707."

*Quant li douz tenz et sesons s'asseure*, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 164.

*Tot la gieus sor rive mer*, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 164.

*Quant revient la seson*, (11 verses), Bartsch, p. 222.

*Amours a non ciz maus qui me tourmente*, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, 165.

*Bele m'est la voiz altane*, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Uebertragung einer Strophe von Daude de Pradas: 'Bela m'es la votz altana.'"

*Que demandez vos?* (6 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 165.

*Or viennent Pasques les beles en avril*, (2 Stanzas of 8 and 10 verses respectively), Archives, p. 289; Bartsch, p. 17.

*Quant voi l'aloete moder*, (2 Stanzas of 8 verses each), Archives, p. 289; Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Uebertragung des bekannten Liedes von Bernart de Ventadorn."—Cf. Bartsch: Chrest 52, 53, and *La Violette*, p. 199.

*Lorsque florist la bruiere*, (2 Stanzas of 8 verses each), Archives, p. 290; Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Bricht so unvollständig ab: Das Lied fand sich unter den Liedern von Gautier de Soignis in der Pariser Hs. 7222 vor ihrer Verstimmung: vgl. Diniaux 4, 268."—The author of *Dole* attributes the chanson to "Gautier de Sagnies."

*C'est la gieus, la gieus*, (11 verses), Archives, p. 290; Bartsch, 210.

*C'est la gieus en mi les prez*, (6 verses), Archives, p. 291; Jahrbuch p. 167.

### CONCLUSION.

A few words in the way of a literary estimate of the poem we have been studying, may properly conclude this article. Of the various characteristics which lend so striking an individuality to the romance of *Guillaume de Dole*, one of the most conspicuous is its complete *unity* of design and execution. It is rare indeed to find a romantic poem of the twelfth or thirteenth century, in which the reader is not led away into long digressions having little or no connection with the main action of the story. To discover then, as in *Dole*, a narrative in which every verse that is not devoted to local coloring, tends directly to the preparation or development of a single well defined and rapidly progressing action, produces upon the student of Old French the effect of a literary novelty.

Not less unexpected and agreeable in *Guillaume de Dole*, is the almost complete absence it exhibits of the element, so in-

dispensable in general to the authors of Middle Age fiction, of the *marvellous*. With the unimportant exception of the water ordeal (which was so much a part of the organized order of the period as really not to count as an exception here) the story relies for its interest on strictly realistic motives, and for its effects on well-prepared and natural situations. It demands, no doubt, of the modern reader—as it demanded also, though less consciously, of its thirteenth century admirers—a generous amount of conventional credulity, but in this respect calls for far less allowance than has to be accorded to the mass of entertaining literature of its time.

In a word, *Guillaume de Dole* represents, as well in regard to its unity as its realism, a distinct breaking away from the traditions of fictitious poetry prevalent at the time of its appearance. Its author has clearly represented to himself, as a third consideration, the object of gracefully and, as it were, incidentally depicting the social side of the court and country life, the occupations, sports and lighter recreations of the polite society of his day. How well he has succeeded in the delicate and, for his time, unusual task which he assigned himself, cannot be judged from an analysis such as that already given; but perhaps some suggestion of the author's lightness of touch and spirit of sympathetic kindness as a delineator, will have penetrated even through the English prose, or, better yet, have sprung directly—such was the design in making it so long—from the extended quotation at the close. The thirteenth century romance in this respect most nearly resembling *Guillaume de Dole* is Jakemon Sakesep's *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy*; and whether the date to be assigned to the latter be before or after the middle of the thirteenth century, there can be little doubt that *Dole*, with its descriptions of real life, its introduction of real personages, and its frequent embellishment of the story by the intercalation of chansons, was known to Sakesep, and served him in his literary labor both as a model and an inspiration. Whether the influence of *Guillaume de Dole* extended, also, directly to the form assumed by the *Roman de la Poire*, and the well known *Aucassin et Nicolette* is less certain.<sup>75</sup> As to the substance, they present no likeness, but they have called for passing mention here in view of their peculiar feature of the

<sup>75</sup> Auc. & Nicolette has been assigned to the 12th cent., cf. *Romania*, VIII. 289.

chansons, and in the case of the *Poire*, of a somewhat striking similarity of title.

In seeking to characterize the healthy sentiment pervading the story, its freedom from coarseness, on the one hand, and from narrowness or superstition, on the other, there would be much to dwell upon. Two or three slips of the pen, only, reveal that our monk has been a man of the world, while his occasional allusions to Scripture and the Church have always a ring of genuineness and the saving grace of good taste. If the barons of the empire show themselves a trifle too eager to screen the perfidious seneschal, we are none the less treated, at the close, to the poetic justice of his perpetual banishment.

Of all the beauties of the poem, doubtless none is so unique, so *naïve*, so characteristic, so charming, as the affectionate deference shown by Guillaume for his mother.

To give an estimate of the relative literary interest and importance of this as yet unpublished<sup>16</sup> *poème d'aventure* would be to express the biased, and hence, for the present, uncalled for, opinion of one whose labor of love it was to obtain of it a complete manuscript copy.

<sup>16</sup> The publication of *Guillaume de Dole* has been for several years promised by the *Société des anciens textes français*.

IX.—*Speech Mixture in French Canada,  
Indian and French.*<sup>1</sup>

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IN Canada, at different periods of her history, we find all those causes existing that produce speech mixture in its various degrees from the union of two wholly divergent idioms, as in the case of the French and Indian, down through forms of language that are more or less closely related according as they belong to the same general stock or are contained, as special varieties, within the domain of a single common type. The conditions, furthermore, of antagonistic racial difference, of incompatible stages of civilisation, of strong variations of traditional culture, of divergence of social customs, of well marked and persistent dialect varieties, give to the problem here a many-sidedness and a kaleidoscopic coloring which are indicative, from the beginning, of its complex nature.

When the French first landed on the shores of the St. Lawrence, two great families of native speech occupied the region to the north-east of the American continent, namely the Algonkin tribes, with their sundry dialects and sub-dialects, and the Iroquois (The Five Nations) that spoke a generic language but which, again, was divided into different species, where the Huron was the chief representative. It was this Huron-Iroquois that prevailed in great measure throughout the district that afterward became La Nouvelle France. In support of this statement, I would appeal to the judgment of a celebrated missionary and writer, Jean André Cuoq, who for twenty years labored among the Iroquois and Algonkin tribes of Quebec: "Quelques auteurs ont pensé que les sauvages que rencontra Jacq. Cartier à Stadaconé et à Hochelaga, étaient de race *algonquine*. C'est là une erreur que démontre la seule inspection des mots sauvages dont le célèbre navigateur nous a conservé le vocabulaire. Ce vocabulaire peu considérable, il est vrai, mais pourtant bien précieux, comprend deux listes de mots, la liste qu'il dressa dans son 1<sup>er</sup> voyage aux environs de Stadaconé,

<sup>1</sup> Also published in the 'American Journal of Philology,' vol. VIII.

et celle des mots que dans son 2<sup>e</sup> voyage il put recueillir en remontant le fleuve Saint-Laurent jusqu'à Hochelaga." After citing a number of examples from these lists and making a careful comparison of them with the modern Iroquois, the learned *abbé* winds up with: "Nous concluons donc . . . qu'au temps de leur découverte, les sauvages habitant les rives du Saint-Laurent parlaient une seule et même langue . . . Nous bornant à ces exemples, nous pourrions, ce nous semble, tirer déjà notre conclusion et regarder comme une vérité démontrée, que la langue parlée à Stadaconé, à Hochelaga et autres lieux voisins ou intermédiaires, était la langue *iroquoise*." <sup>2</sup> It is, consequently, with these two forms of Indian language, the Algonkin and the Iroquois, and especially with the latter, that I have chiefly to do here in noting the mingling, or rather lack of mingling, of the French with the native idioms of this part of the North American Continent. I say chiefly, because even among the few words of Indian origin that remain in Canadian French today, there are some which do not belong to the domain of native speech whence we might naturally suppose that they would have been taken, and, therefore, in seeking to account for their form or to explain the phonetic changes which these vocables have undergone, we must naturally have recourse to a system of phonetic production and to laws of morphological development that, in certain cases, do not obtain in the special linguistic group with which the French emigrants had immediately to do. The causes that led to the adoption of certain terms drawn from the language of tribes with which the French were not in constant and friendly relation, must be sought, on the one hand, in the unstable social character of the early settlements where there existed a natural spirit of adventure and conquest, which urged the more daring members beyond the confines of the usual tribal territory for the purpose of exploring new domains of wealth, of carrying on a temporary traffic or of establishing regular commercial intercourse, and these brought back with them, of course, the idioms and names used by the strange people whose customs they had often adopted in part or altogether, and with whom they had associated sometimes for many months without returning to the French settlements. And still another class, the missionaries, did not a little to bring

<sup>2</sup> Quels étaient les Sauvages que rencontra Jacq. Cartier sur les rives du Saint-Laurent, pp. 1, 2-3. Extrait du Cahier de Septembre 1869, des *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*.

back to the centres of population on the St. Lawrence the peculiar terms and characteristic expressions of distant and heterogeneous tribes to whom they had preached the Gospel and with whom they would labor often for years before seeking their co-workers at Ste. Marie (Montreal), Three Rivers and Quebec. But, on the other hand, outside of individual enterprise and religious enthusiasm, a still greater channel for the transmission of those allophylian elements was opened in the establishment, with governmental patronage, of powerful fur-trading companies that carried their commercial dealings far into the interior of the country and, through their agents, had necessarily to adopt some of the names used by those with whom their trading operations were practised. We shall see a little further on that the borrowed material, both here and in general, as taken from the native idioms, represents concrete ideas; in truth, usage seldom rises above simple names of things in these loan-words.

After a consideration of the external conditions,—social, political and religious,<sup>3</sup>—that have exercised an abrading, equalizing influence on the discordant, ill-assorted, multifarious elements of French society as represented in the early settlement of New France, we are prepared to move on to a treatment of those special linguistic phenomena which were the natural resultant of a fusion of the complex, varied and heterogeneous ingredients of speech which were brought together in this new civilisation. From what has been said, we may expect to find here a strong drift towards an amalgamation which, while it shows a certain general sameness in form and in sound-product, still, when examined under the microscope of a careful dialect analysis, yields a many-colored material full of variety and puzzling aspects, replete with shadings of linguistic life so delicate that they dissolve from view in the attempt to seize and fix them. The superposition of so many different speech varieties, the crossing and re-crossing of this language trait with that other of tradition, the squeezing of old material into a new dress, and refitting of the same to it, the warping of well established laws of development, the requiring of certain grammar categories to perform new functions, the mingling of the old with the new and of the new with the old in language and dialect, sometimes the one predominating, sometimes the other,

<sup>3</sup> See "American Journal of Philology," Vol. VI., pp. 135-150 and Vol. VII., pp. 141-160.

—these are natural results and offer only a few points of view from which the investigator has to scan a material that is still so plastic, so fraught with the element of change that before he is done handling it, he is conscious of the possibility of conditions arising other than those in which he has just considered it.

In view of these difficulties, I shall canvass the subject of speech mixture proper in French Canada in a strictly historical manner, beginning with the simplest form and proceeding to the more complex stages that developed with the political changes through which the country went by conquest and by a natural growth of power. This mode of procedure has the evident advantage that, in the beginning of the discussion, many of the perplexing questions are eliminated which naturally come up later when the conditions of the problem become more complicated through the increased number of elements that enter into it. Under this view, the subject naturally falls into four parts: The mixture of the French (a) with the native Indian speech, (b) with imported idioms, such as the English, etc., (c) with itself, that is, in its own dialect varieties, (d) with different ages of the same.

The most typical family of North American Indians, "the Indian of the Indians," as Parkman calls them, was the Huron-Iroquois stock to which passing reference was made above and whose earliest home was Upper and Lower Canada. They were, thus, the native historic race of the Valley of the St. Lawrence and at the same time the most aggressive tribe of the North American Continent. The oldest, if not the parent stock of the Huron-Iroquois breed, was the Huron branch and the separation from its consanguineal rival, the Iroquois proper, had already taken place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the French got their foot-hold in Canada and the Hurons entered with them into that friendly alliance which proved fatal to the savage.<sup>4</sup> According to the opinion of one of the ablest scholars of to-day, in Indian lore, "the evidence of language, so far as it has been examined, seems to show that the Huron clans were the older members of the group; and the clear and positive traditions of all the surviving tribes: Hurons, Iroquois and Tuscaroras, point to the lower St. Lawrence as the

<sup>4</sup> Parkman, in one of his inimitable antitheses, happily characterises the treatment of the Indian by the three chief European nations that acquired possessions in the New World, in the following manner: "Spanish civilisation crushed the Indian; English civilisation scorned and neglected him; French civilisation embraced and cherished him."

earliest known abode of their stock. Here the first explorer, Cartier, found Indians of this stock at Hochelaga and Stadaconé, now the sites of Montreal and Quebec."<sup>5</sup>

As representatives of refugees from the massacre of 1648, perpetrated by their relentless foes, the Iroquois, the Hurons now constitute a small village, Lorette (near Quebec), the sole surviving remnant of that once powerful tribe which already in the middle of the seventeenth century had ceased to exist.

The language of these various Indian tribes with which the French came into contact, whether in a friendly way or not, was split into numerous and often widely differing dialects that bore, however, the common stamp of the North American vernacular: namely, a complex, polysynthetic character. In this special, holophrastic feature of these native idioms is to be sought one of the principal causes, I think, of the comparatively little mixing of French, or of other European languages (for the same is true of the English and the Spanish), with the indigenous speech. We have abundant testimony, from the missionaries of the early settlements on the St. Lawrence, of the enormous difficulty that attached to acquiring even a moderate facility in the use of the native idioms. This must be attributed in part, at least, to the absolute lack of external helps such as grammars, vocabularies, etc., in the prosecution of these studies. The celebrated Père Lejeune, for example, after having studied Algonkin for two years, almost despaired of being able to master it and wrote: "Ils ont une richesse si importune, qu' elle me jette quasi dans la créance que je serai pauvre toute ma vie en leur langue."<sup>6</sup>

Belcourt, another missionary of that time, says: "C'est l'immense quantité des désinences, rendues nécessaires par le grand nombre des modes dans les verbes, qui produit la richesse et la variété des expressions et qui rend le discours oratoire puissant, noble, cadencé. La mémoire doit faire de grands efforts pour saisir la multitude désesperante de variations dans les verbes."<sup>7</sup> "The variety of compounds," wrote the accomplished missionary, Brebeuf, concerning the Huron tongue, "is very great; it is the key to the secret of their language. They have as many genders as ourselves, as many numbers as the Greeks." Recur-

<sup>5</sup> Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Books of Rites*, Introduction pp. 10. Cf. Dr. D. G. Brinton's *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, Number II.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, p. 96, and *Relation de 1636*, quoted by him.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ferland, *ibidem*, Note.

ring to the same comparison, he remarks of the Huron verb that it has as many tenses and numbers as the Greek, with certain discriminations which the latter did not possess.<sup>8</sup> And Horatio Hale, the subtle investigator in native American linguistics, already quoted, significantly observes with further reference to the difficulty of learning the Huron-Iroquois; "It is a fact somewhat surprising, as well as unfortunate, that no complete grammar of any of the Huron-Iroquois stock has ever been published . . . . Such is the extraordinary complexity of the language, such the multiplicity of its forms and the subtlety of its distinctions, that years of study are required to master it."<sup>9</sup> The eminent missionary, Cuoq, of Montreal, a profound philologist versed in the grammatical principles of many and widely different languages, confirms these statements when he attempts to trace the outlines of the grammatical system of their respective languages: "Vouloir calquer une grammaire iroquoise ou algonquine sur la modèle d'une grammaire grecque ou hébraïque, russe ou allemande, basque même ou irlandaise, eût été un projet insensé et impossible à accomplir. Il n'y a que les hommes compétents en matière de grammaire et de linguistique qui pourront concevoir la longueur et la difficulté du travail qui va paraître sous leurs yeux; eux seuls pourront se faire une juste idée des perquisitions de tout genre et des diverses combinaisons que nous'avons dû faire pour démêler la trame si merveilleuse de ces langues."<sup>10</sup> Again, in discussing Cartier's word-lists, noted above, this scholar observes: "les légères différences qui peuvent se trouver entre les mots des deux listes ne doivent s'expliquer autrement que par l'extrême difficulté que l'on éprouve toujours, quand il faut saisir par le simple son de la voix, des mots appartenant à une langue complètement inconnue. Cette raison acquiert une force toute spéciale, quand il s'agit, comme dans le cas présent, d'une langue sauvage, nous parlons ici par expérience et en appelons avec assurance au témoignage de ceux qui, comme nous, ont travaillé auprès des sauvages, et ont appris quelque'une des langues de ces peuples."<sup>11</sup> A curious example of misconceived form,

8 Library of Aboriginal American Literature, edited by D. G. Brinton, M. D., Philadelphia, 1883. No. II., p. 99. Quoted from *Relation* of 1636, pp. 99, 100.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 100.

10 *Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages de l'Amérique par N. O. (Jean André Cuoq) Ancien Missionnaire, Montréal, 1866, p. 35.*

11 Cuoq, *Quels étaient les sauvages que rencontra Jacques Cartier sur les rives du Saint-Laurent?* p. 2.

through a false appreciation of sound-elements by the ear, has been perpetuated in European languages in the word *totem*, with reference to which this same writer remarks: "je dois faire observer que *totem* est pour la langue algonquine ce que seraient pour le français, des mots du genre de ceux-ci: *thomme, toiseau*; c'est à dire que trompé par la liason du mot précédent, on a cru qu'il fallait écrire *ni tolem, ki totem*, absolument comme quelqu'un se guidant uniquement d'après la prononciation, écrirait: *gran thomme, charman toiseau*. Il est à regretter que plusieurs écrivains de mérite aient pu commettre une pareille méprise. Ce n'est ni *totem* ni *do Lem*, mais bien *Otem*." Further: a recent writer who had associated with various tribes of our American Indians, tells us how many obstacles the stranger has to contend against in acquiring even a passable speaking acquaintance with any given Indian idiom: "The class of the noun determines the class of the verb, so that a speaker, grammatically skilled in the language, must know the appropriate class of each noun, as precisely as the masculine and feminine is required in the French. But there is an additional reason for accuracy in the American languages, for in the French the verb remains unchanged by its operation on the object. From this cause, it is exceedingly rare to find the Indian spoken grammatically by any but natives, or persons who have been accustomed to the idiom from childhood. We have never known a white man, who had attained anything more, in the acquisition of the language, than an approximation to accuracy. The class of persons who visit the interior bands for the purposes of trade, are commonly mere smatterers, and totally inadequate to communicate with the Indians on topics of governmental business, or the abstruse questions connected with their religion or history."<sup>12</sup> If such, then, were the difficulties for educated minds and for men imbued with a boundless zeal to learn, in order to propagate their religious beliefs, as were these missionaries just referred to, insuperable must the impediments to acquiring the native idioms have been for the ordinary French peasant and for the common fur-trader, whose intercourse with the natives was not prompted by an enthusiasm for ideal ends, but simply confined to the narrow channel of special business transactions, where a scanty supply of words was adequate to their limited

<sup>12</sup> The North American Review, Vol. XLV., (1837) p. 46, *Language of the Algonquins*, a Review of Gallatin, "On the Language of North American Indians."

necessities. In such circumstances, it would be more natural, perhaps,\* that the Savage should pick up words enough to enable him to barter with the white man and it is probable, too, that we should find a greater infiltration, for practical purposes, of Gallic elements into Indian speech of this epoch than vice versa; in truth, hints of opposition to this procedure, on the part of the Indian, we have from writers on Canada, of the sixteenth century, and, among others, I may cite again the same missionary, Belcourt, who expresses himself in the following terms with reference to the introduction into the native languages of modes of expression conflicting with established usage: "Ces langues sont moins sujettes aux changements que bien des langues écrites. Cela est du au ridicule qui, parmi les sauvages, s'attache à ceux qui osent innover dans la langue. Les quelques changements introduits depuis trente ans, dans la langue algonquaine de l'ouest, l'ont été par des métis qui ont voulu traduire littéralement des expressions françaises, employées d'une manière métaphorique."<sup>13</sup> This aversion to the use of strange constructions is easily conceivable and particularly that the familiar and striking tournures of metaphor should be set in a foreign mould; but for simple, concrete names, analogy with the language products of other savage and semi-civilized peoples would lead me to believe that these foreign elements were adopted with ease. That the effort of the Frenchman to speak the Indian dialect, to whatever sept it belonged, was necessarily much greater than that required of the savage to make himself understood in French, follows naturally from the testimony, cited above, of scholars who were wont to occupy themselves closely with the native idioms. However, the strong conservative tendencies, contrary to expectation, of some of these idioms that possess few written documents, are well established by the testimony of those most familiar with them: "A comparison of the Iroquois with the Huron grammar shows that after a separation which must have exceeded five hundred years, and has probably covered twice that term, the two languages differ less from one another than the French of the twelfth century differed from the Italian, or than the Anglo-Saxon of King Alfred differed from the contemporary Low German speech."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ferland, *Cours d' Histoire du Canada*, p. 95. Note.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, 113. Dr. Brinton's *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, Vol. II.

The characteristics of the Huron language mentioned by the historian Ferland, as drawn from the early missionaries of New France would serve, in the absence of more positive data, to give us only a very incomplete and incorrect idea as to the effect of the mingling of this idiom with the French: "La plupart des mots de la langue huronne sont composés presque entièrement de voyelles. Cela vient de ce que plusieurs consonnes leur manquent; ainsi ils n'ont pas une seule labiale. Un missionnaire remarquait qu'ils avaient toujours les lèvres séparées, et que, lorsqu'ils parlaient bas, il était impossible de les comprendre, si l'on n'était très-accoutumé à leur langage."<sup>15</sup>

This statement is too sweeping if applied exclusively, as the author would seem to intend it should be applied, to the Huron: for, as a matter of fact, the mother-tongue of the Huron-Iroquois branch, the Old Huron,<sup>16</sup> does preserve in part the labials that have disappeared from all the special Iroquois dialects. "A comparison of any of the Iroquois dialects with the Huron as still spoken by the Wyandots of Ontario, shows the *m* to be in use by the latter."<sup>17</sup> And again, the same writer remarks page eighty-eight: "The habit of invariably speaking with the lips open is the source of very curious modifications in the Iroquois vocabularies when compared with that of the Wyandots (the Indian name for Huron). The *m* gives place to *w*, *nw*, *nh* or *nhu*; also to *ku* and *nkw* and so frequently changes the whole character of the word by the modifications it gives rise to. "Example: English Mary-Wari, etc." Il y avait des hommes qui nous demandoient d'apprendre le François avec eux, mais comme en toute leur langue il ne se trouve aucune lettre labiale, ny les une ny les autres n'en pouvoient prononcer une seule que tres difficilement. Pour dire P. ils disoient T. Pour F. S., & pour M. N. &c., & par ainsi il leur eut este comme impossiblè de la pouvoir apprendre dans leur país (i'entends les personnes aagées) qu'avec une grand lóngueur de temps & des peines indicibles, & suis assureé qu'un jeune garçon Huron s'efforça deux ou trois cens fois pour pouvoir prononcer la lettre P. & ne pû iamais dire que T, car

<sup>15</sup> Ferland, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> The Huron speech became the Iroquois tongue, in the form in which it is spoken by the Caniengas, or Mohawks (Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 13).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Daniel Wilson, *The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a typical Race of American Aborigines*. Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1884, Section II., p. 54, sq.

voulant dire Pere Gabriel il disoit T. Aueil."<sup>18</sup> It seems, therefore, a distinction must be made between the Iroquois, as such, and the Huron in the use of labials, but, in another part of their phonetics, they do agree as to a treatment that must have deeply affected the physiognomy of the French vocables added to their word-supply: "In none of the Huron-Iroquois dialects is any distinction made between *o* (guttural) and *u* (guttural); *k* (*g*) of other dialects is frequently softened to phonetic *j* in Huron: canocha (house) *janoñsha*, canada (town) *jandāta*, cohena (island) *javenda*, etc.; in none of the special Iroquois languages are *dt*, or *gk*, *ou* separated and consequently the French missionaries represent these sounds by simple *t*, *k*, *o*."<sup>19</sup> It was not alone, however, the greater simplicity within certain well-defined groups of sounds, such as the guttural, the dental, etc., that marked these idioms and had a generalizing, levelling effect upon the differences of French phonetic production circumscribed by generic lines, but, according to Cuoq, who, besides valuable contributions to other Indian dialects, wrote a grammar of the Iroquois and a "Lexique de la langue Iroquoise," less than half the French alphabet is required to represent faithfully the phonic varieties which he found in this particular family of Indian speech; namely, *a*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *n*, *o*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*. In this author's "Études philologiques sur quelques Langues sauvages de l'Amérique," especially the Second Part containing a treatment of the "Système grammatical des langues algonquine et iroquoise," we find a clear presentation of this subject, which though far from being exhaustive, gives reliable data touching these idioms and excels anything else of this sort that we possess. We may hope for more material and better opportunity to study the Iroquois when the works now in preparation shall have been finished.<sup>20</sup>

According to the Scheme proposed by Cuoq, the following sounds, *b*, *c*, *g*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *v*, *z*, are wanting in the Iroquois; that is, the labial group is reduced to the single voiceless fricative (labio-dental) *f*; the guttural vowels fall to two (*a*, *o*);

<sup>18</sup> Histoire du Canada et voyages que les freres mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidelles diuisez en quatre liures fait et composé par le F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat, Mineur Recollect de la Province de Paris. A Paris 1636. Vol. II., pp. 330-331.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Wilson, *ibidem*. pp. 78, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Mrs. E. A. Smith, of Jersey City, has undertaken to prepare a series of chrestomathies of the Iroquois language and has already made much progress. [First annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1879-80, by J. W. Powell, Director, p. XXII.]

liquids have one representative only instead of two; of the nasals, only dental *h* sticks; guttural consonants are reduced to one-third of their French signs and dental sibilants fall to one-third. The following comparative table will show the simplicity which is thus reached by the use of only twelve signs instead of the French twenty-five.

VOWELS.		CONSONANTS.	
	<i>Iroquois.</i>	<i>French.</i>	
Guttural,	a, o,	a, o, u	k, c, g, k, q,
Palatal,	e, i,	e, i, (y) ö, ü,	wanting. ñ
Labial,			f, w, b, p, v, f, m,
Dental,			s, t, r, n, d, t, z, s, $\check{z}$ , $\check{s}$ , r, l, n.
		and voiceless h	

With so simple a phonetic system as this, it is evident, at a glance, what serious disturbance in form and sound the French language must have undergone in the mouth of the natives (the Iroquois) along the St. Lawrence. But with another member of the long-lived Iroquois league, the Mohawks, the French were brought into contact and, according to Max Müller, their language has no labials of any kind; "It is a fact that the Mohawks never either as infants or as grown-up people, articulate with their lips. They have no *p, b, m, f, v, w.*"<sup>21</sup> In commenting upon this statement, President Wilson observes, that Dr. Oronhyatekha, the native Mohawk who had given the Oxford professor this information, goes even further, rejecting not only the six letters already mentioned but also *c, g, l, z*, and thus reduces the alphabet for this dialect to sixteen letters.<sup>22</sup> Now, it will be a matter of great interest when these native dialects shall be properly worked up, to observe whether any, or how much trace of French influence is manifest in them respectively, and how deeply the Gallic speech has been affected by the loss of sound and flexion so necessary to suit it to practical use in these idioms. Our present knowledge of the native languages of the St. Lawrence Valley at the time of the arrival of the French, is not sufficient to enable us to trace with accuracy the speech mixture on the Indian side. That there has been no permanent borrowing, is manifest in the language of the Huron colony of Lorette (near Quebec) where they have

<sup>21</sup> Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd series, p. 162.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel Wilson, l. c., pp. 87-8.

been in contact with Europeans since the establishment of the French Colony at Quebec and yet their speech does not show any marked signs of deterioration. From a linguistic point of view, there is more poetry than truth in Parkman's statement: "Here (Lorette) to this day, the tourist finds the remnant of a lost people, harmless weavers of baskets and sewers of moccasins, the Huron blood fast bleaching out of them, as, with every generation, they mingle and fade away in the French population around."<sup>23</sup>

Let us now proceed to a consideration of the chief phonetic and morphological features that characterise the few examples which I have been able to collect of the process of amalgamation of Indian and French. It is evident that this mixture may take place in two directions: we may have the products of the dialect in the mouth of the Frenchman, or those of the French language in the mouth of the savage, and, as hinted above, since we may expect *a priori* that the more complicated and perplexing grammatical relations of the savage idiom would render the employment of the foreign language, in the first case, more limited than the conditions imposed of passing in practical use from the more involved to the simple grammar machinery in the second case, I shall start with examining the traces of Indian transferred to the French, since the material preserved to us here is confined to only a few words, which, however, possess a strong interest for us, since they represent thoroughly popular usage. It is a curious fact worthy of note in this connection, that though these Indian dialects possess an abundant vocabulary for the detailed and accurate expression of abstract ideas, and though their writings deal largely in metaphor and simile, yet not a single example of such usage, so far as I know, is to be found among the vocables that have lived in French. One would naturally expect, I think, that in their extended, constant and varied relations with the numerous missionaries scattered through the different tribes, and particularly since these pioneers of the Christian Faith were unremittingly occupied with the presentation of spiritual truths and the discussion of the finer aspects of a new religion, there would be left in the language some impress of this life, but with the exception of a single term, to be noted below, all evidences of this extensive relation have vanished, if they ever existed,

<sup>23</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 432-33.

and we are restricted in forming our judgment of the borrowing by the European language, to a meagre list of common-place terms representing a very limited range of thought. We shall find, on the contrary, that the Indian has accepted many terms and modes of expression from the missionary. This would naturally arise for the description of all such church functions and relations as were not easily translatable into the native dialect—transliteration being very common with them to express those religious rites that were totally unknown to the savage mind, such as the confession, for example, and for which there existed either no equivalents at all, or so inadequate verbal representations of the ceremony that the words possible for this use were without special significance,—in these cases, the foreign vocable was adopted bodily, after having undergone the peculiar phonetic and morphological changes that characterised the speech of each given dialect.

We shall first take the individual words adopted by the French. A few of these are equally common both to English and to French usage; for example,

TOMAHAWK (Algonkin *tomehagen*, Mohegan *tumnahegan*, Delaware *tamoihecan*) "a kind of war hatchet used by the American Indians."<sup>24</sup> A writer in "The North American Review," vol. XLV., p. 55, assigns this word without comment to the Mohegan, but the nearer approach of the adopted form to the Algonkin type would naturally suggest this dialect as the more direct source of the word. The spelling with *w* would seem to indicate that the Canadians have taken it from the English. In the early missionary records, however, it is spelled with *ou*, so that the present mode of writing it might represent simply a later stage of graphic sign-usage. I do not find it recorded in any of the small vocabularies that contain special Canadian words.

MOCASSIN (Algonkin, *makisin*) "Châteaubriand parle de Mocassines de peau de rat musqué, brodées avec du poil de porc-épic. Le mocassin est un soulier de peau de chevreuil, ou d'orignal, sans semelle avec des demi-guêtres qu'on assujétit au dessus du pied avec des courroies."<sup>25</sup> The writer, referred to above (N. Am. Rev.), attributes also this word to the Mohegan.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Webster's English Dictionary; *sub voce*.

<sup>25</sup> Glossaire Franco-Canadien par Oscar Dunn, Quebec, 1880, *sub voce*.

WIGWAM (Algonkin *mikišam* "house").<sup>26</sup> This word has probably come into the European languages subject to some Huron or Huron-Iroquois influence since the initial labial, *m*, has been replaced by the voiced bilabial, *w*, and the use of this graphic sign would further point to the English as the medium through which it had reached the French; unless, as in *toma-hawk*, it represents simply a more recent spelling.

Outside of these words, common to both English and French usage, we may possibly find a couple of dozen that belong exclusively to the French. Of course, in this enumeration, proper names, especially geographical designations, are left out of account, since they form a class to themselves and are very abundant in certain parts of the Lower Provinces of Canada. It would be an interesting, instructive study to collect these striking and often *bilder-reiche* topographical names and to seek their sources in the pictorial imagination of the rude savage. Nowhere else, perhaps, in the whole range of language, have the figures of prosopopoeia antonomasia been more successfully and beautifully applied in the creation of special appellations. For the present, then, I shall omit any reference to these subtle formations, as I hope at some time in the future to treat them in a separate chapter on specific Indian-French onomatology.

