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WILLIAM K. BOYD,
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Contents of Volume XIX

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1920

	PAGE
The South's Labor Problem..... <i>Monroe N. Work</i>	1
Two Famous Poems of the World War <i>H. E. Harmon</i>	9
Poets of the American Ambulance..... <i>Walter Graham</i>	18
Thomas Cooper—A Survey of His Life. <i>H. M. Ellis</i>	24
Samuel J. Tilden and the Revival of the Democratic Party <i>Earl D. Ross</i>	43
Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina (Concluded) <i>Edgar W. Knight</i>	55
Rossetti Studies: Fundamental Brainwork <i>Albert Edmund Trombly</i>	67
Book Reviews	81

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1920

The American Cotton Association..... <i>Robert P. Brooks</i>	97
Preserving North Carolina's World War Records as a State Enterprise..... <i>Robert Burton House</i>	109
Price Inflation: Its Beneficiaries and Its Victims <i>William H. Glasson</i>	118
The Devil in the Playhouse..... <i>Thornton S. Graves</i>	131
Lexiphanes: Satire's View of Doctor Johnson <i>Robert C. Whitford</i>	141
French Problems..... <i>Robert H. Scheifley</i>	157
"The Simple Cobbler of Agawam"..... <i>Roy F. Dibble</i>	163
Problems of Democracy..... <i>Clark S. Northrup</i>	171
Book Reviews	176

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1920

Fighting Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina <i>Fronde Kennedy</i>	189
Some Relations Between Soil, Climate and Civilization in the Southern Red Hills of Alabama <i>Roland M. Harper</i>	201

	PAGE
Little Nations.....	<i>James H. Dillard</i> 216
The Case of Holland.....	<i>J. F. Scheltema</i> 221
Organized Applause.....	<i>Thornton S. Graves</i> 236
Advantages of Co-operative Education.....	<i>Ezekiel J. Londow</i> 249
The Drama—After the War.....	<i>Archibald Henderson</i> 258
The Importance of the Southern College to American Civilization.....	<i>Paul Shorey</i> 266
Book Reviews	270

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1920

Revaluation and Taxation in North Carolina	<i>Francis Nash</i> 289
The University Commission on Race Relations	<i>Josiah Morse</i> 302
Attila in History and Heroic Story.....	<i>Elizabeth Nische</i> 311
The Literary Status of Mark Twain.....	<i>H. Houston Peckham</i> 332
Carlyle's Life of John Sterling.....	<i>Stanley T. Williams</i> 341
Education of Women in Latin America.....	<i>Mary O. Cowper</i> 350
Some Theatrical Programs in Paris.....	<i>Aaron Schaffer</i> 360
Book Reviews	365

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY



CONTENTS

THE SOUTH'S LABOR PROBLEM	1
MONROE N. WORK	
TWO FAMOUS POEMS OF THE WORLD WAR	9
H. E. HARMON	
POETS OF THE AMERICAN AMBULANCE	18
WALTER GRAHAM	
THOMAS COOPER—A SURVEY OF HIS LIFE	24
H. M. ELLIS	
SAMUEL J. TILDEN AND THE REVIVAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY	43
EARL D. ROSS	
RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA (Concluded)	55
EDGAR W. KNIGHT	
ROSSETTI STUDIES—FUNDAMENTAL BRAINWORK	67
ALBERT EDMUND TROMBLY	
BOOK REVIEWS	81



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The South Atlantic Quarterly

The South's Labor Problem

MONROE N. WORK
Tuskegee Institute

The most important phase of the South's labor problem is how to secure an adequate and efficient labor supply. The present supply is inadequate to do the work now ready to be done, to say nothing of the work necessary for future development. The acuteness of this problem is indicated by the facts that come from many sources. Because of the lack of labor on farms many hundred acres of land lay idle the past year, and it is stated that many more hundred acres will lie idle this year. Another indication of the acuteness of the labor supply is the efforts which were made just after the Chicago race riots to get Negroes to return to the South, especially to Mississippi and Louisiana.

Whence may the South expect a present and a future labor supply? These sources are two—the natural increase of the population and immigration. The indications are that little is to be expected from immigration. After all the years of tremendous immigration to America, the South in 1910 had only 726,171 persons of foreign birth. The proportion of the immigration stream which came to the South was less than five per cent of the total number of immigrants.

According to the best authorities there is little hope in the near future for the South to expect to increase its labor supply by foreign immigration. The United States Labor Department has already estimated that 1,300,000 foreigners in this country will return to Europe and that in the next five years the number returning may rise as high as 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. If this is true, and the indications are that it is, then not only will the South fail to increase its labor supply by foreign immigration, but, on the other hand, because of the departure of

such a large number of foreigners from this country, the demand for labor in the North will cause the South to lose a great deal more of the labor supply which it now has.

It is often urged that the migration of Negroes to the North can be offset by inducing migration of whites from the North. While it is true that a considerable number of whites from the North has come South, a careful examination of the facts connected with this appears to indicate that this immigration is mainly not of laborers, but of those who are independent workers, farmers, etc., employers of labor. In connection with the migration movement it has been to a considerable extent overlooked that the South is not only losing a large proportion of her Negro population, but that the migration of whites from the South to the North and the West is much greater than the migration from these two sections to the South.

The census of 1910 shows that 1,448,624, or 7.5 per cent of the whites born in the South had migrated to the North and West. There were living at this same time, in what the census designates as the South, 1,441,785 whites who had been born in the North. This would seem to indicate that the numbers of whites migrating North and South were about equal; that is, only 46,000 more whites had moved into the North from the South than had moved into the South from the North. A further analysis, however, shows that the movement of whites from the South to the North and the West is very much greater than the movement from the North and the West to the South. Of those moving into the South from the North and the West, 519,364, or 36 per cent, had moved into the State of Oklahoma. When the twelve more strictly southern states, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, are taken, it is found that 677,342 whites born in the North and the West were living in these states and 1,104,470 whites from these states were living in the North and the West; that is, there were 426,128 more whites from these states living in the North than there were from the North living in them.

As a result of the present labor shortage, there has been

drawn from the South, along with the Negro migrants, many white migrants. It is very probable that so long as the present demands for labor in the North continue, there will be migrants of both races from the South, for the economic law of supply and demand influences laborers about the same, be they white or black. Since it appears that in the immediate future the South can expect little from immigration to help meet her labor supply, she needs must turn to her natural supply, her more than twenty million of whites and her more than nine million of Negroes, and devise ways through this population of meeting the labor shortage.

The necessity for further development of the resources of the South calls for more increase in the supply of labor. There is immediate necessity for further development of the South's forest resources, her mineral resources, her water power and, chief of all, her agricultural resources. These resources can be developed only through a greater use of machinery. A greater use of machinery, however, calls for not a decreased, but an increased labor supply.

The land area of the South is 562,128,640 acres. Of this area 354,452,860 acres in 1910 were in farms, that is, there were over two hundred million acres, or 37 per cent of the South's total land area, that had not been made into farms. Some of this area is untillable, but millions of acres of the area not yet in farms can, through the drainage of swamps and through other means, be reclaimed for farm purposes. In addition to the fact that a large part of the South is not yet in farms is the further fact that only a small part of the land in farms is being actually cultivated. According to the census report of 1910, 150,690,852 acres, or only 42 per cent of the area in farms, were improved. The probability is that since 1910, because of war conditions, there has been very little increase in the amount of improved land. This means that of the total land area of the South, only about 27 per cent has been improved. The following table illustrates the situation:

Total area	562,128,640	Percent
Not in farms	207,675,780	36.9
In farms	354,452,860	63.1
Improved	150,690,852	26.8
Unimproved	203,762,008	36.4

The South's labor supply can be increased by health improvement, by education, and by checking the flow of labor to the North. Bad health conditions among both whites and Negroes are causing the South enormous financial losses. The Rockefeller Foundation, in its work for the eradication of hookworm and malaria, is showing that it is cheaper to prevent disease than it is to have it. Malaria, which greatly reduces the working capacity of the population, is being brought under control by the Rockefeller Foundation in a number of places for less money than was ordinarily spent in these sections for doctors' bills by malaria patients. Because of the conditions under which Negroes live and the consequent high rate of sickness and death, the greatest financial loss which the South sustains is from disease. Estimates indicate that there are in the South about one-half million seriously sick persons all of the time; that is, they are so ill that some one has to take care of them. If this sickness were distributed among the entire Negro population of the South, it would mean that, on an average, every man, woman, and child would be sick eighteen days in the year.

For a long time it was not realized that any part of the enormous financial loss caused by bad health conditions among Negroes fell upon the white people or upon the state. When, however, there began to be talk of conserving the natural resources of the country, it was pointed out that the most important part of these resources are the people, white and black. They are more important, more valuable than the soil, the forests, the minerals, or the waterways. It is probable that the South is losing each year, because of bad health conditions among its Negro population, more than three hundred million dollars. It is also probable that by improving health conditions among its Negro population, one-half of this great loss could be saved.

Let us examine more closely the matter of health improvement and efficiency. If the South is to take her place economically as the banner section of the nation, the efficiency of her Negro population will have to be greatly increased. On account of bad health conditions and the lack of training, the Negro population is about one-half as efficient as it is capable

of being. On the other hand, because of premature deaths, the number of years that the average Negro works is about one-half of what it should be. The average life of Negroes is now about thirty-five years. If the average length of life for them were increased to fifty years (and this can be done by sanitary improvement) the length of time the average Negro could work would be increased to thirty years, that is, the increase would be fifteen years.

Let us grasp the significance of this as a means of meeting the South's labor needs. The South, through migration, has lost thousands of her Negro population. By improving the health conditions of those who remain, the loss in migration can, to a considerable degree, be offset. There are in the South about five million Negroes who are engaged in gainful occupations; that is, that many are helping to do the South's work and develop its resources. If, by education and health improvement, the efficiency of these Negro men and women can be doubled, it will be equal to adding five million additional workers to the population of the South. Likewise, if the period of productive work of the average Negro can be doubled, it will be equal to adding another five million to the population of the South. It will, of course, take a long period of time to accomplish this. It is a goal, however, that can be reached, and every year should see a nearer approach toward its realization.

It has already been indicated that in the immediate future there will be a greater use of machinery in all lines of industry. This means that the general level of intelligence of working people, white and black, must be raised. Let us take as an example the matter of the Negro and agriculture. In addition to the millions of acres in the South yet to be brought under cultivation, there is the further fact that that which has been brought under cultivation is being poorly tilled. The average yield per acre for the South is, for cotton, about one-half bale; for corn, about seventeen bushels; and for sweet potatoes, about eighty-eight bushels.

In order to farm successfully the land that is being cultivated and to help bring the vast area of unimproved land under cultivation, it will pay the South to increase the intelli-

gence of her Negro farmers. If this is done, they will become more efficient; they will be able to use better methods of farming; they will be able to raise on the land which is being cultivated two bales of cotton where one is now being grown, fifty bushels of corn where seventeen are now being grown, and one hundred fifty bushels of sweet potatoes where eighty-eight are now being raised. By increasing the intelligence of the Negro farmers, they will be able to use improved farming machinery to a much greater extent. As a result they will be able to cultivate two acres where they are now only cultivating one. Thus, through increased efficiency, the yield per acre and the acreage cultivated can be doubled.

Another way for the South to increase her labor supply is to check the flow of labor to the North. This can be done by increasing the laborer's advantages and opportunities in the South and at the same time convincing the laborers that this is being done.

One of these advantages must be that the rate of wages paid in the South must approximately equal the rate paid in the North. As long as a laborer in the South, say on a plantation, receives only \$1.00 or \$1.50 a day and learns from a friend or relative in the North that he can get \$3.00 or \$5.00 a day, the tendency will be for him to go where the largest pay can be obtained.