Before proceeding to a consideration, individually, of the vocables here presented, I will give them in alphabetical order according to a list made up by me and supplemented by two Canadian French writers<sup>27</sup> whose critical and accurate knowledge of their language is not excelled by that of any of their colleagues to-day. This list, as is seen, covers but nineteen specimens and these, with only one or two exceptions, are simple names of things, or, in other words, plain terms representing concrete ideas. The number is a little longer than it was thought possible to find when we began our quest of these strangers in the French language of Canada. Mr. Sulte wrote

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Cuoq, *Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages*, p. 42. The sign 8—Eng. w. For a curious derivation of this word from a form *wškowom-ut*, see Webster's Dictionary, *sub voce*. *Wškowom-ut* is here supposed to be an Algonkin locative case, whereas Cuoq gives the true locative *mikišam-ing* (cf. l. c.).

<sup>27</sup> I refer to the celebrated Poet and Historian, Mr. Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, whose numerous works have thrown great light on the early history of La Nouvelle France and to the graceful Poet, Novelist and Writer on language, Mr. Napoleon Legendre, of Quebec, whose polished and chaste diction has won for him the enviable reputation of being one of the best stylists of his country.

me at that time, after jotting down all of them that he could find: "Peut-être existe-t-il parmi nous d'autres expressions sauvages, je vais tâcher de m'en assurer. Si je puis former, en tout, une liste de quinze de ces mots ce sera le plus possible." As intimated above, the number may likely yet be increased by a very few words of infrequent use, but we certainly have here by far the bulk of them: *babiche*, *Manitou*, *matachias*, *micouenne* (*micouane*), *Miomac*, *mitasse*, *nugâno*, *ouaouaron* (*wawaron*), *oualamiche* (*walamiche*), *ouragan*, *pagaie* (?), *petun*, *pictou*, *picouille*, *piroque*, *saccacomî*, *sagamité*, *sacaqua* (*sasaqua*), *tologan*. The origin of some of these, that is the determination of their exact meaning and of the particular dialect to which any given etymon belongs, I have been able in certain cases to settle for myself, while in others I have received valuable assistance from Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, (Professor of American Linguistics and Archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania) whose numerous researches in native American lore and whose untiring investigations in Indian speech have revealed to us a spirit-life hitherto unsuspected among the aborigines of this continent, and constituted him an authority to whom the scholar turns with great pleasure when dealing in these matters.

If we now take up these words severally, we have:

**BABICHE.** ("From the Algonkin verbal ending-*bij* 'to tie'—Dr. BRINTON) Mr. Legendre, in referring to this term, says: "there is the word *babiche*, which means a string cut from a raw hide and used by our *habitants* in making their shoes." Mr. Dunn, "Glossaire Franco-Canadien" states the same in other words: "En canadien pop., Lanières de peau de mouton, de chevreuil, de caribou ou d'original, avec lesquelles on coud les souliers sans semelle faits à domicile." Mr. Legendre continues and gives an interesting case of misconception of this word on the part of English boys: "But what is curious about it, is that our boys give it out as an insult to their English comrades; they cry out *Tu sens la babiche* and the English boy will invariably take it for: 'Tu es un son of a bitch,' inde irae."

**MANITOU.** Algonkin, "Génie" (Spirit, God). This is the most common strictly proper name in our list, but its meaning has been so extended in Canadian speech as to signify *génie* in general. In his criticism of Henry R. Schoolcraft's work entitled "The Indian in his Wigwam," Mr. Cuoq, dealing with this word, shows that none of the dialects write *Monedo*, or *Maneto*, or even the correct form *Manito*, which latter can have

this transcription only when preceded by the adjective *kije*, "great," with the double signification of "great" and "good," —*kije Manito*, "le grand et le bon génie." He adds, however, in a note: "Le mot 'Manito'" s'emploie pourtant quelquefois sans être précédé de "kije," mais seulement en poésie, et dans ce cas, il est employé par antonomase." The French have seized upon the simple word, irrespective of its attributive qualifier *kije*, and made it their own by extending and generalizing the signification.

MATACHIAS—(origin?), "Rassades dont on orne les habits des Sauvages" (Sulte).

MICOUENNE or MICOUANE. *Cri*: From *Mikkiw*, to use a sharpened flat bone for scraping fat from a skin, etc. (DR. BRINTON). Cuillère de bois, plutôt grande que petite (Sulte). A kind of wooden spoon (Legendre). Dunn gives the following: grande cuillère de bois, qu'on emploie généralement pour tirer le pot-au-feu du chaudron, et, dans le peuple, pour servir la soupe. C'est la *mouvette* des Normands.

MICMAC. Here, again, we have a proper name, so extended in meaning as to have become a general term. The Micmacs were an eastern tribe living to the north of the Bay of Fundy, along the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Bay of Caspé, etc.). "The dialects of those three eastern nations, the Micmacs, the Etchemins and the Abenakis, have great affinities with each other, but, though evidently belonging to the same stock, differ widely from the Algonkin language. They were all early converted by the Jesuits, remained firmly attached to the French, and, till the conquest of Canada, were in an almost perpetual state of hostility with the British colonists. In the year 1754, all the Abenakis, with the exception of the Penobscots, withdrew to Canada."<sup>28</sup>

It was from this fact, that the Micmacs fought so bravely on the side of the French in their struggle against the English, which caused their name to be handed down as a perpetual souvenir of their bloody deeds, and to-day, *il y a du micmac là dedans* signifies in Canadian speech: there's fire and the sword, there's destruction in it (referring to any given undertaking or enterprise); *il fait du micmac*: he brings destruction into everything. Dunn adds the more common meaning to-day: embarrass, intrigue: Il y a bien du micmac dans cette affaire. Cf. his Glossaire franco-canadien, *sub voce*.

MITASSE—*Cri*, *itas*, or *mitas*, a legging (DR. BRINTON). Sulte

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gallatin, Albert, "A synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America, published in "Archæologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II., p. 32. Likewise the detailed "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A. D. along the Atlantic," appended to this extensive essay of 264 pages.

remarks: "Ce (*mitasses*) sont des bas à la sauvage. Autrement dit, une sorte de guêtre, très-ornée. On les fait avec du cuir souple, ou du drap. C'est très-élégant." And Dunn gives the same idea in the following terms: "Guêtre en peau de chevreuil ou en drap, ornée de dessins de rassades ou de poil d'original de différentes couleurs."

NUGANE—(origin?), a cradle (Legendre).

OUAOUARON, or WAWARON—Huron *ouaron*, 'crapaux vers (Sagard). The missionary Sagard notes this word under the general heading "Bestes à quatre pieds" in his "*Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne*" (Paris 1632), added to his extensive work on the history of Canada.<sup>29</sup> This word is evidently a purely onomato-poetic creation and Dunn remarks, after defining it as "grosse grenouille verte," on dit qu'il *beugle*, et les Anglais l'appellent Bull-frog, grenouille-boeuf.

OUALAMICHE, or WALAMICHE—(origin?) A kind of salmon in Lake St. John (Legendre).

OURAGAN—(origin?) Cassot ou vase fait d'écorce d'arbre (Sulte).

PAGAIE—(origin?) A paddle (Legendre). Mr. Legendre places an interrogation mark after this word showing that he is doubtful whether the popular judgment is correct in attributing its source to the savage speech.

PETUN—(origin?) The word *Petun*, which was the Indian name for tobacco is still in use in some parts of the country; I have even heard *pétuner*, instead of *fumer* (Legendre).<sup>30</sup>

PICHOU—(origin?), Nom d'un être laid ou malin. "Laid comme un pichou" (Sulte).

PICOUILLE—(origin?), Animal maigre à l'excès (Sulte).

PIROQUE (origin?), In answer to an inquiry as to whether the Canadian French use the word *canoe* as well as *wigwam* and *tomahawk*, common to the English, Mr. Legendre replied: "We never use<sup>1</sup> *canoe* but we always use *canot*. The difference between us and the Français de France is, that we have the word only with the signification of *piroque* and they often make use of it with the same meaning as *chaloupe*. *Piroque* is an Indian word *francisé*." From this it is evident, that the Indian term is strictly equivalent in meaning to the English *canoe*.

<sup>29</sup> Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les frères mineurs Recollects y ont faités pour la conversion des infidelles diuisez on quatre liures, fait et composé par le F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat, Mineur Recollect de la Province de Paris. A Paris 1636.

<sup>30</sup> This name, The Tobacco Nation (*Nation du Petun*) was given by the French, and probably also by the Algonkins, to one of the Huron tribes, the Tionontates, noted for the excellent tobacco which they raised and sold. Cf. Horatio Hale, l. c., pp. 171, 172, Appendix, Note A.

SACCACOMI—From *sakav*, to light by fire, *sakaipwagane*, to light a pipe (DR. BRINTON). Une plante des forêts du Canada, de la hauteur de celle que nous appelons 'petit-tabac de Virginie.' Lorsque Cartier et plus tard Champlain arrivèrent en Canada, les Sauvages fumaient cette plante. Encore aujourd'hui, bon nombre de nos habitants la fument et ils lui donnent toujours son nom sauvage pour la distinguer du tabac proprement-dit (Sulte).

SAGAMITÉ—is, I know, Algonkin, but I cannot put my hand on the original form (DR. BRINTON). Bouillie de blé d'Inde (Sulte). Mr. Legendre uses bouillie de maïs.

SACAQUA, or SACAQUÉ (origin?), Bruit, hurlement, tapage: Faire un sacaqua insupportable (Sulte). Dunn spells the word *sasaqua*: "Faire la sasaqua."

TOBOGAN=*Cri* Otobanask, traîneau (DR. BRINTON). Mr. Sulte spells it *tobagane* and gives, as definition: traîneau sans patines, fait d'une planche mince et recourbée par un bout. Mr. Legendre writes *tobogan*. In the Supplement Vol. III., of Webster's Dictionary, s. v., is made the usual general statement that characterises the explanations in this work of all these Indian words: *toboggan*—corruption of American Indian *Odabogan*, sled.<sup>31</sup>

If we now turn to the other side of our subject, to a consideration of the linguistic products resulting from the use of French by the natives, we shall find that the material is much more abundant and varied than that incorporated into the French and that the deviation from the original type is naturally in accordance with the simple phonetic system of each Indian dialect. A notable difference is further to be remarked between the foreign material taken up by the European idiom and that in the Indian dialect; namely, not only words but phrases of Gallic origin are freely used, and in the former we shall find the same power of combination which characterises Romance speech in the manipulation of Germanic stems, that is, foreign roots with Indian formative and grammatical elements appended. Whether these were used in the nomen more extensively than in the verb series, I am unable to say, but that they should be found to a considerable degree in both shows a power of adaptation and a

<sup>31</sup> In this list, all the words marked (origin?), with the exception of *piroque*, are thought by Dr. Brinton to belong to Algonkin roots, either "Cri" or "Old Algonkin," but as I have not access to Lacombe's 'Lexique de la langue des Cris,' or to Cuq's 'Lexique Algonquine,' I am unable at present to determine more specifically their particular dialect etymons.

tendency to speech mixture, of which the French did not avail itself in like circumstances but for linguistic causes of a totally different nature. Possessing a language with a grammatical machinery so much more simple than the savage and this form of speech being fully established by a long tradition of abundant literary composition,—these, together with the natural and inevitable influence of a stage of superior civilisation, must have exercised a marked effect upon all the relations of the earlier settlers of Canada with their savage neighbors and, particularly on the side of language, have had a strong conservative tendency. It was the familiar and simple instrument, easily handled by its users, whether they were native or foreign, brought into competition with an exceedingly complicated and strange implement whose most elementary workings were wholly alien to anything that the common European had ever seen. Furthermore, it is but consistent with the monotony of his daily occupation, the limited range of his experience, the undeveloped state of what might be called his commercial intercourse, the lack of free social life, his naturally taciturn disposition, the innate jealousy as to his own interest and suspicion as to the intentions and actions of the White Man, that the ordinary savage should have used as limited a vocabulary as possible with the French *habitant*, and that the latter should, in consequence, have preserved only a few bare traces of the strange languages, and that these should be restricted almost entirely to the names of such utensils or objects of savage use as were unknown to Europeans. This fact is significant, it seems to me, in an estimate of the degree of relation that prevailed between the two races here brought together, and goes far to prove that contact with the natives, on the part of the French, was generally of a superficial nature. I am aware that their mixture has produced the well known class of *métis*, half-breeds, members of which are found here and there throughout Canada, but these are comparatively few in numbers and play a very insignificant rôle when placed in contrast with the great body of natives who came within the reach and power of European civilisation. To these *métis*, however, I would attribute, for the most part, the special influence under which French vocables and modes of speech have been incorporated into the native idiom in a manner now to be noticed. To recall first what has been said above with reference to the phonetics of the Iroquois, we have the

following practical examples: Antipathy to the use of labial nasal, *m*, in *Sishe* (for Michel) for which the legitimate bilabial *w* has been substituted. But this is not exclusively the case, as is seen in *Tier* (for Pierre), where the dental mute has supplanted the labial mute. These two words in some other dialects, for instance, in the Algonkin, hold nearer to the original in the preservation of the initial labial, but, here again, we find a special aversion to the dental liquid element, as a final, e. g. *Micen* (Michel), *Pien* (Pierre), *Pon* (Paul). Other examples showing like phonetic characteristics, we have in *Sesin* (Cécile), *Basin* (Basile), and, for medial *r*, *l*, *Mani* (Marie), *Anjenik* (Angélique), *Annemon* (Allermand).

Simple assibilation of the voiced dental fricative *j* ( $\frac{z}{j}$ ), we have in Iroquois *Soset* (Josephte), where it is doubtful whether the initial sibilant is voiced or voiceless. The missionary Cuq, from whose "Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages," this example is taken (p. 90) counts the sign *s* in his system of transcription as always voiceless and expressly states this on page nine: "Ainsi S et T gardent toujours leur son propre, comme en grec et en hébreu, et jamais ne s'adouissent comme en français" but, in this very word, there can be no doubt that the medial sibilant is regularly represented in Cuq's system by *z*. Our doubts are further aroused as to the exactness of the notation when, a few lines below, we read: "Le C algonquine se prononce à l'italienne, c'est-à-dire comme *ch* français ou *sh* anglais" (Sic!). This *s* is used as an equivalent of *ss* in *cassé* (carreau cassé=karo kase) in illustration of the Iroquois (p. 10) but in the Algonkin we have *Jozep* (Joseph) where the quality of the medial sibilant is surely the same as in *Soset* (Josephte). The same sign, *s*, if the notation can be trusted for the initial, is thus used for both voiced and voiceless fricative ( $\frac{z}{j}$ ,  $\frac{s}{j}$ ), since *Sarot* represents the French *Charlotte* (p. 90) and we have here, consequently, a reduction of two original sounds to a single equivalent of a different grade. Whether this generation is universal for the Iroquois, I have no means of accurately determining. According to further representations of these two species of sounds by other writers,<sup>32</sup> no distinction was made between them by the Algonic tribes but, instead of using, as their equivalent, the pure sibilant, they

32 Cf. The North American Review, Vol. XLV. (1837), p. 55.

have the voiceless fricative  $\text{ʃ}$  which, if pronounced in strict accordance with the English  $\text{ʃ}$  (*sh*), has, of course, changed quality: Auch die französ. *ch*, *j* sind wohl mit gesenkter Zungenspitze gebildet, die norddeutschen und englischen  $\text{ʃ}$  aber mit gehobener Zungenspitze.<sup>33</sup> No discrimination between English *sh* and French *ch* is evidently thought of, therefore, in the transcription of the two examples given below as drawn from the Algonkin: "While, as we have seen, the Mohegans have adopted words from the European nations with whom they, for upwards of three centuries, lived in close contact, the Algonic tribes have evinced either similar wants, by adopting and incorporating into their language, several words from the French, as the following:

*Bosho*, from Bon jour:

*Mushwa*, from Mouchoir.<sup>34</sup>

But it would seem that it is not alone the French  $\text{ʒ}$  (*j*) and  $\text{ʃ}$  (*ch*) which are given by the English sound *sh*, according to this writer, but even, in certain cases, the simple *s* must be thus represented, as in the example quoted by him (l. c.), *Ishpio* for *Espagnol*. Here, probably, it is the following labial (*p*) that has influenced the pronunciation just as in the characteristic Low German combination  $\text{sp}=\text{ʃp}$  in the High German pronunciation of South Germany to-day. As to the gutturals, the various graphic signs and combinations of signs in French find their legitimate transcription in a simple form; as, for example, in the representation of all voiceless gutturals, whether simple or complex, the *k* is sufficient and we have in Algonkin, therefore, for French *Jacques* the rational *Jak*. So, too, in the example given above, *Anjenik*, the *ik* reproduces the French termination-*ique*. Again, in *Zotik*, for French *Zotique*, we have the same.

For the representation of the dental class by a single sign (here, mute for sonant), we have the name *Herotiat* in the example: *Kaiatase onistenha Herotiat konðaiatsk8e* ("La mère de la fille s'appelait Hérodiade").

We find here some striking examples of speech mixture where not only Indian and French elements enter into combination, but even a third one, the English, is added and all three are welded together in one compound so as to make it difficult sometimes to separate them; as a rule, however, the process of

<sup>33</sup> Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. The North American Review, Vol. XLV. (1837), p. 55.

agglutination is so loosely carried out that the component parts of the new product may be easily recognised. More striking, still, is the combining of two foreign elements, not belonging to the same language and neither of which is Indian, into a single vocable which is afterward manipulated by the natives with all the ease and accuracy that characterise home-made forms. We have thus four distinct stages of amalgamation; namely 1. The French or English word used entirely, 2. French word or words + Indian flexion, 3. English word + Indian flexion, 4. French word + English word = Indian. The first class includes such simple forms as *enska shiron* (un shilling), *enska' ons* (une once), *enska minut* (une minute), *enska kateron'* (un quarteron), *enska karen* (un gallon). The form *kac*. (*cache-le*) is "une rencontre purement fortuite" according to Cuoq,<sup>35</sup> such forms as *sakut*, "sugar," *pepun*, "pepper," *waiskuk*, "whiskey," *hummun*, "hammer," and, if we follow popular tradition, the curious *Yangeese* (Yankees), imperfect Indian pronunciation of the word "English,"<sup>36</sup> from the English; and *aik*, "vinègar," *saugh*, "saw," *tubok*, "tobacco," from the Dutch, show that words were adopted in the savage idioms promiscuously from whatever foreign languages they chanced to come into contact. It naturally happens that these alien forms, when taken up into one dialect, sometimes pass to others and at each transfer undergo certain phonetic or morphological changes necessary to adapt them to easy use in the dialects, respectively, where they find a new home. As chief characteristics for these migrations of speech elements "change of accent is the first innovation, in the words of kindred tribes and families, separated from each other. The interchangeable consonants next feel the effects of the separation. The letters *b* and *p*, *d*, and *t*, *l* and *n*, *v* and *f*, etc., change places. Vowels next feel the power of change; the long become short, the broad diphthongal, etc. Oral syllabication is miserably performed, where there are no alphabetical signs to fix the sounds."<sup>37</sup> This would account for the fact that the same word often has great variations in pronunciation and spelling with the natives themselves; as *Kanieke*, *Kanyenke*, *Canyangeh*, *Canienga*, the name adopted by Mr.

35 Jugement erron de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages. Deuxième édition, p. (8.

36 North American Review, Vol. IX. (1819), p. 167. (Review of Hackwelder's Indian History.)

37 North American Review, XLV., p. 41.

Hale for the Mohawks;<sup>38</sup> and, again, in such contractions as *kuligatisches*, according to ordinary pronunciation, for *kiwulit-wichigatisches*.<sup>39</sup> Schoolcraft, too, whose extensive practical experience with the Indians entitles him to be heard in all matters of pronunciation, however awry he may be in his etymologies, specially remarks how "barbarous nations *mouth* sound and exercise a great range of enunciation, producing changes."<sup>40</sup>

We have examples under No. 2. in the Algonkin *kopese8, i*, (se confesser) which has given a number of derivatives in the language; such as, *kopese8i8in* (la confession), *kopescendamagan* (confessional) *kopesendamage8in* (l' action de confesser), *kopesendamago8in* (confession entendue), etc., etc. Again, *anamens-ikan* (autel) from *anamens-ike* (il dit la messe)=a compound locution developed out of the formula *à la messe*.<sup>41</sup>

In the third class, may be cited the following forms produced by hanging on to the foreign vocable the locative affix *-ing*: chamber, chamber-*ing* ["in (the) chamber"], bowl, bowl-*ing* ["in (the) bowl"], table, table-*ing* ["on (the) table"<sup>42</sup>], where, of course, there has been no attempt made at a phonetic writing of the root-word. These are perfect counterparts of a large number of forms that we shall find incorporated into the French from the English, when we come to treat French-English speech mixture. This process is common to all language amalgamation; the natural result of long and uninterrupted contact with a more civilized people, as in the case before us, would be a tendency on the part of the savage to adopt its language material without any essential change of form and then, in accordance with the peculiar morphological laws that obtain for the Indian idiom, to apply its formative elements to the strange matter which is thus brought within the circle of familiar grammar categories. The coalescence of these alien speech forms with the characteristic inflexions of the savage idiom, often takes place after strong modifications in the original phonetic factors of the European word. These effects are the result almost entirely of an imperfect comprehension of the component

<sup>38</sup> Horatio Hale, l. c. p. 172, Appendix, Note A.

<sup>39</sup> Am. Quarterly Review, Vol. III. (1828), p. 398 (Review of Zeisberger's Grammar of the Language of the Lanni Lenape, or Delaware Indians).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Notes on the Iroquois: or Contributions to American History, Antiquities and General Ethnology, p. 383.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Cuoq, Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan, etc., p. 39.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. The North American Review, Vol. XLV. (1837), p. 57.

sound-elements when rapidly uttered, or of the slurred and slovenly pronunciation prevalent among the common people.

To our third class may be assigned the unique and interesting compound, *rak8inn*, formed by a union of the French feminine article, *la*, with the English word *queen*,<sup>43</sup> the locution thus created from two foreign sources being then adopted as a legitimate product by the Iroquois.

But it is not only through the phonology and morphology, peculiar to the Indian dialects; that we find an influence exerted upon the French to produce variation from the original type; in the sentence taxis, also, according to Indian fashion, the French of the fifteenth century must have had to undergo changes that did violence to the tradition of the time, but some of which would have found a more natural place in the constructions of the language two or three centuries earlier. Thus, for example, the absence in Algonkin of a relational word corresponding to the French preposition *de*, to express the personal genitive, must have puzzled the French peasants who may have tried to reproduce their thoughts after the manner of their savage neighbors; for example, *Pien o masinaigan*=Pierre il livre (son livre) instead of le livre de Pierre. *Il* here is the third personal pronoun used as an equivalent of the possessive third person.

Again, if we take the simple direct constructions represented by the following elementary sentences, we shall appreciate how strange must have seemed to the European ear such a word-arrangement as the Indians use, even though the hearer may have understood the full meaning of each vocable: *Jeañ o sakihan Kije Manito-n*=Jean il aime le: Grand Manito ("Jean aime le Grand Génie"); *Panansa8e o takon-an 8agoc-an*=François il saisit le: renard ("François saisit le renard"); or, again, the simple idea of the personal genitive in the Iroquois, *Rak8inn akonistenha*=Reine sa mère ("la mère de la Reine"); the Algonkin *Bazin o pakite8-an Pien-an o k8isis-ini*=Basile il frappe le: Pierre, il fils ("Basile frappe le fils de Pierre").

In the last example, the third personal pronoun *o* before the noun (*k8isis*) plays the rôle of possessive pronoun, as in our first example; in the other cases, before the verb, it has its legitimate value as a pronoun. These are plain illustrations and yet they indicate very forcibly how unwieldy the savage mould of

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Cuoq, *Études Philologiques*, p. 145.

thought must have been for any Frenchman who may have attempted to use it even in the most trivial matters of business. It would appear next to impossible, in view of so absolutely divergent tournures of expression, that the learned could ever have passed through the "translation stage" commonly reckoned in acquiring a foreign tongue. The translation of his thought into the outlandish idiom with the fitting and adjusting necessary to reach the comprehension of his hearers would doubtless have been far more perplexing in acquiring such languages, than the direct recasting of his mental processes according to the model before him. In this must we seek, as remarked above, one of the principal causes why so few traces of the Indian idioms have lived in French. It was comparatively easy to adopt native words, singly and alone, without any regard to the *jus et norma loquendi* of the Indian dialects and yet how scanty is this foreign coin! Its current value evidently depended almost entirely upon the total absence in Gallic speech of any adequate home-staple to draw on for such uses and, when accepted, the domestic stamp was put on the coin before it was allowed free circulation.

## SUPPLEMENTARY.

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Since the above was written, I have had the opportunity of examining, in the National Library at Paris, some works on Indian Speech, which were inaccessible to me while engaged on this article. I will, therefore, add in the following remarks a few points of general interest and of particular etymological bearing that may serve to supplement the material already presented.

- p. 172. To the general list of Indian words used in French, add *otoka, ouache, sagamos, succotash*.
- p. 179. To Romance words used in Indian, should be added class 1: *anotch, eskwanior, sotar, wentkaso*. Class 2: *naptak, rawensión (rawensie), acanitewi* (from *acanite*: according to Fr. pronunciation, *achanité*).

Under the first heading, I have the following observations to make:

OTOKA. Huron, *tokware* vel *aiok*, *atoca*, canneberge, airelle cousinette. Aug., cranberry.<sup>1</sup> In the 'Supplément aux Racines,' p. 61, this author remarks: *Aiok* vel *tokware*, airelle à gros fruits, *atoca*, *vaccinium macrocarpum*.

OUACHE. La *ouache* du Castor (*amikwac*) est la cavité, le creux fait horizontalement sous la terre, le conduit souterrain qui aboutit à la *ouiche*, à la cabane (*amikwic*). *Wac* et *wic* ont passé dans la langue française du Canada, sans éprouver d'autre modification que celle de l'orthographe (*ouache*, *ouiche*).<sup>2</sup>

SAGAMOS. Chief of an Indian tribe. English, *Sagamore*.

SUCCOTASH. Green corn and beans boiled together. According to Webster's Eng. Dictionary, this word comes from the Narraganset dialect form *msickquatash*.

For the Romance words to be added, we have under class 1. *anotch*,<sup>3</sup> "aujourd'hui," from the Spanish *anoche* (for example, *isko anotch*, "jusqu'aujourd'hui"); *eskwanior*, "espagnol," *eskwaniorenha* "en Espagnol;" *sotar*, "soldat;" *wentkaso*, "vingt-quatre sous;"<sup>4</sup> NIIO which Cuoq would regard as the French word "Dieu iroquoisé:" Under class 2. *nápatak*, "patate," the term used in Canada for the ordinary French *pomme de terre* (for example, *nápatakwa* *misáwa* "les patates sont grosses");<sup>4</sup> *rawension* (*rawensie*), monsieur, un monsieur, un bourgeois. Mot tiré du Français, il se féminise: *Kawension*, madame, *konension*, mesdames;<sup>5</sup> *acanitewi*, Algonkin, demander la charité.<sup>6</sup> "Demander l'aumône, la charité. était chose inconnue pour les Iroquois qui ne mendiaient jamais; pour rendre cette idée, ils adoptèrent simplement le mot français *la charité*, travestie à leur manière: *tekatsarites*."<sup>7</sup>

p. 170—TOMAHAWK. Lacombe (p. 711) assigns this word to the special Cri dialect from *otomahuk*, assomez-le, ou, *otámahaww*, il est assommé.

MOCCASIN. Sauteurs for *Makkasin*, soulier. *ibidem*, p. 708.

p. 171—WIGWAM. Lacombe (p. 711) transcribes the word thus: *wigwám*, and refers it to the Cri *wikiwák*, dans leurs demeurs.

<sup>1</sup> Cuoq, Lexique Algonquin, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cuoq, Lexique Algonquin, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Lacombe, Cri Grammar (p. 143 et 295) contained in his *Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris*, Montréal, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> *ibidem*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>5</sup> Cuoq, Lexique Algonquin, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *ibidem*, sub voce.

<sup>7</sup> Étude bibliographique par M. L'Abbé Nantel sur le Lexique de la Langue algonquienne, added to Cuoq's Lexique, pp. 230-231. This article was originally published in the *Annales de la Société de la langue des Cris*, D. cembre, 1882.

p. 174—OURAGAN. (Sauteux) plat, vase, de *ouágan*. Les Cris des bois disent : *orágan*, les autres *oyágan*.<sup>8</sup>

p. 174—PETUN. Cri verb : *pittwaw*, *ok*, fumer. Ibidem, p. 156.

M. Cuoq makes the following interesting remarks on this word :

On m'a demandé plus d'une fois si ces vieux mots *petun*, *petunoir*, *petuner*, *petuneux*, n'auraient pas tiré leur origine de quelque langue sauvage. J'ai toujours répondu que je les croyais venus en droite ligne, de notre langue française, et sortis de la même racine qui a produit les dérivés *pétard*, *pétarade*, *pétiller*, *pétillant*, etc.\*\*\*. Pour peu que leur tabac soit mouillé, les fumeurs comprendront aisément l'étymologie française du verbe *pétuner*, sans qu'il soit besoin de recourir à je ne sais quel mot de la langue des Cris, ainsi que quelqu'un le prétendait naguère avec chaleur. Il ne faisait pas réflexion que bien longtemps avant de connaître les Cris, les premiers missionnaires et les premiers voyageurs n'employaient pas d'autre terme pour exprimer l'idée de *fumer la pipe* que celui de *petuner*. Des idées préconçues, et aussi quelquefois, un peu trop de suffisance, ont donné lieu à des anachronismes encore plus sérieux et sur des points beaucoup plus importants. Si l'on me disait que *petun* est un mot péruvien ou brésilien,\*\*\* j'aurais beaucoup moins de peine à l'admettre, qu'à faire remonter notre vieux verbe *petuner* à la langue des Cris, nation que les Français n'ont connue que plus tard, alors que déjà depuis longtemps, en France comme au Canada, *fumeur*, *fumeuse* se disaient *petuneux*, *petuneuse*; *pipe* s'appelait *petunoir* ou *machine à petun*, et *fumer la pipe* ou *le calumet*, ne s'exprimait pas autrement que par *petuner*.<sup>9</sup>

PICHOU. Lacombe writes *pichoux*, which he would take directly from the Cri *pisew*, loup cervier, lynx.

PICOUILLE. Does this word possibly have some relation to the Cri root *piku* (*pikw*), briser, casser, fracasser?

p. 175—SAGAMITÉ. Lacombe remarks (p. 708), (Cris) pour : *kisá-gamitéw*, c'est un liquide chaud; c'est l'adjectif inanimé. Cuoq gives the following particulars as to the origin of this term: *Sagamité*, mot pris dans la langue algonquine, mais pris à contre-sens, et de plus défigurée. Ce mot ne doit son origine qu'à une méprise, à un mal-entendu, il vient de *kijagamite*, le potage est chaud: le premier Français qui a entendu cette expression, l'a prise pour le nom même du potage. De là est sortie la fameuse *sagamité*. Mais dans aucun cas, les Algonquins, ne donnent à leur ragoût, le prétendu nom de *sagamité*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris par le Rév. Père Alb. Lacombe, Ptre. Montréal, 1874. p. 708.

<sup>9</sup> Cuoq, Lexique Algonquin, p. 171-172 under *Notes Supplémentaires*.