The South, when compared with the North as to educational opportunities for the laborer's children, is at a disadvantage. Compare the amount of money spent per capita for education in the states where the largest number of migrants have gone with the amount which is expended per capita in the South. The largest number of the migrants have gone to New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. The average annual expenditure per child for education in these states is as follows: New Jersey, \$34.00; New York, \$29.00; Pennsylvania, \$25.00; Ohio, \$29.00; Michigan, \$25.00; and Illinois, \$26.00. In contrast, the average expenditures for education per white child for each of the twelve southern states being considered are: Virginia, \$14.00; North Carolina, \$10.00; South Carolina, \$12.00; Georgia, \$13.00; Florida, \$19.00; Alabama, \$11.00; Mississippi, \$8.00; Ken-

tucky, \$11.00; Tennessee, \$11.00; Louisiana, \$16.00; Arkansas, \$9.00; and Texas, \$9.00. Although the expenditure per white child is much less in these southern states than in the northern states to which the migrants have gone, there is a still greater difference as to expenditure per child for Negroes, which is, for Virginia, \$4.13; North Carolina, \$3.70; South Carolina, \$1.23; Georgia, \$2.59; Florida, \$2.44; Alabama, \$2.00; Mississippi, \$1.53; Kentucky, \$9.70; Tennessee, \$5.76; Louisiana, \$1.81; Arkansas, \$4.14; and Texas, \$6.90. The result of the large expenditures for education by the northern states is superior educational facilities. Another result is a higher average of intelligence than is found in the South. Excluding those of foreign birth, let us compare the illiteracy of the native population, white and Negroes, in these states, North and South. The per cent of illiterates among native whites and native Negroes in the northern states under consideration is: New Jersey, whites, 0.8, Negroes, 5.0; New York, whites, 0.9, Negroes, 9.9; Pennsylvania, whites, 1.3, Negroes, 9.1; Ohio, whites, 1.5, Negroes, 11.1; Michigan, whites, 1.1, Negroes, 5.7; and Illinois, whites, 1.3, Negroes, 10.5. The percentage of illiteracy in the twelve Southern states being considered is as follows: Virginia, whites, 8.0, Negroes, 30.0; North Carolina, whites, 12.3, Negroes, 31.9; South Carolina, whites, 10.3, Negroes, 38.7; Georgia, whites, 7.8, Negroes, 36.5; Florida, whites, 5.0, Negroes, 25.5; Alabama, whites, 9.9, Negroes, 40.1; Mississippi, whites, 5.2, Negroes, 35.6; Kentucky, whites, 10.0, Negroes, 27.6; Tennessee, whites, 9.7, Negroes, 27.3; Louisiana, whites, 13.4, Negroes, 48.4; Arkansas, whites, 7.0, Negroes, 26.4; and Texas, whites, 4.3, Negroes, 24.6.

One of the most important reasons why Negro labor continues to flow North is that in addition to the matter of better wages and better educational facilities, he receives better treatment than in the South. Treatment is, perhaps, the greatest factor that has to do with the migration of Negroes to the North. It is generally said by those who are North that, if they could get just treatment in the South, they would be willing to remain here at a great deal less wage than they receive in the North. The dissatisfaction and complaint of

Negro laborers is of the treatment received from many landlords in their settlements with their tenants, of the treatment which is accorded Negroes on trains, of suffrage restrictions, of the treatment meted Negroes in courts, of the persecution which they suffer at the hands of many officers of the law, and of the failure of the law to protect them against mob violence. It may be pointed out that there are race riots in the North in which many Negroes are maltreated and killed. These riots are sporadic, and in spite of them the migrants maintain that on the whole the treatment accorded Negroes in the North is better than that accorded them in the South. It is for this reason that the race riots have not checked the flow of Negro labor to the North, and have not caused any appreciable number of Negroes to return to the South. It is for the South, then, to check the flow of Negro laborers to the North by seeing that they get just treatment and a square deal in every respect.

Two Famous Poems of the World War

H. E. HARMON

I. DR. JOHN McCRAE—*In Flanders Fields*

Perhaps no terror was ever so terrible as that which raged around Ypres and northern France during the early part and middle of 1915. After being turned back at the Marne the year before, where nothing else save human bravery, expressed in the words, "They shall not pass," saved the day, the Germans in April, 1915, were in the full cry of victory. They felt sure that Paris was in their grasp, the channel ports would follow, and then the great governmental fabric of the world would collapse in ruins with the Hun master of all.

Only those who went through the horror of that campaign, with its wretched carnage of suffering, its water-soaked trenches, its blood-stained fields, its desperation and despair, can ever realize one-half of what it all meant. Heroes stalked blinded through the vast melee, to die and sleep in unmarked graves; life ebbed out of thousands of lives, fighting to the last tissue of strength left,—while above it all, the spring of 1915 came back again, the soft sun shone once more through the smoke-wrapped air and flowers blossomed above the scarred faces of those who slept.

It was out of all this terror of suffering,—which God grant history may never know again,—that one great poem was born, perhaps the greatest poem of the World War, and certainly the most widely read and quoted:

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
 To you from failing hands we throw
 The torch; be yours to hold it high.
 If ye break faith with us who die
 We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
 In Flanders fields."

The poem was written by Dr. John McCrae, who was living in Montreal when the war broke out, but who was drawn into the hottest of its activities when his country called for help. His dressing station was right at the front in the terrible fighting in Flanders, so that he saw the worst of the awful suffering through which the Allied armies passed in those sinister months of 1915. He witnessed the steady, onward march of the enemy, the almost hopeless heroism of his comrades to stay the German pressure; he saw the warm earth hide its shame in the scarlet glory of the poppy; and out of this harrowing experience this great poem was born. It is the outgrowth of personal observation, of intense feeling, and hence its every line rings true to the subject matter, because it came from a soul stirred to its very depths.

Dr. McCrae had served for a while in the Boer war and afterwards had written some verse, but nothing to indicate that he could ever be the author of *In Flanders Fields*. In one of his African poems, *Isandl-Wana*, the first verse runs thus:

"Scarlet coats and crash o' the band,
 The grey of a pauper's gown,
 A soldier's grave in Zululand
 And a woman in Brecon Town."

and ending thus:

Golden grey on miles of sand
 The dawn comes creeping down
 It's day in far off Zululand
 And night in Brecon Town."

In the poem *The Night Cometh* appear these dainty lines:

"The night cometh, the wind falls low
 The trees swing slowly to and fro:
 Around the church the headstones grey
 Cluster like children strayed away,
 But found again, and folded so."

In a later poem, *The Harvests of the Sea*, Dr. McCrae shows the poetic touch, from which these verses are taken:

"The earth grows white with harvest; all day long
The sickles gleam, until the darkness weaves
Her web of silence o'er the thankful song
Of reaper bringing home the golden sheaves.

The wave tops whiten on the sea fields drear,
And men go forth at haggard dawn to reap;
But ever 'mid the gleaners' song we hear
The half-hushed sobbing of the hearts that weep."

And yet in the slender volume, which has now been published and which shows the bulk of his poetic contribution to the world's literature, but one poem will live and that will live with the best.

In Flanders Fields was first published in London *Punch*, December 8, 1915, and bore no signature. Evidently the author did not realize the literary value of his work, but it was not long in finding its way to the great throbbing world without, all afire with feeling for what was going on in northern France. It was the most widely copied poem of the war. It was read from thousands of platforms in England and France to stir the fire of enthusiasm for recruits. And when America was finally drawn into the great struggle, it became national in its appeal for help, and thousands went to the front to hold high the torch thrown back by dying heroes. Perhaps nothing in all literature ever did so much to fire the soul of the western world to the cause of liberty. Its every line was a bugle note and men went forward filled with a new enthusiasm for the cause which America had espoused.

"This poem," General Morrison writes, "was literally born of fire and blood during the hottest phase of the second battle of Ypres. My headquarters were in a trench on the top of the bank of the Ypres Canal, and John had his dressing station in a hole dug in the foot of the bank. During periods in the battle men who were shot actually rolled down the bank into his dressing station. Along from us a few hundred yards were the headquarters of a regiment, and many times during the sixteen days of battle, he and I watched them burying their dead whenever there was a lull. Thus the crosses,

row on row, grew into a good-sized cemetery. Just as he describes, we often heard in the mornings the larks singing high in the air, between the crash of shell and the reports of the guns in the battery just beside us."

Dr. John McCrae did not live to see the victory for which he gave his life. He died at the General Hospital in Boulogne, from an illness contracted through service to the cause he loved so well and which he immortalized in such matchless lines. But he did live long enough to know that his poem had found its place in the hearts of his comrades at the front. It was a soldier's poem and copies of it passed from trench to trench, during the darkest hours of the great struggle. How much inspiration it gave the army will never be known. It is a fact, however, that some kind of copy of it was found in the pocket of almost every hero who fell in that fateful season around Ypres. Many of these copies were smeared and stained—many with blood—almost beyond legibility. So after all the author knew something of the worth of his inspiring song.

There were many replies to the poem and many of these beautiful. Perhaps the one in which we have most interest was that of Mr. Lillard in the *New York Evening Post*, the opening of which—

"Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up—"

had much to do in arousing our interest in the great World War, and which resulted in victory for that righteous cause of which *In Flanders Fields* is such an appealing exponent.

Few indeed may seem the burning lines of such a poem, yet thousands were stirred by its fervor, by its force, its appeal—and it sent all the power of a new, strong nation against a common enemy, and made the armistice of last November a possibility.

II. ALAN SEEGER—*I Have a Rendezvous with Death*

"Only forever, in the old unrest
Of winds and waters and the varying year,
A litany from islands of the blest
Answers, 'Not here . . . not here!'
And over the wide world that wandering cry
Shall lead my searching heart unsoothed until I die."

These lines from Alan Seeger's short poem, *Endaemon*, clearly picture his own career, which was so filled with romance, longing and adventure that its very restlessness is pathetic. The "old unrest," with its litany from "the islands of the blest" and the answer to the "wandering cry"—"Not here . . . not here!" an unrest which more or less fills every soul in which the flame of emotion burns, was his to the fullest degree. Not even the silken ease of a home of wealth could hold his restless spirit to one place, and in the end this very restlessness proved his undoing—but not until the result of his adventure had left its ripened fruit in a book of verse, containing his immortal lines: *I Have a Rendezvous with Death*.

Alan Seeger, conscript of Destiny, was born in New York, June 22, 1888, and was killed on July 5th, 1916, fighting for France. The first ten years of his boyhood were spent on Staten Island, "at the gateway of the West." Visible from his home was the channel, through which the great ships passed in and out, and here developed his first ideals of adventure. These great vessels from every port in the world became his "ships of dreams," of wild adventure, all of which he lived in the after years. With them he went to every land, mingled with their strange people, learned the uncharted roadway of the seas and by them was infused with that restless spirit, which remained uncalmed until the hand of death hallowed his activities at Belloy-en-Santerre by a German bullet.

When Alan was twelve years old, his parents took up their residence in Mexico and the young dreamer went from one ideal to another. As the going and coming ships off Staten Island had fanned the flame of adventure in his soul, so the removal to tropical Mexico awakened the spirit of Romance, which he so cleverly pictures in one of his early poems, the *Ode to Antares*:

"Star of the South that now through orient mist
At nightfall off Tampico or Belize
Greetest the sailor, rising from those seas
Where first in me, a fond romanticist,
The tropic sunset's bloom on cloudy piles
Cast out industrious cares with dreams of fabulous isles."

Across the tropic seas he had sailed, in the path of the pirates and buccaneers,—those wild freemen of adventure. Across these tropic seas he had seen every color of luxuriance, the tall palm trees, frescoed against a sky of blue, stranger sailing craft from out the yellow pages of history and weird, mysterious nights, with such a sky of luminous stars, unfamiliar in his northern home. It was here he learned to say

"From a boy
I gloated on existence. Earth to me
Seemed all sufficient and my sojourn there
One trembling opportunity for joy."

In these early years Fate seemed good to this "Conscript of Destiny," for what poet ever had his youth blessed with such opportunities for cultivating the spirit of both adventure and romance? These receptive years were full of joy and the soul of the poet trembled with the very emotions of mere existence.

Following two years in Mexico Alan Seeger was in school and college until 1910, after that spending two years in New York as a student and in literary work.

In 1912 came the fatal call, or perhaps the call which placed him among the Immortals. He had already accomplished much in a literary way, but he longed to see life at its full and no place in all the world so appealed to him as did Paris.

"Ah! Paris with the smoothness of her paths
That lead the heart unto the heart's delight."

For two years he lived there, studying every phase of that mysterious city, feeling the while that

"One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

It was the privilege of rare living which appealed to him. He had youth, wealth, talent, ambition—all—what more could one ask for? and during these years of exultant existence he produced some of his finest poems, all of which show the keen poetic spirit, the rare touch of refinement, and above all, the artistic finish of one who never tired of doing his work well.

In 1914, by a bolt out of a clear sky, idle gossiping Paris

of gay boulevards was changed to a city of serious, determined people, and the change came in a single day. The first gun at Liege changed a laughing world to one of sorrow. Many foreigners were living in Paris at the time, and Alan Seeger was among the first to quit his pleasure loving city of adoption and join the Foreign Legion of the French army and hasten to the front. All of his dreams of adventure and romance seemed answered in one hour when the France he loved called for help. There was never a question as to his duty,—never a whisper from his life of ease which could hold him back from the hardships and dangers of a soldier's life. If true patriotism for an adopted country ever rose up in the soul of a single individual it arose in the soul of Alan Seeger when the call for help came.

From that fateful day in 1914, when he reported for duty in the Foreign Legion, up to July 5th, 1916, when his young life ebbed out with his rich young blood at the battle of Belloy-en-Santerre, Alan Seeger lived in the trenches, doing the full duty of a soldier and at the last realizing

"That rare privilege of dying well."

During the years of hardship at the front, when every soul was tried to its uttermost, he never lost the enthusiasm which had marked his pre-war days; and while little leisure was left for writing, he nevertheless found time to compose most of his finest poems. The one on which his literary reputation will rest secure and which has been one of the most quoted of all war poems is:

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope or battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God knows 't were better to be deep
 Pillowed in silk and scented down,
 Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep
 Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
 Where hushed awakenings are dear. . .
 But I've a rendezvous with Death
 At midnight in some flaming town,
 When Spring trips north again this year,
 And I to my pledged word am true,
 I shall not fail that rendezvous.

There is something strangely prophetic in this poem, which leads to the belief that its author had a premonition as to the certainty and the time of his death. It foretells his death "When spring comes back with rustling shade," and "When Spring trips north again this year." Dying as he did in the early July, and as Spring comes late in northern France, the prophecy was not far out of date.

The place, also, has its wonderful prophecy. Three places in the terrific struggle are mentioned: "At some disputed barricade," the terror of which he knew so well; "On some scarred slope, or battered hill," up which he had often fought, when these lines were penned; and "At midnight in some flaming town." The writer had gone through all these terrors. They had scarred his soul! Once the dreamer of wonderful dreams of beauty, he had come face to face with a strife and hate and flaming sword which swept away all dreams of idealism. He had learned a lesson in the Ages of History which he never thought was possible in a world so beautiful as this.

In some respect the poem is a wail of despair, with never a word of complaint in all of its beautiful lines.

"God knows 't were better to be deep
 Pillowed in silk and scented down."

Yet the brave soul would not bewail his fate, but rather dispute the "barricade," "the battered hill," the "blazing town"—because,

"And I to my pledged word am true
 And shall not fail that rendezvous."

Few things in English literature are more beautiful. To understand, to appreciate, and to love the poem, the reader must know the meager outlines of the poet's life, as given above. His was a willing sacrifice! France owes him a monument, and our own country, since we were finally drawn into the war, cannot honor, too highly, the patriotic spirit of Alan Seeger.

Poets of The American Ambulance

WALTER GRAHAM
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Honored by many writers, the widely read work of the soldier poets in the Great War is sufficiently well known today; but little has been written or known of the work done by youthful poets engaged in no less gallant service to humanity among the ambulance units—many of them, long before the United States of America took a worthy place among the fighting nations. Yet these versifiers of the *Service Automobile Americain* found an outlet for their suppressed emotions, when, like the soldiers, in the intervals between periods of prodigious activity, they could relax and put their thoughts and moods into expression. Much of their verse has been lost, of course; but a good deal of it was published in the *Field Service Bulletin*, a little periodical issued weekly in Paris. And to this publication we turn today for a survey and summary of the work of these youthful singers.

After the modest beginnings of the American Ambulance (hospital) in Paris, early in the winter of 1914, more and more automobiles were given by Americans, and these cars and their drivers—usually American volunteers—became the nucleus of the Paris branch of the American Ambulance Service. In April, 1915, Piatt Andrew and others organized the Field Service, with headquarters at an historic chateau at Passy. Later, an independent section of twenty cars was attached for duty to a French division at the front, and was known as Section 1 of the American Field Service. Volunteers were put into the field from time to time, and by March, 1917, there were ten sections at the front—a number raised to thirty during the following summer. The Paris Service and the Field Service were operated separately. Both were maintained by contributed money, cars, and equipment, and were composed of volunteer drivers who paid their own passage from America and supplied their own personal equipment. At the front they were given French rations and paid five cents a day, the same as the French soldier. Later, in 1917, a *camion*, or munition truck division, was added to the Ambulance Service.

A large percentage of the ambulance drivers were American college boys—adventurous, buoyant lads, who—without further incentive than the promptings of their own hearts—sought eagerly the opportunity for humane service on the battlefields of France. College records show their character. They were the cream of our manhood. When the United States entered the war, most of them transferred to the ranks of the active combatants. But the notable fact is that they did not wait for a declaration of war before taking part in the great conflict. Like knights-errant of old, they went, on their own responsibility and at their own expense. For this fact, rather than because of the intrinsic value of their verse, the meager records they left are of vital interest.

One who reads the *Field Service Bulletin* today, therefore, must look for expressions of the spirit of young men, rather than for enduring literature. Housed in wrecked buildings, fraternizing often with the cows, horses, and rabbits in their sleeping quarters, suffering the discomforts of the regular soldier's life, and under fire many hours a day, hundreds of them found diversion in writing letters, journals, sketches—poetry. Boys who had scorned the grind of "English I" in college sought to declare themselves in rime and rhythm. Many who had never written a serious line before struggled, in the thunder-broken leisure of the night, behind the lines, to put into words the singing deep emotions that stirred them. The results were not often remarkable as evidences of poetic inspiration. They were rough, unpolished, technically unsure, both in conception and execution. But frequently they were gripping, sincere records of personal experience, instinct with the rhythm of pent-up feeling. The poignant nostalgia of youth three thousand miles from home, the stoicism of manhood developed suddenly under stress, recklessness, idealism, indomitable cheer—these are the ingredients which found their way somehow into the verse of the *Field Service Bulletin*. The making of this verse—to use their own picturesque argot—kept them from going "goofy."

One thing that strikes the reader of the *Bulletin* is the large amount—in the earlier numbers, at least—of humorous doggerel. Of its kind it is clever, but not greatly inspired.

Its purpose was only to amuse; and amuse it certainly did. "Hunk o' Tin," an exceedingly witty burlesque on Kipling's "Gunga Din," soon became a classic. It was popular in all the army camps in this country, as well as among the soldiers abroad, and soon, through republication, became familiar to millions of readers. Doubtless, hardly one in a thousand of those who read or heard the parody knew that it was published for the first time in the little literary organ of the American Ambulance, or who the author was. This effort to amuse is apologized for, perhaps, by the anonymous author of "Wartime Humor." In a string of incidents, the author says:

"When Private Brown just now essayed
 (Perhaps the funniest episode)
 To take the pin from a grenade,
 What did the thing do but explode!"

and remarks at length—after thanking whatever gods may be for his sense of fun—

"And yet not one among the lot
 (E'en as he laughs at some poor bloke)
 But fondly hopes that he is not
 To be the point of the next joke."

On the whole, it is probably only the poorest of the verse that may be classified as humorous. Grim feelings underlying the facetious moods came soon to the surface. Thoughts, carefully omitted from the heroic letters to the friends at home, found their way into the simple songs of personal emotion. There was none of the restraint and camouflage—when these young men were writing their journals or inditing verses—that they showed in their cheery letters to the "folks". In general, the effect of their noble service—salvaging from the holocaust of war the human wrecks—on the youths so employed, is well put by David Darrah:

What is this Self that now proclaims, I am?
 That dreams new dreams or none at all, forsooth?
 Somewhere along the scarred Chemin des Dames,
 I lost my youth.

Something has dimmed the old ideals I sought;
 A sterner, sadder Self is left instead:
 Of that which saw such sorrow, death hell-wrought,
 A part is dead.

Youth lies beneath the Deathwind blowing there,
 The ring lost in its laugh, its fervor gone,
 This Self, newborn, sees greater duties, fares
 Upward and on.

Many writers wisely attempted only to record impressions. No Man's Land under the light of a star shell, a bombing plane scuttling away over the horizon, the thunder and smoke of the inevitable guns, these and a thousand other pictures, they have given us in the most expressive language they could command. But more often, the pictures were invested with a deeper significance. Young men were quick to catch the vivid contrasts of war—the beauty and the filth, the squalor and the nobility of it. And in the welter of mud and noise, confusion and blood, of pain and terror, they snatched at the profounder meaning of their bitter experiences. So Paul M. Fulcher says:

Rose-white the dreamy days of spring burst forth,
 But still there sometimes blows
 A dreary, chilling wind from out the North
 That blights the rose;

At night the young delighted crescent moon
 Sings, starlit, through the sky—
 Yet often clouds reach out and still too soon
 Its melody.

But wind and cloud, you cannot touch the spirit
 Of rose-white youth, who fling
 Their blossoming lives away, for they inherit
 Eternal spring.

A poignant note became insistent in the later numbers of the *Field Service Bulletin*. Many wrote in the strain of Ray W. Gauger—

How oft beyond the roaring and the fire,
 I see beyond a beckoning of bliss
 In quiet, tender eyes.
 Beyond the stench of this carnal pyre
 I scent the honey of a blossomed briar.
 I feel the courage of a promised kiss
 Out of my heart arise.

Another did not hesitate to cry out in agony of spirit :

O may I laugh! O may I weep!
 O may I live again!
 Here crouched, knee-deep, I fall asleep,
 Drenched by the midnight rain.

O sing me a song of sunny lands,
 Of waters Heaven-kissed,
 Of Heavenly lands beyond these bands
 Of blood and mire and mist!

"Somewhere in France," by Alfred S. Trude, Jr., "His Long Repose," anonymous, Bruce C. Hopper's "American Steel," "Their Mead," by Fulcher, "Messengers of Mercy," by Lansing Warren, "Children of Tomorrow," by William Carey Sanger, Jr., and "Morning," by Robert A. Donaldson—these are a few of the many verses which express the ripened experiences of these poets, their changing mental attitudes, their subtle reactions, all the doubts and fears, longings, regrets, that made up the web of their lives for many months.

Although in some quarters the execrable fallacy has persisted that ambulance service was comparatively without dangers, in comparison with the more aggressive fighting, the losses of the Field Service tell a different story. No page in the history of the war is brighter with the continued glory of heroic self-effacement and sacrifice. The war which robbed the world of more than fifty English and American poets of distinction, spared not the humbler singers of the *Service Automobile Americain*.

None of those Field Service men killed in action were more beloved by their associates than Sherman L. Conklin, one of the most frequent contributors to the *Bulletin*. With a long record of active service behind him, he was killed June 12, 1918, while waiting for his ambulance to be loaded, at a *poste de secours*, near the trenches. One of his associates soon afterward sent the *Bulletin* these lines—

To S. L. C.

In that dim land to which you turned so soon—
 Too soon!—it may be that you now can see
 The destiny that shapes our little days

And fills them with the present misery;
And with your larger vision know at last
Why youth must give up youth itself and give
Even its life—that the ideals of youth
May thus be cherished and forever live.

Like Rupert Brooke and Alan Seeger, S. L. Conklin has become a symbol. The best known among these minor singers who gave their all, he stands now as their bright oriflamme, showing forth their sacrifice and service.

For the poetry of Conklin, or the others of these ambulance versifiers, little can be said without excessive qualification. They were young, inexperienced, technically inexpert. Their emotions constantly rose superior to their powers of expression. But however crude, however inarticulate their efforts, we read in them the struggle of the heart of youth to tell its story to the world—to all time. They are saying—and the *Field Service Bulletin* is almost the only medium through which they expressed themselves—"We American youths, in the Years of Our Lord, 1915-18, gave ourselves as gladly and freely to the cause of suffering humanity as any youth or any men at any time in any land." Their service was not inspired by the presence of a company of comrades; it was to ride the black and broken, shell-swept road at night in a swinging *voiture*. They were neither fêted when they marched away nor celebrated when they returned. Theirs was the unostentatious, the unacclaimed service. But their poetry shows that the men of the Field Service were no less courageous in the performance of duty, no less buoyant under trying conditions, no less self-forgotten when life was given to save life, than any soldiers of the ranks. Their verse should be remembered for what it records, not for its metrical values. If—as has been said—the poetry of the soldiers brings us a spiritual history of the war, surely an important chapter of this history is the verse of the ambulance drivers in the American Field Service.

Thomas Cooper—A Survey of His Life*

PART I—ENGLAND, 1759-1794

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Thomas Cooper, writer, scientist, and political agitator, who, among other qualifications for eminence, bears probably the greatest share of individual responsibility for the American Civil War, was by birth an Englishman, born in London, October 22, 1759.¹ His father died about 1789, at which time he was owner of a tract of land containing brick-earth, comprising about forty acres, from which he derived in that year an income of nearly £500. This land was at Kentish Town, "then two miles from the turnpike of Tottenham Court Road," but already built over by 1811. This information was given by Cooper himself, but the names of his parents or brothers and sisters, with other details of his early life and family, have not been ascertained. It is probable that his parents were in comfortable circumstances and that they were Dissenters.

He was sent to University College, Oxford, perhaps in 1775 or 1776, and was matriculated into the university from that college in 1779. Apparently he qualified himself for the bachelor's degree but did not take it. He is said to have refused to recite the Apostles' Creed and subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Oxford was at that time perhaps more lethargic, both intellectually and spiritually, than at almost any other period in its history. Cooper, in speaking of his bachelor's

* This is the first of a series of articles comprising a brief sketch of the life of Dr. Cooper, preparatory to a larger work in which his significance as an author, scientist, educator, and political leader in America from 1795 to 1835 shall be more adequately set forth. It makes no pretense, therefore, at completeness, but it is designed to present a more nearly full and authoritative account of him and his activities than has yet appeared. The main purpose in publishing it now is to elicit any helpful criticism, corrections, or additional information which any reader of the *QUARTERLY* may be able to give. The three parts will deal with the three periods of Cooper's life in England, 1759-1794, in Pennsylvania, 1794-1819, and in South Carolina, 1819-1839.