<sup>10</sup> Lexique Algonquin, pp. 133 et 175

SACAQUA (*SACAQUÉ*). Lacombe gives *sisiquoi*, which is evidently the same word, petit siflet en os des Sauvages. The word *sisikwan*, he defines: *petit sac de parchemin bandé, dans lequel sont renfermées de petites pierres; instrument qu'on secoue avec cadence, dans les conjurations.*<sup>11</sup>

p. 178—In certain parts of the Indian speech territory, the correct vowel pronunciation (u) has evidently been preserved in such common expressions as *bonjour*, etc. A recent traveller tells us: un vieux chef se trouvait là (Lac des Bois); il nous salue d'un *b'jou! bijou!* qui est évidemment l'abréviation de notre *bonjour.*<sup>12</sup>

p. 169—Contrary to the opinion here expressed by Parkman, much and varied testimony might be cited from the writings both of officials of the Canadian government and of modern travellers in Canada. M. Dénonville, Governor of Canada wrote: "On a cru longtemps qu'il falloit approcher les sauvages de nous pour les franciser; on a tout lieu de reconnoître qu'on se trompoit. Ceux qui se sont approchés de nous ne se sont pas rendus François, et les François qui les ont hantés sont devenus sauvages."<sup>13</sup> Again: "Ils (the Indians) ne s'allient pas avec leurs voisins, mais entretiennent avec eux les meilleurs rapports."<sup>14</sup>

p. 176—In 1862, M. Dussieux noted particularly a settlement of these *métis* to the north of Lake Superior: Il existe au nord-ouest du lac Supérieur une peuplade nombreuse qui'on appelle les Bois-Brûlés; elle se compose de *méti* issus de Canadiens-Français et d'Indiens et descendent des anciens coureurs de bois. Ces Français demi-sauvages se sont donné le nom de Bois-Brûlés, à cause de leur couleur hâlée. Ils sont aujourd'hui à la solde de la grande compagnie anglaise des pelletries de la baie d'Hudson; ils chassent la grosse et la petite bête, mais surtout le bison, et poursuivent les troupes innombrables dans les herbageries qui recouvrent les hautes plaines baignées par le Missouri supérieur et la Nebraska, dans lesquelles le bison s'est réfugié.<sup>15</sup>

p. 177—add: *Wishe* shorihowane (Michel De la Grande-affaire), *Siwen* shotsitsiowane (Simon De la Grande-fleur), *Srenswe* shotowane (François Du Grand fumier)<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Dictionnaire, etc., p. 596.

<sup>12</sup> H. De Lamothe, Cinq mois chez les Français d'Amérique, p. 246.

<sup>13</sup> Le Canada sous la domination française par L. Dussieux, 2me édition, Paris, Lecoffre, 1862. p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Allard (Christophe), Promenade au Canada. Paris, 1878, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> Le Canada sous la domination française, par L. Dussieux, 2me édition, Paris, 1862. p. 20, note.

<sup>16</sup> Cuoq, Lexique Algonquin, p. 120.

p. 175—It is not only Indian words, adopted bodily by the French, that have enriched the vocabulary of the latter, but occasionally the use of a French vocable in a new sense, as the representative of its equivalent in the savage idiom, has crept in and then came the natural changes in form that would result to it from the rapid and inaccurate pronunciation of ordinary speech. The following is a characteristic example of this usage: Il est probable que les sauvages n'avaient aucune expression pour le prix, la valeur d'une chose, avant d'avoir vu les Blancs. Dans leur marchés et conventions, tout se faisait par des échanges. C'est alors qu'ils ont commencé à se servir du mot *attây*, pelletrie, fourrure, qui ne prend jamais le pluriel, quand on s'en sert pour compter, estimer la valeur d'une chose, v. g., *peyak-wattây*, un *plus*, ou *pelu*, equivalent ordinairement à deux chelins; *mistwattây ni tiphan eoko*, j'ai payé cela trois *plus*. Ce mot *plus* a été inventé par les Canadiens du Nord-Ouest pour répondre à l'expression indienne *attây*, pelletrie. Les Anglais se servent du mot *skin*, v. g., give me that, I'll give you two *skin* (*sic!*), *eoko miyin ekusi nij''wattây ki ka miy'itun*, donne-moi cela, et je te donnerai deux *plus*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Lacombe, Grammaire, p. 141.

THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION  
OF AMERICA.

Proceedings at Baltimore, Dec. 28, 29, 30,  
1886.

BALTIMORE:

1887.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Modern Language Association of America.

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The Fourth Annual Convention of THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, was held in Hopkins Hall of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on December 28, 29 and 30, 1886. On Monday, December 27th, many of the delegates arrived in the city and met in the evening, in response to a cordial invitation, at President Gilman's house, where they had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a few invited guests from Baltimore, of meeting the resident members of the Association and of becoming better known to one another. On December 28th, at 8.15 p. m., the President of the Association, Franklin Carter, (Williams College), called the meeting to order and expressed his gratification at being able to present, as the first speaker, a champion of higher educational interests, President Daniel C. Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Gilman then gave a short address of welcome in which he said:

"It is a source of gratification to us to be honored by the presence of this congress of students of modern languages. We have watched the proceedings of the young organization with increasing interest. You come to Baltimore at a very interesting period of its development. In the last few years, we have had many foundations laid in Baltimore of an educational character. The Peabody Institute, with its library of 80,000 or 90,000 volumes and its provision for public lectures, is of interest and use to students. The Johns Hopkins is a double foundation: The hospital, with its wards and various buildings, is for the relief of suffering, and in the university it is designed that young men may devote themselves to the study of science, language and other branches. The Pratt Free Library has been established in the last year, and all these institutions are working together towards the common end. We have made no great expenditure in erecting handsome buildings, but it is likely that at an early day it will be necessary to erect other buildings in the immediate neighborhood. The nar-

rowness of our situation has proved of great benefit in bringing our books directly into the hands of the students. We hope that you will recognize here a sincere desire to benefit the country in education, and not to build up a mere local institution. You can hardly go to any college without finding instruction in French and German, and it is generally accepted in most institutions that an educated man must read French and German to keep up with the culture of the world. The literature of modern languages is also becoming of importance, and I hope that the study of the languages will not supersede the study of the literatures. You have entered into the line of supporting publications recording the work of your association, and I congratulate you upon having published during the year the first volume of your transactions. I think the enthusiasm displayed by this association in the pursuit of knowledge promises well for its future. We must have gatherings of those interested in culture, and if science is to go forward in this country, these gatherings must be sustained. There is a very common feeling that the meetings are uninteresting, and after long attendance upon many conventions I have come to the conclusion that what is wanting is discussion and sociability, and I hope that your meeting in Baltimore will result in the formation of friendships which will endure."

After this, President Carter made an interesting and lengthy address on the 'Study of Modern Languages in our Higher Institutions.\*'

After the addresses, the audience repaired to the Library over Hopkins Hall, where refreshments were served and an opportunity was given for making the personal acquaintance of the President of the Association and for further social intercourse.

At the opening of the Second Session, on December 29th, at 9.30 a. m., the Secretary, Professor A. M. Elliott (Johns Hopkins University) read a brief report of the proceedings of the Third Annual Convention held at Boston University, Boston, on December 29th and 30th, 1885, and, after the report was accepted, he made some remarks on the publications of the Association during the past year. The PROCEEDINGS had been issued as heretofore and, in addition to this, there had been published a volume of 252 pages of TRANSACTIONS, containing all the principal papers read at the meetings held in New York and Boston in 1884 and 1885 respectively. The necessity of THE MODERN LANGUAGE SERIES, of which three numbers were reported at the last convention, had been supplied in part by the publication of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, a private enterprise that had naturally developed out of the rapidly grow-

\* Cf. "Transactions" in this volume, pp. 3-21, where the paper is given in full.

ing interests of the Association. For this SERIES, however, number 4 had been promised and was already in preparation for the press.

The Treasurer's report was next in order and the following committee was named to audit it: Professors F. M. Page (University of the South) and A. Lodeman (Ypsilanti, Mich.).

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

Cash on hand January 1, 1886.....	\$116.45
Receipts for 1886.....	616.33
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$732.78
Expenditures.....	560.96
	<hr/>
Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1887.....	\$171.82

Committees were then appointed: 1st, to suggest names of officers for the Association during the ensuing year—Professor E. S. Joynes (South Carolina College) Chairman; 2d, to draw up greetings for the VERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN NEUPHILOLOGISCHEN LEHRERSCHAFT at its second conference to be held in Frankfort on May 31st and June 1st, 1887—Professor W. T. Hewett, (Cornell University) Chairman. Committees were requested to report at the opening of the last meeting of the Association, December 30th.

A telegram expressive of the sympathy and cordial interest of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was then sent to the *Modern Language Association of Canada*, organizing and holding its first session at this time in University College, Toronto. After adopting the thirty minute rule for the reading of papers, ten minutes for the opening remarks, and five minutes for subsequent discussion, in each case, the Convention proceeded to the regular communications to be presented and Dr. James W. Bright, (Johns Hopkins University) opened the series by giving

1. "A general survey of the year's publications in the Department of Modern Languages."

In his introduction, Dr. Bright sketched the history and significance of the practice observed by the London Philological

Society in the "Annual Addresses" of its retiring Presidents. An argument based upon the experience of this old and honored Society, was then offered in favor of a provision in the proceedings of the Association for an annual summary of all that is done in modern philology. A partial summary of this character, for which data had been contributed by others, in accordance with the method employed by the Presidents of the London Society in constructing their "Annual Addresses," was then given in illustration and enforcement of the argument set forth in the introduction. Acknowledgment was made for material furnished for the report on Romanic studies by Prof. A. M. Elliott and Mr. F. M. Warren; on Germanic Studies by Drs. Julius Goebel and H. Wood; on Scandinavian Studies by Mr. Albert E. Egge, and on certain Indo-germanic problems by Dr. Herbert Weir Smyth.

President HENRY E. SHEPHERD (Charleston College), followed with a paper on

2. "A Study of English Prose Style from Elizabeth to Victoria."\*

Discussion on this paper was opened by Professor Th. W. Hunt (Princeton), who said: I have been deeply interested in this paper on English Prose, and especially so since it comes from President Shepherd. I do not know how professors of the French and German languages may feel on the subject, but to me there is no province of language-study more interesting or important than that of English prose. I consider the criticism of President Shepherd in regard to Mr. Saintsbury quite sound. I am surprised that Mr. Saintsbury should neglect the process of evolution in our prose. It is necessary to go back as far as Bede and the English Latin-writers, to fix our starting point for English prose. In the middle of the twelfth century we might fix a second date of development. Here the translation of the Bible into English had a great influence on the language. Probably 90% of English words look back to these versions: but more particularly to Wickliffe's translation. I have been giving particular attention to prose, and perhaps may soon afflict the public with a volume. I am happy to see I have held the same opinions, in the main, as Dr. Shepherd. But I think Addison's

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\*Cf. TRANSACTIONS pp. 22-30, where the essay is given in full.

English is better than modern English, and that no better has been written.

PROF. J. M. GARNETT (University of Virginia): I heartily endorse Dr. Shepherd's views. But can we not go back too far in our discussion of style? The language is quite different if we go beyond the Bible translations. If we start at the fourteenth century with the prose of that time and come on down to the present we have a sure basis, and may readily see the development into the excellent prose style of the second half of the last century. I also am sorry to object to Prof. Shepherd's estimate of Addison's prose.

PROFESOR T. WHITING BANCROFT (Brown University): There is a tendency to abandon the study of the development of our style, possibly from lack of text-books. We study the authors, but no study of authors can take the place of the study of the literature. We hope books on the subject will be furnished. But we would ask all those who may contemplate the making of such books not to make them too learned.

President SHEPHERD: The evolution of our English Prose was begun in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. They anticipated the later translations. The peculiarity of form was made at this early period. I find my study of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels of great help to me in the appreciative study of our English prose style.

DR. HENRY WOOD (Johns Hopkins University): I preface what I wish to say by referring to Professor Garnett's remark. In fixing our Prose Style we must begin farther back than Wicliffe. Again, the work of studying literary growths is confused with the work of the class-room in University-study. We cannot make this too learned. I quite agree with Prof. Shepherd. In his interesting reference to Euphuism as an attempt at conciseness I think we must treat Euphuism with the doctrine of poetical synonyms. This I hope to show in another place. In considering the prose style, it is necessary to get at the philosophy of the period. Are the authors of any period in the stream of tendency in development of the English prose style? We must find this as the touchstone.

Professor SAMUEL GARNER (Indiana University): I am not a student of English particularly; but it occurred to me to ask the question: May there not, in the matter of style, be shown more individuality in the earlier authors, a stronger ex-

pression of their own nature; while later authors might be copyists in style? This is to be expected. People follow the law of ease of utterance. In early times men would be disposed to follow their instincts. Later writers had greater access to the works of other men; and this must have had its effect.

President SHEPHERD: I think Prof. Garner is right. I have brought this out before. Many passages of Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Browne and such men show the breaking out of the individuality of the writer. Later writers show uniformity and monotony. Macaulay might be said to be beautifully so.

The next communication on the list was by Professor H. C. O. Huss (Princeton College):

3. "Victor Hugo's Religion as drawn from his Writings," of which the following is an abstract:

I.

When the archbishop of Paris, at the news that V. Hugo's last hour was approaching, called in person at his residence offering to administer to him spiritual aid and the rites of the Catholic church, the poet's kinsman, Mr. Lockroy, is reported to have refused the offer with the words:—"Victor Hugo is expecting death, but he does not desire the services of a priest." The local clerical papers at once declared that Mr. Lockroy had acted arbitrarily in the matter, and yet there is nothing more certain than that the answer given to the bishop was exactly in keeping with Hugo's spirit and convictions as repeatedly and consistently expressed by him throughout his lifetime. For Hugo's religion was not the Catholic religion. Nor was the feeling that he entertained in regard to the Catholic church mere indifference but rather hatred and contempt. The same "Muse of Indignation" which inspires his "Chastisements" against the emperor, dictated his pungent satire, 'The Pope.' The pope, we read in the 'Legend of the Ages,' deceives mankind. "O horror! Satan and he put on the same ring. Jerusalem! they cause thy lamb to be devoured by the old wolf of Rome."

The Eternal City seems to him a rendezvous of all the vilest passions, crimes and vices, of infamy, fraud, perjury and carnal lust, "a prostitute with the tiara on her brow."

"Rome," he declares, "a charnel-house under the eagle, became a bazar under the cross."

Of the officials of the church he says:

"Priests are open abysses; he who looks into them sees horrible things."

"The priest hates and lies."

"Priests make shadow."

"God made the world, a book in which the priest reads poorly."

"The priest is a reptile to the tyrant." And, addressing the priests:

"You love useful darkness, and you are prowling therein vile and victorious, oh reptiles!"

A special object of his contempt was the convent. Monachism is styled by him "a leprosy which has almost eaten into the bones of two admirable nations, Italy and Spain."

"He who says convent, says slough." His estimate of the Spanish convent, than which nothing in his writings has caused greater scandal nor aroused fiercer animosity amongst the Catholic clergy, is known to all the readers of 'Les Misérables,' and of 'Torquemada.'

The Catholic doctrine found no more favor in Hugo's eyes than its priesthood. "The old dreary dogmas are repugnant to me," he sighs. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception aroused his indignation, because he saw in the coronation of one woman an insult to all the rest; while that of the Infallibility of the Pope was an object of his derision.

If he rejected dogma *per se* it was because in his opinion it dwarfs the infinite and eternal by reducing it to finite human proportions, giving but "fragments of the indivisible, shadows of the light, masks of the infinite taken from humanity." A sky that is supported by a mountain, whether it be Olympus or Sinai, is too narrow for him, whom the contemplation of the universe alone satisfies.

The question whether Hugo's religion was the Christian religion, if it was not the Catholic, must also be answered negatively. It is true that he had the profoundest reverence for the person and the teachings of Christ, true also that he called the Bible his book and insisted on preaching the gospel in the villages, and on enriching every cottage with a Bible; but it is just as certain that he saw in Christ no more than an enlightened reformer and an exalted type of human virtue. The fact that he mentions him side by side not only with Socrates but with Voltaire is eloquent enough, while the irony with which he treats the dogmas of original sin and atonement would not leave the slightest doubt with reference to his belief, even if he did not say expressly that his God has no son.

The existence of God was not only never denied but was at all times loudly and emphatically affirmed by Hugo, so that only the grossest ignorance calls him atheist. The following quotations are certainly not ambiguous:

"He is, however, this God."

"We believe in this living God."

"Oh! let us bless God in our profound faith! It is He who made your soul and created the world! It is He whom I find at the bottom of every mystery."

"(The conscience of man is the thought of God.)"

"He is my only hope and my only fear."

"Be satisfied with believing in Him; be satisfied with hope and its great wing, faith."

"He is, since it is He whom I feel in the words, Ideal, Absolute, Duty, Reason, Knowledge."

"Believe, and your eyelids will open!"

"Woe to him who believes nothing!"

Since these and similar utterances are met with in all his works, it is evident that atheism has at no period of his life had any hold upon him.

To answer the question what Hugo's idea of God was we have to discriminate between the expressions of his youth and manhood on one side and of his old age on the other.

In the former periods of his life he worships a God whose essence and attributes are to a certain extent those of the Bible, a personal God who as Providence takes a paternal care of all His creatures and is constantly at work in the interest of human progress, whose leader He is. Notice the following:

"This Father dwells in the realm of eternity. He thinks, orders, rules, weighs, judges, loves."

"The divine finger (which) leads generations from progress to progress."

"But we struggle, and we shall conquer, God leads us."

Did Hugo pray to this God? Most decidedly. He affirms that he believes in the sublimity of prayer. The 'Contemplations,' moreover contain a prayer beginning: "I come unto thee, Lord, a father in whom we must believe"—a prayer written by Hugo the poet, and conceived by Hugo the man when mourning the loss of his beloved daughter—a most touching prayer, in which one can almost hear the throbs of a broken heart and see eyes full of tears and full of faith.

Again the "prayer for all" which he puts into the mouth of his grand-child is full of true religious sentiment.

In one most essential point, however, Hugo's God totally differs from that of the Bible. While no sparrow falls from the roof without the will of the latter, many important events happen without, and even contrary to, the will of the former. Hugo is not willing to admit that public calamities, as inundations for instance, in which the innocent perish together with the guilty, are the works of God: nor that such scourges of mankind as Nimrod, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Attila are sent by Providence. Of the wild slaughter and blood-shed during the war of the Commune in Paris he says: "If some priest says that God willed it, he lies."

Concerning the Bourbons we are told that they were an instrument of civilization which broke in the hands of Providence; while Napoleon I. is represented as a troublesome obstacle to Providence:

"He was in the way of God" (*il gênait Dieu*).

"Jacob only wrestled with an angel, Napoleon wrestled with Jehovah."

The force acting independently of, and oftentimes contrary to God,

is according to Hugo no other than destiny. The dualism of Providence and destiny, of the constructive and the destructive agency, of the good and evil principle—this dualism is one of Hugo's fundamental beliefs and one of the main-springs and leading ideas in his most noteworthy productions. Without the idea of *ἀνάγκη* we should have no 'Notre Dame de Paris,' no 'Misérables,' no 'Travailleurs de la Mer,' no 'L'Homme qui rit,' no 'Légende des Siècles.' The gigantic wall in the poet's vision from which the 'Legend of the Ages' sprang is overthrown by two winged genii, the one calling: God and the other: Fatality.

Destiny in its struggle with Providence frequently gets the better of it. What must surprise us most, however, is the fact that he prayed to a Providence which if not exactly a "servant of Ananke," as he calls that of the Indians and Manichæans, was at least pushed occasionally against the wall by destiny. It almost seems, to judge from the inconsistent use he makes of the term destiny, that he had not within himself a clear idea of it. On the occasion of his return from his exile to France Hugo utters the following startling words: "Who can guess at this moment when God perhaps fails, whether it is towards the gloomy or bright side that the wheel will turn? What will come from thy hand which veils itself, oh Destiny?"

All that seems to him irrational comes from this perverse and blundering agency. In regard to the reverses of France in 1870-71 he exclaims: "Ah! what destiny has done to us is infamous." But—and this is his consolation—the triumph of destiny is transient, the final victory belongs to Providence, "God," he says, "has always corrected the blunders of destiny," here we have the idea underlying *La Fin de Satan*.

"*Hoc erat in fatis.*" At the same time the poet sees the shadow of an enormous right hand projected on Waterloo, and says that God has passed.

### III.

In his old age Hugo abandoned his theistic views of the Divinity. His God ceases to be circumscribed and personal and expands into the Infinite. He defines him as "the conscious infinite" and conceives of him as the essence of the ideal, as an inaccessible and invisible source of never-fading light penetrating everything so that the bird has it in its nest and the tree in its stem. This pantheistic view finds its clearest expression in the following passage:

"All is but One . . . he (God) is in a beehive as well as in Rome; the worm is not farther from the infinite than man."

This God reveals himself within us in our conscience, and without us in nature, when "he speaks through the voice of the elements without priests and without bibles."

"The true book opens in the depths of a thundering sky."

It is impossible not to be reminded here of A. von Humboldt's two

great objects of veneration "our conscience within us, and the starry sky above us."

Hugo at all times had the keenest sense of the beauty and grandeur of nature, and this appreciation was rooted as deeply in his religious convictions as in his æsthetic needs. He is attracted by the forest because "a God inhabits it," or because he feels "some great one that hears and loves him;" and he is impressed and overcome by an extensive view because he feels "in all its immensity the smallness of man and the greatness of God."

The pantheistic views of his old age deepened this love of nature into veneration. Nature now becomes his place of worship. He tells us that he doubts in a temple, but believes on a mountain; that the azure is his church; the rosy lily, his Levite; the evening star, his taper; the moon, the holy wafer; the sun, the eucharist; that religion is a sky contemplated and that he prays with the mountains.

## IV.

Did Hugo find joy and peace in his belief? is a question which naturally presents itself to the mind and which is to be answered in the affirmative. In a walk on the island of his exile, where the beauty of mountains and sea and the brightness of the sky impress him, he exclaims:

"What matters to me the number of my fleety days! I touch the infinite, I see eternity. Storms! passions! be silent in my soul! Never did my heart penetrate so near to God . . . . Blessed be those that hate me, and blessed those that love me! . . . . I will do nothing but love, for I have so little time."

And in another walk along the shore, where everything is to him serenity, majesty, force and grace, he says:

"Here everything cradles, reassures and caresses. No more shadows in my heart; no more bitter cares. An ineffable peace unceasingly rises and descends from the deep azure of my soul to the deep azure of the sea."

But the greatest strength and best comfort that he drew from his religion was his firmness of belief in the immortality of the soul. To the worm of the earth who boasts of getting everything he replies: "You have not all, monster, you do not get the soul." He calls the soul the slave of life and the queen of eternity; and affirms that "as the cradle has a yesterday, so the tomb has a to-morrow."

"This world is but the vestibule of another."

Accordingly, death has no sting for him; may he speak of it with ecstasy:

"O death! glorious hour! mortuary radiance! God at this inexpressible hour disperses the body into the universe, and the soul into love."

"Death is the entrance to the great light."

"Do not say to die; to be born over."

To die is not to end; it is the supreme morning.

Nor has the tomb any terror for him. On the contrary, he is en-

thusiastic in the praise of its sublimity. There is to him no place more elevated, no place fuller of light and of life, nor wider in compass than that which the majority of people call the narrow, gloomy, silent grave:—

“To arrive at the tomb is to reach the summit.”

“The tomb is a nest in which the soul takes wings like a bird.”

“His (man’s) dawn is in the tomb.”

The most complete expression of his views on the tomb and what comes after it, is found in the poem that he wrote on the occasion of the interment of his son :

“The tomb is a sublime prolongation. One ascends to it astonished to have believed that he had to descend . . . . It is not in order to sleep that we die ; no, it is to do better what we have been doing here below. It is to do it well. We have only the end, heaven has the means . . . . On earth we are limited, on earth we are in exile, but on high we grow without crowding the infinite. . . . Go then, my son ! go, spirit ! become a torch ! Radiate. Enter soaring into thy immense tomb.”

It is evident from what has been said that Hugo had a religion of his own. He emphatically asserts that his God was neither pagan nor Christian, and that his creed was none of the creeds of the present or past. While he deeply felt the need of religion and loudly professed it, he rejected all positive religions for the reason that, in his opinion, they do no justice to the majesty of the living God, who appears in them as “an immense, and yet puny counterfeit of man.”

Professor ADOLPHE COHN, (Harvard University) opened the discussion on this paper :

I was very much interested and pleased when I saw for the first time the title of the paper that has just been read. The question of Victor Hugo’s religion is a much wider one than may appear at first sight ; and when well understood it gives a key to the religious, moral and political situation of France to-day. Hugo’s religion was personal, but in another sense it was the religion of the most active men of the French people, and of French thinkers. The refusal of attendance on the part of the Catholic priests is not unique. Hugo is not the only one who shows the position of the great men of the present. Louis Blanc, the friend of the people, and also the great orator, Gambetta, traveled from the death-bed unattended by any ministrations of the Catholic church. Were they believers in God? Gambetta was probably an atheist, judged by the ordinary doctrines. But is religion to be only something which binds us and imposes conformity? Hugo’s Pantheism was reached

pretty early. It runs from the earliest works to the latest efforts of his life. The key to it is his sympathy for human suffering. The beauty and the duty of destroying all pain is the one great thought which purifies all Hugo's thought and that of the liberal men of France.

Professor ALCÉE FORTIER (Tulane University): I must differ with Prof. Huss. If we read Hugo's works carefully and continuously, I think we may see that he shows no enmity against the Catholic church and Christianity. I might show how he was not in favor of the Inquisition. No man is in favor of the Inquisition. In *Les Misérables* we find that admirable picture of an Archbishop witnessing Hugo's want of hatred for the clergy. Surely if he did not practise the Catholic religion he was at least a Christian man and so acted. Or if he did not practice a particular orthodox belief, he tried to find out everything about religion.

Professor HUSS: I have not said he did not practise religious principles; but he did not profess the Christian religion. Buddha too teaches us to love our neighbor. If we are to decide on Hugo's christianity, we must look not only at religious principles but also at the profession and practice of religion. Hugo says emphatically that his God has no son. *Torquemada* has passages showing his attitude very clearly. And the Spanish priests had many substantial reasons for burning *Les Misérables*.

Professor COHN: Might we not reconcile Profs. Huss and Fortier by suggesting that the word "hatred" is too strong a term? Against religion itself, Hugo had no words of hatred; but only for those who created misery in the world. Wherever he could he made beautiful types of noble manhood. Privately, he thought of his mission as one for the helping of mankind. His only religion was sympathy for human suffering. In a codicil to his will, he says: "I believe in God; and I give 50,000 francs to the poor."

Professor HUSS: I have not said that Hugo hated the Catholic religion; but the church and the priests. Truly he did hate the pope and the priests.

Professor CH. F. KROEH (Stevens' Institute): I am inclined to separate the man from the poet. Hugo's admiration for the christian religion may have been on a poetical side.

Professor GARNER (Indiana University): We frequently

fail to take in the special meaning of words long after the activity which caused the thought and the words has ceased. If we ask a man if he believes in God and Christianity, we get his answer Yes or No more or less qualified. If he believe in God, we find he believes in a God no one else believes in. This is very little to discover; but after all we are very seldom much more certain than this. Even if we associate with some men from day to day, we are not able to find out what they really believe.

The Convention here adjourned till 3 p. m. and about a hundred of its members met at the St. James Hotel to partake of the luncheon which had been noted on the program. This luncheon was prolonged considerably over the hour of meeting and about 3.30 p. m. the session was called to order by the President, when Professor O. B. SUPER (Dickinson College) opened the reading with a paper on

4. "Some Disputed Points in the Pronunciation of German."\*

Professor CH. F. KROEH (Stevens' Institute) began the discussion by saying:

An investigation of this kind has two objects: in the first place, as directly helpful in class-room work; and secondly for the purpose of phonetic research. In regard to the class-room, it seems to me the opinion of an educated native would be enough. The differences are not so very great. A native German's usefulness as a teacher need not be denied for the reason that we can tell by his pronunciation just what part of the country he comes from. In the second place, it is an important thing for the teacher to make up his mind which is the pronunciation to teach. I agree with the general drift of the speaker's remarks. But I should add that I don't think any one part of Germany is entitled to a monopoly; there is no section which could establish a German Academy. Yet take the Germans from different sections and hear them talk; we find the points on which they differ are very small. The questions in this paper only amount to four or five. If we have adopted any one of the different pronunciations, we may explain the variations to our pupils, for the sake of understanding the language wherever they may go in Germany. And a

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\*Cf. "Transactions" pp. 74-82, for full paper.

teacher need not hesitate in holding to a pronunciation which he has received from a liberal and cultured gentleman.

Professor ADOLPH GERBER (Earlham College): I agree with Professor Super in regard to *st* and *sp*, although I am from Schleswig Holstein; and in regard to the pronunciation of *g*. But I do not agree with him when he says the language of Hanover is behind that of Saxony. Most Saxons beyond Leipsic cannot distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants. I do not think it is a mere accident that Hanover enjoys a good reputation.

Professor SUPER: Of course, I spoke of an ideal teacher when I asked for a pronunciation which would not reveal to us what section a man came from.

Professor PAUL F. ROHRBACHER (Western University of Pennsylvania): I am a South German, and, Mr. President, I recognize the fact that life is short. The Germans are united on two things: they must die some day, and they like beer. I tell my students that their chances in life are not ruined by a few differences in pronunciation. I saw in my life one man who had acquired the pronunciation of *w*. I never got it; and I bow to him. I give German instruction to my pupils. They pay their money and they must get their German, and it don't make much difference whether they say *w* or *v*. (Merriment.)

Professor ALCÉE FORTIER (Tulane University) then presented a communication on

5. "French Literature in Louisiana."\*

The discussion was here opened by Professor EDW. S. JOYNES (South Carolina College): I am quite unable to discuss the subject-matter of the paper. All the facts there stated were new to me; and, I venture to say, new to this enlightened audience. They impressed me very much. How swiftly the records of the beautiful and the true are swept away into oblivion unless rescued by the enthusiasm and labor of scholars! And I thought how fitting it is that our young professor should be here holding up before us the memory of the good and brave people of his State. And as a Southern man I feel a pride that we have in that State a University whose

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\*Cf. "Transactions," pp. 31-60, for the full paper.

chosen function I hope may be to explain and keep this almost perished literature of Louisiana. I am struck by the fact that Prof. Fortier refers to books which he could not procure—books which are fast passing away. I cannot refrain from the expression of my pleasure, when I am here led to hope that this literature shall not die.

Dr. H. A. TODD (Johns Hopkins University) followed next with a paper on

6. "Guillaume de Dole: an unpublished Old French Romance."\*

Mr. F. M. WARREN (Johns Hopkins University) made some remarks on this paper and among other things said: It would be quite interesting to trace the time when the Roman d'Aventure flourished and the causes of its decay. I think that, roughly speaking, the period of its excellence could be placed between 1190 and 1250, though Philippe de Beaumanoir wrote 'La Manekine' and 'Blonde d'Oxford' after that date. The origin seems to be in some way connected with the episode of the Breton-Cycle, an indication of which is found in Raoul de Houdenc, who imitated Crestien de Troies in the development of episodes which make true Romans d'Aventure. Raoul, as seen in Huon de Méry, 'Le Tournoiement de l'Antechrist,' was dead in 1235, or by the middle point of the epoch which is given. It appears probable that the growth of the allegorical element in literature led to the destruction of the narrative novels in verse and the beginning of this allegory is seen likewise in Raoul de Houdenc, 'Roman des Ailes,' etc., which must have appeared two decades before the 'Roman de la Rose,' (1235?).

In answer to a question of Prof. Cohn, Mr. Warren said: In 'Gérard de Nevers' (before 1225) by Girbert de Montreuil, occur some twenty-five verses in a united *laisse* taken from the cycle of William of Orange. They are represented to have been sung in various castles by Gérard disguised as a minstrel.

After this, Professor L. A. STÄGER (President of Summer School of Languages, Burlington, Vt.) presented a communication on

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\*Cf. "Transactions," pp. 107-157, for the full paper.

7. "Speaking as Means and End of Language Teaching," of which the following is an abstract:

Henry Sweet, in his 'Practical Study of Language' (p. 2), says: "The spoken language is the only source of the literary languages: every literary language arises from a more or less arbitrary mixture of spoken languages of different periods. . . . Hence the general axiom—equally important for the practical and the scientific study of language—that the living spoken form of every language should be made the foundation of its study. This holds good, even if the ultimate object is the mastery of the literary language only, for the spoken is the only form of the language which is regular and definitely limited in the range of its grammar and vocabulary.

With Mr. Sweet side many other prominent masters, to whom we are already indebted for quite a number of new grammars and treatises about the teaching of modern languages according to this view. May I mention here Wm. Vietor, Karl Kühn, Felix Francke, Paul Passy, George Stiereti?