¹ The best account of Cooper's life hitherto published is the late Professor Charles F. Himes's *Life and Times of Judge Thomas Cooper* (Dickinson School of Law, Carlisle, Pa., 1918). This is the product of long and interested study, is particularly full concerning some of the numerous aspects of his life, and corrects many of the errors current in all published accounts of him. It has naturally been of great value to me. Other accounts more fragmentary, such as Laborde's, will be separately noticed. Aside from such printed sources, my sketch is based mainly upon an examination of Cooper's own voluminous works, his correspondence, and contemporary sketches or references to him.

examination, says: "I passed well enough by construing a page in Horace, another in Demosthenes, and another in the easy Greek of Euripides, together with a few answers in Euclid, in logic, and some other trifling branch of education. This will not do there now."² In spite of this condition, however, the eager and curious youth was able to amass a really vast amount of varied information, little of which was ever wholly forgotten. In particular he obtained that almost complete acquaintance with Latin and Greek literature—especially the more recondite works dealing with ancient science and out-of-the-way items of fact—which appears again and again in his fugitive papers, and also considerable knowledge of Semitic and other Oriental languages, which Sir William Jones and Dr. Joseph White were then introducing into Oxford.

At the University and perhaps at London even earlier, the boy had begun to cultivate acquaintance with leaders of thought and opinion and men of arts and letters of his time. He has left an account of attending the Latin plays by the boys of Westminster School, in which George Colman the younger acted. He was shocked at their indecencies, but the clergymen sitting around him, he said, did not blush, as he did. In the Nicotean Society at Oxford he was accustomed to see Sir William Jones and Dr. White, the orientalists, John Uri, the Hungarian savant, John Henderson, the eccentric scholar, and others "enveloped in as much smoke from the fumigation of Virginia tobacco as you would find in a London porter-house."³ About 1781 he made the acquaintance of the eminent scientist and Unitarian divine, Joseph Priestley, by whose influence he, like many other young men, was inspired with interest in scientific, theological, and political investigation and inquiry. Cooper had likewise met Dr. Johnson and between the acts of Philidor and Barretti's operatic version of *the Carmen Seculare* at the Freemasons' Hall in 1779 had heard him deliver an opinion as to the pronunciation of Latin by the Romans. On another occasion he seems to have braved the terrors of the old lexicographer's den—it will be remembered that Johnson liked to converse with young men. This

² *Port Folio* magazine, January, 1815, pp. 349-359, "Copy of a Letter to a Friend on University Education."

³ *Port Folio*, April, 1815, "British Abuse of American Manners," pp. 397-410.

time the subject was politics, and, according to Cooper's relation over forty years later, Johnson denied any belief in the divine right of kings.⁴ "I have no such belief," he said. "But I believe that monarchy is the most conducive to the happiness and safety of every nation, and therefore, I am a monarchist. . . . I think every people has the right to establish such government as it thinks most conducive to its interests and happiness."

He was married in St. George's Parish, Hanover Square, August 12, 1779, to Alice Greenwood, daughter of a man prominent in the shipping business.⁵ Two of her brothers were wealthy bankers of London, it is said, but the names of none of her people are known to her American descendants. She is supposed to have received a considerable fortune from her father and another from one of her brothers. Four children, Charles, John, Eliza, and Eleanor, and perhaps others, were born of this marriage.

Cooper seems to have wished to follow the medical profession, though his father directed him to study law. He acquired eagerly what knowledge of natural philosophy (science) could be obtained at Oxford and supplemented that with studies of his own. In the summer vacation of 1780 he attended a course of anatomical lectures given by Dr. John Sheldon in Great Queen Street, London; and later in the same summer watched a series of veterinary dissections in a repository for dead horses at St. John's, Clerkenwell. Here he learned, he said, from the disposal of the different parts of the bodies, "how the meanest and most trifling articles might be employed under the direction of scientific skill."⁶ Afterwards he attended a clinical course at the Middlesex Hospital, London. He carried on chemical experiments at leisure moments during his whole life. From these different sources he secured a medical knowledge which qualified him to practice among his neighbors and friends, as he was accustomed to do wherever he lived, though never accepting any

⁴ Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, Volume II, "Judge Cooper's Table Talk."

⁵ *The Register Book of Marriages, Belonging to the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in the County of Middlesex*, Edited by J. H. Chapman, London, 1886, Vol. I, page 303.

⁶ *Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, Vol. I, 1813.

of the fees offered because he considered it unprofessional in a lawyer to do so.

His legal study and preparation are probably shadowed forth in a course he recommended as President of the South Carolina College in 1822.⁷ It involved one year's study of elementary treatises on the law, three years in a special pleader's office, and three years' practice as a "special pleader under the bar," as the phrase was, before being admitted a barrister. "This," he says, "lays a sure foundation for extensive practice, when called to the bar, as it ensures a regular set of customers during the three years of practice, at half the fees usually taken by barristers." He was not admitted to the bar until 1787.

The earliest published work of Cooper illustrates one of the chief interests of his life, his love of popular freedom. It was a pamphlet entitled *Arguments in Favor of a Reform in the Representation of People*, published in London in 1783. His equally strong scientific interest is exhibited in the same year in a translation which he tells us he made of a treatise on iron, the *Thesis de Analyti Ferri* of Gadolin, for his friend, Dr. Charles Taylor, of Manchester. Perhaps as a result of this favor, he was proposed as an honorary member of the famous Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, then in its infancy, in October, 1783, and elected November 12, 1783.⁸ This honor, which he shared with Priestley, Lavoisier, Benjamin Rush, Erasmus Darwin, and Franklin, among others, was conferred upon men not resident in Manchester, who had distinguished themselves by their literary or philosophical publications or had read acceptable papers before the society. Cooper probably moved with his family to the neighborhood of Manchester—a locality congenial to him in many ways—as early as 1795 and completed his legal training there, since his honorary membership in the Literary and Philosophical Society was converted into a resident or ordinary membership December 21, 1785, and his son John was born there September 22, in the same year.

⁷ *Port Folio*, March, 1822, "On a Course of Legal Studies," pp. 227-231.

⁸ Smith, R. A., *Centenary of Sciences in Manchester*. The dates of Cooper's connection with the society are given in the appendix. There are some inaccuracies in Himes's dates.

On April 26, 1786, he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the society, and he was annually re-elected until his withdrawal in 1791. Before the society the young lawyer-scientist read a number of papers, three of which were published in the society's *Memoirs* in 1791, and three others in Cooper's own *Tracts, Ethical, Theological, and Political*, printed in December, 1787, but not published until 1789, at Warrington. The variety of his learning and interests at this early period is shown by the titles of some of the papers read: "On Moral Obligation," in which he identified duty with the true pursuit of ultimate happiness, read September 29, 1784; "A Sketch of the Controversy on Materialism," in which he enunciated for the first time his noted theory, that the human soul has no existence separate from the tissues of the body, January 17, 1787; "Observations Respecting the History of Physiognomy," a phrenological treatise; "Observations on the Art of Painting among the Ancients," to prove their supposed ignorance of the use of colors; and "On the Foundations of Civil Government." The last, read on March 7, 1787, and several times re-published in various forms, was a remarkable document. He himself called it "the first decidedly Republican tract since the time of Milton, Hampden, and Sidney, except Priestley's *Essay on Government*." It asserted the popular sanction as the only just foundation upon which a governing power could be established. It was very highly praised by Jefferson.⁹

Cooper was admitted to the bar from the Inner Temple in 1787, and he practised, with some intermissions, for three years in the vicinity of Manchester. He is said to have had an extensive legal business. His residence was at Woodheys, in Altringham, Cheshire, a few miles south of Manchester. His associates during this period included James Alan Park, Samuel Romilly, and Thomas Erskine, all of whom became famous lawyers, and James Boswell, the biographer, who was admitted to the English bar in 1786. Of the latter, who was a butt of ridicule for his legal comrades, Cooper had a very poor opinion, as illustrated by the following anecdote: Once at the Lancaster assizes, Park, Romilly, and Cooper subscribed

⁹ Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

three guineas on a brief, docketed a trumped-up issue, and sent a fellow to employ Boswell. He accepted the guineas and the brief, and rising at the bar when the case was called, to the great amusement of those present, proceeded to open the case. The judge, soon comprehending the situation, had the case postponed on some pretext. Once Cooper said: "Boswell stayed at the same house with us, drank two or three bottles of port, and got drunk."¹⁰

As a lawyer, Cooper's humanitarian activities are attested by his friend, Thomas Walker, a manufacturer in Manchester. "He was truly a man whose time and whose labours were ever at the command of the injured and the unfortunate; whose talents and whose learning were uniformly devoted to the great interests of mankind."¹¹ In the latter part of 1787 Cooper published in the *Manchester Chronicle* a series of four letters to the inhabitants of Manchester, and in October these were republished separately at Manchester and London as *Letters on the Slave Trade*. The little book paints in vivid colors the brutality of the slave trade and of slave life in the West Indies and America, computes the enormous losses of lives involved, and appeals to the commercial sense as well as the sympathies of his fellow-townsmen to arrest the traffic. He had temporarily relinquished the law owing to ill-health and was going on to correct for the press a second volume of *Tracts* "when the subject of the *Slave Trade* began to be agitated; and while my health permitted, the whole of my leisure during that winter was employed in exciting the attention of the inhabitants of Manchester to that infamous and impolitic traffic."¹² A "Supplement" to the *Letters* was printed at Warrington in 1788, which computes at length, with statistics, the number of negroes sacrificed, directly or indirectly, to the slave trade. A third work, *Considerations on the Slave Trade and the Consumption of West Indian Produce*, was published at London in 1791.

Another cause which he supported was that of the Dis-senters, who were seeking to obtain the repeal of the restrictive Corporation and Test Acts in opposition to the High

¹⁰ Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

¹¹ *Review of the Political Events in Manchester during the Last Five Years*, p. 54.

¹² Preface to *Tracts*, etc.

Church party. In 1789 Cooper, as a delegate from the Dissenters of Lancashire and Cheshire, drew up and published a *Brief Statement of the Controversy on the Corporation and Test Acts*. The term "Dissenters" was then applied to a large and influential portion of the inhabitants of Manchester, Birmingham, and other industrial cities, who usually went under the name of Presbyterians though differing greatly in belief from the regular Presbyterian order, and who would now be called Unitarians. Dr. Priestley, of Birmingham, the great English Unitarian leader, was originally a Presbyterian and preached in nominally Presbyterian churches until the time of his leaving England. The friendship between Priestley and Cooper has already been referred to. The earliest mention of the latter in Priestley's correspondence that is preserved dates from March 12, 1790, when he wrote to a friend from Birmingham: "Mr. Cooper is here. I dine with him today at Mr. Russell's. I find by him that a plan is proposed for a kind of representation of the Dissenters in London. I wish it may give satisfaction."¹³ Their deep and lasting friendship was further cemented by Cooper's intimacy with Priestley's son, Joseph, Jr., who entered business in Manchester about the end of 1790.

About the year 1789¹⁴ a Frenchman offered to reveal to the Manchester manufacturers for a reward a new method of bleaching cloth, and a meeting was held to confer with him. The information he divulged was unsatisfactory; but from the clues offered, Cooper and two of his friends, Thomas Henry and Dr. Taylor, concluded that the method meant was the French scientist Berthollet's application of oxymuriatic acid, made from common salt. An experiment in bleaching a few pieces of cloth with the acid was partially successful and was later repeated with variations which improved it considerably. Later, when the Frenchman applied for a patent for the process, Cooper was sent to London by the Manchester manufacturers to oppose the granting of the patent. The trial was held before MacDonald, Master of the Rolls, and the Frenchman lost, through the ignorance of his advocate, Graham, concerning the subject at issue. On his return

¹³ *Memoirs* (ed. Rutt), Vol. II, p. 58. Letter to Rev. T. Lindsay.

¹⁴ Cooper gives two dates, 1790 and "about 1788," in two separate accounts.

Cooper was informed by his friend Joseph Baker, proprietor of some oil of vitriol works at Worsley, near Manchester, that he had tried an experiment which promised entire success. They worked it out on a large scale, and the method appeared so greatly superior to all others then in use that they embarked, as the firm of Baker and Company, in the bleaching business, in which Cooper probably invested most of his own and his wife's fortunes. For three years Cooper carried on the process "in a building of one room on a bank and another over it" about a mile from Bolton, turning out an average of 800 pieces of calico a year, besides muslins and other goods.¹⁵ Though Cooper always considered their method the best, it was apparently subject to accidental injuries to the fabrics and also caused spitting of blood among the employees who handled the bleached cloths. The firm was discontinued, probably with considerable loss, in 1793, and their method fell into disuse, though Cooper asserts that it was "from no conditions whatever arising from the want of success or want of profit in the practice of this mode of bleaching." The *Anti-Jacobin Review*, advertizing to Cooper in March, 1799, says he burned his "velverets and callicoes" in following out his "novel phlogistic principles" and became a bankrupt. This version, which doubtless contains a germ of truth, was generally believed in both England and America during his lifetime.

The later years at Manchester were surely busy ones. He even, in leisure hours, attended some of the patients of Dr. John Ferriar, a friend and a learned physician, who replied to Cooper in "An Argument against the Doctrines of Materialism." In the summer of 1791 he was seriously ill. In the same year he made with Baker an interesting observation tour to the copper mines of Amlwick, on the isle of Anglesea, which he described long after, relating his experiences with the Welch language and his being overturned in a chaise on a narrow precipice. Numerous shorter trips are also incidentally referred to. He was occasionally in London, too, and his walks, rides, and dinners thereabouts are delightfully remembered by the poet Samuel Rogers in his diary. At such times

¹⁵ Their process is outlined in full by Cooper in his address "On Bleaching," 1817, and also in his edition of Willich's *Domestic Encyclopedia*, article on Bleaching.

he met not only his friends, Rogers and Dr. Priestley, but also Benjamin West, the painter, Dr. Adair Crawford, Dr. Aikin, Richard ("Conversation") Sharp, Sheridan, John Horne Tooke, Tuffin, and numerous others of the younger wits and statesmen. At Manchester he had many friends, notably Thomas Walker, a fellow-manufacturer, Joseph Priestley, Jr., who has been mentioned, and James Watt, Jr., son of the famous inventor. Young Watt, at the conclusion of his rather expensive education at home and abroad, entered a banking house at Manchester in 1788 and was soon drawn into enthusiastic friendship with Cooper. One of Watt's letters to his father's partner, Boulton (March 26, 1789), requests him to recommend some person to Mr. Cooper "to keep his library in order and make experiments for him, he not having time to attend to the details of them himself."¹⁶

All these men, however, were most vitally concerned in that great storm of the French Revolution, which was then raging and which electrified the minds of countless young men like Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, and filled them with hopes of a similar extension of popular freedom and governmental reform in their own country. When the Manchester branch of the Constitutional Society was formed in October, 1790, in opposition to the earlier "Church and King Club," he became one of the leading members, holding the office of steward. Thomas Walker was president and Samuel Jackson secretary. Cooper, on his frequent visits to London, attended the meetings of the society there, as for example in the spring of 1791 and in January, 1793. His activity in this connection, as well as the previous publication of his political treatises, brought him into close intimacy with the liberal leaders, most of them young men, like Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, John Horne Tooke, Burke, and the younger Pitt, for whom, by the way, he always maintained a profound dislike. Somewhere, too, he met and admired the ubiquitous Tom Paine. Two letters from Cooper to John Horne Tooke,¹⁷ in the summer of 1791, reveal that the Manchester Constitutional Society had formally asked Cooper to prepare for publication

¹⁶ Smiles, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, p. 406.

¹⁷ Howell's *State Trials*, Vol. XXV, pp. 120-121.

an abridged edition of Paine's *Rights of Man*.¹⁸ Tooke characteristically never replied to them, and the proposed abridgement probably came to naught. On November 4, 1791, Cooper, together with Watt, Walker, and Jackson, severed his connections with the Literary and Philosophical Society. The memorable Birmingham riots, in which Dr. Priestley's church, his home, and his priceless manuscripts and scientific apparatus were destroyed by a Church and King mob, had occurred on July 14 of that year. When the society, of which Priestley was an honorary member, re-convened after its summer recess, a vote of sympathy was moved by Samuel Jackson. Upon its being indefinitely postponed, these four members withdrew.¹⁹

The most memorable act of Cooper's whole life in England, however, was his trip to Paris in March, 1792, with his young friend, James Watt. Watt was sent thither on business by his banking house, and Cooper "accompanied him as a relaxation from a long continued application to business here, and because I was glad of the opportunity of visiting Paris with a man whom I love and esteem and whose introductions to society there were the same with my own."²⁰ They observed and studied together the methods and apparatus of the French manufacturers, particularly those making use of chemicals, in which France then far excelled the rest of Europe. They visited Condorcet and Lavoisier and associated with the brilliant but ill-fated group of scientists and economists who had thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the cause of the Revolution and who gathered at the *salon* of Madame Robert to formulate the sane and moderate counsels of the Girondist or Brissotian party. Wordsworth, who was in France at the same time, at Orleans and Blois, was also leagued with the Girondists.

Cooper and Watt brought also letters from the Manchester Constitutional Society which secured their introduction to the leaders of the Jacobin Club at Paris, including Petion, the mayor, whom Cooper described as "a good, candid fellow,

¹⁸ These letters were written from Lever Hall, near Bolton, Lancashire. This may indicate a change of residence from Altringham.

¹⁹ Smith, R. A., *op. cit.*

²⁰ *Reply to Burke.*

on whom you might rely . . . more like an Englishman than any Frenchman I have ever seen."²¹ After they had been in Paris nearly a month, the Manchester society, possibly at their instigation, instructed them to present an address of felicitation to the Jacobin Club on the part of the society. Petion conducted them through a carpenter's shop and up a ladder to the place which was occupied by Robespierre. Him they found "dressed up . . . a complete *petit maitre*, a dandy . . . a little pale man, with dark hair,"²² who nevertheless received them well. They told him they were entrusted with an address to be presented to the club, and arrangements were made. Concerning the delivery there was some misunderstanding, perhaps due to Cooper's poor speaking knowledge of French. He expected Robespierre to read the address, and when the latter repeatedly refused to do so, said to him, "*Citoyen, vous etes coquin meprisable!*" This quarrel won him at the outset the enmity of the most dangerous man in France.

The "Address to the Society of Friends of the Constitution" was delivered by Cooper in the Hall of the Jacobins on the thirteenth of April, 1792, after a public procession in which Cooper and Watt walked, carrying the British flag. The address had been written by Cooper and translated into French by Watt, and was signed by both as authorized delegates of the Manchester society. Cooper said it "was well received, and with considerable noise." It conveyed to the French revolutionists the sympathy of the Manchester organization as representing many similar bodies in England, welcomed them fraternally as compatriots in the great cause of human freedom and as benefactors of the human race, and offered assistance in their efforts to establish and propagate the principles of liberty, the empire of peace, and the happiness of mankind. The address was responded to in a similar vein by the vice-president, Carra, who emphasized the friendship of the English and the French peoples and recalled the "glorious revolution" of just a century before in England. A more formal reply to be sent to Manchester was drawn up next day, and all three documents were ordered printed in Paris and were reprinted

²¹ Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

²² Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

by the society in Manchester on May 8. The Constitutional Society at London also, having heard of the welcome given to Messrs. Cooper and Watt, of Manchester, "and united with our society," sent on May 11 an address of felicitation to the Jacobins, which ended thus: "In this best of causes we wish you success; our hearts go with you; and in saying this we believe we utter the voice of millions."

Of Cooper's further experiences in Paris there are various conflicting accounts, based upon his own reminiscences of twenty or thirty years later. The four or five months he spent there he called the happiest in his life. Like Wordsworth, he was thrilled with enthusiasm for the great aims of the Revolution. The days were filled with excitement, conflict, and danger. "Every moment was a century," said Cooper. "When there every energy of my mind was called out and every moment engaged. Some important event unceasingly occurred and incessantly occupied the mind."²³ His conduct in his quarrel with Robespierre was publicly defended by Brissot, and after it he kept chiefly with the Brissotians. Learning that some Frenchmen who frequented their company were Robespierre's spies, he and Watt adopted the expedient of dining with them daily and getting them drunk with wine. It appears that, intoxicated themselves with the prevailing excitement, and perceiving plainly the increasing menace of Robespierre's power, the two Englishmen even projected a bold plot, in which Cooper was to have the chief part, to go in a body to Robespierre, insult him, compel him to fight a duel, and kill him. The expedient appeared too dangerous or too cold-blooded, however, for the Girondists, to whom they unfolded it; and after being publicly denounced by Robespierre, they fled the inevitable result with the assistance of friends, Watt going to Germany and Cooper returning safely to England, whither the equally disillusioned Wordsworth was soon to follow. Even after this it was announced on September 25 by the *Patriote*, of Paris, that the title of Citizen of France was conferred upon Cooper by the Commission Extraordinaire. Cooper related, too, that in his absence someone nominated him for the Constituent Assembly in opposition to the Duke of Orleans, "but the Duke beat me."

²³ Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

On his return to England he found himself in an interesting situation. The effort to bring about a constitutional reform in England had come to a head in Parliament in April, when Fox gave it his support. Burke, now definitely antagonistic to France, replied in a dramatic speech on the thirtieth of April, in which among others he bitterly denounced Cooper and Watt as "ambassadors extraordinary" to "that infamous band of regicides, the Jacobin Club", and charged that they plotted to spread their detestable doctrines through a federation of the people of England with those of France. To this attack Cooper responded, within a fortnight after his return, in a vigorous and effective, if intemperate, *Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective Against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt in the House of Commons on the 30th of April, 1792*. Its bitterness was doubtless intensified by the fact that Cooper and Burke had previously been friends in the liberal cause. He assailed Burke's intelligence and political probity in no mild terms. The charge against them was a palpable untruth; "Burke was probably mistaken in supposing us the worst men in the Kingdom whilst he is alive to make the assertion." "Boldly rejecting the mask of hypocrisy, he stands forward to the world as the public professor of political turpitude, the systematic opposer of any measure of reform, and, in love with the very sinfulness of sin, he unblushingly obtrudes himself on the disgusted eye of the public in all the nakedness and deformity of political vice."

Such abuse, it must be admitted, was in keeping with the tone of political controversy in both England and America at the time. Cooper, however, went much farther in seriously questioning the fundamental character of the English government. The parliament is represented in his *Reply* as a venial body, self-appointed or controlled by lords and rich landowners, who legislate for their own interest and not for the people—who may, he adds, "at some moment of intolerable provocation . . . regard this self-elected House of Representatives as a House of Ill-fame . . . and abate the nuisance." These were bold words, which pointed toward an uprising similar to that in France. He ventured on to attack the hereditary system of the monarchy and the nobility

on the ground of the lack of hereditary qualities, their pride and selfishness, and the tendency of their luxurious lives to idleness and immorality. They are "encumbrances, absurd, useless, dangerous, and unjust." The annual cost to the English people of maintaining their governmental system is moreover too great—25,000,000 pounds sterling as contrasted with \$600,000 for the American government. "The American republicans," he adds, "have taught us that nations may flourish and be happy who have no bishops, no nobles, no kings." He does not stop short even of criticizing adversely the reign of George III, calling the American war "a foul blot on the character of the nation." The theory of divine right is dismissed with Lafayette's epigrammatic remark, "For a nation to change its government, it is sufficient that she wills it." The standing army is condemned as useless and a menace to popular liberty.

It is easy to understand how a document of this sort might be regarded as dangerous to the state in 1792, when the country was seething with reform agitation, when rioting was frequent, and when suspicion of revolutionary conspiracies was widespread. He himself had become a marked man. He said once that at this time a list of opponents to the administration had been drawn up for prosecution, with Tooke's name at the head and his own near the top. His *Reply to Burke* ran to an edition of 6,000 copies, but when he proposed to reduce its eighty-three finely printed pages to a cheap pamphlet for propaganda distribution among the masses, the attorney-general, Sir John Scott, remarked: "As long as you sell this at a high price, you can do no harm; but the moment it is turned into a penny slip, that moment I will prosecute you."²⁴ The project was accordingly dropped.

At Manchester, however, Cooper continued writing vigorously. In his letters to Tooke he wrote that the opinions of the Constitutional Society were excluded from the pages of the two Manchester newspapers and that an independent paper was projected. This, the *Manchester Herald*, was issued from March 31, 1792, to March 23, 1793, and Cooper was one of its chief contributors. On December 10, 1792, when it seemed that the administration was drifting into open war with France,

²⁴ *Federal Cases* (U. S. Circuit and District Courts), Book 25, Case No. 14,865.

he issued an address called "War," over the signature "Sydney," in which he inquired of the tradesmen of Manchester whether they were willing to tolerate the expenses of a war of aggression. On the night of the eleventh the *Herald* establishment was nearly demolished by a mob. Cooper's address was reprinted, but the distributor, Benjamin Booth, was "taken up" by the authorities.