Since by far the majority of people speak more than they write, speaking and talking should receive more attention in our schools than writing, else we do not prepare our pupils in the right way for their journey through life. This is certainly true with regard to our mother-tongue; but how about the foreign languages? The lamented Prof. Wm. Cook has on several occasions touched this question before the M. L. A., and the proceedings of 1885 introduce other authorities, with more or less the same opinions. I may mention Prof. von Jagemann, who thinks it very important that the student should become acquainted with the spoken idiom, an opinion generally held among the modern philologists both of America and Europe. They all agree that the old—or translation—method did not satisfy them on this point. The M. L. A. has given many a precious hour to the considering of methods, but can we safely say: We have found it at last? or will you pardon me for giving my attention for a few minutes to Speaking, as means and end of language teaching?

Speaking, above all other things, makes us acquainted with a spoken language. The written and the spoken idiom in all languages are different from each other, as the picture is different from the original. If then our aim is the spoken language, let us see how we can introduce speaking in the class-room of traditional silence. Speaking necessitates questioning and answering. The study of a language by one's self becomes an absurdity; may I say: It is the language teacher's first and foremost duty to make his pupils acquainted with the spoken language, and herewith I understand the language teaching which gives its attention to the language as expression of our thoughts, and not the teaching of thoughts which we might form about a language itself. Or as Francke puts it: "Wir wollen das Können der Sprache, wir suchen die Sprache als Form unseres Denkens, u. nicht als Inhalt

unseres Denkens." Prof. Karl Kühn's resolution, adopted by the 38th Convention of German Philologists strikes at the root of the evil by saying: "Ziel des französischen Unterrichts ist die möglichste Aneignung der franz. Sprache; dadurch wird die allgemeine Bildung gefördert u. insbesondere die Kenntnis eines wesentlichen Bestandtheiles des modernen geistigen Lebens erreicht." Prof. Dr. Ihne of Heidelberg addressed the same body thus: "In der Beherrschung der neuern Sprache aber liegt der Schwerpunkt des Sprachstudiums;" after which the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Um der praktischen Ausbildung der neuphilologischen Schulamtskandidaten auf der Universität ebensowohl Genüge zu leisten, als ihrer historisch-wissenschaftlichen Schulung, ist es notwendig, dass auf allen deutschen Hochschulen je 2 Professuren für Englisch X Französisch angesetzt werden, welche das Gesamtgebiet der modernen Philologie theoretisch u. praktisch umfassen. Wünschenswert ist zugleich, dass jedem neuphilolog. Schulamtskandidaten ein längerer Aufenthalt im Auslande, behufs seiner weitern Ausbildung ermöglicht werde." The recently formed Mod. Lang. Society in Germany pleads too for more attention to the practical side of instruction in the modern languages, with especial regard to the study of the life and institutions of the various people. At the Neuphilologentag in Hanover it was Dr. Klinghard who expressed the general sentiment in fitting words when he said: Der französisch-englische Unterricht und die neuphilologische Wissenschaft, bisher fast ausschliesslich auf die sprachliche Seite der modernen Kulturentwicklung gerichtet, haben sich künftighin nach dem Muster des griechisch-lateinischen Unterrichts mehr und mehr mit den realen Lebensäusserungen der modernen Völker zu beschäftigen. (Schweiz. Lehrerzeitung 1886—p. 389). How to obtain this end was my question, and my answer: The man who wants to sing must exercise his voice, and the man who wants to speak must practise speaking. But when, where and how is this to be done? My experience permits me to say:

1. The practical acquisition of a language should be made at an early age, when the pupil is yet a beginner in the new study. I contradict in this point the opinion of many who believe that Grammar should first be taught exclusively, or at least to a greater extent than conversation.

2. In order to avoid falling into the old route, I insist on teaching my pupils everything pertaining to the study, in the foreign idiom to be acquired, thus following by necessity the principle of the natural method, as Prof. Böcher defined it in brief: "The language taught should be spoken while teaching by the teacher;" to which I add: "and also by the pupil."

3. All explanations which cannot be given in the foreign idiom on account of the pupil's limited vocabulary, must be postponed until the latter difficulty is removed.

4. First teach to speak, then to read, then to write, then begin the

grammar and finally translation into and from the mother-tongue. According to my belief, the college should require at the entrance examination, say for German and French, that the student be familiar with the spoken idiom, that he be able to read and give a verbal account of what he has read in the same idiom, and also, that he shall be able to answer any question on elementary grammar. Translation and more advanced study of the grammar, as well as comparative philology, should be taught at the college; the laws of phonetics and sound-shifting should be made use of from the beginning, postponing at this time, as yet unnecessary, theory and historical explanation for the college days.

5. The language teacher should never forget that he is to teach the language only, and, to speak with Henry Sweet, "that the living spoken form of every language should be made the foundation of its study." If he teaches literature, he must remember that he does it in the interest of the language to be acquired rather than in the interest of the advantages his pupil might derive from a thorough investigation of the literary production in question.

6. Thus I claim that the most important end of language teaching is speech.

7. That the most important means of language teaching is also speech.

But what is "speech"? What is the best German? The best French? For German, I accept Prof. Vietor's definition of the Common German Speech: High German word-forms pronounced with low German speech-sounds. But how do we acquire the common speech in our mother-tongue and will the same rules hold good for a foreign language?

The late Dr. Francke, who gave this matter such excellent consideration, says in conclusion: "Überschauen wir noch einmal kurz die Hauptmomente der natürlichen Spracherlernung, so haben wir zu betonen, dass die Sprache von vornherein nur als *Form* des Gedankens erlernt wird, dass alle Sinne, vornehmlich der Gesichtssinn, eine ungeheure Rolle darin spielen, dass die Regelbildung unbewusst vor sich geht, dass die Spracherlernung innerhalb *einer* Sprache vorgenommen wird und dass sie endlich nur die gesprochene Sprache (noch enger die Familiensprache) zum Objekte hat." What Francke claims to be the "Hauptmomente der natürlichen Spracherlernung," I claim to be the definition of what I call briefly "Speaking." This definition must be somewhat altered in the case of a new language. We generally learn a new language not in our earliest childhood, but begin it in later life, when habits of study and experience have left their imprint on our judgment and when our system has already become the slave to many habits. We must, therefore, calculate with these new factors, and we shall find new difficulties in the new language, perhaps for the first time becoming aware of the fact that learning a new language does not mean the learning of an equivalent for each word we use in our own language, but that it

means the rendering of a thought by a thought. We do away with the literal translation and begin to feel that, in order to overcome the difficulties of idiomatic phrases, we must come in contact with the people who use them, or their literature at least, and know something of the manners and customs and the history of this people. This means—that we must know how to speak the language; and that “speaking” is the most important end in the study of a language, else we can never get acquainted fully with the literature of a foreign nation.

The pupil must speak while he is young, if he will ever succeed to satisfaction, for in old age the organs of speech and of hearing are hardened and make speaking impossible. A stay in the country where the language is spoken would be the best thing; but since we cannot for the sake of one study interrupt the general course of education we are obliged to do without the foreign country, and the language teacher has to make up for this immense loss. To partially make up for it, we must speak at school from the beginning of our study and make speaking also the most important *means* of language teaching. Considering the two points, it is obvious that a student ought to begin the study of a foreign language at the preparatory school and that the college should finish this study with what should properly be called Literature, History, Geography, Manners and Customs, etc. The language teacher in the truest sense has no claim upon an academic chair, which latter has to be filled by one who does not teach the technical and practical but the theoretical and historical part.

As to the execution of my plan of teaching by speaking, I hold that the teacher must of necessity not only speak and know the language he teaches, but that it should be, if possible, his mother-tongue, and that he must know the pupils' mother-tongue as well. Let us illustrate with an English pupil who learns German. If the teacher knows English, he will be able to form easy questions and answers, which are entirely made up of words almost alike for both languages in spelling, pronunciation and meaning, or which have one of these qualities in common.

For the German language I try to give in my ‘Lehrfragen’ a few chapters entirely made up of such words. For the understanding of the same by the pupil, I trust to these resemblances, and to the fact that a beginner in the study of a new language has the natural tendency of learning it by “analogy” or by acquiring the words of his new language as if they were but new words in his own language. Grammar may partially be learned in the same way. The rules will be deduced by the thinking pupil, though I do not hesitate to say that some forms are acquired rather mechanically at first—precisely what occurs with our mother-tongue. But by letting the pupil deduce the rules, he will be led on to think independently and the general educational benefit derived from such exercise is certainly a high victory over the old brain-killing empiric translation-method.

Exceptions to the rule, too, will readily be learned in this way, especially by the pupil who understands the grammar of his own mother-tongue. Experience will soon show how easily German speech is acquired, and the enthusiasm of the pupil discovering that he really learns and penetrates into the secrets of a new language helps him over many difficulties. After these preliminary speaking exercises, the pupil will receive the book, in which the same are printed. He starts to read them at the first page, and because they are familiar words, he encounters no difficulty in reading them, at the same time pronouncing them correctly, as he is not dependent upon the letter he sees, but upon his trained ear. After a while he will be put to writing after dictation of the same phrases, and because he noticed the spelling when he learned to read, and because he has already some experience of writing his own tongue, this too will present but little difficulty. A good German accent is not acquired so much by learning the rules of phonetics, as by following the good example of a teacher. Let us be careful in correcting mispronunciation, and also, let the teacher use his knowledge of phonetics and give the pupil its benefit, without troubling him with its rules. Viotor's "German Pronunciation" is an excellent guide. For conversation material, Prof. Carla Wenckebach's "Anschauungsunterricht" may be used.

One word about translation: We have not used any English up to this point in our class-room, shall we do so now? And if yes, under what conditions? What is the mental process of translating, let us ask? And what mental process do we perform in learning a new word in our mother-tongue?

If a new article has no name as yet, we still are able to think of the thing; if it has a foreign name, we may use that, in speaking of it, but as a rule we have a mental picture of the article in our memory or mind, which prompts us, when speaking, to a description of the article in question. With a new language things themselves do not change, of course, only their names; and if we learn to know "the knife" for example under the name of "Messer" we will for some time continue to think of "knife" first, on wanting to speak of the object, but, with more practice, we accustom ourselves to the new name of Messer and use it while conversing in German, thus avoiding the longer process of translating or of recalling two words instead of one. The straight way is the shortest, and the one we use leads directly from the object to our mind or, more precisely, from the eye picture to the mind picture and hence to the new name, without first calling to memory an old one. This way makes translation as an assistance to learning a new speech entirely superfluous, and more of an obstacle than a help. Therefore we abandon it.

But shall we never translate? I have answered already in the affirmative, and would state here that precisely on account of the complicated, difficult mental process which translation imposes, I think that such exercises should *crown* the study of a language and

figure as the last and most important part of it. But only he who perfectly understands a language should translate, and if he does translate, he must not do so in the belief of finding thereby a key to the better understanding of the new language, but rather with the persuasion that however well he may translate he will never cover all the points of the original. Only a poet, for example, should attempt to translate poetry, as he alone has a chance of success. I do not deny, either, that translation, as the finishing work of language study in its strictest sense, helps us immensely to the better knowledge of our own language and that there is perhaps no better exercise for acquiring a thorough command of one's mother-tongue.

I close my observations by expressing the wish; May many teachers try to verify my thesis, that speaking is the most important means and end of language teaching.

Prof. H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN (Indiana University) opened the discussion on this paper, saying: "I do not agree with Prof. Stäger that speaking is an end, no less than a means. I notice what seems to be a change of sentiment with the members of this association on the question of method. I remember the tendency at first was to speak of those teachers as method-men whose methods could be improved. I think the man and not the method is the main thing. But there is evidence that our methods of teaching are of importance and may generally be improved. Without intending to make a bibliography, I may say that on method alone fifteen philosophical treatises have been published in Germany. The tendency of all is toward giving students a more thorough knowledge of the elementary principles of the language before we have them attack the difficulties of syntax and historical development.

Professor JOYNES (South Carolina College): The author of this paper has relegated the speaking method to the primary schools. If in colleges and universities the same were practical we should be so much better off in getting pupils with such training for our colleges. What I challenge is the expression of Dr. von Jagemann, that a marked change had manifested itself in modern language study. I hope it is not so. If I have read the times aright, the tendency is in another direction. This Association has defined the purposes of language study to be linguistic, historical and literary; not only for understanding the languages but for getting the information accessible through them. I hope the influence of the Association from year to year will tend to strengthen this statement of former years.

Dr. VON JAGEMANN: I am sorry to be so understood. There is no change as to the means and ends of language study. But there is a change as to the means and methods of instruction in the modern languages. The study of methods is worthy of discussion.

Professor STÄGER: I call attention to Wellesley College, where German study is through speaking by native German teachers. The success of the method is proved. I cannot agree with President Carter as to the necessity of Latin and Greek for the acquirement of grace and strength.

Professor KROEH (Stevens' Institute): Those who have not tried this method had better try it.

Professor CHARLES F. RADDATZ (Baltimore City College): I have tried it and failed. By employing this method in the beginning with my pupils in German, they made no headway at all.

At this point, the Convention adjourned to meet at 9.30 a. m. on the following day (December 30th).

In the evening a brilliant social reception was given to the members of the Convention by Mr. D. L. Bartlett, one of Baltimore's representative men of wealth and a generous patron of literary and art interests. On this interesting occasion the visitors had the opportunity of meeting not only the prominent littérateurs, professors and artists of the city but also many distinguished members of the Pulpit, the Bench, and the Bar, together with a goodly number of Baltimore's most honorable citizens engaged in commercial pursuits.

On December 30th, the meeting was called to order by the President at 9.45 a. m. First came the reports of Committees, as follows:

1. The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's report:

The Committee on auditing the Treasurer's report have the honor of announcing that the accounts of the Association have been examined and found correct.

F. M. PAGE,  
A. LODEMAN.

The report was accepted.

2. On behalf of the Committee appointed to draw up greetings for the Zweiten allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentag, Professor W. T. HEWETT (Cornell University) read the following:

The MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA has learned with the deepest interest of the organization of the *Verband der deutschen neuphilologischen Lehrerschaft*, at Hannover. We recognize the great and increasing importance which will attach to the modern languages as instruments of culture, and we welcome the foundation of a society which shall cooperate with us in defining more nearly the province of the study of the living languages of Europe and America, in education. We shall gladly unite in promoting the common objects of the two associations, in advancing research and in aiding investigations, as well as in the exchange of such publications and facts as will promote the study of the living languages and dialects of our respective countries, and will disseminate just views of the place and methods of study of the modern languages in academic instruction.

which was unanimously accepted and the Secretary ordered to forward a copy to the above-named Association.

3. On behalf of the Committee appointed to bring forward suitable names for officers, Professor Edw. S. Joynes (South Carolina College) made the following nominations:

#### OFFICERS.

*President*, JAS. RUSSELL LOWELL, Harvard.

*Secretary*, A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University,

*Treasurer*, H. A. TODD, Johns Hopkins University.

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

##### THE FOREGOING, EX-OFFICIO.

FRANKLIN CARTER, *Williams*, W. T. HEWETT, *Cornell*,

B. F. O'CONNOR, *Columbia*.

SYLVESTER PRIMER, *Charleston*, J. M. GARNETT, *Univ. of Va.*

RODES MASSIE, *Univ. of Tenn.*

J. K. NEWTON, *Oberlin*, CALVIN THOMAS, *Michigan*,

H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN, *Indiana*.

#### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

JAMES A. HARRISON, *Wash. and Lee*, EDW. S. SHELDON, *Harvard*.

which report was accepted and the members therein named unanimously appointed.

Professor Joynes then made some remarks touching the labor and responsibility attached to the office of Secretary under the present organisation, and suggested that in the near future the duties would naturally increase as the Association grows in numbers; furthermore, as a matter of convenience, when the President should withdraw from a session, or is otherwise absent; he thought some provision should be made in the Constitution by which his place could be filled without having to stop to appoint a chairman. In view of these facts and in further view of our experience thus far as an organization, he proposed the following amendments to the Constitution.

AMENDMENT ADOPTED BY THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION,  
DECEMBER 30, 1886:

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.
2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.
3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to reject or accept such papers, and also, among the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.\*

After a brief discussion regarding points of minor importance and a few verbal changes, these Resolutions were adopted and ordered to be spread upon the minutes.

Dr. HENRY WOOD (Johns Hopkins University) then made a few remarks and ended by moving that a Committee be appointed to solicit subscriptions for the Grimm memorial and report to the next year's meeting. The motion was carried, Drs. Wood, Todd and Bright (all of Johns Hopkins University) were named by the Chair, as a committee for this purpose.

It was then suggested that an annual statement and characterisation of the more important publications in modern

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\*Professors *Hewett* (Cornell University), *Garnett* (University of Virginia), and *Thomas* (University of Michigan), were designated by the Executive Council as an Executive Committee for the year 1887.

languages, similar to that presented by Dr. Bright at the first meeting of this Convention, would be of interest and benefit to members of the Association and, on motion, Dr. Bright was requested to have such report printed and ready for distribution at the next regular meeting in 1887.

The regular reading of papers was then entered upon and Professor F. V. N. PAINTER (Roanoke College) headed the list with a communication on

8. "Recent Educational Movements in their Relation to Language."\*

President SHEPHERD (Charleston College) made a few remarks upon this paper :

While admitting the intrinsic merit of Professor Painter's essay, he thought that it was in irrelevant in a purely philological body, its proper place being an educational or pedagogic association. The paper had no relation whatever to any of the absorbing topics of modern philology. He thought, however, that even in discussing an avowedly educational theme, Prof. Painter might have drawn largely upon the wealth of illustration afforded by English Literature. Sir Philip Sidney, Ascham, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Milton, Locke, Swift, Addison, Steele, Cowper, etc., are rich in interest and in suggestion to the student of educational development, as well as to the investigator of literary evolution and expansion.

Professor JAMES M. GARNETT (University of Virginia) followed with a paper on

9. "The Course in English and its Value as a Discipline."†

Dr. JAMES W. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins University) opened the discussion and said :

It is gratifying to hear a man of Prof. Garnett's wide experience on an important subject such as the one under consideration. There is little in the details which calls for special discussion ; but I think the general doctrine of the paper worthy of emphasis. If we were to reduce to a statement the inherent truth

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\*Cf. TRANSACTIONS, pp. 83-91, for the full paper.

†Cf. TRANSACTIONS, pp. 61-73, for the full paper.

aimed at in this paper, it would be that English *does* furnish a means for discipline. In general any subject may be regarded as sufficiently valuable for discipline if rightly pursued. If it is thoroughly studied from beginning to end, it will re-act on the mind. So if we wish to make the study of English a discipline, we must teach English. I believe a number of questions which come up here for discussion will vanish when the preparation of teachers is elevated. Many of us who teach French and German and English have much to learn before we shall have worked out the details and made clear the sum of our knowledge. Then the question will disappear as to the disciplinary value of any modern language. Even if one were to take the dialect of the Fiji Islands and make a study of it, he would have in his hands a means for discipline. Much more evident would this be in the case of a branch of more cultivated languages.

Professor FRANK C. WOODWARD (Wofford College): The lack of preparation in men coming up in English touches a chord of sympathy in the teachers of the South. With Smith's Grammar and Webster's Spelling-book a teacher of English needs an almost supernatural method to show a boy that he is ignorant of his own ignorance. The difficulty is immense and takes patience. It seems to me that the English combines discipline and culture in a great degree. But we must make the study interesting to the pupil. To do this, the first thing necessary is to give him some knowledge of the literature and get him in love with it. For this purpose, I have a system of parallel readings. For this we find plenty of books in the cheap libraries of the day. I care not whether they are stolen or not. I select some English or American classic; then we talk over the work and the man himself, and after that the boy is prepared to enter into a more or less critical examination of the literature. It can be made both interesting and helpful. I hope the time is coming soon when, in the South, English may be satisfactorily taught. The young men who are now teaching it, from necessity are carrying it back to historical principles, and giving us pupils from the lower schools better prepared.

President H. E. SHEPHERD (College of Charleston): I am deeply interested in the paper of Prof. Garnett. I quite agree with the general tenor of the paper. But I would like to suggest the addition of certain thoughts with reference to a parallel study of English history in connection with the study of the

literature. I speak from experience: I have been compelled to teach the history and found it a pleasure and profit. This cognate study of history and literature simply follows the trend of modern philology. Freeman and Stubbs show us this. Let us examine the Elizabethan period. I think this drifted in the direction of a critical and analytical, rather than a creative tendency. But the peculiar historical attitude assumed under different conditions seemed to have changed this tendency from what it was in the beginning of this reign. Another great point is the growth of the opinions and influences which marked the first half of the seventeenth century—Puritanism and the study of the natural sciences. These led to the refinement of the latter half of the century, under the Augustan period of Queen Anne. I have found here many causes which result in the development of the language of Addison and which affect the character of our modern English.

Professor EDW. S. JOYNES (South Carolina College): My friend, Prof. Woodward, speaks of the knowledge of English as emphatically lacking in South Carolina. I used to think so too: I used to feel this way about my own College. But it is so everywhere—all over the country. The work in our schools least done, is the teaching of English, though this is for the schools particularly important. While Latin, Greek, French and German have their own value, yet their chief value for us is the help they give us for the knowledge, appreciation and love of our mother-tongue. President Eliot, of Harvard University, says there are many things in the College curriculum useful and ornamental; but there is one thing most useful and that is the comprehension of the mother-tongue. The young man who leaves college without attaining this end has missed the chief purpose of college education. And the man who has gotten this and failed in everything else, has gotten the thing of most importance. I hope the time is past when anyone need say he teaches English, French and German: the thing can hardly be done. The real centre of my department is the English, although I teach French and German also. Great changes have taken place in the past few years, within my experience. There is hardly an Institute or College in this country which has not special instruction in English. A few years ago this was not so.

One point in the Paper of Dr. Garnett I would emphasize: the absence of grammatical form, word inflection and sentence-

structure, gives to the English language a value for discipline which is unequalled in any other language. In the parsing of an English sentence, one must look at the form and then by an act of reflection he must think himself into the heart of the thought, which is in English revealed by the entire sentence only, as a unit of expression, since the whole is not known until the sentence is done. We cannot over-estimate the logical value of the study of English parsing and analysis. This is not so easy as it may seem. Of all the languages that I have studied, the English is the most difficult that I have yet tried to understand or to teach.

Dr. JULIUS GOEBEL (Johns Hopkins University) then read a small part of a paper on

10. "Poetry in the Chronicle of Limburg (1347-1398)," of which the following is an abstract:

The Chronicle of Limburg is one of the most important documents for the knowledge of German literature in the fourteenth century. Not only containing numerous accounts of events which are of great value for the local history of the city and the bordering principalities, but also giving very interesting descriptions of the costumes, the manners and customs of the fourteenth century, of music and painting, and above all, preserving many songs of that period, the chronicle must have very early enjoyed great popularity. Although printed several times in later centuries and highly recommended as an object for scientific investigation by Lessing and Herder, a critical edition of the chronicle upon which such an investigation could have been based has, however, been wanting until recently. The careful researches of Arthur Wyss and his excellent edition in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* (IV, 1) have finally removed this difficulty and an inquiry into the nature of the poetry contained in the chronicle is now made possible. The principal aim of such an investigation will be to determine the relation of the songs in the *Limburger Chronik* to the "Minne- und Meistersang" and perhaps reach a conclusion as to the antiquity of German "Volkspoesie," which has recently been questioned by Willmanns (*Leben Walther's*, p. 16 ff.).

The Chronicle of Limburg belongs to that class of historical literature which began to develop at the close of the thirteenth century and was chiefly written by ecclesiastics either for homiletical purposes or for the sake of satisfying the historical interest, which at that time gradually awakened in Germany. Mostly written in prose, these documents are of great interest for the history of the development of German prose literature. The author of our chronicle, as A. Wyss has proved, also belonged to the clergy, but he is remarkably free from theological motives in his work. Possessing the scholastic learning of the time, his love for music and poetry and his apparent intimate knowledge of the technical rules of the latter seem to indicate that he stood in some relation to one of the *Meistersinger*-schools, probably to that of Mainz. His own assured attempts at poetry in the Chronicle, however, show that he himself cannot be the composer of those songs to which he attributes such great popularity.

The poetry found distributed throughout the Chronicle may be

classified under three heads: that showing the decline of "Minne-Poesie;" religious hymns; popular songs. To the first class belongs but a single poem, by Herr Reinhard von Westerburg, who appears among the attendants of the emperor Ludwig von Baiern. His reputation as a poet and as a ready wit is evident from a certain poem found in a MS. of the fifteenth century (cf. *Zeitschr. f. D. A.* 13, 366 ff.). The story related by Tileman, the author of the Chronicle, is entirely in accord with this evidence. Reinhard's poem preserved in the Chronicle is of special interest in that it represents the final dissolution of Minne-Poesie; it was doubtless this characteristic of the poem, most clearly detected in a direct ridicule of his lady and her love, that led to its preservation in the Chronicle.

The religious hymns here found belong to the songs of the Flagellants. The rise of the Flagellants was incident to a religious movement closely related to the event of the Black Death, and these poems represent their fanatic-religious first stage rather than their later socialistic tendencies.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, Professor CALVIN THOMAS (University of Michigan), who was to follow with a paper on

11. "The Methods of Wilhelm Scherer as a Critic of Faust,"

declined to read, but gave, in a few happy remarks, some of the principal points touched upon in his written communication, which is printed here in full.\*

The paper by Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins University).

12. "Speech Mixture in French Canada,"

was omitted for lack of time. The introductory chapter to this study: "Indian and French Speech Mixture in the Province of Quebec" is here given.†

A short discussion followed as to the place of holding the next Convention, and on a call from the Chair for a standing vote, it was found that a majority were in favor of Philadelphia. On motion of Professor Calvin Thomas (University of Michigan), a vote of thanks to the authorities of the Johns Hopkins University for the use of their Assembly Rooms and to all those who had promoted the comfort and pleasure of the members while in the city, especially to the President and graduate Students of the University and to Mr. D. L. Bartlett, was passed by the Convention, and the Society adjourned to meet in Philadelphia during the Christmas holidays of 1887.

In the afternoon, about one hundred persons joined in the Excursion to Washington, where they spent the night and visited, the following day, the Capital, the National Museum, Corchran's Art Gallery, and other objects of interest at the Capital.

\*Cf. TRANSACTIONS, pp. 92-106 for paper in full.

†Cf. TRANSACTIONS, p. 158.

APPENDIX I.

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OFFICERS OF  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION  
OF AMERICA.

---

PRESIDENT:

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,  
*Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*

SECRETARY:

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,  
*Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.*

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*Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.*

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CALVIN THOMAS,  
*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.*

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*Columbia College, New York City, N. Y.*

RODES MASSIE,  
*Piedmont Male Academy, Greenwood, Va.*

H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN,  
*University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.*

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

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EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

JAMES A. HARRISON,  
*Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.*

EDW. S. SHELDON,  
*Harvard University Cambridge, Mass.*

## APPENDIX II.

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### *MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.*

---

- Akers, J. T., Central College, Richmond, Ky.  
Allen, E. A., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.  
Anderson, M. B., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.  
Andrews, G. L., U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.  
Armes, Wm. Dallam, Sternwartstrasse 21, Strassburg, Germany.  
Atwood, G. S., Linden Str. 17. II., Berlin, S. W., Germany.
- Bancroft, T. W., Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Bartlett, G. A., 27 Beck Hall, Cambridge, Mass.  
Baskervill, W. M., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Bendelari, G., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Benkert, E., New Windsor College, New Windsor, Md.  
Benton, C. W., 419, 8th Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Bernhardt, Wilhelm, High School, Washington, D. C.  
Binion, Dr. Samuel A., 605 N. Eutaw St., Baltimore, Md.  
Blackwell, R. E., Randolph Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
Bloombergh, Rev. A. A., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.  
Both-Hendrikson, Miss L., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
Bothne, Gisle, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.  
Bourland, A. P., Southwestern Baptist University, Jackson, Tenn.  
Bowen, B. L., Chili Station, N. Y.  
Bradley, C. B., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
Brandt, H. C. G., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.  
Bright, J. W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Brinton, Dr. D. G., 115 S. 7th St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Bronson, T. B., Orchard Lake, Mich.  
Brown, Arthur Newton, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.  
Burnett, A. W., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Burnett, Percy B., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Calloway, Morgan, Jr., Oxford, Ga.  
Canfield, Arthur G., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.  
Carruth, W. H., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.  
Carter, Pres. F., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Chamberlin, J. H., Box 22, Marietta, Ohio.  
Chase, G. C., Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.  
Cheek, S. R., Centre College, Danville, Ky.

Clover Bertrand, Jr., Columbia College, New York City, N. Y.  
Cobb, J. T., Richmond, Ky.  
Cohn, Adolphe, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.  
Collitz, Hermann, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Colville, W. T., Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.  
Comfort, G. F., University of Syracuse, Syracuse, N. Y.  
Cook, A. S., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
Cordemann, Miss Bertha, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Cox, Wm. J., Lock Box 725, Hancock, Mich.  
Crane, T. F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Curme, Geo. O., Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.  
Currell, W. S., Davidson College, Mecklenburg Co., N. C.  
Cyr, Narcisse, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

Davies, W. W., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.  
Dawson, A. C., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.  
Deghuée, Charles, 247 Harrison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
De Gournay, P. F., 55 W. Fayette St., Baltimore, Md.  
Deiler, J. H., 437 Bienville St., New Orleans, La.  
Denio, Miss E. H., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Deutsch, Wm., 2707 Walnut St., St. Louis, Mo.  
Dippold, G. T., Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.  
Dodge, P. D., Berea College, Berea, Ky

Edgren, A. H., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.  
Edwards, Howard, Arkansas Industrial University, Fayetteville, Ark.  
Eggers, E. A., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.  
Eggert, C. A., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.  
Ehrenfeld, C. L., Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.  
Elliott, A. Marshall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Fairfield, F. W., Tabor College, Tabor, Iowa.  
Faulhaber, Oscar, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hamp.  
Fay, C. E., Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.  
Fay, E. A., National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.  
Ficklen, J. R., Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.  
Fontaine, J. A.  
Fortier, Alcée, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.  
Franke, K., Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.  
Fretwell, John, 13 Laight St., New York City, N. Y.  
Fruit, J. Phelps, Bethel College, Russellville, Ky.  
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Garner, Samuel, Annapolis, Md.  
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Gessner, Geo., P. O. Box 3349, New Orleans, La.

- Goebel, Julius, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Gompertz, C. F., University of Texas, Austin, Texas.  
Goodrich, Frank, Principal High School, North Adams, Mass.  
Grandgent, Charles H., 19 Wendell St., Cambridge, Mass.  
Greene, Herbert Eveleth, Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.  
Grossman, Edw., 112 E. 80th St., New York City, N. Y.  
Grubé, F. W., 395 McDonough St., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Gummere, F. B., Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
- Halsey, J. J., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.  
Harris, Charles, Southern Illinois Normal, Carbondale, Ill.  
Harrison, J. A., Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.  
Hart, C. E., Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.  
Hart, J. M., Mount Auburn, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
Harter, G. A., Delaware College, Newark, Del.  
Harvey, J. J., West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.  
Havemann, W., Box 285, North Springfield, Mass.  
Hempl, Geo., Göttingen, Germany.  
Hewett, W. T., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Hinds, John J. D., Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn.  
Hintermeister, Miss J. M. E., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
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Holden, C. C., Maupin's University School, Ellicott City, Md.  
Hubbard, F. G., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Hunt, Th. W., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.  
Huse, R. M., Highland Falls Academy, Highland Falls, N. Y.  
Huss, H. C. O., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.
- von Jagemann, H. C. G., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.  
Johnson, C. F., 25 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, Conn.  
Johnson, H., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.  
Johnson, S. Rutherford, Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa.  
Joyne, Edw. S., South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.
- Kargé, J., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.  
Karsten, Gustaf, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.  
Kendall, Francis L., Doane College, Crete, Nebraska.  
Kroeh, C. F., Stevens' Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.
- Lang, Henry R., Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.  
Leake, F., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Learned, M. D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Leavell, R. M., Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.  
Lefavour, H., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
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Lindsay, T. B., Boston University, Boston, Mass.  
Little, C. J., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.  
Littleton, J. T., Danville College, Danville, Va.

Lodeman, A., Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.  
Lowell, James Russell, Deerfoot Farm, Southborough, Mass.  
Luquiens, Jules, Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.  
Lutz, F., Albion College, Albion, Mich.  
Lynes, J. C., 2927 Washington Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

McCabe, W. Gordon, University School, Petersburg, Va.  
McClintock, W. D., Chautauqua University, Richmond, Ky.  
McElroy, J. G. R., 115 South 20th St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
McKibben, G. F., Denison University, Granville, Licking Co., Ohio.  
Mammes, August, High School, Springfield, Ohio.  
Manning, E. W., Marston's University School, Baltimore, Md.  
Marcou, P. B., 42 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.  
Massie, Rodes, Piedmont Male Acad., Greenwood, Albemarle Co., Va.  
Matzke, J. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Maxwell, W. H., Superintendent of Pub. Instruction, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Michaels, R. A., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
Montague, W. L., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
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Nash, B., Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.  
Nevin, Wm. M., 446 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.  
Newton, J. K., Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.

O'Connor, B. F., Columbia College, New York City, N. Y.  
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Owen, E. T., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

Page, F. M., University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.  
Painter, F. V. N., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.  
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Penn, H. C., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.  
Perkinson, Wm. H., University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Va.  
dePont, P. R. B., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Porter, Samuel, National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.  
Primer, Sylvester, College of Charleston, S. C.  
Putzker, A., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

Raddatz, C. F., Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md.  
Reeves, C. F., Penn. State College, State College, Centre Co. Pa.  
Rennert, H. A., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Rice, R. A., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Richardson, C. F., Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hamp.  
Richardson, H. B., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
Ringer, S., Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.  
Ripley, A. L., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Roemer, J., College of the City of New York, N. Y.  
Rohrbacher, Paul F., Western University of Penn., Alleghany, Pa.

- Rose, C. J., Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.  
Rougemont, A. de, 160 Washington Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Sanderson, R., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Scarborough, Mrs. S. C., Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.  
Scarborough, W. S., Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.  
Schele de Vere, M., University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Va.  
Schilling, Hugo, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.  
Schmitz, H. J., Adelphi Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Scribner, G. A., Columbia College, New York City, N. Y.  
Sée, Rosalie, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Seidensticker, O., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
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Seybold, C. F., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
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- Sharp, R., Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.  
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Shepherd, Pres. H. E., College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.  
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Snyder, E., Illinois University, Champaign, Ill.  
Spanhoofd, E., St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hamp.  
Spiers, J. H. B., General Wayne P. O., Penn.  
Staeger, L. A., Polytechnique Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Stengel, F. R., 416 East 57th St., New York City, N. Y.  
Stoddard, F. H., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
Stürzinger, J. J., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Super, O. B., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
- Tallichet, H., University of Texas, Austin, Texas.  
Taylor, Julian, Department of State, Washington, D. C.  
Thomas, Calvin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Thomas, Miss M. C., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Todd, Henry A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Tolman, A. H., Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin.  
Toy, W. D., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.  
Tufts, J. A., Philipps Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hamp.
- Vail, C. D., Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.  
van Daell, A. N., New Atherton St., Roxbury, Mass.  
Vermont, E. de Valcourt, 226 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
- Walter, E. L., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Warren, F. M., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

- Weaver, J. R., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.  
Wells, B. W., Friends' School, Providence, R. I.  
Wenckebach, Miss Carla, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Wenckebach, Miss Helène, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Werner, A., College of the City of New York, N. Y.  
Wheeler, Emily F., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.  
Whetham, Charles, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
White, H. S., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Whitelock, G., 10 E. Lexington St., Baltimore, Md.  
Whittlesey, Mills, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. Y.  
Wightman, J. R., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Wilcox, C. P., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.  
Williams, Alonzo, Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Wilson, Rev. S. T., Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn.  
Wipprecht, R., Agricultural and Mechan. College of Texas, College  
Station, Texas.  
Wood, H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Woodward, F. C., Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.  
Worman, J. H., Troy, N. Y.  
Wright, C. B., Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.
- Zdanowicz, Casimir, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

[Total 234.]

### APPENDIX III.

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#### LIST OF PERSONS PRESENT AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

#### *MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,*

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER 28TH, 1886.

---

- Allen, Alfred, Alfred University, Alfred, Allegany Co., N. Y.  
Allen, E. P., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Andrewes, Miss E. A., Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore.  
Andrews, Martin R., Johns Hopkins University, Marietta, Ohio.  
Ayers, P. W., Marietta College, Villa Ridge, Ill.
- Baer, E. A., Eastern Female High School, Baltimore,  
Bancroft, T. W., Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Bassford, S. L., Eastern Female High School, Baltimore.  
Bendelari, Geo., Yale University, New Haven, Conn..  
Blackmar, F. W., University of the Pacific, San Jose, California.  
Blackwell, R. E., Randolph Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
Blair, W., Hampden, Sidney College, Va.  
Bloomfield, M., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Bogart, J. N., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Bond, Miss C., Private School, Baltimore.  
Both-Hendriksen, Louise, Smith College, Northampton, Conn.  
Bright, Jas. W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Bristol, Edward, New York City.  
Browne, Wm. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Brown, Arthur N., U. S. Naval Acad. Library, Annapolis.  
Bucherer, A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Burnham, Wm. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Callaway, Jr., Morgan, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Campbell, M. M., Florence, Ala.  
Canfield, William B., College of New Jersey, Princeton,  
Carman, George N., Public School No. 15, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Carter, Franklin, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Caton, Chas. H., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Chapin, H. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Cheek, S. R., Centre College, Danville, Ky.  
Christie, F. A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Coffin, Miss, Baltimore.

Cohn, Adolphe, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Collitz, H., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Cook, A., Plano, Ill.

Crane, T. F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Cummings, J., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Daniel, John, University of Ala., Summerfield, Ala.

Dashiell, Chas. W., Baltimore.

Denio, E., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

DeValin, L. V., Eastern High School, Baltimore.

Devries, William Levering, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Dohme, Alfred R. L., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Dunlap, C. G., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

EGGE, Albert E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Eggers, E., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Ellerbe, J. E., Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.

Elliott, A. Marshall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Elliott, Jos. P., Baltimore.

Elliott, Wm. L., Baltimore.

Elmer, H. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Fairclough, H. R., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Fay, E. A., National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.

Fay, E. W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Fay, Chas. E., Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.

Fell, Thomas, St. John's College, Annapolis.

Fisher, J. Alonzo, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Fossum, A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Fortier, Alcée, Tulane University of La., New Orleans, La.

Gallaudit, E. M., National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.

Garner, S., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Garnett, J. M., University of Virginia, Virginia.

Gérber, A., Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

Gildersleeve, B. L., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Gilman, D. C., President of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Goebel, Julius, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Gooch, G. W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Goodman, Al., Baltimore.

Gorsuch, R. Nellie, Baltimore.

Gournay, Paul F. de, E. Deichman's G. E. Clas. School, Baltimore.

Grossmann, Edw., Berkeley School of Languages, New York City.

Gunsaulus, F. W., Baltimore.

Hall, G. Stanley, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Hart, Chas. E., Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.  
Harter, Geo. A., Delaware College, Newark, Del.  
Heath, D. C., D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, Mass.  
Hench, G. A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Hendrickson, G. L., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Hewett, W. T., Cornell University, Ithaca, F. Y.  
Himes, John A., Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.  
Hintermeister, J. M. E., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Hubbard, F. G., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Hunt, Th. W., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.  
Huss, H. C. O., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.  
Hyde, Edmund M., Cathedral School of St. Paul, Garden City, L. I.,  
New York.  
Hyslop, J. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Jagemann, H. C. G. von, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.  
Johnson, J. Nortan, Bordentown Military Institute, Bordentown, N. J.  
Jones, C. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Joynes, Edw. S., South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.

Katzenstein, Louis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Kendall, F., Doane College, Crete, Neb.  
Kernodle, P. J., S. C. Inst., Suffolk, Va.  
Klippisch, Mrs. L., Washington, D. C.  
Kroeh, Ch. F., Stevens' Inst. of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.

Lamb, Rachel E., Friend's Elem. and High School, Baltimore.  
Learned, M. D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Lipscomb, Wm. Shields, Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Lodeman, A., State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.  
Lynes, J. Colton, Maryland Naval Academy, Oxford, Md.

McCabe, Thomas, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
McCormick, Jno., N., Randolph Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
McElroy, Jno. C. R., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
McKibben, G. F., Denison University, Granville, Ohio.  
MacMechen, A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Magruder, W. T., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Manning, Eugene W., Marston's University School, Baltimore.  
Massie, Rodes, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.  
Matzke, J. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Meriwether, C., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Meyer, W. F., German-English School, Washington, D. C.  
Michaels, R. A., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Miller, C. A., Public School No. 3, Baltimore.  
Miles, Jr., G. W., Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va.  
Montague, Mrs. W. L.

Nelson, C. K., Brookville Academy, Bfookville, Md.  
Ness, Jens A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Nixon, Mrs. Jennie Caldwell, Fairmont, Tenn.

O'Connor, B. F., Columbia College, New York City.

Painter, F. V. N., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.  
Palmer, A. H., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Parker, W. W., Lunenburg Academy, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.  
Patton, J. M., Bellevue High School, Bellevue, Va.  
Pierce, J. M., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.  
Pollard, E. B., Richmond College, Richmond, Va.  
Pollard, Rev. John, Richmond College, Richmond, Va.  
Primer, Sylvester, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.  
Probst, L. K., Lutheran Church, Charleston, S. C.  
Purnell, William H., Frederick Female Seminary, Frederick, Md.

Raddatz, C. F., City College, Baltimore.  
Ramsay, F. P., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Reeves, C. F., Penna. State College, Centre Co., Pa.  
Reid, Chas. W., St. Johns' College, Annapolis.  
Rich, Rev. A. M., Hannah More Academy, Reistertown, Md.  
Richardson, H. B., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
Richmond, Miss S. E., State Normal School, Baltimore.  
Ripley, A. L., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Roberts, Caroline, Friend's Elem. and High School, Baltimore.  
Roberts, Ellen S., Farmington, Conn.  
Rohrbacher, P. F., Western University of Pa., Allegheny, Pa.  
Rohrbacher, Mrs. P. F.  
Rose, C. J., Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.

Schilling, H., Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.  
Schloegel, Chas., Baltimore.  
Schmidt, H., Hoboken Academy, Hoboken, N. J.  
Schoenrich, C. O., Public School No. 1, Baltimore.  
Schoney, Emanuel, Columbia College, New York City.  
Semmes, T. M., Va. Military Inst., Lexington, Va.  
Shefoe, J. S., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Sheldon, E. S., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Shepherd, E. C., Frederick College, Frederick, Md.

- Shepherd, Mrs. E. C.  
Shepherd, H. E., College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.  
Simpson, S., Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.  
Slaughter, M. S., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Sledd, B. F., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Smith, Chas. L., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Smyth, Albert H., Philadelphia Central High School, Philadelphia.  
Smyth, M. B., Md. State Normal School, Baltimore.  
Sommer, Martin S., Baltimore.  
Spanhoofd, E., St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hamp.  
Spieker, Edw. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Spiers, J. H. B., Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Spiers, Mrs. J. H. B.  
Stäger, L. A., Stäger College of Languages, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Stengel, F., New York City.  
Stockbridge, G. H., New York City.  
Stürzinger, J. J., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Stürzinger, Mrs. J. J.  
Super, O. B., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.  
Swenson, L. S., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Thomas, Calvin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Thomas, M. Carey, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Todd, H. A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Trueman, Jas. S., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Vail, C. D., Hobart College, Geneva, N. J.  
Vincent, J. M., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Walter, E. L., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Warren, F. M., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Wenckebach, Carla, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Westcott, J. H., Princeton College, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Whetham, Charles, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Whetham, Jas., New York City.  
Whitelock, Geo., Baltimore.  
Whittlesey, Mills, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.  
Whittlesey, Mrs. Mills.  
Wightman, J. R., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Williams, A., Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Williams, Wm. Klapp, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Wiley, W. M., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Wilson, Robt. T., University of Virginia.  
Wingert, H. F. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.  
Wood, A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Wood, Henry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Woodward, F. C., Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.

Wright, John H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Young, F. G., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Zeigler, David, Baltimore.

## APPENDIX IV.

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### LIST OF COLLEGES AND OF THEIR MODERN LANGUAGE PROFESSORS.

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The following catalogue comprising forty states, three hundred and fifty-four institutions, one thousand and twenty-two College Professors, Instructors and Teachers of modern languages, has been prepared on the basis of the material published at the end of last year's Proceedings. In getting up this revised index, blanks were sent out to all the colleges of the United States and the results, as here given, are the statements of individual Professors in the departments of Modern Languages. It is hoped that many of the inaccuracies of the second record may not be found in the new list and that it faithfully represents the *personnel* in each modern-language department for a large majority of our colleges.

The compiler takes pleasure in returning special thanks to those whose labors have made the present list possible.

#### ALABAMA.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Howard College,<br>(Marion).                               | { | <i>English</i> —J. T. Murfee, LL. D.,<br>President.<br><i>German</i> —A. F. Redd, A. M.<br><i>French</i> —A. D. Smith, A. M.   |
| 2. State Agricultural and<br>Mechanical College,<br>(Auburn). | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. G. W. Maxson, A.<br>M., M. E., Prof. of Eng. Lang.<br>and Literature.<br><i>Languages</i> —C. C. Thatch, B. E.,<br>Instructor in Languages.   |
| 3. University of Alabama,<br>(Tuscaloosa).                    | { | <i>English</i> —John W. Gilbert, B. A.,<br>Asst. Prof. of English.<br>Benj. F. Meek, LL. D., Prof. of<br>Eng. Lang. and Literature.<br><i>French,</i> } Wm. A. Parker, LL. D.,<br><i>German</i> } Prof. of Mod. Langs. |



CALIFORNIA.—(Continued).

5. Santa Clara College,  
(Santa Clara).

*English*—R. Bell, S. J., Prof. of English Grammar.  
 Rev. Jer. Collins, S. J., Prof. of English Grammar.  
 P. Foote, S. J., Prof. of English Grammar and Orthography.  
 John Ford, S. J., Prof. of English Poetry.  
 Rev. E. J. Young, S. J., Prof. of Eng. Literature and Rhet.  
*German*—F. Laslow, S. J., Prof. German.  
*French*—H. Raiders, S. J., Prof. of French.  
*Italian*—Alex. Mazzetti, S. J., Prof. of Italian.  
*Spanish*—J. Volio, S. J., Prof. of Eng. Gram. and Spanish.

6. St. Ignatius College,  
(San Francisco).

*English*—J. E. Fitzpatric, M. S., Prof. of Book-keeping, Eng. Gram. Arithmetic and Commercial Course.  
 P. Foote, S. J., Prof. of Classics, Eng. Gram., Algebra, and Penmanship.  
 W. Harty, S. J., Prof. of Classics, Eng. Gram., Arithmetic, French and Spanish.  
 H. Woods, S. J., Prof. of Classics, Eng. Gram., Arithmetic and Penmanship.  
*German*—P. Mans, S. J., Prof. of Maths., Rhet., Evidences of Religion, Classics and German.  
*French,*  
*Spanish.* } W. Harty, S. J.

7. St. Mary's College,  
(San Francisco).

*English*—Rev. Brother Peter.  
 Rev. Brother Walter.  
*German*—Rev. Brother Alphanus.  
*French*—Rev. Brother Fredlimid.  
*Spanish*—Rev. Brother Alphanus.

CALIFORNIA.—(Continued).

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|-----|---|---|--|
| 8.  | University of California, (Berkeley).             | } | <p><i>English</i>—Cornelius B. Bradley, A. M., Asst. Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/>         Albert S. Cook, Ph. D., Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/>         Francis H. Stoddard, A. M., Instr. in the Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Albin Putzker, Prof. of the German Lang. and Lit.<br/>         Henry Senger, A. M., Instr. in the German Lang. and Lit.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Edward T. Owen, A. M., Prof. of the French Lang. and Lit.</p> |
| 9.  | University of the Pacific, (San Jose).            | } | <p><i>English</i>—Monroe H Alexander, Prof. of Eng. Lit.</p> <p><i>German,</i><br/> <i>French,</i><br/> <i>Spanish.</i> } J. M. Moe.</p>   |
| 10. | University of Southern California, (Los Angeles). | } | <p><i>English</i>—W. S. Bovard, Tutor in English Branches.<br/>         Ida B. Lindley, A. M., Prof. of Latin and Eng. Langs.<br/>         J. P. Widney, A. M., M. D., Prof. of Eng. Literature.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—W. S. Hall, A. M., Asst. in Greek and Mod. Langs.</p>  |

COLORADO.

- |    |                                     |   |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Colorado Coll., (Colorado Springs). | } | <p><i>English (Literature)</i>—Eloise Wickard, Prof. of History and Eng. Literature.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Dean A. Walker, Acting Prof. of Latin, Greek, and Mod. Langs.</p> |
| 2. | University of Colorado, (Boulder).  | } | <p><i>English</i>—J. Raymond Brackett, Ph. D., (Yale).</p> <p><i>French,</i><br/> <i>German.</i> } Mary Rippon.</p>   |
| 3. | University of Denver, (Denver).     | } | <p><i>English,</i><br/> <i>French.</i> } Frances A. Temple, Instructor in Eng. Lit. and French.</p>   |

CONNECTICUT.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Trinity College, (Hartford).             | } | <p><i>English</i>—Prof. Chas. F. Johnson, M. M., Prof. of Eng. Lit.<br/>Charles D. Warner, L. H. D., Lecturer on Eng. Literature.</p> <p><i>French,</i><br/><i>Italian,</i><br/><i>Spanish,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Rev. John J. McCook, M., A. Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>  |
| 2. Wesleyan University, (Middletown).       | } | <p><i>English</i>—Caleb Thomas Winchester, M. A., Olin Prof. of Rhet. and English Literature.</p> <p><i>French,</i><br/><i>Italian,</i><br/><i>Spanish,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Rev. George Prentice, D.D., M. L. Taft Prof. of Modern Langs.</p>   |
| 3. Yale College, (New Haven).               | } | <p><i>English</i>—Henry A. Beers, Prof.<br/>Thomas R. Lounsbury, Prof.<br/>Edward T. McLaughlin, Tutor.<br/>I. Ernest Whitney, Instructor.<br/>Gustav F. Gruener, Instr. in Ger.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Alfred B. Nichols, Tutor.<br/>Alfred L. Ripley, Asst. Prof.<br/>Albert S. Wheeler, Instructor.</p> <p><i>French,</i><br/><i>Italian,</i><br/><i>Spanish.</i> } Geo. Bendelari, Asst. Prof.<br/>Wm. I. Knapp, Prof.</p> <p><i>French</i>—William Price, Instructor in French.</p> |
| 4. Sheffield Scientific Sch'l, (New Haven). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Thomas R. Lounsbury, Prof.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Albert S. Wheeler, Instructor.</p> <p><i>French</i>—William I. Knapp, Street Prof. of Mod. Languages.<br/>William Price, Instructor.</p>   |

DAKOTA.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Dakota Agricultural Coll., (Brookings) | } | <p><i>English</i>—Carrie W. Daniels, Eng. Language—James A. Lewis, Hist. and Language.</p>  |
| 2. Pierre University, (Pierre).           | } | <p><i>English</i>—Wm. Blackburn, D. D., President and Tutor.</p> <p><i>German</i>—George B. Safford, Tutor.</p> <p><i>French</i>—(No teacher at present).</p> |

DAKOTA.—(Continued).

- |    |  |   |                                |   |                       |
|----|--|---|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 3. | University of Dakota,<br>(Vermillion).           | { | <i>English</i> —Ella A. Knapp. | } | S. W. Vance, Prof. of |
|    |  |   | <i>German,</i>                 |   | Modern Languages.     |
|    |  |   | <i>French.</i>                 |   |                       |
| 4. | University of North<br>Dakota, (Grand<br>Forks). | { |                                |   |                       |

DELAWARE.

- |    |                                |   |   |   |  |
|----|--------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | Delaware College,<br>(Newark). | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. J. H. Caldwell, A.<br>M., Prof. of Mental, Moral<br>and Political Science. | } |  |
|    |                                |   | <i>Modern Languages</i> —G. A. Harter,<br>A. M., Prof. of Mathematics<br>and Modern Languages.  |   |  |

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

- |    |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Columbian University,<br>(Washington).            | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. S. M. Shute, D.<br>D., Prof. of English.   | } | A. H. Janus, Prof. of   |
|    |   |   | <i>French,</i>  |   | French and German.  |
|    |   |   | <i>German.</i>  |   |   |
| 2. | Howard University,<br>(Washington).               | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. Charles H. A.<br>Bulkley, D.D., Librarian and<br>Prof. of Eng. Lit., Rhetoric,<br>Logic and Elocution. | } | Rev. Jas. W. Craighead, D.D.,<br>Dean of Theological Depart-<br>ment, Stone Prof. of Revealed<br>Theology, and Instr. in New<br>Testament Exegesis, Greek<br>and English. |
| 3. | National Deaf-Mute<br>College, (Washing-<br>ton). | { | <i>English</i> —J. B. Hotchkiss, M. A.,<br>Asst. Prof. of Hist. and Eng.  | } | Samuel Porter, M. A., Emeritus<br>Prof. of Mental Science and<br>Eng. Philology.  |
|    |   |   | <i>Languages</i> —E. A. Fay, M. A.,<br>Ph. D., Prof. of Languages.  |   |   |

GEORGIA.

- |    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 1. | Atlanta University,<br>(Atlanta).                           | } | <p><i>English</i>—Mrs. Hattie W. Chase,<br/>Teacher of English Branches.<br/>Sarah E. Marsh, Teacher of<br/>English Branches.<br/>Eliza H. Merrill, Teacher of<br/>English Branches.<br/>Margaret Neel, Teacher of Eng-<br/>lish Branches.<br/>Mary E. Sands, Teacher of<br/>English Branches.<br/>Olive A. Thompson, Teacher of<br/>English Branches.<br/>Emma E. Ware, Teacher of<br/>Latin and English.</p> |
| 2. | Bowdon College,<br>(Bowdon).                                | } | <p><i>English,</i> } Rev. F. H. M. Hender-<br/><i>French.</i> } son, D. D., Prof. of<br/>English and French.</p>   |
| 3. | Emory College, (Ox-<br>ford).                               | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Morgan Callaway,<br/>D. D., Vice-Prest. and "Bishop<br/>G. F. Pierce" Prof. of Eng.<br/>Lang. and Lit.<br/><i>Modern Languages</i>—Rev. Julius<br/>Magath, A. M., (Paris, Edin-<br/>burgh), Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>  |
| 4. | Mercer University,<br>(Macon).                              | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Rev. John J.<br/>Brantly, D. D., Prof. of Belles<br/>Lettres and Modern Langs.</p>  |
| 5. | South-West. Georgia<br>Agricultural College,<br>(Cuthbert). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Benj. T. Hunter, A. M.,<br/>Prest. and Prof. of English<br/>and Ancient Languages.</p>   |
| 6. | University of Georgia,<br>(Athens).                         | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—C. P. Will-<br/>cox, A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>  |

ILLINOIS.

- |    |                                      |   |   |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Augustana College,<br>(Rock Island). | } | <p><i>English</i>—G. W. Sandt.<br/><i>Modern Languages</i>—C. L. E.<br/>Esbjorn, Prof. of Mod. Langs.<br/><i>Swedish</i>—C. M. Esborn, Prof. of<br/>Swedish Lang. and Xianity.<br/>Rev. C. P. Rydholm, Adj. Prof.<br/>of Christianity and the Swed-<br/>ish Language.</p> |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|---|

ILLINOIS.—(Continued).

- |     |  |  |   |  |
|-----|--|--|---|--|
| 2.  | Blackburn University,<br>(Carlinville).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—W. E. McCord, A. M.,<br/>Instr. in Rhetoric and Eng.<br/>Literature.<br/><i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Miss Ella Venable, In-<br/>structor in the Ger.<br/>and French Langs.                 </td> </tr> </table>            | { | <i>English</i> —W. E. McCord, A. M.,<br>Instr. in Rhetoric and Eng.<br>Literature.<br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Miss Ella Venable, In-<br>structor in the Ger.<br>and French Langs.               |
| {   | <i>English</i> —W. E. McCord, A. M.,<br>Instr. in Rhetoric and Eng.<br>Literature.<br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Miss Ella Venable, In-<br>structor in the Ger.<br>and French Langs.               |  |   |  |
| 3.  | Carthage College,<br>(Carthage).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—<br/><i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Rev. Carl W. Belser,<br/>A. M., Prof. of French<br/>and German Langs.<br/>and Lits.                 </td> </tr> </table>  | { | <i>English</i> —<br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Rev. Carl W. Belser,<br>A. M., Prof. of French<br>and German Langs.<br>and Lits.  |
| {   | <i>English</i> —<br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Rev. Carl W. Belser,<br>A. M., Prof. of French<br>and German Langs.<br>and Lits.  |  |   |  |
| 4.  | Chaddock College,<br>(Quincy).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—Sarah J. DeMotte, B. A.<br/>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/><i>German</i>—Edmond H. Palmer, A.<br/>B., Prof. of Languages.<br/><i>French</i>—F. DeCoster Glavin, In-<br/>structor in French.                 </td> </tr> </table> | { | <i>English</i> —Sarah J. DeMotte, B. A.<br>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —Edmond H. Palmer, A.<br>B., Prof. of Languages.<br><i>French</i> —F. DeCoster Glavin, In-<br>structor in French. |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Sarah J. DeMotte, B. A.<br>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —Edmond H. Palmer, A.<br>B., Prof. of Languages.<br><i>French</i> —F. DeCoster Glavin, In-<br>structor in French. |  |   |  |
| 5.  | Eureka College,<br>(Eureka).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—Miss Emma Goodspeed,<br/>Prof. of Elocution and Eng.<br/>Literature.<br/><i>Modern Languages</i>—Carl Johann,<br/>A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —Miss Emma Goodspeed,<br>Prof. of Elocution and Eng.<br>Literature.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —Carl Johann,<br>A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.   |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Miss Emma Goodspeed,<br>Prof. of Elocution and Eng.<br>Literature.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —Carl Johann,<br>A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.   |  |   |  |
| 6.  | Ewing Coll., (Ewing).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—R. D. Swain, A. M.,<br/>Latin, Eng. Lit., and History.                 </td> </tr> </table>  | { | <i>English</i> —R. D. Swain, A. M.,<br>Latin, Eng. Lit., and History.  |
| {   | <i>English</i> —R. D. Swain, A. M.,<br>Latin, Eng. Lit., and History.  |  |   |  |
| 7.  | German-English Col-<br>lege, (Galena).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—Wm. F. Finke, A. M.,<br/>Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/><i>German</i>—Jacob Boss, A. M., In-<br/>structor in the German Lang.<br/>and Literature.                 </td> </tr> </table>  | { | <i>English</i> —Wm. F. Finke, A. M.,<br>Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —Jacob Boss, A. M., In-<br>structor in the German Lang.<br>and Literature.  |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Wm. F. Finke, A. M.,<br>Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —Jacob Boss, A. M., In-<br>structor in the German Lang.<br>and Literature.  |  |   |  |
| 8.  | Hartsville College,<br>(Hartsville).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>American Literature</i>—J. F. Funk-<br/>houser, A. M.<br/><i>English Literature</i>—C. H. Kira-<br/>cofe, A. M.<br/><i>German</i>—C. E. Kriebel, Instr.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>American Literature</i> —J. F. Funk-<br>houser, A. M.<br><i>English Literature</i> —C. H. Kira-<br>cofe, A. M.<br><i>German</i> —C. E. Kriebel, Instr.  |
| {   | <i>American Literature</i> —J. F. Funk-<br>houser, A. M.<br><i>English Literature</i> —C. H. Kira-<br>cofe, A. M.<br><i>German</i> —C. E. Kriebel, Instr.  |  |   |  |
| 9.  | Hedding Coll.,(Abing-<br>don).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—Miss Jennie E. Reed,<br/>Prof. of Belles Lettres.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —Miss Jennie E. Reed,<br>Prof. of Belles Lettres.   |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Miss Jennie E. Reed,<br>Prof. of Belles Lettres.   |  |   |  |
| 10. | Illinois Coll., (Jack-<br>sonville).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> <i>English</i>—Harvey W. Milligan,<br/>Prof. of Hist. and Eng. Lit. and<br/>Instr. in Political Economy.<br/><i>German</i>—Henry E. Storrs, Prof.<br/>of Natural Science and Instr.<br/>in German.                 </td> </tr> </table>           | { | <i>English</i> —Harvey W. Milligan,<br>Prof. of Hist. and Eng. Lit. and<br>Instr. in Political Economy.<br><i>German</i> —Henry E. Storrs, Prof.<br>of Natural Science and Instr.<br>in German.            |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Harvey W. Milligan,<br>Prof. of Hist. and Eng. Lit. and<br>Instr. in Political Economy.<br><i>German</i> —Henry E. Storrs, Prof.<br>of Natural Science and Instr.<br>in German.            |  |   |  |

ILLINOIS.—(Continued).

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|-----|--|---|
| 11. | Illinois Wesleyan University, (Bloomington). | <p><i>English</i>—Sue M. D. Fry, Prof. of Belles Lettres.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Wm. H. Waite, M. A., Prof. of Latin and the German Langs. and Literature.</p>  |
| 12. | Knox Coll., (Galesburg).                     | <p><i>English</i>—Melville B. Anderson, Prof. of Eng. Lit. and French.</p> <p>J. W. Jenks, A. M., Ph. D., Prof. of Political Science, and Eng. Literature.</p> <p>Mrs. Sarah M. McCall, Instr. in Maths. and Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Thos. R. Willard, Prof. of Greek and German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Melville B. Anderson.</p> |
| 13. | Lake Forest Univ'ty, (Lake Forest).          | <p><i>English</i>—John J. Halsey, Prof. of English Lit., Rhetoric and History.</p> <p><i>French,</i> }<br/><i>German.</i> } A. C. Dawson, B. L.</p>   |
| 14. | Lincoln University, (Lincoln).               | <p><i>German</i>—Miss Clara Cook' Teacher of German.</p>  |
| 15. | McKendree College, (Lebanon).                | <p><i>English</i>—Eugene S. Waggoner, Prof. of English Literature.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. Wm. F. Swahlen, Prof. of Greek and German.</p>   |
| 16. | Monmouth College, (Monmouth).                | <p><i>English</i>—Miss J. C. Loque, A. M., Prof.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Miss Clementina Calvin, A. M., Prof.</p>  |
| 17. | Mt. Morris College, (Mount Morris).          | <p><i>English</i>—J. G. Royer, A. M., Eng. Lang. and Science of Teaching.</p> <p><i>German</i>—S. Z. Sharp, A. M., Elocution, German, and Mental and Moral Science.</p>   |
| 18. | North-Western Coll., (Naperville).           | <p><i>English</i>—Mrs. N. C. Knickerbacker, A. M., Preceptress, Prof. of Hist. and Eng. Lit.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. F. Wm. Heidner, A. M., B. D., Prof. of the German Lang. and Lit.</p> <p>Rev. Carl A. Paeth, Adjunct Prof. of German.</p>   |

## ILLINOIS.—(Continued.)

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| 19. Northwestern Univ.,<br>(Evanston)                    | <p><i>English</i>—R. L. Cumnock, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Rhet. and Elocution.<br/>Harriet A. Kimball, Ph. M., In-<br/>structor in English.<br/>Rev. Chas. W. Pearson, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Eng. Lit. and Hist.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Robert Baird, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Greek and Instr. in<br/>German.<br/>Rev. Geo. H. Horswell, Ph. D.,<br/>Instr. in Latin and German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rena A. Michaels, Ph.<br/>D., Dean of Woman's College,<br/>and Prof. of French Lang.<br/>and Literature.</p> <p><i>Italian</i>—James Gill, Instr. in Vo-<br/>cal Culture, Singing and the<br/>Italian Language.</p> |
| 20. Shurtleff Coll., (Up-<br>per Alton).                 | <p><i>English</i>—Orlando L. Castle, Prof.<br/>of Rhet. and Belles Lettres.</p> <p><i>French</i>—</p> <p><i>German</i>—</p>  |
| 21. St. Ignatius College,<br>(Chicago).                  | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. James A. Dowling,<br/>S. J., Prof. of Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Aloysius Rother, S. J.,<br/>Second Academic Class—Prof.<br/>of German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. J. P. Leeson, S. J.,<br/>Prof. of French.</p>   |
| 22. St. Joseph's Diocesan<br>College, (Teu-<br>topolis). | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. P. Maurus Brink,<br/>O. S. F.<br/>Rev. P. Clement Moorman, O.<br/>S. F.<br/>Rev. P. Hugolinus Storff, O. S.<br/>F.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. P. Godefridus<br/>Hoelten, O. S. F.<br/>Rev. P. Floribert Jaspers, O. S.<br/>F.<br/>Rev. P. Michael Reihardt, O. S.<br/>F.<br/>Rev. P. Stephen Scholz, O. S.<br/>F.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. P. Godefridus<br/>Hoelten, O. S. F.<br/>Rev. P. Hugolinus Storff, O. S.<br/>F.</p>   |

ILLINOIS.—(Continued).