In this year Cooper also republished his *Propositions Respecting the Foundations of Civil Government*, appending to it this remarkable declaration:²⁵

"Since these propositions were first published I have repeatedly considered the subject of the *rights of women* and I am perfectly unable to suggest any argument in support of the political superiority so generally arrogated to the male sex which will not equally apply to any system of despotism of man over man. . . . we first keep their minds and thus their persons in subjection, we educate women from infancy to marriage in such a way as to debilitate both their corporeal and mental powers. All the accomplishments we teach them are directed not to *their* future benefit in life, but to the amusement of the male sex; and having for a series of years with much assiduity, and sometimes at much expense, incapacitated them for any serious occupation, we say they are not fit to govern themselves, and arrogate the right of making them slaves through life. . . . I have read the writings of Mrs. M. Graham, of Miss Wollstoncroft, of Mrs. Barbauld, of Mrs. Montague, Miss Carter, Miss Seward, Mrs. Dotson, Miss H. M. Williams, etc., in England. I have conversed with Theroigne, with Madame Condorcet, Madame Robert, Madame Lavoisier, etc., in Paris. What these women are other women might become. I have often felt my own inferiority, and often lamented the present iniquitous and most absurd notions on the subject of the disparity of the sexes. I have conversed with politicians and read the writings of politicians, but I have seldom met with views more enlarged, more just, more truly patriotic; or with political reasonings more acute, or arguments more forcible than in the conversations of Theroigne and the writings of Miss Wollston-

²⁵ Reprinted in R. A. Smith, *Centenary of Sciences in Manchester*, pp. 511-512.

croft. Let the defenders of male despotism answer (if they can) 'The Rights of Women,' by Miss Wollstoncroft."

In the meantime there had been many disappointments. The bleaching business had turned out badly. The political notoriety attached to his name injured him with his scientific friends. He had been rejected for membership in the Royal Society in April, 1790, by a vote of 24 to 20, though strongly recommended by Priestley, Crawford and others. The mere suggestion of his name, though immediately withdrawn, in the London Society of the Friends of the People, on May 19, 1792, caused the withdrawal of Lord John Russell and four other members. His friend Walker's house had been mobbed in the December riots of 1792 at Manchester as Priestley's had been earlier. The business partner of another friend, Joseph Priestley, Jr., dissolved the firm because Priestley's name was so unpopular. By 1793, moreover, the remarkable series of prosecutions for conspiracy against the government, of which Tooke's and Thomas Hardy's were the most famous, had begun, though through the effort of Cooper's friend Erskine, most of them were defeated. Cooper's name was often mentioned in these trials, and he had shrewd reasons to expect his turn to come. Overshadowing all those vexations, in Cooper's case as in that of Wordsworth and thousands of ardent young Englishmen, was the complete degeneration of the revolution in France, for which they had hoped and prophesied so much. England lapsed into a hopeless conservatism, and it is small wonder that Cooper and men like him should have turned their eyes to America as the sole land of promise.

In February, 1793, Cooper was again in London, attending the meetings of the Constitutional Society, and perhaps making plans for a colonization scheme to be engineered largely by himself and Joseph Priestley, Jr., both now out of business at Manchester. Their intention was to establish a colony of republican Englishmen, many of whom were scattering to different parts of North America, somewhere in the unsettled interior part of the United States. The project is thus outlined by young Priestley:

"The scheme of settlement was not confined to any particular class or character of men, religious or political. It

was set on foot to be, as it were, a rallying-point for the English, who were at that time emigrating to America in great numbers, and who, it was thought, would be more happy in society of the kind they had been accustomed to, than they would be dispersed, as they are now, through the whole of the United States. It was farther thought, that by the union of industry and capital, the wilderness would soon become cultivated, and equal to any other part of the country in everything necessary to the enjoyment of life. To promote this as much as possible, the original projectors of that scheme reserved only a few shares for themselves, for which they paid the same as those who had no trouble or expense either in forming the plan or carrying it into existence. This they did with a view to take away all source of jealousy, and to increase the facility of settlement by increasing the proportion of settlers to the quantity of land to be settled."²⁰

In June, 1793, Cooper was again in London, with his friend Walker, who was also interested in the American scheme but was now definitely threatened with prosecution for conspiracy to overthrow the government. On August 24 he wrote from the port of Deal to Rogers, with whom he had dined at the Stock Exchange just before leaving London, that he was on the point of boarding ship for America. With him went a part of his family and Priestley's eldest and youngest sons, Joseph and Henry. It was purely and simply a prospecting trip. The party were to look over the field, find the most favorable site, investigate prices, and ascertain all the information needful for colonists. They visited the north-easterly states but spent most of their time in and around Philadelphia, whither they went in October. Congress was then in session there and to the different members the prospectors applied freely for information regarding their respective sections. On December 14, 1793, Cooper, with Joseph Priestley, Jr., and two other companions, set out on horseback for an investigation tour *via* Reading to Northumberland and Sunbury and the country beyond, returning home *via* Harrisburg on December 30. Like most Europeans who dreamed of founding settlements in America, they were

²⁰ Priestley, *Memoirs* (Rutt ed.), Vol. II.

attracted to the beautiful and fertile banks of the Susquehanna, and they planned to occupy for their colony a tract of 300,000 acres near the head of that river, about fifty miles from Northumberland.

Cooper returned to England in February, 1794, leaving the Priestleys, now joined by their remaining brother, William, to await the coming of their father and mother. That Cooper considered himself in some danger in England seems to be shown by the secrecy of his movements. He wrote to Rogers from Philadelphia, December 14, 1793: "I will be at your house in March: *incognito* like other great men. Mention this, with strong intimations of secrecy, to Tuffin and Sharp. . . . Russell, Priestley, and T. Walker (not R. Walker nor any of my friends or my family) know of my intention. I hope to come over with sufficient inducement for others to return with me."²⁷ The last sentence refers to the results of his investigations, together with those of Dr. Joshua Toulmin, a Unitarian minister, who had left England a month before Cooper and visited the Southern states, chiefly Virginia, with a similar purpose. These results were published in London and Dublin early in 1794 as *Some Information Respecting America*. A second London edition and a French edition at Paris, entitled *Renseignemens sur L'Amerique*, appeared in 1795, besides a pamphlet *Extract of a Letter on the Subject of Emigration*, undated. The book comprised 249 pages, with a map of the United States, and was designed as a guide for prospective British emigrants to America. It differed, therefore, from the usual volume of travels in this country in including primarily useful information as to cost of living, routes of travel, desirability of soil, necessary equipment, and such matters. Central Pennsylvania was recommended as the best place to settle. Another important inclusion was a summary of the social, economic, and political systems of the American republic. In this he anticipated Lincoln's famous phrase by characterizing the government as one "of the people and for the people."²⁸

The book seems to have been very popular and to have stimulated and aided emigration from Ireland as well as Eng-

²⁷ Clayden, P. W., *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, p. 285.

²⁸ Page 53.

land. Coleridge seems to have devoured it eagerly, and at the height of his enthusiasm for the projected Pantisocracy, wrote to his comrade Southey, on October 21, 1794: "By all means read, ponder on Cowper [sic] and when I hear your thoughts, I will give you the result of my own." In fact, it is not unlikely that the germ of the Pantisocracy idea was derived from Cooper's and Priestley's similar project, which must have been freely talked of among the young liberals in England in the summer of 1793. Coleridge and Southey were at this time both Unitarians and democrats; and there is no evidence whatever of their having formed the idea even of emigrating before late in 1793, when Cooper was already in America and his design was probably fairly well known. George Dyer, who was a friend of both Priestley and Coleridge, wrote to the latter shortly after Priestley left for America that the Doctor would probably join the Pantisocratic colony. Surely, Cooper's plan is more likely to have suggested Southey's and Coleridge's ideal colony than is the French Town settlement, of which there is no reason to suppose that the two friends had ever heard before 1795.²⁹

Cooper attended the trial of his friend, Thomas Walker, for treason, at Lancaster early in April, 1794, but his name does not appear on the list of counsel for Walker, as has been asserted. He seems, however, to have been instrumental in proving the perjury of Dunn, the state's only important witness, and thus securing the complete and triumphant vindication of Walker. Very soon afterward he probably set sail with the remainder of his family, and perhaps some colonists, for America. Dr. and Mrs. Priestley followed in a short time, though they did not arrive in New York, after a rough voyage, until June 5. On May 1, 1794, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Tench Cox: "I am sorry that Mr. Cooper and Mr. Priestley did not take a more general survey of our country before they fixed themselves."³⁰ From this it appears likely that Cooper had already arrived at Philadelphia and gone on to Northumberland to join Joseph Priestley, Jr. He never returned to England.

²⁹ See William Haller's *The Early Life of Robert Southey*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1917, pp. 139 ff.

³⁰ On January 18, 1800, Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestley, "How sincerely have I regretted that your friend [Cooper] did not visit the vallies on each side of the blue ridge in Virginia, as Mr. Madison and I so much wished."

Samuel J. Tilden and the Revival of the ^{4/3} Democratic Party

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The Democrats at the close of the Civil War seemed almost as badly discredited as were the Federalists in 1815. They it was who had furnished the leaders of secession in the South and the opponents of the prosecution of the war in the North. Such of their number as had enthusiastically supported the coercion of the Confederacy had, early in the struggle, rallied under the Union party banner; but the recognized Democratic leaders had either openly opposed the war or sharply criticized its conduct by the administration. If anything were needed to complete the party's discredit in the heated days of Reconstruction it was provided by the unrepentant, recalcitrant utterances of the "Bourbons." The Republicans, very naturally, sought promptly and persistently to take full advantage of this popular revulsion for the opposition. The legend that the Democratic party had sought to break up the Union and that the Republican party had preserved it was started and every effort was made to secure its acceptance as a patriotic shibboleth. The opposition was not only to be reprobated for its evil deeds of the past but it was to be prevented from carrying out its malicious designs in the future. Appeals of this sort, reinforced by the constant waving of the "bloody shirt," proved highly effective. Such victories as the Democrats secured in the early post-bellum years were merely local. "New departures," elaborately staged in state conventions, were wholly unavailing for the restoration of public confidence, and by the opening of the seventies there was little evidence that the party would ever again be entrusted with the nation's destinies. With such a disheartening prospect, not a few of the faithful lost hope, and by 1870 some of the eminent leaders were raising their voices for an abandonment of the organization fathered by Jefferson and Jackson.

The contrast between this impotent, discredited situation of the Democracy at the beginning of the seventies and its em-

ergence six years later as the majority party of the nation is one of the marvels of American politics. Many influences, it is evident, must have entered into this remarkable "come-back." In the first place, the element of time—the unreasoning demand for a change of party just for the sake of change—worked, as always, for the opposition. More definite factors are to be found in the breaking up, over the constitutional issues of Reconstruction, of the Union party combination; the full and frank acceptance of the results of the war, evinced in the endorsement of Greeley and the Liberal platform; the formation of a "Solid South" as a steady nucleus for an electoral majority; the western independent party movements, along with the general agrarian unrest of the period; the panic of 1873; and the wide-spread demand for reform in state and nation by which the opposition was able to profit. But the utilization and exploitation of all of these influences for the advantage of the Democracy required leaders superior to those the party had had during the past decade, leaders who could read and take profit by the signs of the times and who would not be looking backward to a lost cause. Foremost in any list of the leaders in this Democratic revival must be placed the name of Samuel J. Tilden, and it is the aim of the present paper to consider his services in this connection.

Tilden had had a thorough and expert preparation for the leadership of his party in these critical years. The true politician seems to be born, not made, and Tilden's lispings were of things political. His apprenticeship was served with the Albany Regency, in close association with its head master, Van Buren. The pupil was most apt and precocious; he was soon able to advise his teachers in party finesse. Always an extreme partisan, he had been forced in the factious days that followed the Regency's supremacy to choose between the rival camps. In '48 in the Barnburner-Free-soil movement, along with Regency associates, he had stood at Armageddon and battled for the Lord—for one brief campaign. Later, following the same alignment, he had acted with the "Soft" or free-soil element of the party. But his convictions on this issue had not been strong enough to take him over to the Republicans in the anti-Nebraska secession. On the contrary, he

considered the sectional character of the party as most malign, and, in the manner of the typical politician of the time, deprecated the disruptive influence in national politics of the whole slavery question. In the years just preceding the war he had been a director of Dean Richmond's neo-Regency-reformed Tammany combination against Fernando Wood—the *bête noire* of the New York City politics of his day—and his Mozart Hall organization.

In the campaign of 1860 Tilden had labored, above all else, to unite the different elements of the opposition and had been instrumental in securing a coalition electoral ticket in New York. In the critical days between the election and secession he had been a chief promoter of the various conciliation activities and projects—peace mass meetings and peace conventions, and the agitations for a general convention to propose amendments to the constitution. Prior to the firing on Sumter he had on various occasions expressed himself strongly against the use of force. In this position, to be sure, he was but voicing the sentiment at that time of the moderates of all parties in the North.