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| 23. | St. Viateur's College,<br>(Bourbonnais Grove). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. J. Gallagher, C. S. V., Prof. of English.<br/>                 Rev. M. J. Marslie, C. S. V., President, Prof. of Belles L.<br/>                 Joseph Murphy, A. M., Prof. of Rhet. and Book-Keeping.<br/>                 Rev. Jas. F. Ryan, C. S. V., Prof. of English.<br/> <i>German</i>—Rev. James Dum, D.D.<br/> <i>French</i>—Armand Labric, A. M., Prof. of French.<br/>                 Rev. Louis Piette, C. S. V., Prof. of French.<br/> <i>Languages</i>—Rev. C. Verry, C. S. V., Prof. of Languages.</p> |
| 24. | University of Chicago,<br>(Chicago).           | { | <p><i>English</i>—Nathaniel Butler, Jr., Prof. of Eng. Lit. and Hist.<br/> <i>French,</i> } Oscar Howes, Prof. of<br/> <i>German.</i> } Modern Langs.</p>   |
| 25. | University of Illinois,<br>(Champaign).        | { | <p><i>English</i>—J. H. Brownlee, A. M., Prof. of Rhet. and Elocution.<br/>                 J. C. Pickard, A. M., Prof. of English Literature.<br/> <i>German,</i> } Edward Snyder, A. M.,<br/> <i>French.</i> } Prof. of Mod. Langs.<br/> <i>French</i>—Charles E. Eggert, B. A.</p>   |
| 26. | Wheaton College,<br>(Wheaton).                 | { | <p><i>French,</i> } W. H. Fischer, Prof.<br/> <i>German.</i> } of History and Mod. Languages.</p>   |

SCHOOLS.

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|----|--|---|--|
| 1. | Northern Illinois Normal School,<br>(Dixon, Lee Co.) | { | <p><i>English</i>—J. B. Dille, A. M., Principal, Eng. Lang., Metaphysics, Theory and Training.<br/> <i>German</i>—Rev. E. C. Sickels, A. M., Prof. of German Lang. and Literature.</p> |
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INDIANA.

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|----|------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Butler University,<br>(Irvington). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Harriet Noble, A. M., Demia Butler Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/> <i>Modern Languages</i>—Hugh C. Garvin, A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs. and Literatures.</p> |
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## INDIANA.—(Continued).

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|----|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| 2. | De Pauw University,<br>(Greencastle). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Joseph Carhart, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Rhetoric and Elocu-<br/>tion.<br/>Felix T. McWhirter, A. M., Ph.<br/>D., Instructor in Eng. Lit.<br/>and Rhet.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Theodore<br/>L. Neff, A. M., Instr. in Mod.<br/>Langs.<br/>Col. J. R. Weaver, A. M., Prof.<br/>of Political Philosophy and<br/>Mod. Languages.</p>                                     |
| 3. | Earlham Coll., (Rich-<br>mond).       | } | <p><i>English</i>—Wm. N. Trueblood, A.<br/>B., Prof. of English Literature<br/>and Elocution.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—A d o l p h<br/>Gerber, Ph. D., Prof. of Mod.<br/>Languages.</p>  |
| 4. | Franklin College,<br>(Franklin).      | } | <p><i>English</i>—(The work is divided,<br/>each professor having a share).</p> <p><i>German,</i> } J. W. Moncrief, Pro-<br/><i>French.</i> } fessor.</p>  |
| 5. | Hanover Coll., (Han-<br>over).        | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Rev. A. P.<br/>Keil, A. M., Mary Edward<br/>Hamilton Prof. of Latin and<br/>Modern Languages.</p>   |
| 6. | Indiana University,<br>(Bloomington). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Orrin B. Clark, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and<br/>Lit.</p> <p><i>Germanic Languages</i>—Percy B.<br/>Burnett, A. B., Instr. in Ger-<br/>man.<br/>Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Ph.<br/>D., Prof. of the Germanic<br/>Langs. and Philology.</p> <p><i>Romance Languages</i>—G u s t a f<br/>Karsten, Ph. D., Prof. of the<br/>Romance Langs. and<br/>Literatures.</p> |

INDIANA.—(Continued).

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| 7.  | Moore's Hill College,<br>(Moore's Hill).      | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. L. G. Adkinson, A. M., Pres. and Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy and English Literature.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Monroe Vayhinger, A. M., Prof. of Math. and German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—John H. T. Main, A. M., Prof. of Languages.</p>   |
| 8.  | Purdue University,<br>(La Fayette).           | } | <p><i>English</i>—Melville B. Anderson, A. M., Prof. of Lit. and Hist. Mrs. Sarah F. Fletcher, Lady Principal, and Instr. in Eng.</p> <p><i>French</i>, } Augusta N. Jones, Instr.<br/><i>German</i>. } in French and Ger.</p>   |
| 9.  | Ridgeville College,<br>(Ridgeville).          | } | <p><i>English</i>—E. O. Dickinson, Prof. Janus O. Pierce, Instructor.</p> <p><i>German</i>—E. O. Dickinson, Prof.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Not supplied at present.</p>  |
| 10. | St. Meinrad's Coll.,<br>(Spencer Co.).        | } | <p><i>English</i>—D. Barthel, Professor. B. Goebel, Professor. I. Madden, Professor.</p> <p><i>German</i>—A. Schmidt, Professor. L. Schwab, Professor.</p> <p><i>French</i>—S. Zarn, Professor.</p> <p><i>Italian</i>—F. Mundweiler, Prof.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—G. Wenzel, Professor.</p>   |
| 11. | University of Notre<br>Dame, (Notre<br>Dame). | } | <p><i>English</i>—John G. Ewing, A. M., M. S., Rhet. and Lecturer on Political Economy. Rev. M. Robinson, C. S. C., Latin and English. Charles Warren Stoddard, Eng. Literature.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Bro. Alban, C. S. C., German. Bro. Philip Neri, C. S. C., Penmanship and German. Rev. John Scheier, German Lang. and Literature.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. Victor Hely, D. D., G. S. C., French Lang. and Literature.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—Rev. John M. Toohey, C. S. C., Spanish Lang. and Literature.</p> |



IOWA.—(Continued).

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| 6.  | Iowa College, (Grinnell).                   | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Stephen G. Barnes, Ph. D., A. M., Ames Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit., and of Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>German</i>—J. M. Crow, A. M., Ph. D., Carter Prof. of the Greek Lang. and Lit., and Instr. in German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Ernest Sicard, Ph. D., Benedict Prof. of the Latin Lang. and Lit., and Instr. in French.</p>                           |
| 7.  | Iowa Wesleyan University, (Mount Pleasant). | } | <p><i>English,</i> } Ella S. Nicholson, A.<br/><i>French.</i> } M., Prof. of Eng. Lit.<br/>                  } and Hist.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. W. Blake, A. M., Instr. in German.<br/>Rev. John Schlagenhauf, D. D., Instructor in German.</p>   |
| 8.  | Luther College, (Decorah).                  | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Chr. Naseth, A. M., Prof. of Eng. and Augsburg Confession.<br/>L. S. Reque, A. M., Prof. of English and Latin.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. E. Peterson, Prof. of German and Christianity.</p> <p><i>Norwegian</i>—Gisle Bothne, A. M., Prof. of Norwegian and Greek.<br/>A. Monrad, Cand. Mag. (Univ. of Christiania) Prof. of Norwegian and Latin.</p> |
| 9.  | Oskaloosa College, (Oskaloosa).             | } | <p><i>English</i>—J. A. Battie, M. S., Prof. of Philosophy and the English Languages.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Euclid E. Crookham, A. M., Prof. of Hist. and Modern Languages.</p>   |
| 10. | Parsons College, (Fairfield).               | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. T. D. Ewing, D. D., Pres., Armstrong Prof. of Mental and Moral Sciences and English.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } S. Rutherford Johnston,<br/><i>German.</i> } Ph. D., (Tuebingen)<br/>                  } Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>  |

## IOWA.—(Continued).

11. Penn College, (Oska-  
loosa). { *English*—Miss Rosa E. Lewis, A.  
M., Prof.  
*German*—Benjamin Trueblood,  
A. M., Acting Prof.  
*French*—Miss Rosa E. Lewis, A.  
M., Prof.
12. State Univ. of Iowa,  
(Iowa City). { *English*—Edw. W. Booth, A. M.,  
Prof. of Rhet. and Oratory.  
Susan F. Smith, A. M., Prof. of  
English Literature.  
*German*—Mrs. J. J. Dietz, Instr.  
in German.  
*Modern Languages*—Chas. A.  
Eggert, Ph. D., Prof. of Mod.  
Languages and Literatures.
13. St. Joseph's College,  
(Dubuque). { *English*—Rev. J. J. Hanley, Master  
of Discipline, Prof. of Maths.,  
Book-keeping and English  
Grammar.  
Rev. P. McMahon, Vice-Prest.,  
Prof. of Philosophy, Latin and  
English Composition.  
Rev. T. J. Sullivan, Procurator,  
Prof. of Mod. Hist., Physical  
Geography, English Gram-  
mar and Mathematics.  
*German*—P. Hoffmann, Prof. of  
German.  
J. Tegeler, Prof. of German.  
*French*—Rev. J. Mortel, Prof. of  
French, Latin, Greek, Math.,  
History, Geography, and Chris-  
tian Doctrine.
14. Tabor College,  
(Tabor). { *English*—Rev. Thomas McClel-  
land, A. B., Prof. of Mental  
Philosophy, Eng. Lit., Rhetoric  
and Logic.  
*German*—Rev. F. W. Fairfield, A.  
M., Prof. of Greek and Modern  
Languages.  
*French*—
15. Upper Iowa Univ.,  
(Fayette). { *English*, } Miss Adella G. Malt-  
*German*. } bie, A. M.  
*French*—Andrew Stephenson, A.  
M.

IOWA.—(Continued).

16. Western College, (Toledo). { *English*—Mary E. Kern, Instr. in Eng. Grammar and Physical Geography.  
*German*—I. A. Loos, A. M., B. D., Prof. of History and German.  
*Modern Languages*—

KANSAS.

1. Baker University, (Baldwin). { *English*—Ida A. Ahlborn, M. L., Preceptress and Prof. of Eng. and German.  
G. W. Hoss, LL. D., Prof. of Eng. Classics and Oratory.  
*German*—Ida A. Ahlborn.
2. Bethany College, (Topeka). { *English*—Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett, seven subjects, including Eng. Literature and Belles Lettres.  
Miss Mary S. Stewart, Grammar, Ancient History, Eng. Branches.  
*French,* } Miss Ethel Hager,  
*German.* } French and German.
3. Campbell Normal University, (Holton). { *English*—Mrs. Ella W. Brown.  
J. H. Miller.  
*German*—Carl. F. Menninger.
4. Garfield University, (Wichita). { *English*—Burnett Pinkerton, A. M., Prof. of English Literature.  
*Modern Languages*—J. S. Griffin, A. M., Prof. of Modern Langs.
5. Highland University, (Highland). { *English*—Rev. Duncan Brown, D. D., Pres. and Prof. of Mental and Moral Science, and English.  
Mrs. E. E. Herrick, Instr. in English and Principal of Preparatory Department.  
*German,* } Rev. Daniel Kloss, D.  
*French.* } D., Prof. of German and French.
6. Kansas Normal Coll., (Fort Scott). { *English*—Charles Vickrey, A. B., Rhetoric, Elocution, Oratorical Course.  
*German*—E. A. Fink.

KANSAS.—(Continued).

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| 7.  | Kansas State Agricul.<br>Coll., (Manhattan). | } <i>English</i> —O. E. Olin, Prof. of Eng.<br>and History.  |
| 8.  | Lane University,<br>(Leocompton).            | { <i>English</i> —J. W. S. Keezel, A. B.,<br>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —J. C. Keezel, M. S.,<br>Instr. in German and Elocution.  |
| 9.  | Ottawa University,<br>(Ottawa).              | { <i>English</i> —Adelaide L. Dicklow,<br>Preceptress, French, German<br>and English Literature.<br>A. S. Olin, English and Didac-<br>tics.<br><i>German,</i> } Adelaide L. Dicklow.<br><i>French.</i> }   |
| 10. | St. Benedict's Coll.,<br>(Atchison).         | { <i>English</i> —Bede Durham, O. S. B.,<br>Grammar and Reading.<br>Boniface Verheyen, O. S. B.,<br>Rhet. and Poetry.<br><i>German</i> —Stanislaus Altmann, O.<br>S. B.<br>Alphonse Filian, O. S. B.<br><i>French</i> —Herman Mengwasser, O.<br>S. B.  |
| 11. | State University,<br>(Lawrence).             | { <i>English</i> —Arthur R. Marsh, Prof.<br>of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —William H. Carruth.<br><i>French</i> —Arthur G. Canfield, Asst.<br>in German and French.<br>Wm. H. Carruth, Prof. of Ger-<br>man and French Langs. and<br>Lits.<br><i>Spanish</i> —W. H. Carruth, pro<br>tempore. |
| 12. | Washburn College,<br>(Topeka).               | { <i>English</i> —Miss Amelia Merriam,<br>Preceptress, and Instr. in His-<br>tory and Eng. Lit.<br><i>German,</i> } Miss Lilly M. Storrs,<br><i>French.</i> } Instr. in French and<br>German.  |

SCHOOLS.

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|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Kansas Normal Sch'l,<br>(Paola). | { <i>French,</i> } Ella M. Kingsley.<br><i>German.</i> } |
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KANSAS.—(Continued).

SCHOOLS.

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|----|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 2. | State Normal School,<br>(Emporia). | { | <i>English</i> —Viola V. Price, M. Ph.<br>Martha P. Spencer, Elocution<br>and Literature.<br><i>German</i> —Emilie Kuhlmann. |
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KENTUCKY.

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|----|--|---|---|
| 1. | Bethel Coll., (Russell-<br>ville).         | { | <i>English,</i> } John Phelps Fruit, A.<br><i>German.</i> } M.<br><i>French</i> —James Henry Fuquax.  |
| 2. | Cecilian College, (Ce-<br>cilian P. O.).   | { | <i>English</i> —H. A. Cecil, A. M., Pres.<br>and Proprietor; Prof. of Math.,<br>Book-keeping, English and the<br>Sciences.<br><i>German,</i> } Ferdinand Kretz.<br><i>French.</i> }                             |
| 3. | Central University,<br>(Richmond).         | { | <i>English</i> —J. T. Akers, M. A., Ph.D.<br><i>German</i> —W. N. Ewing, A. B.<br><i>French</i> —J. T. Akers, M. A., Ph.D.  |
| 4. | Centre College, (Dan-<br>ville).           | { | <i>English</i> —S. R. Cheek.<br><i>German,</i> } John W. Redd.<br><i>French.</i> }  |
| 5. | Eminence College,<br>(Eminence).           | { | <i>Belles Lettres</i> —W. P. McCorkle,<br>Belles Lettres and Latin.<br><i>French</i> —Miss Anabel Giltner,<br>Teacher of Painting, Drawing,<br>French and Calisthenics.   |
| 6. | Georgetown College,<br>(Georgetown),       | { | <i>French</i> —Thos. Smith, A. M.,<br>Latin and French.<br><i>German</i> —R. H. Garnett, M. A.,<br>Greek and German.  |
| 7. | Kentucky University,<br>(Lexington).       | { | <i>English</i> —Mark Collis, Prof. of the<br>Eng. Lang. and Literature.<br><i>German</i> —Charles Schultze, Prof.<br>of the German Language.<br><i>French</i> —Auguste Joyeux, Prof. of<br>the French Language. |
| 8. | Kentucky Wesleyan<br>Coll., (Millersburg). | { | <i>English</i> —C. W. Wood, A. B.,<br>Asst. in Latin.<br><i>German</i> —B. T. Spencer, A. M.,<br>Prof. of Ancient Languages.<br><i>French</i> —W. H. Garnett, Ph. B.,<br>Prof. of Mathematics.                  |

KENTUCKY.—(Continued).

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| 9.  | Ogden College, (Bowling Green).       | } | <p><i>English</i>—W. F. Perry, A. M., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit., Elocution and Hist.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Wm. A. Obenchain, A. M., Prof. of Mathematics.</p> <p>J. B. Preston, M. A., Prof. of Ancient Languages.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Wm. A. Obenchain, A.M.</p> <p>J. B. Preston, M. A.</p> |
| 10. | South Kentucky Coll., (Hopkinsville). | } | <p><i>English</i>—James E. Scobey, A.M.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Miss Jennie Scobey, A. M.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Miss Rosalie O. Lipscomb, B. S.</p>  |
| 11. | St. Joseph's College, (Bardstown).    | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. J. W. T. Culleton, Prof. of Latin, Eng. Lit., and Elocution.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Albert Schaedler, A. M., Prof. of Greek and German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. W. P. Makin, Prest. and Prof. of French.</p>  |

INSTITUTES.

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|----|--|---|--|
| 1. | Kentucky Military Institute, (Farmdale). | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Col. B. W. Arnold, Prof. of Ancient and Modern Languages.</p> |
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LOUISIANA.

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|----|--|---|---|
| 1. | Centenary College of Louisiana, (Jackson).                                 | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—T. A. S. Adams, A. M., D. D., Prof. of Hebrew and Modern Langs.</p>  |
| 2. | Louisiana State Univ., Agricultural and Mechanical College, (Baton Rouge). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Thos. D. Boyd, A. M., Prof. of Hist., Eng. Lang. and Lit., and acting Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } L. W. Sewell.</p> <p><i>German.</i> }</p> |
| 3. | New Orleans Univ., (New Orleans).  | } | <p><i>Anglo-Saxon,</i> } Taught.</p> <p><i>German,</i> }</p> <p><i>French.</i> }</p>  |
| 4. | Soula's Commercial Coll., (New Orleans).                                   | } | <p><i>French</i>—Mrs. M. Gomez.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—</p>  |

LOUISIANA.—(Continued).

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|---|---|
| 5. St. Charles College,<br>(Grand Coteau).              | <p><i>English</i>—H. Dijon.<br/>         Rev. J. Hogan, S. J., Prof. of<br/>         Rhet. and Eng. Lit.<br/>         Rev. A. M. Leutier, S. J.<br/>         Rev. B. Maguire, S. J.<br/>         Rev. P. Marnane, S. J.</p>   |
| 6. Straight University,<br>(New Orleans).               | <p><i>German</i>—Rev. A. Blatter, S. J.<br/> <i>French</i>—Rev. G. Courtot, S. J.<br/>         Rev. A. M. Leutier, S. J.<br/>         Rev. F. Van de Reydt, S. J.</p>   |
| 7. Tulane University of<br>Louisiana, (New<br>Orleans). | <p><i>English</i>—R. C. Hitchcock, M. A.<br/> <i>French</i>—W. J. McMurty, M. A.</p> <p><i>English</i>—John R. Ficklen, B. Lit.,<br/>         (Univ. of Va.) Prof. of Eng.<br/>         L. C. Reed, A. B., Prof. of Eng.<br/>         Robert Sharp, M. A., Ph. D.,<br/>         (Leipsic) Prof. of Greek and<br/>         English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—J. Hanno Deiler, (Royal<br/>         Normal College of Munich) Prof.<br/>         of German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Sidney P. Delaup, B. Sc.,<br/>         Asst. Prof. of French.<br/>         Alcée Fortier, Prof. of French<br/>         Lang. and Literature.<br/>         Arsène Perriliat, B. Sc., Asst.<br/>         Prof. of French.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—J. A. Fernandez de<br/>         Trava, Prof. of Spanish.</p>  |
| 8. Jefferson College, (St.<br>Mary's) (St. James).      | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. J. Joyce, S. M.,<br/>         Prof. of 4th English Class and<br/>         Arithmetic.<br/>         Rev. C. Maguire, S. M., Prof. of<br/>         5th English Class, Latin and<br/>         Arithmetic.<br/>         Rev. G. S. Rapier, S. M., Vice-<br/>         Pres. and Spiritual Director,<br/>         Prof. of 3rd English Class.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. A. Braxmeier, S. M.<br/> <i>French</i>—Rev. A. Braxmeier, S. M.,<br/>         Prof. of Classics, French,<br/>         German and Drawing.<br/>         Rev. A. Guillemin, S. M., Pre-<br/>         fect of Senior Division, Prof.<br/>         of Commercial Course and<br/>         French.<br/>         Rev. B. Mader, S. M., Prefect<br/>         of Senior Division, Prof. of<br/>         Classics and French.<br/>         Rev. M. Thouvenin, S. M., Pref.<br/>         of Junior Division, Prof. of<br/>         Classics and French.</p> |

MAINE.

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|---|---|--|
| 1. Bates College, (Lewiston).                 | } | <p><i>English</i>—Edward R. Chadwick, A. B., Prof. of English Lit. and Elocution.</p> <p>George C. Chase, A. M., Prof. of Rhetoric and English Lit.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Thomas L. Angell, A. M., Prof. of Modern Languages.</p>                             |
| 2. Bowdoin College, (Brunswick).              | } | <p><i>English</i>—Henry Leland Chapman, A. M., Edward Little Prof. of Rhet., Oratory, and Eng. Lit.</p> <p>Geo. Thomas Little, A. M., Librarian and Asst. in Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Henry Johnson, Ph. D., Longfellow Prof. of Modern Languages.</p> |
| 3. Colby University, (Waterville).            | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Samuel K. Smith, D. D., Prof. of Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Edward W. Hall, A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>   |
| 4. Maine State College of Agricult., (Orono). | } | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Allen E. Rogers, A. M., Prof. of Modern Languages, Logic, and Political Economy.</p>  |

SCHOOLS.

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|--|---|---|
| 1. Framingham Normal School, (Portland). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Miss Margaret Montgomery.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Miss M. F. Bridgman.</p> |
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MARYLAND.

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|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Baltimore City Coll., (Baltimore). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Alexander Hamilton, Adjunct Prof of Eng. and Math.</p> <p>Charles C. Wight, Prof. of Hist. and English Literature.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Charles F. Raddatz, Prof. of the German Language.</p> <p><i>French</i>—A. L. Milles, B. A., Prof. of the French Lang. and Adjunct Prof. of Latin.</p> |
| 2. Frederick College, (Frederick).    | } | <p><i>English</i>—E. C. Shepherd, Prof. of English.</p> <p>Wm. H. Harry, Prof. of Math. and Elementary English.</p>   |

MARYLAND.—(Continued).

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|--|--|
| 3. Johns Hopkins Univ.,<br>(Baltimore).                    | <p><i>English</i>—James W. Bright, Ph.D.,<br/>Instructor in English.<br/>Wm. Hand Browne, M. D., Li-<br/>brarian and Associate in Eng.<br/><i>German</i>—Julius Goebel, Ph. D.,<br/>Instructor in German.<br/>Marion D. Learned, A. M., Ph.<br/>D., Instr. in German.<br/>Henry Wood, Ph. D., Associate<br/>Prof. of German.<br/><i>French</i>—Frederick M. Warren;<br/>A. B., Ph. D., Instr. in French.<br/><i>Romance Languages</i>—A. Marshall<br/>Elliott, A. M., Ph. D., As-<br/>sociate Prof. of Romance<br/>Languages.<br/>Henry A. Todd, Ph. D., As-<br/>sociate in Romance Langs.</p> |
| 4. Loyola Coll., (Balti-<br>more).                         | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. H. I. Shandelle.<br/><i>German</i>—Joseph H. Hann.<br/><i>French</i>—Henry I. Rache.</p>  |
| 5. Maryland Agricul-<br>tural Coll., (College<br>Station). | <p><i>English</i>—J. A. Chamblise, A. M.<br/><i>German</i>—Wilhelm Bernhardt, Ph.<br/>D.<br/><i>French</i>—Camille Fontaine, B. es L.</p>  |
| 6. Mt. St. Mary's Coll.,<br>(Emmettsburg).                 | <p><i>French</i>—E. Lagarde, A. M., Prof.<br/>of Modern Languages.<br/><i>German</i>—C. A. Leloup, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of German.</p>   |
| 7. New Windsor Coll.,<br>(New Windsor).                    | <p><i>English</i>—"The Prest. and Faculty,<br/>Instructors in Rhet. and Elocu-<br/>tion."<br/><i>French,</i> } Emil Benkert, Instruc-<br/><i>German.</i> } tor in German and<br/>French.</p>   |
| 8. St. John's Coll., (An-<br>napolis).                     | <p><i>English</i>—Lieut. C. W. Foster, U.<br/>S. A., Acting Prof. of English.<br/>J. Grattan Hagner, M. A., Prof.<br/>of English.<br/><i>German</i>—Wm. H. Hopkins, M.<br/>A., Prof. of German.<br/><i>French,</i> } Jules Leroux, Prof. of<br/><i>Spanish.</i> } the French and Span-<br/>ish Languages.</p>  |
| 9. Washington College,<br>(Chestertown).                   | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—James Roy<br/>Micou.</p>  |
| 10. Western Maryland<br>Coll., (Westminster).              | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. T. H. Lewis, D.D.<br/><i>German</i>—Prof. W. R. McDaniel,<br/>A. M.<br/><i>French</i>—Rev. S. Simpson, A. M.</p>  |

MARYLAND.—(Continued.)

ACADEMIES.

- |  |   |                                   |                         |                                 |                                  |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. United States Naval Academy, (Annapolis). | } | <i>English</i> —                  | Ensign C. N. Atwater,   |                                 |                                  |
|  |   |                                   | Prof. W. W. Fay, A. M., |                                 |                                  |
|  |   |                                   | Ensign J. Gibbons,      |                                 |                                  |
|  |   |                                   | Lieut. C. R. Miles,     |                                 |                                  |
|  |   |                                   | Lieut. J. M. Miller,    |                                 |                                  |
|  |   | <i>French,</i><br><i>Spanish.</i> | }                       | Asst. Prof. A. V. S. Courcelle, | Lieut. R. M. Doyle,              |
|  |   |                                   |                         |                                 | Prof. J. Leroux,                 |
|  |   |                                   |                         |                                 | Lieut. D. H. Mahan,              |
|  |   |                                   |                         |                                 | Lieut. J. O. Nicholson,          |
|  |   |                                   |                         |                                 | Prof. L. F. Prud'homme, U. S. N. |
|  |   |                                   | Lieut. J. T. Smith,     |                                 |                                  |
|  |   |                                   | Lieut. F. M. Wise.      |                                 |                                  |

MASSACHUSETTS.

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|------------------------------|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| 1. Amherst Coll., (Amherst). | } | <i>English</i> —   | Rev. Henry A. Fink, Ph. D., Prof. of Logic and Oratory.                      |   |  |  |
|                              |   |  | Rev. John F. Genung, Ph. D., Associate Prof. of Rhet.                        |   |  |  |
|                              |   |  | Rev. H. H. Neill, A. M., Williston Prof. of Rhetoric and English Literature. |   |  |  |
|                              |   | <i>German</i> —  | }  | Henry B. Richardson, A. M., Prof. of German.                              | Wm. L. Montague, A. M., Prof. of French, Italian, and Spanish.                                 |  |
|                              |   |  |  |   |  | <i>French,</i><br><i>Italian,</i><br><i>Spanish.</i> |
|                              |   |  |  |   |  |  |
|                              |   | 2. Boston University, (Boston).                                | }  | <i>Anglo-Saxon</i> —  | Lindsay Swift, A. M., Instr. in Anglo-Saxon.   |  |
|                              |   |  |  |   | <i>English</i> —Daniel Dorchester, Jr., Prof. of Rhetoric, English Lit. and Political Economy. |  |
|                              |   |  |  | <i>German</i> —Augustus H. Buck, Prof. of Greek and German.               | Thomas B. Lindsay, Ph. D., Prof. of Latin and Sanskrit.  |  |
|                              |   |  |  | <i>Romance Languages</i> —James Geddes, Jr., Instr. in Romance Languages. |  |  |
|                              |   | <i>Italian</i> —M. Enrico Imovilli, Instr. in Italian.         |  |   |  |  |
|                              |   | <i>Spanish</i> —John F. Machado, A. M., Instructor in Spanish. |  |   |  |  |

MASSACHUSETTS.—(Continued).

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| 3. | College of the Holy Cross, (Worcester). | } | <p><i>French</i>—Rev. James O. Ward, S. J., Professor.<br/>                 Rev. H. D. Langlon, S. J., Prof.<br/>                 P. S. Kernan, S. J., Professor.</p> <p><i>English</i>—LeB. R. Briggs, A. M.,<br/>                 Asst. Prof. of English.<br/>                 F. J. Child, Ph. D., LL.D., Prof.<br/>                 of English.<br/>                 W. B. S. Clymer, A. B., Instr.<br/>                 in English.<br/>                 Edward Cummings, A. M.,<br/>                 Asst. in English.<br/>                 L. E. Gates, A. B., Instr. in<br/>                 Forensics.<br/>                 A. S. Hill, A. B., LL. D., Boyl-<br/>                 ston Professorship of Rhet.<br/>                 and Oratory.<br/>                 George Read Nutter, A. B.,<br/>                 Asst. in English.<br/>                 Josiah Royce, Ph. D., Assistant<br/>                 Prof. of Philosophy.</p> <p><i>German</i>—G. A. Bartlett, Assistant<br/>                 Prof. of German.<br/>                 C. F. R. Hochdörfer, Instr. in<br/>                 German.<br/>                 K. Francke, Ph. D., Instr. in<br/>                 German.</p> |
| 4. | Harvard College,<br>(Cambridge).        | } | <p><i>French</i>—Ferdinand Bôcher, A.<br/>                 M., Prof. of Modern Langs.<br/>                 Adolphe Cohn, LL. B., A. M.,<br/>                 Asst. Prof. of French.<br/>                 James Russell Lowell, D. C. L.,<br/>                 LL. D., Smith Prof. of the<br/>                 French and Spanish Langs.<br/>                 and Lits., and Prof. of Belles<br/>                 Lettres, Emeritus.<br/>                 Robert Sanderson, Instructor in<br/>                 French.</p> <p><i>Italian</i>—B. H. Nash, A. M., Prof.<br/>                 of Italian and Spanish.<br/>                 C. E. Norton, Litt. D., Prof. of<br/>                 the History of Art.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—B. H. Nash, A. M., Prof.<br/>                 of Italian and Spanish.</p> <p><i>Romance Philology</i>—E. S. Shel-<br/>                 don, A. B., Asst. Prof. of Ro-<br/>                 mance Philology.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—C. H. Grand-<br/>                 gent, A. B., Tutor in Modern<br/>                 Languages.</p>   |

MASSACHUSETTS.—(Continued).

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| 5. | Smith Coll., (North-<br>hampton).  | } | <p><i>English</i>—Miss Mary A. Jordan,<br/>A. M.<br/>Miss Susan A. Longwell, Eng.<br/>Literature.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Frau Marie F. Kapp.</p> <p><i>Anglo-Saxon</i>—Miss Josephine<br/>Watson, M. A.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Mlle. Louise Both-<br/>Hendriksen.</p>  |
| 6. | Tufts Coll., (College<br>Hill).    | } | <p><i>English</i>—Wm. R. Shipman, Prof.<br/>of Rhet., Logic and Eng. Lit.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } C. E. Fay, Wade Prof.<br/><i>German.</i> } of Modern Langs.</p>  |
| 7. | Wellesley College,<br>(Wellesley). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Katherine Lee Bates, B.<br/>A., Instr. in English.<br/>Louise M. Hodgkins, M. A.,<br/>Prof. of English Literature.<br/>Myra Y. Howes, B. A., Instr. in<br/>English and Rhetoric.<br/>Ralza M. Manly, M. A., Instr.<br/>in Logic and Rhetoric.<br/>Mary C. Monroe, Instr. in Rhet.<br/>Margaret E. Stratton, M. A.,<br/>Pro. of the Eng. Lang. and<br/>Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>German (Gothic, Old High, Mid-<br/>dle H. German)</i>—Elizabeth<br/>H. Denio, Prof. of German<br/>and the History of Art.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Alsora Aldrich, Tutor<br/>in German.<br/>Bertha Cordemann, Instructor<br/>in German.<br/>Carla Wenckebach, Prof. of Ger-<br/>man Lang. and Literature.<br/>Helene Wenckebach, Instructor<br/>in German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Marguerite W. Abbott,<br/>Instructor of French.</p> <p><i>French (Old and Modern)</i>—Rosa-<br/>lie Sée, B. S., Prof. of the French<br/>Language and Literature.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } Julie M. E. Hinter-<br/><i>Italian.</i> } meister, Instr. in Fr.<br/>and Italian.</p> |

MASSACHUSETTS.—(Continued).

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| 8. | Williams College,<br>(Williamstown). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Leverett Wilson<br/>Spring, D. D., Morris Prof. of<br/>Rhetoric.<br/>Bliss Perry, M. A., Prof. of<br/>Elocution and English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Richard Austin Rice,<br/>M. A., (Head of Department<br/>of Modern Langs.), Prof. of<br/>Modern Languages and Lits.<br/>Edward P. Morris, M. A., In-<br/>structor.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Frederick Leake, M. A.,<br/>Instructor.<br/>Henry Lefavour, B. A., Instr.</p> |
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INSTITUTES.

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|----|--|---|---|
| 1. | Mass. Institute of<br>Technology, (Boston).        | } | <p><i>English</i>—William P. Atkinson, A.<br/>M., Prof. of Eng. and History.<br/>Davis R. Dewey, Instr. in<br/>History and Political Science.<br/>Arthur H. Wheelock, A. M., In-<br/>structor in English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Charles P. Otis, A. M.,<br/>Ph. D., Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Jules Luquiens, Ph. D.,<br/>Associate Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—George T.<br/>Dippold, Ph. D., Instr. in Mod.<br/>Languages.</p> |
| 2. | Worcester Co. Free<br>Institute, (Wor-<br>cester). | } | <p><i>English,</i><br/><i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } U. Waldo Cutler, Asst.<br/>Prof. of Mod. Langs.<br/>Edward P. Smith, Prof.<br/>of Modern Langs.</p>  |

SCHOOLS.

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|----|---|---|--|
| 1  | State Normal School,<br>(Framington).   | } | <p><i>English</i>—Margaret Montgomery,<br/>Eng. Lang., Lit. and History.<br/><i>French</i>—Mary L. Bridgman,<br/>Latin and French.</p> |
| 2. | The Swain Free Sch'l,<br>(New Bedford). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Francis B. Gummere,<br/>Ph. D.<br/><i>French,</i><br/><i>German,</i><br/><i>Italian.</i> } Henry R. Lang.</p>        |

MICHIGAN.

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|--|---|--|
| 1. Adrian Coll., (Adrian).                       | { | <p><i>English</i>—Charles E. Wilbur, A. M., B. D., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Barnard H. Rupp, Prof. of German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—W. H. Howard, B. S., B. Ph., Instructor in French.</p>   |
| 2. Albion Coll., (Albion).                       | { | <p><i>English</i>—E. Josephine Clark, A. M., Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p>F. M. Taylor, A. M., Prof. of History and Belles Lettres.</p> <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—Fred. Lutz, A. M., Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>   |
| 3. Battle Creek College, (Battle Creek).         | { | <p><i>English</i>—C. E. Lewis, M. S.</p> <p><i>German</i>—A. Kunz, A. M.</p> <p><i>Danish</i>—A. B. Oyen.</p> <p><i>Swedish</i>—August Swedborg.</p>   |
| 4. Hillsdale Coll., (Hillsdale).                 | { | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. John S. Copp, A. M., Prof. of Eng. and German.</p> <p>H. A. Deering, Instr. in Eng.</p> <p>W. E. Heckerslively, Inst. in English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. John S. Copp, A. M., Prof. of Eng. and Ger.</p> <p>S. B. Harvey, M. S., Asst. Instr. in German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Miss C. A. Reamer, A. M., Teacher of French.</p> |
| 5. Hope College, (Holland).                      | { | <p><i>English</i>—Henry Boers, A. M., Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p><i>German,</i> } Cornelis Doesburg, A.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } M., Prof. of Modern</p> <p><i>Dutch.</i> } Langs., Lits., and Art.</p>  |
| 6. Kalamazoo College, (Kalamazoo).               | { | <p><i>German</i>—Rev. Ignatz Mueller, Ph. D., Prof. of German and Hebrew.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Miss Mary A. Sawtelle, Instructor in French.</p>  |
| 7. Michigan State Agricultural Coll., (Lansing). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Elias J. MacEwan, A. M., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p>H. R. Pattengill, B. A., Asst. Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p>   |

MICHIGAN.—(Continued).

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|---|---|--|
| 8. Olivet Coll., (Olivet).              | } | <p><i>English</i>—Henry M. Goodwin, D. D., Prof. of Eng. Lit.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. Joseph L. Daniels, A. M., Instructor in German and Parsons Prof. of the Greek Lang.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. Jean Frederick Loba, A. M., Prof. of Rhet. and Modern Languages.</p>   |
| 9. University of Michigan, (Ann Arbor). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Benj. C. Burt, A. M., Asst. Prof. of Eng. and Rhet.</p> <p>A. W. Burnett, A. M., Instr. in English and German.</p> <p>Isaac N. Demmon, A. M., Prof. of Eng. and Rhetoric.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Alfred Hennequin, Ph. D., Instructor in French and German.</p> <p>Calvin Thomas, A. M., Prof. of Germanic Langs. and Lits.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Alfred Hennequin, Instr. in French and German.</p> <p>Paul R. DePont, A. B., B. S., Instructor in French.</p> <p>Edw. L. Walter, Ph. D., Prof. of Mod. Langs. and Lits.</p> |

SCHOOLS.

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|--|---|---|
| 1. Michigan State Normal Sch 1, (Ypsilanti). | } | <p><i>English</i>—F. A. Barbour, B. A., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p>Lois A. McMahon, Instr. in Eng. Lit.</p> <p>Clarence E. Smith, B. S., Instr. in English.</p> <p>Fanny H. Wood, Instr. in Eng.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Aug. Lödeman, M. A.</p> <p>Anna A. Paton, Instr. in Ger.</p> <p><i>French</i>—August Lodeman, M. A., Prof. of German and French Languages.</p> <p>Helen M. Post, Instr. in Grammar and French.</p> |
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MINNESOTA.

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| 1. | Augsburg Seminary,<br>(Minneapolis).         | { | <p><i>English</i>—S. Oftedal, Prof.<br/>W. Peterson, Prof.<br/>T. S. Reimestad, Prof.<br/><i>German</i>—Prof. John Blegen.<br/><i>Norwegian</i>—John Bugge, Prof.,<br/>Geo. Soerdrup, Prof.</p>   |
| 2. | Carlton Coll., (North-<br>field).            | { | <p><i>English</i>—Miss Margaret J. Evans<br/>A. M., Preceptress and Prof.<br/>of Eng. Lit. and Mod. Langs.<br/>Rev. Geo. Huntingdon, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Logic and Rhetoric,<br/>and Instr. in Elocution.<br/><i>Modern Languages</i>—Miss Mar-<br/>garet J. Evans, A. M.</p>                             |
| 3. | Hamlin University,<br>(Minneapolis).         | { | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Sylvanus G. Gale,<br/>A. M., Prof. of Hist. and Higher<br/>English.<br/><i>German</i>—Prof. E. F. Mearkle.<br/><i>French</i>—Hannah J. Shoemaker,<br/>A. M.</p>  |
| 4. | University of Minne-<br>sota, (Minneapolis). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Prof. Geo. E. Maclean,<br/>Ph. D.<br/>Maria L. Sanford, Asst. in Rhet.<br/><i>German</i>—Prof. John J. Moore, A.<br/>B.<br/>Matilda J. Wilkin, Asst. in Ger.<br/><i>French</i>—Prof. Chas. W. Benton,<br/>A. B., B. D.<br/><i>Scandinavian</i>—Prof. O. J. Breda,<br/>Cand. Philos.</p> |

MISSISSIPPI.

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|----|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alcorn Agricult. and<br>Mechan. College,<br>(Rodney).       | { | <p><i>English</i>—Tolbert F. Sublett, B.<br/>A., Instr. in Maths., History,<br/>Grammar and Writing.</p>  |
| 2. | Agricultural and Me-<br>chanical College,<br>(Starksville). | { | <p><i>English</i>—W. H. Magruder, Prof.</p>   |
| 3. | East Mississippi Fe-<br>male College,<br>(Meridian).        | { | <p><i>English</i>—Miss Alice C. Lusk, M. I.<br/>Miss Zell McLaurin.<br/>Rev. A. D. McAvoy, President.<br/>Miss Jennie Moffatt, M. E.<br/><i>French</i>—Miss Alice C. Lusk, M. I.<br/>Miss Jennie Moffatt, M. E.</p> |

MISSISSIPPI.—(Continued).

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|-----|--|---|
| 4.  | Mississippi College,<br>(Clinton).                 | {<br><i>English,</i> } Richard M. Leavell,<br><i>French.</i> } Prof.<br><i>German</i> —John G. Deupree, Prof.   |
| 5.  | Okolona Female Col-<br>lege, (Okolona).            | {<br><i>English</i> —J. A. Kimbrough, Prof.   |
| 6.  | Shuqualak Female<br>Coll., (Shuqualak).            | {<br><i>English</i> —L. M. Stone, President.<br>Miss Susie Colclough, Asst. in<br>English.<br><i>French</i> —Miss Sue Talley.   |
| 7.  | Toccopola Coll., (near<br>Pontotoc).               | {<br><i>English,</i> } Wynn David Heldes-<br><i>French,</i> } ton, Prof.<br><i>German.</i> }  |
| 8.  | Tougaloo University,<br>(Colored) (Touga-<br>loo). | {<br><i>English</i> —Miss S. L. Emerson,<br>Teacher.<br>Rev. G. Stanley Pope, A. M.,<br>President.  |
| 9.  | Union Female Coll.,<br>(Oxford).                   | {<br><i>English</i> —Miss Belle Hudson,<br>Teacher.<br><i>French</i> —Miss Josie Howard,<br>Teacher.  |
| 10. | University of Missis-<br>sippi, (Oxford).          | {<br><i>English</i> —John L. Johnson, D. D.,<br>LL. D., Prof. of Eng. Lang.<br>and Lit.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —Charles<br>Woodward Hutson, Prof. of<br>Modern Languages. |
| 11. | Whitworth Female<br>Coll., (Brookhaven).           | {<br><i>English</i> —H. F. Johnson, Prof.<br>Robert S. Ricketts, A. M., Prof.<br><i>French,</i> } Miss Annie Marion<br><i>German.</i> } Brown, Teacher.                       |

MISSOURI.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Central Wesleyan<br>Coll., (Warrenton). | {<br><i>English</i> —Henry Vosholl, A. M.<br><i>German</i> —J. M. Rinkell, A. M.<br><i>French</i> —W. F. Stroeter.                        |
| 2. | Christian University,<br>(Canton).      | {<br><i>English</i> —Oval Pirkey, A. M.,<br>Prof. of English.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —J. H. Carter,<br>A. B., Instr. in Modern Langs. |

MISSOURI.—(Continued).

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|----|--|---|
| 3. | Drury Coll., (Springfield).                | { <i>German</i> —George B. Adams.<br><i>French</i> —Paul Roulet.  |
| 4. | Fayette College,<br>(Fayette).             | { <i>English</i> —J. L. Armstrong, The-<br>Mary Evans Barnes Prof. of<br>Eng. and Modern Languages.<br><i>French,</i> } Miss Mary E. Barnes.<br><i>German.</i> }  |
| 5. | Grand River College,<br>(Edinburgh).       | { <i>English</i> —Miss Nannie Smith,<br>Prof. of English.<br>Rev. J. T. Williams, A. M., D.<br>D., Prof. of Rhet., Eng. Lit.,<br>and English Analysis.<br><i>French</i> —Mrs. M. L. Williams,<br>French Language.   |
| 6. | Lewis College, (Glasgow).                  | { <i>English</i> —Miss Mary L. H. Carlton,<br>A. M., History, German<br>and English Literature.<br><i>French</i> —<br><i>German</i> —Miss Mary L. H. Carlton,<br>A. M.  |
| 7. | Morrisville College,<br>(Morrisville).     | { <i>English</i> —Rev. J. B. Ellis, Prest!<br>and Prof. of English, Mental<br>and Moral Science.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —James C.<br>Shelton, A. M., Prof. of Greek,<br>Modern Langs. and Physical<br>Science.  |
| 8. | Stewartsville College,<br>(Stewartsville). | { <i>English</i> —Rev. W. O. H. Perry,<br>A. M.<br><i>French,</i> } Miss Clara B. Milligan,<br><i>German.</i> } A. B.   |
| 9. | St. Louis University,<br>(St. Louis).      | { <i>English</i> —Rev. T. H. Hughes, S.<br>J., Rhetoric.<br>Rev. D. Lowry, S. J., Poetry.<br>Rev. H. Moeller, S. J., Literature.<br>T. E. Sherman, S. J., History.<br><i>German</i> —Rev. H. Averbeek, S. J.,<br>Edw. Hanhauser, S. J.,<br>Theod. Sebastiani.<br><i>French</i> —Rev. H. Schapman, S. J. |

MISSOURI.—(Continued).

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|-----|--|---|--|
| 10. | St. Vincent's College,<br>(Cape Girardeau).              | { | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. H. G. Dookery, C. M.,<br/>Rev. Thos. Kearney, C. M.,<br/>Rev. W. Nolan, C. M.,<br/>Rev. Francis Nugent, C. M.,<br/>Rev. F. D. O'Keeffe, C. M.,<br/>Rev. F. J. Weldon, C. M.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. H. Augustus Asmuth, C. M.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Rev. Maurice O'Brien, C. M.,<br/>Rev. F. D. O'Keeffe, C. M.</p> <p><i>Spanish</i>—Rev. Maurice O'Brien C. M.</p> |
| 11. | Southwest Baptist Coll., (Bolivar).                      | { | <p><i>English</i>—C. W. Alexander, Tutor in Maths. and in the Eng. Lang.</p>   |
| 12. | University of Missouri, (Columbia).                      | { | <p><i>English</i>—E. A. Allen, A. M.<br/>O. A. Carr, Asst. Prof.<br/>H. C. Penn, Asst. in English.</p> <p><i>German,</i> } James Black, A. M.,<br/><i>French.</i> } Asst. Professor.</p> <p><i>Italian,</i> } J. S. Blackwell, Ph. D., Professor<br/><i>Spanish.</i> }</p>   |
| 13. | Washington Univ., (St. Louis).                           | { | <p><i>English,</i> } J. K. Hosmer, Prof. of<br/><i>German.</i> } Eng. and Ger. Lit.</p> <p><i>French</i>—J. K. Hosmer,<br/>M. S. Snow, Prof. of Hist. and French Literature.</p>   |
| 14. | Westminster Coll., (Fulton).                             | { | <p><i>German</i>—C. C. Hersman, D. D.</p>  |
| 15. | Wm. Jewell College, (Liberty).                           | { | <p><i>French</i>—J. G. Clark, LL. D.</p> <p><i>German</i>—R. B. Semple, A. M.</p>  |
| 16. | Washington Univ., (Manual Training School), (St. Louis). | { | <p><i>French,</i> } Dr. J. Jinks.<br/><i>German.</i> }</p>   |

MONTANA.

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|----|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | The College of Montana, (Deer Lodge). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Laura I. Vaughn, A. B.</p> <p><i>German</i>—E. J. Groeneveld, A. M.</p> <p><i>French</i>—J. C. Robinson, A. B.</p> |
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NEBRASKA.

- |                                     |   |  |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Creighton College,<br>(Omaha).   | { | <i>English</i> —Prof. John J. Donoher,<br>S. J.,<br>Rev. Jas. J. O'Meara, S. J.<br><i>German</i> —Rev. Joseph F. Rigge,<br>S. J.   |
| 2. Doane College,<br>(Crete).       | { | <i>English</i> —Margaret E. Thompson,<br>A. B., Instr. in English.<br><i>French,</i> } Francis Kendall, A. B.,<br><i>German.</i> } Prof. of Ger. and Fr.   |
| 3. Univ. of Nebraska,<br>(Lincoln). | { | <i>English</i> —Lucius A. Sherman, Ph.<br>D., Prof. of English.<br><i>French,</i> } Stephen L. Geisthardt,<br><i>German.</i> } B. A., Instructor in<br>French and German.<br><i>Modern Langs.</i> —August H. Ed-<br>gren, Ph. D., Prof. of Modern<br>Languages and Sanskrit. |

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Dartmouth College,<br>Academic Depart-<br>ment, (Hanover).                    | { | <i>English</i> —Chas. F. Richardson, A.<br>M., Winkley Prof. of Anglo-<br>Saxon and Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German,</i> } Louis Pollens, A. M.,<br><i>French.</i> } Prof. of Fr. and Ger. |
| 2. Dartmouth College,<br>Chandler Scientific<br>Depart., (Hanover).              | { | <i>English (Lit.)—Modern Langs.</i> —<br>Edward R. Ruggles, A. M., Ph.<br>D., Prof. of Mod. Langs. and<br>English Literature.   |
| 3. New Hampshire Coll.<br>of Agriculture and<br>the Mechanic Arts,<br>(Hanover). | { | <i>English</i> —Clarence W. Scott, A.<br>M., Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and<br>Literature.   |

NEW JERSEY.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1. College of New Jersey,<br>(Princeton). | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. Th. W. Hunt, Ph.<br>D., Prof. of Rhet. and of the<br>English Language.<br>J. O. Murray, D. D., Dean of<br>the Faculty, Prof. of Belles<br>Lettres, and Eng. Lang. and<br>Literature.<br>H. Huss, Ph. D., Prof.<br>of Mod. Langs. and<br>Literatures.<br><i>French,</i> } J. Kargé, Ph. D., Prof.<br><i>German.</i> } of Continental Langs.<br>and Literatures.<br><i>French</i> —John Howell Westcott,<br>Tutor in French.<br><i>Modern Langs.</i> —I. Mark Baldwin,<br>A. B., Instr. in Mod. Langs. |
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NEW JERSEY.

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|--|---|---|
| 2. Rutgers College,<br>(New Brunswick).    | } | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. Ch. E. Hart, D. D., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br/> <i>Modern Langs.</i>—L. Bevier, Ph. D., Adj. Prof. of Mod. Langs.<br/>                 Rev. Carl. Meyer, D. D., Prof. of Modern Languages.</p> |
| 3. Seaton Hall College,<br>(South Orange). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Aloysius Gorman, Prof. of English.<br/> <i>German</i>—Fridolin Meyer, Prof. of German.<br/> <i>French,</i> } Julian Kilger, Prof. of<br/> <i>Spanish.</i> } French and Spanish.</p>                       |

INSTITUTES.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Stevens Institute of<br>Technology, (Hoboken). | } | <p><i>Belles Lettres</i>—Rev. Edw. Wall, A. M., Prof. of Belles Lettres.<br/> <i>Languages</i>—Ch. F. Kroeh, A. M., Prof. of Modern Languages.</p> |
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NEW YORK.

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Alfred University,<br>(Alfred).                 | } | <p><i>French,</i> } Mrs. Ida F. Kenyon,<br/> <i>German.</i> } A. M.</p>  |
| 2. College of the City of<br>New York, (New York). | } | <p><i>English</i>—Bankard Dean, B. S., Tutor.<br/>                 Forbes B. McCreery, B. S., Tutor.<br/>                 Lewis F. Mott, B. S., Tutor.<br/>                 Harold Nathan, B. S., Tutor.<br/>                 David B. Scott, Ph. D., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Literature.<br/> <i>German</i>—John Baumeister, M. S., Tutor.<br/>                 H. W. R. Kost, B. S., Tutor.<br/>                 Adolph Werner, Ph. D., Prof. of the German Lang. and Lit.<br/> <i>French</i>—David Cherbulier, Tutor.<br/>                 Casimir Fabregou, A. M., Tutor.<br/>                 Ernest Fiston, A. M., Tutor.<br/>                 Jean Roemer, LL. D., Prof. of the French Lang. and Lit., and Vice President.<br/> <i>Spanish</i>—Louis A. Baralt, A. B., Instr., in the Spanish Lang.</p> |

NEW YORK.—(Continued).

3. Columbia Coll., (New York).

- English*—Daniel K. Dodge, A. M., Ph. D., Fellow, Asst. in Eng.  
 A. V. Williams Jackson, A. M., L. H. D., Ph. D., Asst. in Eng. and Instr. in Zend.  
 Thomas R. Price, A. M., LL. D., Eng. Lang. and Literature.  
 John D. Quackenbos, A. M., M. D., Eng. Lang. and Literature. (Adjunct).  
 William C. Spencer, M. B.; Fellow, Asst. in English.
- German*—H. H. Boyesen, Ph. D., German Lang. and Lit. (Gebhard).  
 W. H. Carpenter, Ph. D., Instr. in Icelandic, Swedish, Danish and German.  
 H. I. Schmidt, S. T. D., German Lang. and Lit. (Emeritus).
- French*—B. F. O'Conner, B. ès L., Ph. D., Instructor in French.  
 Guillaume A. Scribner, B. ès L., L. ès D., Instr. in French.
- Italian*—Bertrand Clover, Jr., A. B., Instr. in Span. and Italian.  
 C. L. Speranza, LL. D., Instr. in Italian.
- Spanish*—C. Deghuée, A. B., A. M., Instructor in Spanish.  
 B. Clover, Jr., A. B., Instructor in Italian and Spanish.
- Modern Languages*—C. Sprague Smith, A. M., Prof. of Modern Langs. and Foreign Literatures.

NEW YORK.—(Continued).

4. Cornell University,  
(Ithaca).

*Anglo-Saxon*—George L. Burr,  
A. B., Instr. in Anglo-Saxon.  
*English*—Hiram Corson, A. M.,  
LL. D., Prof. of Rhet. and  
Eng. Literature.  
O. L. Elliott, Ph. B., Instr. in  
Rhetoric.  
Edward Everett Hale, Jr., A.  
B., Instructor in English.  
E. W. Huffcut, B. S., Instr. in  
Rhetoric.  
*German*—James Owen Griffin,  
Instructor in German.  
W. T. Hewett, A. M., Ph. D.,  
Prof. of the German Lang.  
and Literature.  
H. S. White, A. B., Prof. of the  
German Lang. and Literature.  
C. B. Wilson, A. B., Instr. in  
German.  
*French*—P. D. Brün, Instr. in  
French.  
C. Langdon, Instr. in French.  
L. E. Lapham, Fellow in Mod.  
Langs.; gives instr. in French.  
*Italian*—C. Langdon, Instr. in  
French.  
*Romance Langs.*—T. F. Crane,  
A. M., Prof. of the Romance  
Langs. and Lits., gives instr. in  
Mod. French, Old French, Ital-  
ian and Spanish.

5. Elmira College, (El-  
mira).

*English*—Miss Sara Louise Tracy,  
A. M., Rhet. and Elocution.  
*German*—Miss Europa D. Gifford,  
German Lang. and Literature.  
*French*—Mlle. Paola Landerer,  
French Lang. and Literature.

6. Hamilton College,  
(Clinton).

*English (Philology)*—G. P. Bristol,  
A. M.  
*English (Literature)*—A. S. Hoyt,  
A. M.  
*French,*  
*German.* } H. C. G. Brandt, A. M.

NEW YORK.—(Continued).

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| 7.  | Hobart College,<br>(Geneva).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—C. D. Vail, A. M., Horace White Prof. of Rhet., Elocution, and of the Eng. Language and Literature.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>French,</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>German.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;">Chas. J. Rose, A. M., Prof. of the German and French Langs., and Adj. Prof. of Hist.</td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —C. D. Vail, A. M., Horace White Prof. of Rhet., Elocution, and of the Eng. Language and Literature. | } | <i>French,</i>  | } | <i>German.</i>                          | } | Chas. J. Rose, A. M., Prof. of the German and French Langs., and Adj. Prof. of Hist. |   |                        |
| {   | <i>English</i> —C. D. Vail, A. M., Horace White Prof. of Rhet., Elocution, and of the Eng. Language and Literature. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>French,</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>German.</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | Chas. J. Rose, A. M., Prof. of the German and French Langs., and Adj. Prof. of Hist.                                |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 8.  | Ingham University,<br>(Leroy).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—Miss Jennie Damman, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;">Miss R. N. Webster, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>German,</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>French.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;">Miss Margaret Wiseman.</td> </tr> </table> | { | <i>English</i> —Miss Jennie Damman, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.   | } | Miss R. N. Webster, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.   | } | <i>German,</i>                          | } | <i>French.</i>   | } | Miss Margaret Wiseman. |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Miss Jennie Damman, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | Miss R. N. Webster, Instr. in Eng. Lang. and Lit.   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>German,</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>French.</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | Miss Margaret Wiseman.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 9.  | Madison University,<br>(Hamilton).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—Benjamin S. Terry, A. M., Prof. of Civil Hist. and Eng.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>Modern Langs.</i>—Albert G. Harkness, A. M., Prof. of Latin and the Modern Languages.</td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —Benjamin S. Terry, A. M., Prof. of Civil Hist. and Eng.   | } | <i>Modern Langs.</i> —Albert G. Harkness, A. M., Prof. of Latin and the Modern Languages. |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Benjamin S. Terry, A. M., Prof. of Civil Hist. and Eng.   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>Modern Langs.</i> —Albert G. Harkness, A. M., Prof. of Latin and the Modern Languages.                           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 10. | Manhattan College,<br>(Manhattanville on the Hudson).   | {   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 11. | Niagara University,<br>(Suspension Bridge).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>German</i>—Rev. M. J. Kircher, C. M.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>French</i>—Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.</td> </tr> </table>  | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.   | } | <i>German</i> —Rev. M. J. Kircher, C. M.  | } | <i>French</i> —Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.  |   |  |   |                        |
| {   | <i>English</i> —Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>German</i> —Rev. M. J. Kircher, C. M.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>French</i> —Rev. L. A. Grace, C. M.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 12. | St. Bonaventure's<br>Coll., (Allegany).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—John C. Goodwin, Prof.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>French,</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>German.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;">John J. Roser, Prof</td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —John C. Goodwin, Prof.  | } | <i>French,</i>  | } | <i>German.</i>                          | } | John J. Roser, Prof  |   |                        |
| {   | <i>English</i> —John C. Goodwin, Prof.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>French,</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | <i>German.</i>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| }   | John J. Roser, Prof   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |                        |
| 13. | St. John's College,<br>(Brooklyn).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>English</i>—Rev. Chas. A. Eckles, D. D.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>German</i>—Rev. A. S. Krabler, C. M.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 1em;"><i>French</i>—Rev. James Elder, Ph. D.</td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>English</i> —Rev. Chas. A. Eckles, D. D.   | } | <i>German</i> —Rev. A. S. Krabler, C. M.  | } | <i>French</i> —Rev. James Elder, Ph. D. |   |  |   |                        |
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| 17. | St. Stephen's Coll.,<br>(Annandale).   | } | <p><i>English</i>—</p>  |

NEW YORK.—(Continued).

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NEW YORK.—(Continued).

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ACADEMIES.

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| 1. | Adelphi Academy, (Brooklyn).          | { | <p><i>French</i>—A. deRougemont, A M.<br/> <i>German</i>—H. J. Schmidt, Instr.</p>   |
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OHIO.

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OHIO.—(Continued).

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|----|---|--|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 2. | Antioch College,<br>(Yellow Springs).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>English</i>—Evelyn Darling, A. M.<br/>Miss J. D. Chambers, A. M.,<br/>Instructor in English.<br/>J. Peery Miller, Instr. in History<br/>and English.                 </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Evelyn Darling, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of French, Ger-<br/>man and Eng. Liter-<br/>ature.                 </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>    | {                                | <i>English</i> —Evelyn Darling, A. M.<br>Miss J. D. Chambers, A. M.,<br>Instructor in English.<br>J. Peery Miller, Instr. in History<br>and English.                            | } | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Evelyn Darling, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of French, Ger-<br/>man and Eng. Liter-<br/>ature.                 </td> </tr> </table> | { | <i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> | Evelyn Darling, A. M.,<br>Prof. of French, Ger-<br>man and Eng. Liter-<br>ature. |
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| 3. | Baldwin University,<br>(Berea).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>English</i>—A. M. Thomson, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.                 </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Victor Wilker, A. M.                 </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>   | {                                | <i>English</i> —A. M. Thomson, A. M.,<br>Prof. of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.   | } | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Victor Wilker, A. M.                 </td> </tr> </table>  | { | <i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> | Victor Wilker, A. M.   |
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| 5. | Buchtel Coll.,(Akron).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>English</i>—Miss Mary B. Jewett, A.<br/>B., Prof. of Rhet. and English<br/>Literatures.                 </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>German,</i><br/><i>French.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Carl. F. Kolbe, A. M.                 </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>   | {                                | <i>English</i> —Miss Mary B. Jewett, A.<br>B., Prof. of Rhet. and English<br>Literatures.   | } | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>German,</i><br/><i>French.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     Carl. F. Kolbe, A. M.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | { | <i>German,</i><br><i>French.</i> | Carl. F. Kolbe, A. M.  |
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| {  | <i>German,</i><br><i>French.</i>  | Carl. F. Kolbe, A. M.  |                                  |   |   |   |   |                                  |  |
| 6. | Capital University,<br>(Columbus).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>German</i>—Rev. A. Pflueger, Asst.<br/>Prof. of German.<br/>Rev. F. W. Stellhorn, Prof. of<br/>German.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | {                                | <i>German</i> —Rev. A. Pflueger, Asst.<br>Prof. of German.<br>Rev. F. W. Stellhorn, Prof. of<br>German.   |   |   |   |                                  |  |
| {  | <i>German</i> —Rev. A. Pflueger, Asst.<br>Prof. of German.<br>Rev. F. W. Stellhorn, Prof. of<br>German.   |  |                                  |   |   |   |   |                                  |  |
| 7. | Denison University,<br>(Granville).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>English</i>—A. U. Thresher, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Rhet. and Eng. Lit.                 </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     George F. McKibben,<br/>A. M., Prof. of Fr.<br/>and German.                 </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>   | {                                | <i>English</i> —A. U. Thresher, A. M.,<br>Prof. of Rhet. and Eng. Lit.  | } | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">                     George F. McKibben,<br/>A. M., Prof. of Fr.<br/>and German.                 </td> </tr> </table>                         | { | <i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> | George F. McKibben,<br>A. M., Prof. of Fr.<br>and German.                        |
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| {  | <i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i>  | George F. McKibben,<br>A. M., Prof. of Fr.<br>and German.  |                                  |   |   |   |   |                                  |  |
| 8. | Franklin Coll., (New<br>Athens).  | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>German</i>—Robt. Gowan Campbell,<br/>D. D., Prof. of Latin and Instr.<br/>in German.                 </td> </tr> </table>   | {                                | <i>German</i> —Robt. Gowan Campbell,<br>D. D., Prof. of Latin and Instr.<br>in German.  |   |   |   |                                  |  |
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| 9. | German Wallace Coll.,<br>(Berea).   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <i>Modern Languages</i>—Victor Wil-<br/>ker, A. M.                 </td> </tr> </table>  | {                                | <i>Modern Languages</i> —Victor Wil-<br>ker, A. M.  |   |   |   |                                  |  |
| {  | <i>Modern Languages</i> —Victor Wil-<br>ker, A. M.  |  |                                  |   |   |   |   |                                  |  |

OHIO.—(Continued).