During the war Tilden had been the cautious politician, outwardly devoted to the truest public interest but ever alive to a possible partisan advantage. He had been neither the pronounced war Democrat nor the extreme "Copperhead," peace Democrat. He had been a leading spirit in the unofficial opposition to the policies of the administration. In 1863, along with other prominent constitutionally-minded Democrats, he had helped to establish the "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge." This organization, working in opposition to the "Loyal Publication Society," had distributed literature defending slavery and attacking the constitutionality of Lincoln's war measures. On the other hand, he had given advice freely to members of the cabinet, had on occasion addressed patriotic demonstrations, and had contributed a thousand dollars to the present to General Grant. He had been zealous to remove from his party the stigma of secession sympathy. While before the war he had held there was no authority to coerce the South, when the struggle was once joined he maintained that the party was opposed to the disruption of

the Union and sought merely to secure the constitutional rights of all the sections. In the Chicago convention of 1864 he had been a leading opponent of the Copperhead, Vallandigham, faction, but characteristically he had not carried his opposition far enough to occasion dissension in the party. Tilden's war record was to cause him considerable embarrassment, but it might easily have been worse.

Such had been the preliminary experience in practical politics of the man who was to find his great opportunity for the leadership of his party in the transitional period following the war. Thus far Tilden had no great reputation in the country at large; but, as his correspondence clearly shows, his opinion was much sought and highly regarded in national party councils. Already there was manifested something of his skill as a party manager and still more of his adroit opportunism.

The first task of the far-sighted leaders of the Democracy in the rehabilitation of their party was to restore the popular confidence in its safety and sanity. To this end coalitions or general understandings with "conservative," or otherwise disaffected Republicans, seemed the most hopeful course. The break between the Democratically-inclined President Johnson and the radicals in Congress presented a good opportunity. Tilden was an active promoter of the Independent Reform movement in 1866 and served as a delegate-at-large and as the president of his state's delegation in the Philadelphia "Arm in Arm" convention. In the ensuing campaign he was a warm defender of the President's policies. But in return for this support Tilden, as the leader of the New York Democratic organization, sought to have a voice in the redistribution of the patronage, and was very free with advice in that regard. It was even suggested in 1867 that prominent Democrats, like Tilden and Church, enter the cabinet. But, could this have been arranged, the party's leaders felt that they could not commit themselves thus far to the unpopular cause of the administration. As a matter of fact, the only intent of the Democrats had been to use the coalition so long as it would serve their ends; they had never for a moment contemplated seriously the President's scheme for the formation of a new

party. An enthusiastic young follower voiced this sentiment in writing to Tilden in 1866, that the great thing was to restore the state to the control of the old Democratic organization "and for this we must carry this state election first, no matter what allies we have to take in for the present." At least one member of the administration, shrewd old Gideon Welles, saw through their designs. Commenting on a conversation with Tilden in the fall of 1866, he confided to his celebrated Diary (September 27, 1866) this true estimate and accurate forecast:

"Tilden has good sense, intelligence, honesty, but is a strong party man. Sees everything with partisan eyes, yet understandingly. In 1848 and for a time thereafter he was a Barnburner, going with the Van Burens, but very soon was homesick, sighed for the old organization, and continued to long for the 'leeks and onions' of his political Egypt, until he got once more into the regular Democratic fold. From that time he has clung to the horns of party with undying tenacity. During the war he did not side with the Rebels, but he disliked and abjured the Administration. At this time he supports the President, but I perceive that he aims to do it as a Democrat rather than as a patriot, and that he is striving to identify the President with the Democratic organization. I regret that he and other New York extremists should pursue this course. It will be likely to give strength to the Radicals and defeat the Administration in the coming elections. Tilden speaks of success, which I am confident he cannot feel. He and his party have, it appears to me, alienated instead of recruited men who would have united with them and thereby given victory to the Radicals."

Welles's suspicion of Tilden's motives was fully justified the following year, when the New York Democrats decided that it was time to cut loose from the President, who was of no further service and who might bring them discredit. Johnson was accordingly completely ignored in the resolutions and speeches of the state convention. Tilden's conference a few days later with the President's representative, Colonel Cooper, was no more satisfactory to the administration. According to Welles's report (Diary for October 4, 1867):

"Tilden talked well, but the tendency was to maintain a New York party organization and to cut clear of the Administration. It is a party, not a patriotic, scheme, and will fail. Tilden's partyism is weakness and does not surprise me so much as it does Cooper. The President is too much identified with Seward, has been too much advised by him, to gain the affections or even the good will of the New York Democrats. There was intentional rebuke of the President by the

managing New York Democrats—Seymour, Tilden, etc.,—in omitting the President's name in their late State Convention, or any allusion to him. In this way they were ungenerous and committed a mistake which they may regret. Their ambition is overleaping itself."

The Independent Reform coalition, while seemingly futile so far as the carrying of elections was concerned, had an important influence upon national parties. It made more definite the division in the Union party and thus helped to prepare the way for the open break of the Liberal Republicans in 1872. Precedents for the Democratic-Liberal coalition, in addition to the one just noted, were furnished by the coalition and "passive" policies of the Democrats in the border states in the years 1869-1870. With the continued defeats and popular discredit of the Democrats there was considerable sentiment for a coalition on a new party basis. In the Senate (June 10, 1872) Chandler charged that at a conference in New York the preceding November an agreement had been entered into between "a distinguished Democratic Senator and a distinguished Senator who had formerly been a Republican, with Samuel J. Tilden and divers and sundry other Democrats that I could name, that a new party should be organized to be called the reform party." Whatever assurances Tilden may have given at this time, it is safe to conclude that his zeal for a new party was no stronger than it had been in 1866. At this time, in the midst of his struggle with the ring, as will be noted, Tilden's "political fortunes were at their lowest ebb." But his opinion on the party's politics in the national campaign was eagerly sought. Disappointed as he must have been, in common with every other old-line Democrat, with Greeley's nomination by the prospective allies, he thought that the Democrats had gone too far in promoting the Liberal movement to draw out at that late day. In this he was wise. The Liberal movement, in spite of its disastrous campaign, undoubtedly did more than any other one thing to re-establish the Democracy in the popular estimation.

An issue that brought the Democrats some local and temporary successes in these years, but one which, if openly avowed, would have prevented the party from securing a national triumph, was that of inflation. Tilden had strongly criticized the issue of legal tender during the war, and now,

with the point-of-view of the eastern capitalist, he could feel nothing but repugnance for the whole "rag money" propaganda. But as a party leader he felt that it was necessary to temporize for a time. In the state convention of '67 differences developed over the question in the resolutions committee, and the matter was referred for final report to Tilden and two associates. Their resolution calling for a "simplification and equality in taxation and a currency for the benefit of the people instead of corporations, to the end that the public faith may be preserved and the burdens of taxation lessened" was somewhat equivocal, as well as demagogical. The statement seemingly favored the taxation of government bonds, but when such an amendment was presented Tilden opposed it on the ground that the Supreme Court had already decided that policy unconstitutional and there was therefore no occasion to introduce such a "firebrand" into the party. In the national convention of 1868 the New York delegation, led by Tilden, accepted the platform of the promoters of the "Ohio idea," but blocked the nomination of the most conspicuous champion of the "idea." With the growth of the greenback movement in the seventies and with the infusion of the heresy into several of the Democratic state organizations, Tilden stood forth more resolutely as a defender of sound monetary principles, and he undoubtedly did much to maintain the party's reputation in the East. Cleveland, whose political leadership was so at variance with that of Tilden at most points, had a sincere admiration for the older leader's work for sound currency, and believed that it was largely owing to Tilden's influence that the dangerous trend toward inflation had been checked.

But the service which established Tilden as the real national leader of his party was his spectacular achievement for reform in state politics. In 1866 upon the death of Dean Richmond, Tilden became chairman of the state committee, and if the statement of an admirer that Richmond's mantle had fallen on Tilden seems incongruous, as regards the personality of the two men, there can be no doubt that the political succession was worthily carried on. His able management was evinced by the success of the state ticket in the

years 1867-1870. His position in the party was freely recognized at home and abroad. In the campaign of 1868 he was consulted about candidates by leaders from all over the country and was the recognized spokesman of his delegation in the convention. In the ensuing campaign he was the chief adviser of his old friend, Seymour, and many regarded him as the real voice of authority.

But trouble for his organization was just ahead in the Tweed ring exposures. As state chairman Tilden had been more or less closely associated with the Tammany chiefs—his biographer tells us, half boastingly, that Tilden “had no fear of being over-reached by any one,” and that he “used men of low standards for his own purposes when they could be made useful”—and he must have been aware of their predatory activities. Despite his emphatic declaration that he had always been opposed to this element, the fact remains and must ever stand against his public record that, putting party unity above the public interest, he failed sooner to turn against the rascals within the party fold. But when once the exposures came, he was quick to seek to extirpate the accursed thing, and his and Charles O’Conor’s effective work alone kept the party in the state from complete discredit.

In the rôle of reformer Tilden had to meet the full force of the powers of darkness in both of the parties. But he had taken his stand most opportunely; reform was in the air and he was able to profit to the fullest by his vigorous, if belated, efforts to purify politics. On his record as a ring-smasher he was carried into the governorship in the Democratic “landslide” of 1874. Here in his encounter with the bi-partisan Canal Ring he gained new laurels which made secure his title as reformer. He appeared as by far his party’s most available presidential candidate on a “turn-the-rascals-out” appeal. Despite his war record, his corporation activities, and his past political associations, he stood higher in the good graces of the independents than any other man in the public eye. The reform governor’s public record was far from invulnerable, but with his anti-ring reputation, his well-known convictions on the currency, and his powers of organization, he was un-

questionably the strongest candidate that his party could have presented at this time.

The campaign of 1876 marked the culmination of Tilden's long and persistent efforts to build up the Democratic party, and at the same time to promote his own political fortunes. To these ends he had developed and perfected organization and machinery to an unprecedented degree. The most effective campaign devices in use since that time are largely his creations. Organization by school districts, the close co-ordination of local leaders with the state organization, the wide distribution of "educational" literature, and the personal letter, with photographed signature, to the individual voter were all parts of his system. A still more unique element of personal strength was to be found in his following of devoted young Democrats—"that band," says William C. Hudson, "a member of which was to be found in each county of the state, which was the nucleus of that powerful organization Tilden subsequently builded for his own advancement, and which later was styled by his enemies 'Tilden's nincompoops'." David B. Hill wrote, in 1882, that his district had been "solid for our side ever since you asked me to take hold of it and make it right which was in 1875." Then, too, as a man of large wealth, Tilden was able to contribute generously to the "sinews of war." These contributions, says the biographer, "were usually as large and often larger than those of any other person to the end of his days." In his own national canvass these various elements of strength were alike the confidence of his supporters and the anxiety of his opponents.

In his presidential canvass Tilden's political leadership reached its height. In the crisis which followed the election he was woefully vacillating and ineffective. Broken in health and apparently unnerved by the great personal interest at stake, his political generalship was gone. But, with a majority of the popular vote, the election was practically a triumph for the Democrats, and to that triumph the defeated candidate had contributed very appreciably. His adroitness in securing advantage from Republican factions without entangling alliances, his skill in party organization, his influence in keeping the party sound on the currency question, and his utilization of

the reform issue, all entitle him to large credit for the revival of his party.

After the election of 1876, while Tilden was still looked upon by many as the leader of the party, his influence was steadily on the wane. The cipher telegram exposures detracted from his reform standing, his indecision in the electoral crisis had lowered his prestige with the organization, and his physical weakness made further campaigns impracticable. Furthermore, he was out of touch with the new age that was coming during his last years. In spite of his good service for reform, Tilden was always under the old political dispensation whose ideal was the Albany Regency. Between him and the Cleveland Democracy there was little in common.¹ Naturally, with this difference in standards and ideals, the new leader felt under no obligation to follow the advice of the old or to reward his henchmen with offices. With Cleveland's rise to power the old leader passed into oblivion.

Tilden is a character by no means easy to understand, and the extreme laudation of friends and the equally extreme denunciations of enemies have not aided to a better comprehension. There is much in his record that is contradictory and much that is illusory. His personality, indeed, would furnish a worthy subject for one of Mr. Gamaliel Bradford's psychographic portraits. But the more one studies Tilden's writings and public record the more one is impressed with the large part which politics played in his existence. Professor H. J. Ford has pointed out that Tilden exemplified the combination of a "great politician and a great statesman, because of his eminence in both respects."² However, it is often hard to separate the two in his motives and activities, and certain it is that party advantage was never absent from his reasonings and policies. His Boswell, John Bigelow, tells us, in his personal recollections, that, while he as a young man was interested in the philosophy of government and politics, his friend Tilden had an interest only in politics of the practical sort. It is this decidedly practical interest that comes out in Tilden's correspondence, from beginning to end. Late in life, in dissuading

¹ Compare Ross, "Grover Cleveland and the Beginning of an Era of Reform," *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, XVIII, 163.