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| 10. | Heidelberg College,<br>(Tiffin).     | <i>English</i> —C. O. Knepper, A. M.,<br>Prof. of Belles Lettres and Hist.<br><i>German</i> —Rev. A. S. Zerbe, A. M.,<br>Ph. D., Prof. of the Greek Lang.<br>and Lit., and Acting Prof. of<br>German.  |
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| 12. | Kenyon College,<br>(Gambier).        | <i>French,</i> } William T. Colville.<br><i>German.</i> }  |
| 13. | Marietta College,<br>(Marietta).     | <i>English</i> —David E. Beach, D. D.,<br>Prof. of Philosophy, Rhet., and<br>English Literature.<br><i>German</i> —E. E. Phillips, Ph. D.,<br>Prof. of the Greek Lang. and<br>Lit., and Instructor in German.<br><i>French,</i> } Joseph H. Chamberlin,<br><i>German.</i> } M. A., Prof. of the<br>Latin Lang. and Lit.,<br>and Instructor in<br>Modern Languages. |
| 14. | Mount Union Coll.,<br>(Mount Union). | <i>English Literature</i> —Mrs. Amelia<br>M. Brush, Ph. M.<br><i>French,</i> } Prof. Charles Schmidt.<br><i>German.</i> }  |
| 15. | Muskingum College,<br>(New Concord). | <i>French,</i> } Mary Miller, A. M.,<br><i>German.</i> } Teacher.  |
| 16. | Oberlin College,<br>(Oberlin).       | <i>English</i> —Rev. Wm. B. Chamber-<br>lain, Prof. of Elocution, and<br>Associate Prof. of Rhetoric.<br><i>French,</i> } James K. Newton, A.<br><i>German.</i> } M., Prof. of the Ger.<br>and Fr. Langs. and<br>Literatures.<br><i>German</i> —Percy B. Burnett, Instr.<br>in German.   |
| 17. | Ohio State Univ.,<br>(Columbus).     | <i>English</i> —Geo. W. Knight, A. M.,<br>Ph. D., Prof. of History and<br>Eng. Lang. and Literature.<br>A. H. Welsh, A. M., Asst. in<br>History and English.<br><i>German</i> —E. A. Eggers, Instr. in<br>the German Language.<br><i>French</i> —Alice K. Williams, In-<br>structor in the French Lang.  |

OHIO.—(Continued).

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| 18. | Ohio University,<br>(Athens).                | <i>English</i> —H. T. Sudduth, A. M.,<br>Prof. of Rhet. and Eng. Lit.<br><i>French,</i> } Emily F. Wheeler, A.<br><i>German.</i> } M.   |
| 19. | Ohio Wesleyan Uni-<br>versity, (Delaware).   | <i>English</i> —Clara Conklin, M. A.,<br>Prof.<br><i>French,</i> } William W. Davies,<br><i>German.</i> } M. A., Ph. D.<br><i>Spanish</i> —Galdino T. Gutierrez.  |
| 20. | Otterbein University,<br>(Westerville).      | <i>English</i> —Rev. H. A. Thompson,<br>D. D., LL. D., Prof. of English<br>Lang. and Literature.<br><i>French,</i> } Josephine Johnson, M.<br><i>German.</i> } A., Prof. of Modern<br>Langs. and Lit.   |
| 21. | Rio Grande College,<br>(Rio Grande).         | <i>French</i> —Rev. John M. Davis, A.<br>M., Ph. D., Prof. of Latin, In-<br>structor in Natural Science,<br>Teacher of French.<br><i>German</i> —Miss Ida B. Haning,<br>Ph. B., Teacher of German and<br>Instrumental Music.  |
| 22. | St. Joseph's College,<br>(Cincinnati).       | <i>German</i> —F. Boeres, C. S. C.  |
| 23. | St. Xavier's College,<br>(Cincinnati).       | <i>German</i> —Jos. Reilag, S. J., In-<br>structor.<br><i>French</i> —Wm. B. Rogers, S. J.,<br>Instructor.  |
| 24. | University of Cincin-<br>nati, (Cincinnati). | <i>Modern Languages</i> —James Mor-<br>gan Hart, A. M., J. U. D.,<br>Prof. of Mod. Langs. and Lits.<br>Charles Frederick Seybold, A.<br>B., LL. B., Asst. Prof. of<br>Modern Languages.   |
| 25. | University of Woos-<br>ter, (Wooster).       | <i>English</i> —Rev. Jas. Black, D. D.,<br>LL. D., Vice-Prest., and Quin-<br>by Prof. of the Greek Lang.<br>and Lit., and Prof. of English.<br>Elias L. Compton, Prof. of Eng.,<br>and Instr. in Mathematics.<br>Mrs. Walter F. Mills, Instructor<br>in English.<br><i>German</i> —Miss Eva A. Corell,<br>Prof. of German Lang. and Lit.<br><i>French</i> —Lieut. Alfred C. Sharp,<br>Prof. of Military Science and<br>Tactics, and Instr. in French. |

## OHIO.—(Continued).

26. Urbana University,  
(Urbana). { *English*—Miss Clara Ames,  
Teacher of Grammar School.  
Miss Delia B. Burt, Lady Prin-  
cipal, Instr. in History, Eng  
Literature and French.  
*German*—Lewis F. Hite, A. B.,  
Instr. in Greek, Latin and Ger-  
man.  
*French*—Miss Delia B. Burt.
27. Wilberforce Univ.,  
(Colored) (Wilber-  
force). { *English*—Anna H. Jones, Lady  
Principal and Instr. in English  
and History.  
*Modern Languages*—Mary E.  
Church, B. A., Instr. in Modern  
Langs., and Sec'y of Faculty.
28. Wilmington College,  
(Wilmington). { *French,* } Pres. James Bryant Un-  
*German.* } thank, M. S.
29. Wittenberg College,  
(Springfield). { *English*—C. L. Ehrenfeld, A. M.,  
Ph. D., Prof. of Eng. Lit. and  
Latin.  
*German,* } Hugo Schilling, Ph. D.,  
*French.* } Alumni Professor of  
Modern Languages.

## OREGON.

1. State Agricultural  
College, (Corvallis). { *English,* } F. Berchtold, A. M.,  
*German,* } Prof. of Langs.  
*French.* }
2. Pacific University,  
(Forest Grove). { *English*—W. D. Lyman, A. M.,  
Instructor in Eng. Literature.  
*German,* } J. W. Marsh, A. M.,  
*French.* } Ph. D., Instr. in the  
Ger. and Fr. Langs.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

1. Allegheny College,  
(Meadville). { *English*—D. H. Wheeler, LL. D.,  
Prof. and Pres.  
Miss C. L. Crook, A.  
B., Asst. in Fr. and  
German.  
*French,* } Miss E. F. Wheeler, A.  
*German.* } M., Prof. of Fr. and  
German.

PENNSYLVANIA.—(Continued).

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|----|---|---|
| 2. | Augustinian Coll. of St. Thomas of Villanova, (Delaware Co.). | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>English</i>—Rev. T. F. Herlihy, A. B.</li> <li>Rev. C. J. McFadden.</li> <li>Rev. F. X. McGowan, A. B.</li> <li>Rev. T. C. Middleton, D. D.</li> <li>Rev. F. M. Sheeran, S. T. L.</li> <li><i>French,</i> } P. M. Arnu, A. M.</li> <li><i>German.</i> }</li> <li><i>Italian</i>—Rev. C. J. Driscoll.</li> </ul>   |
| 3. | Bryn Mawr College, (Bryn Mawr).                               | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>English</i>—M. Carey Thomas, Ph. D., Dean of the Faculty and Prof. of English.</li> <li><i>German</i>—Rose Chamberlen, Graduate in Honors, (Mod. Lang. Tripos) Newnham College, Cambridge, England, Instr. in French and German.</li> <li>Hermann Collitz, Ph. D., Associate Prof. of German.</li> <li><i>French</i>—Rose Chamberlen.</li> <li><i>Romance Languages</i>—J. James Stürzinger, Ph. D., Associate Prof. of Romance Languages.</li> </ul> |
| 4. | Bucknell University, (Lewisburg).                             | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>English</i>—Enoch Perrine, A. M., Crozer Prof. of Rhetoric.</li> <li><i>French,</i> } Cornelia C. Bronson,</li> <li><i>German.</i> } French and German.</li> <li><i>Modern Languages</i>—Freeman Loomis, A. M., Prof. of Modern Languages.</li> </ul>   |
| 5. | Dickinson College, (Carlisle).                                | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>English</i>—Rev. Aaron Rittenhouse, D. D., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Literature.</li> <li><i>German</i>—O. B. Super, Ph. D., Prof. of French and German.</li> </ul>   |
| 6. | Franklin and Marshall Coll., (Lancaster).                     | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Anglo-Saxon</i>—Prof. Wm. M. Nevin, LL. D.</li> <li><i>English</i>—Rev. Geo. F. Mull, A. M., Associate Prof. of English.</li> <li><i>French</i>—</li> <li><i>German</i>—Rev. Prof. J. H. Dubbs D. D.</li> <li>Rev. Prof. J. H. Stahr, Ph. D.</li> </ul>   |

PENNSYLVANIA.—(Continued).

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| 7.  | Haverford College,<br>(Harverford Coll.). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Prof. Allen C. Thomas,<br/>A. M.<br/><i>German</i>—Prof. Seth K. Gifford,<br/>A. M.<br/><i>French</i>—Samuel Lepoids, Bach.<br/>ès Lettres, Instructor in French.</p>   |
| 8.  | Lafayette College,<br>(Easton).           | { | <p><i>English</i>—F. A. March, LL. D.,<br/>Prof. of English Comparative<br/>Philology.<br/><i>Modern Languages</i>—Rev. A. A.<br/>Bloombergh, Ph. D., Prof. of<br/>Modern Languages.<br/>Francis A. March, Jr., A. M.,<br/>Adjunct Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>   |
| 9.  | La Salle College,<br>(Philadelphia).      | { | <p><i>Modern Languages</i>—"Brother<br/>Blandin," Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>  |
| 10. | Lebanon Valley Col-<br>lege, (Annville).  | { | <p><i>English,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Prof. W. E. Ebersole.<br/><i>French</i>—John E. Lynn, Prof. of<br/>French.</p>  |
| 11. | Lehigh University,<br>(South Bethlehem).  | { | <p><i>English (Literature)</i>—Henry<br/>Coppée, LL. D., Prof. of Eng.<br/>Lit., International and Constitu-<br/>tional Law, and the Philosophy<br/>of History.<br/><i>Modern Langs.</i>—Wm. R. Gillette,<br/>Instructor in Mod. Langs.<br/>Fonger de Haan, C. U. L., Instr.<br/>in Modern Languages.<br/>S. Ringer, U. J. D., Prof. of<br/>Modern Languages and Lits.,<br/>and of History.</p> |
| 12. | Monongahela Coll.,<br>(Jefferson).        | { | <p><i>English</i>—Wm. P. Kendall, Prof.<br/><i>German</i>—E. B. Enoch, Prof.<br/><i>French</i>—A. M. Denney, Prof.</p>  |
| 13. | Muhlenberg Coll.,<br>(Allentown).         | { | <p><i>English</i>—Rev. M. H. Richards,<br/>A. M., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and<br/>Literature.<br/><i>French,</i><br/><i>German.</i> } Rev. Wm. Wacker-<br/>nagel, D. D., Prof.<br/>of German Lang.<br/>and Literature.</p>  |

PENNSYLVANIA.—(Continued).

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| 14. | Pennsylvania Coll.,<br>(Gettysburg).                         | { | <p><i>English</i>—John A. Himes, A. M.,<br/>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.</p> <p>Rev. Adam Martin, A.<br/>M., Prof. of German,<br/>and Instructor in<br/>French.</p>  |
| 15. | Pennsylvania State<br>Coll., (State College,<br>Centre Co.). | { | <p><i>English</i>—Jas. Y. Nickell, M. A.,<br/>Prof. of Eng. Lit., Latin, &amp;c.</p> <p><i>French,</i> } Chas. F. Reeves, M. S.,<br/><i>German.</i> } Prof. of Mod. Langs.</p>   |
| 16. | St. Francis College,<br>(Loretto).                           | { | <p><i>German</i>—Bro. DeSales Witmer,<br/>O. S. F., Prof. of Geometry,<br/>Algebra, Drawing, Differential<br/>and Integral Calculus, German<br/>Lit., Astronomy, Surveying, and<br/>Engineering.</p>   |
| 17. | St. Vincent's Coll.,<br>(Beatty's).                          | { | <p><i>English</i>—Edward Andelfinger, O.<br/>S. B., Prof. of Eng., Penman-<br/>ship and Elocution.</p> <p>Walter Leahy, O. S. B., Prof.<br/>of Eng., Rhet. and Composi-<br/>tion of First Commercial<br/>Course.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. Gallus Hock, O.<br/>S. B., Prof. of Introduction to<br/>Holy Scripture, Greek, Ger-<br/>man, Rhet. Prosody and Lit.</p> <p>George Lester, O. S. B., Prof.<br/>of French and German Pen-<br/>manship.</p> <p>Rev. Rudesind Schrembs, O. S.<br/>B., Prof. of German.</p> <p><i>French</i>—George Lester, O. S. B.,<br/>Prof. of French and German<br/>Penmanship.</p> |

PENNSYLVANIA.—(Continued).

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| 18. | Swarthmore College,<br>(Swarthmore).        | <p><i>English</i>—Benj. Smith, A. M., Prof. of Rhetoric and English.<br/>Joseph Thomas, M. D., LL. D., Prof. of English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Wm. Hyde Appleton, Prof. of Greek and German.<br/>Albert R. Lawton, A. M., Asst. Prof. of German and French.</p> <p><i>French</i>—Eugène Paulin, A. M., Prof. of French, Spanish and Philosophy.<br/>Albert R. Lawton, Asst. Prof. of French.</p> <p><i>Italian,</i> } Eugène Paulin, A. M.,<br/><i>Spanish.</i> } Prof. of French, etc.</p> |
| 19. | Thiel Coll., (Greenville).                  | <p><i>German</i>—Rev. Herman Gilbert, Ph. D., Thiel Prof. of the German Lang. and Lit., and Instr. in Hebrew.</p>  |
| 20. | University of Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia). | <p><i>English</i>—J. G. R. McElroy, A. M., Prof. of Rhet. and the English Language.<br/>Felix E. Schelling, A. M., Instructor in English.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Hugo A. Rennert, B. S., Instructor in French and German.<br/>Oswald Seidensticker, Ph. D., Prof. of German Lang. and Literature.</p> <p><i>French</i>—M. W. Easton, Ph. D., Prof. of Comparative Philology and Instr. in French and Elocution.<br/>Hugo A. Rennert, B. S.</p>   |
| 21. | Ursinus Coll., (Freeland).                  | <p><i>English</i>—A. Lincoln Landis, B. S., Instructor.<br/>Samuel H. Phillips, A. B., Teacher.<br/>Alcide Reichenbach, A. M., Prin.<br/>Samuel V. Ruby, A. M., Prof.</p> <p><i>German</i>—Rev. W. Walenta, A. M., Prof.</p> <p><i>French</i>—J. Shelley Weinberger, A. M., Prof.</p>  |

PENNSYLVANIA.—(Continued).

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| 22. | Washington and<br>Jefferson College,<br>(Washington). | { <i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> }   | Prof. J. S. Simonton,<br>A. M., Prof. of Mod.<br>Languages. |
| 23. | Western University<br>of Pa., (Alleghany).            | { <i>English (Literature)</i> —Theodore<br>M. Barber, A. M., Instructor in<br>English Literature.<br><i>German</i> —Paul F. Rohrbacher,<br>Prof. of German.<br><i>French</i> —Alphonse M. Danse,<br>Teacher of French. |   |
| 24. | Westminster Coll.,<br>(New Wilmington).               | { <i>English</i> —Miss Oella J. Patterson,<br>A. M., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and<br>Literature.  |   |

ACADEMIES.

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|----|--|---|--|
| 1. | Pennsylvania Military<br>Academy, (Chester). | { <i>French,</i><br><i>Spanish,</i><br><i>German.</i> } | Lieut. Emile L. Feffer,<br>A. M., Prof. of Fr.,<br>German, Spanish<br>and Latin. |
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RHODE ISLAND.

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|----|------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. | Brown University,<br>(Providence). | { <i>English</i> —T. Whiting Bancroft, A.<br>M., Prof. of Rhet. and English<br>Literature.<br>William S. Liscomb, A. M., In-<br>structor in Mod. Langs.<br><i>German,</i><br><i>French.</i> } W. S. Liscomb, A. M.,<br>Instructor in Mod.<br>Languages.<br><i>French,</i><br><i>Italian,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Guglielmo D'Arcais,<br>Instructor in Mod.<br>Languages.<br>Alonzo Williams, A.<br>M., Prof. of Modern<br>Languages. |  |
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SOUTH CAROLINA.

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|----|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. | Adgar College, (Wal-<br>halla). | { <i>English Literature,</i><br><i>German.</i> } | Rev. J. C.<br>Brodführ.<br>er, A. M. |
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SOUTH CAROLINA.—(Continued).

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|----|---|---|---|
| 2. | Claffin Univ., Agricul.<br>Coll., and Mechan-<br>ics Institute. | { | <i>English</i> —Mrs. L. M. Dunton,<br>Prof. of Literature, Rhet. and<br>French.<br><i>German</i> —Wm. L. Bulkley, A. B.,<br>Prof. of Greek and German.<br><i>French</i> —Mrs. M. L. Dunton,<br>Preceptress. |
| 3. | College of Charleston,<br>(Charleston).                         | { | <i>English</i> —Pres. H. E. Shepherd,<br>A. M.<br><i>French,</i> } Prof. Sylvester Primer,<br><i>German.</i> } Ph. D.   |
| 4. | College of South<br>Carolina, (Columbia).                       | { | <i>English</i> —Edw. S. Joynes, M. A.,<br>LL. D., Prof. of Mod. Langs.<br>and English.<br>R. M. Kennedy, A. B., Tutor.<br><i>German,</i> } Edw. S. Joynes, Prof.<br><i>French.</i> } R. M. Kennedy, Tutor.  |
| 5. | Erskine College,<br>(Due West).                                 | { | <i>English,</i> } J. I. McCain, A. M.,<br><i>German.</i> } Prof. of Greek.<br><i>French</i> —J. M. Todd, A. M., Prof.<br>of Latin.  |
| 6. | Furman University,<br>(Greenville).                             | { | <i>English</i> —Charles Manly, D. B.,<br>Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br><i>German</i> —Prof. H. T. Cook, A. M.<br><i>French</i> —Prof. R. M. Parks, A. M.  |
| 7. | Newberry College,<br>(Newberry).                                | { | <i>English</i> —Prof. G. W. Holland, Ph.<br>D.<br><i>French,</i> } Rev. A. G. Voigt, A. M.<br><i>German.</i> }  |
| 8. | Walhalla Female Col-<br>lege, (Walhalla).                       | { | <i>English Literature</i> —   |
| 9. | Wofford College,<br>(Spartanburg).                              | { | <i>English</i> —Prof. Frank C. Wood-<br>ward, A. M.<br><i>French,</i> } J. H. Marshall, Asst.<br><i>German.</i> } Prof.   |

TENNESSEE.

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|----|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | Bethel College,<br>(McKenzie). | { | <i>English,</i> } Rev. J. L. Dickens, D.<br><i>French.</i> } D., B. D. |
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TENNESSEE.—(Continued).

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| 2. | Carson College, (Mos-<br>sy Creek).                          | {<br><i>English</i> —<br><i>French</i> —<br><i>Italian</i> —<br><i>Spanish</i> —<br><i>German</i> —  |
| 3. | Central Tenn. Coll.,<br>(Nashville).                         | {<br><i>English (Rhetoric)</i> —Miss N. G.<br>Barclay, M. E. L.<br><i>German</i> —Prof. A. F. Hoyt, S. T.<br>D.  |
| 4. | Cumberland Univ.,<br>(Lebanon).                              | {<br><i>English</i> —Edward E. Weir, A. M.<br><i>French</i> —W. D. McLaughlin, A. M.<br><i>German</i> —John J. D. Hinds, A. M.   |
| 5. | East Tenn. Wesleyan<br>University, (Athens).                 | {<br><i>English,</i><br><i>French,</i><br><i>Spanish,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Mrs. A. C. Knight, A.<br>M.  |
| 6. | King College,<br>(Bristol).                                  | {<br><i>English,</i><br><i>German.</i> } H. W. Naff, A. M.,<br>Librarian, Latin,<br>Eng. and German.<br><i>French</i> —Rev. J. Phipps, M. A.,<br>Sec., Greek, French.  |
| 7. | Maryville College,<br>(Maryville).                           | {<br><i>English</i> —Will A. Cate, B. S.<br>W. R. Dawson, A. B., Prof.<br>Mary L. Evans, A. B.<br>Rev. Prof. S. T. Wilson, A. M.<br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } Prof. H. G. Behoteguy,<br>A. B.<br><i>Spanish</i> —Prof. S. T. Wilson.      |
| 8. | Southwestern Baptist<br>University, (Jack-<br>son).          | {<br><i>English,</i><br><i>French,</i><br><i>German.</i> } A. P. Bourland, A. M.   |
| 9. | Southwestern Presby-<br>terian University,<br>(Clarksville). | {<br><i>English</i> —Rev. Robert Price, D.<br>D., Prof. in the Schools of<br>History, Eng. Literature and<br>Rhetoric.<br><i>French,</i><br><i>Spanish,</i><br><i>German.</i> } S. J. Coffman, A. M.,<br>Prof. in the School<br>of Mod. Languages. |

TENNESSEE.—(Continued).

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| 10. | Univ. of the South,<br>(Sewanee).          | { <i>English</i> —W. B. Hall, M. A.<br>Gunnough White, M. A., Prof.<br>of the Eng. Lang. and Lit.<br>William B. Nauts, A. M., Asst.<br><i>German</i> —W. N. Guthrie, Asst.<br>F. M. Page, Professor.<br><i>French</i> —W. N. Guthrie Asst.<br><i>French,</i> }<br><i>Italian,</i> } Frederick M. Page, Prof.<br><i>Spanish.</i> }  |
| 11. | University of Ten-<br>nessee, (Knoxville). | { <i>English</i> —<br><i>German</i> —<br><i>French</i> —Wm. I. Thomas, A. M.,<br>Ph. D., Asst. Instructor.   |
| 12. | Vanderbilt Universi-<br>ty, (Nashville)    | { <i>English</i> —William M. Baskervill,<br>A. M., Ph. D., Prof. of Eng.<br>Lang. and Lit.<br>W. R. Sims, A. B., Inst. in<br>English.<br><i>German</i> —Waller Deering, Instr.<br>in German.<br>John H. Watkins, Asst. in Ger.<br>C. Zdanowicz, A. M., Prof. of<br>Mod. Langs. and Lits.<br><i>French</i> —W. R. Sims, Asst. in<br>French.<br>C. Zdanowicz, A. M., Prof. of<br>Mod. Langs. and Lits.<br><i>Spanish</i> —C. Zdanowicz, A. M.,<br>Professor. |

TEXAS.

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|----|---|--|
| 1. | Add Ran College,<br>(Thorp's Springs).                          | { <i>English</i> —J. R. Wilmette, Instr.<br><i>French,</i> }<br><i>Spanish,</i> } T. M. Clark, Prof.<br><i>German.</i> }   |
| 2. | Agricultural and Me-<br>chanical College,<br>(College Station). | { <i>English</i> —W. L. Bringhurst, Prof.<br><i>French,</i> }<br><i>Spanish,</i> } R. Wipprecht, Prof.<br><i>German.</i> } |
| 3. | Austin College, (Sher-<br>man).                                 | { <i>English,</i> }<br><i>French.</i> } J. C. Edmonds, Prof.   |

TEXAS.—(Continued).

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| 4.  | Baylor University,<br>(Independence).              | {<br><i>German</i> —Geo. Hamman, Instr.<br><i>French</i> —W. C. Crane, Instructor.<br><i>Spanish</i> —B. Mueller, Instructor.   |
| 5.  | Buffalo Gap College,<br>(Buffalo Gap, Taylor Co.). | {<br><i>English</i> —Miss E. Wagstaff.<br><i>Modern Languages</i> —John M. Wagstaff, A. B., Prest. and Prof. of Ancient and Modern Langs.   |
| 6.  | Chappell Hill Female College,<br>(Chappell Hill).  | {<br><i>English</i> —E. W. Tarrant, Prof.<br><i>German</i> —Miss E. W. Parkman.<br><i>French</i> —Miss Hattie Cain, Instr.  |
| 7.  | Granbury College,<br>(Granbury).                   | {<br><i>English</i> —Rev. W. J. Moore, Prof.<br><i>French</i> —D. S. Switzer, Prof.<br><i>Spanish</i> —Rev. W. J. Moore, Prof. of English, Mental and Moral Science, Spanish.             |
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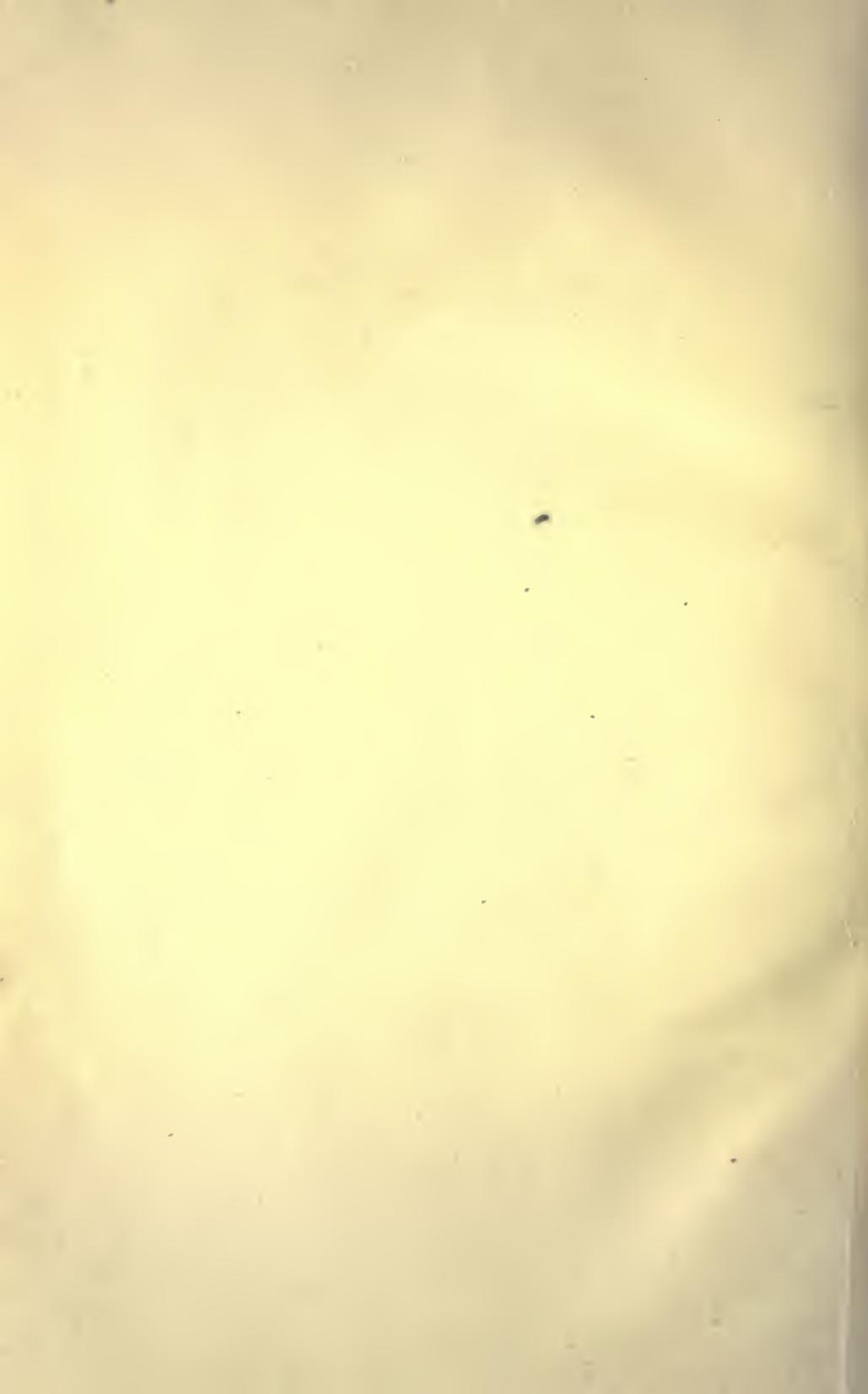
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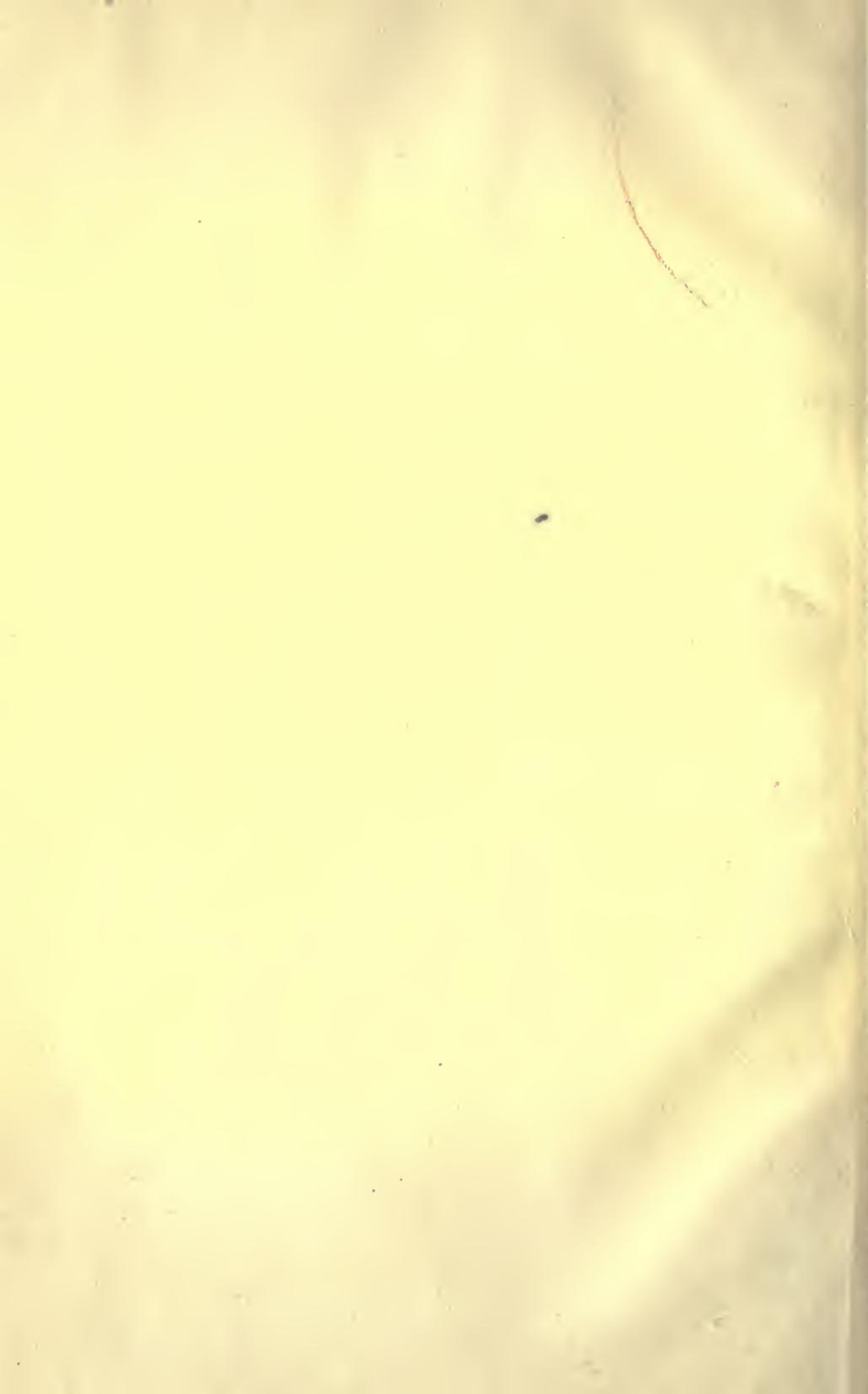
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PB      Modern Language Association of  
6      America  
M6      Publications  
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