² *Rise and Growth of American Politics*, 316.

his nephew from following a political career, he tells him, first of all, "You cannot afford the expense of such a career. You cannot afford to pay even the first assessment." Party editors are advised from time to time about making the right sort of suggestions to influence public opinion. In expressing concern at Cleveland's failure to utilize the appointing power to build up the organization, he expresses sentiments which are so characteristic that they merit quotation at length :

"It is necessary that the appointing power should find our friends in every locality, who can be trusted to give accurate information and conscientious advice, and put the responsibility on them and then accept their judgment. It is a mistake to suppose that the party leaders are not capable of being extremely useful as means of intelligence. A party is a living being, having all the organs of eyes, ears, and feelings. No man can rise to leadership without having some qualities of value. The appointing power should not be governed absolutely by local leaders; but should hear them in important cases, cross-examine them, derive all the benefits they are capable of rendering, and not be ambitious of displaying a disregard of them. Distrust of one's friends will generally result in misplaced confidence in inferior persons or ill-advised action. The importance of the little postmasters is very great. In many of the purely rural districts there is one to every hundred voters. They are centres of political activity. They act as agents and canvassers for the newspapers of their party, and as local organizers. The immense power of this influence is now wholly on the side of the Republicans. To allow this state of things to continue is infidelity to the principles and causes of the administration. The wrong should be gradually corrected."

Only a few months before his death, consistent to the last, he is urging the President to promote a Democratic general, in order that the party may have its due representation in the army.

Bigelow, in a rather elaborate analysis of Tilden's characteristics as a party leader, says that there were "two principles of leadership upon which he often dwelt in conversation and which were peculiarly his own. One was a generous recognition of the part which the imagination exercises upon the tidal ebbs and flows of public opinion, and the other was the importance of keeping his party constantly in the presence of the enemy." Contemporary observers, friendly and otherwise, all emphasize skill in party management as Tilden's pre-eminent distinction. Blaine, in his ingratiating chronicle, of-

fers the compliment that he "evinced a power of leadership which no man in his party could rival." If it cannot be said of Tilden, as it was of his over-zealous disciple, David B. Hill, that he made politics his god—since the Sage of Grey-stone undoubtedly had more objects of worship than he of Wolfert's Roost—certain it is that politics was one of his most highly revered deities. Probably Burgess's characterization is the fittest that we shall ever have, "not a statesman in the highest sense of the word, nor a demagogue in the lowest sense of that word—a genuine American politician of the first order."³

A centennial estimate found Tilden's "chief title to fame" in the fact that "it was given to him to energize the reforming spirit in American politics and to do it at period when conditions were at the worst and the outlook seemed peculiarly gloomy."⁴ But was not reform with him more an incident to his party management than a great end in itself, and is not the real significance of his public work to be found rather in his political leadership which so largely contributed to the restoration to a position of equality of one of our major parties? And this was by no means a slight service. Since, as we have come to recognize, two strong organizations are essential to the successful working of our party system, and the continuity of the old organizations by adjustments to new conditions is an important factor in national stability, a leader who could do so much to preserve that condition, albeit more politician than statesman, must be accorded an important factor in national stability, a leader who could do so much to preserve that condition, albeit more politician than statesman, must be accorded an important place in our national annals.

³ Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, 282.

⁴ *Nation*, XCVIII, 153-154 (Feb. 12, 1914).

Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina (concluded)

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For the first time in her history South Carolina now had constitutional and legal provisions for an adequate school system. A state board of education was created, consisting of the thirty-one county school commissioners and the state superintendent, and its various duties were defined. This board took the place of the legislative committee on education of antebellum days. A state text book commission was provided to assist in the introduction of suitable books, which were to be furnished free of charge to those children whose parents neglected or refused to provide them. A superintendent of education was to have general supervision of the system and perform those duties usually required of such an officer. Before the war there had been no executive head of the schools, a defect of the system so generally recognized that it repeatedly called for remedy. Also in each county there was to be elected by popular vote every two years a school commissioner, whose duties were not unlike those of a county superintendent of today. He was to have general supervision of the schools of his county, visit each school at least once a year, and see that "there shall be taught, as far as practicable, orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, history of the United States, the principles of the constitution and laws of the United States and of this state, and good behaviour." He was to select "two suitable and discreet persons, who together with himself" constituted a county board of examiners, to examine and certificate teachers. The counties were to be divided into school districts; and each district was to be under the local control of three trustees, elected by the qualified voters thereof. The duties and powers of these officers were defined. The school year was to begin the first Monday in October and close the last Friday in June; but the county school commissioner had power

to limit this according to the county school fund. Provision was also made for the schools of Charleston.

Superintendent Jillson made his first report in January, 1870, before the school law described above was enacted. He complained that the failure of the legislature to pass a school law at its regular session of 1868-'69 had kept "this department in a state of comparative inactivity for nearly a year. . . . The children and youth of this commonwealth are daily growing up in a state of ignorance . . . a state which leads to poverty and crime. That the general assembly will at this, its present session, . . . perfect and pass a good and wise permanent common school law . . . is a 'consummation devoutly to be wished.'" The report, therefore, covered the work accomplished under the act to provide for the temporary organization of the educational department of the state, which was passed in September, 1868, and is mentioned above. According to this report there were in the state 100,711 colored children of school age and 68,108 white children; but only 8,163 colored and 8,255 white children were enrolled. There were 381 schools with 528 teachers, who were classified as follows: northern white, 73; southern white, 405; northern colored, 6; and southern colored, 44. The male teachers numbered 255 and the female 273.

The schools were supported by a variety of means. Less than \$40,000 was expended by the state in 1869 for public school support. But by tuition fees and other means many schools were able to continue a short term during this confused period. In St. Helena two schools for colored children were taught on the plantation of a "Southern Loyalist" and were "sustained by him." Frequently the schools expected support "chiefly from the state"; sometimes it came in the form of tuition fees from "parents or guardians," and not infrequently by means of subscriptions from the neighborhood. Philanthropic and religious societies and agencies also assisted. Among these were the Pennsylvania Association of the Freedmen's Bureau, The American Missionary Association, The Southern Educational Association of St. Louis, The New England Freedmen's Union Mission, The Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions of New York, The Protestant

Episcopal Home Missionary Society, The Methodist Episcopal Church, The United States Direct Tax Commission, The New England Freedmen's Aid Society, The Friends' Society of Philadelphia, The Old-School Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions of New York, and others. In most cases these agencies confined their attention to schools for the negroes. Churches, private residences, stores, and other kinds of houses were employed as school houses.

By June, 1870, there appeared a substantial increase in school attendance. The school population numbered 197,000, of whom about 115,000 were colored and 82,000 white, and about 30,000 of both races were in school. There were reported 769 schools and 734 teachers; and about 630 of the schools were supported wholly or in part by public funds. The Peabody Fund was giving some assistance, though its work in South Carolina had not yet become so extensive as in some of the other southern states.

Many difficulties confronted the system from the outset. Inexperience of school officers, lack of suitable houses, scarcity of good teachers, indifference and impatience of the people, a natural opposition to the new system, insufficient school support, the fear of mixed schools, and defective legislation were some of the more persistent obstacles. In most instances the school officers entered upon their duties with little or no experience to aid them in their duties and only a few of the school houses were the property of the state, and many of those in use were "most miserable affairs, entirely destitute of even the most rude and simple comforts and conveniences of a modern school room." The superintendent urged legislative authority to enable local committees to raise funds to remedy this defect.

The employment of inefficient and incompetent teachers was an evil perhaps more keenly felt than any other, and this condition persisted throughout the reconstruction period and even later. "Probably no state in the Union is so cursed with poor teachers as South Carolina," said the superintendent. Native white teachers reluctantly assumed charge of schools, native colored teachers as a class were almost wholly incompetent, and it was equally difficult to secure teachers

from abroad. The evil was believed to be partly the fault of the county boards of examiners who granted certificates to persons "whose ignorance was glaringly apparent to the most careless observer." Moreover, the small salary received and uncertainty in its payment decreased the number of the better class of teachers. And the unfulfilled promises of the legislature to pay the school appropriations closed many of the schools in 1872. Public confidence was betrayed. Often teachers were unable to obtain their salaries on presentation of their certificates to the county treasurers. In many cases the teachers were forced to dispose of their certificates at "unreasonable and oppressive rates of discount to other parties who are doubtless either in collusion with or in the interest or employ of, sharks and shavers connected directly or indirectly with the county treasury."¹¹

Other school officials likewise showed incompetence and unfitness for their duties. In not a few cases the school commissioners and local trustees were grossly incompetent, without any qualifications for the positions. The following papers written by a county school commissioner and a school trustee, respectively, will illustrate a condition more or less prevalent throughout the period:¹²

COUNTY SCHOOL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
RICHLAND COUNTY

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. the 27 1871

The foller ring name person are Rickermented to the Boarde for the Hower [Howard (?)] Schoole Haveing Given fool satesfact Shon in thi tow Last years.
the whit Shool.

Mr. . . . Please give to the Barrow for mee Dick Kenedey one plug of toBaco and a Bar of Soape i am Bussey my self trying to get a Bale of Cooton to you or i would acome.

The superintendent complained from time to time of the natural apathy and impatience of the people throughout the state. Some appeared "sadly indifferent concerning educational matters, not caring whether 'school keeps or not.'"

¹¹ *Report*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1874, p. 77; *Proceedings*, Peabody Board Trustees, Vol. 1, pp. 248, 363, 364, 416, 417.

¹² Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*.

The people seemed impatient because the advantages of the system did not immediately appear throughout the entire state. Moreover, opposition to the new system developed because of the cost of maintaining it. The theory that education is a matter for the individual or the family and not for the state was widely accepted in South Carolina before the war, and the effects of this philosophy were difficult to overcome.

Throughout the period the schools were in great need of funds. Although the constitution was clear on the subject of state support, providing for the entire capitation tax to be applied to this purpose, the poll tax soon appeared to be a very unreliable source of school revenue. Moreover, the constitution required the general assembly to lay a property tax for school support. But the legislature was slow and it was not until 1873 that such a tax was levied, and until that time the sole state support of education was from the poll taxes and the annual legislative appropriations.

The reconstruction régime has been credited with extraordinary interest in education by reason of these legislative appropriations.¹³ The general assemblies did indeed appear liberal and wise in this matter; but in most of the southern states, especially in South Carolina, these appropriations seem not to have been paid fully or even in large part. South Carolina will serve as an example of this apparent liberality on the one hand, and indifference or inability to make good its promises on the other. From 1869 to 1876 the following appropriations for schools, "in addition to the capitation tax," appear:

1869	\$ 50,000
1870	50,000
1871	190,000
1872	375,000
1873	300,000
1874	300,000
1875	240,000
1876	250,000
Total	<u>\$1,755,000</u>

¹³ "One of the largest items in the budgets of reconstruction was for schools." Dunning, *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 206.

For the same years the following sums were paid for free school support :

1869	\$ 39,023.81
1870	111,369.91
1871	164,485.66
1872	128,442.93
1873	361,101.37
1874	298,440.91
1875	321,752.70
1876	208,489.11
Total	\$1,633,106.40

A conservative estimate of the average annual taxable polls of the state for these years is about 150,000. In 1870 about 136,608 votes were cast for governor and about 149,236 in 1874. But many people refused to vote during these years. In 1872 as many as 40,000 refused to vote.¹⁴ So, approximately the sum of \$1,200,000 from capitation taxes should have been available for school support during these years. Moreover, after 1873 a property tax of two mills on the dollar was also levied for educational purpose. If state support of schools came from the combined sources of the capitation taxes and appropriations, the schools were entitled to receive fully as much as \$1,321,000 more than they actually received from 1869 to 1876,—the capitation taxes, plus the appropriations, less the amounts actually paid by the state treasury. If the capitation taxes were not collected in full, but the appropriations were paid, the schools should have received \$120,000 more than they actually received,—the appropriations, less the amounts actually paid by the state treasury. If the capitation taxes were collected, then less than \$500,000 of the legislative appropriations for school support was paid,—the amounts actually paid by the state treasury, less the capitation taxes.

The matter may be viewed from the following table, which does not regard the property tax levy for schools :

¹⁴ *Journals of House and Senate; Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, p. 682; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 155, 226.

RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA 61

Year	Approp.	Poll Tax ^m	Total	Pd. for Sch'ls.	Deficit
1869	\$ 50,000	\$ 150,000	\$ 200,000	\$ 39,023.81	\$ 160,976.19
1870	50,000	150,000	200,000	111,369.91	88,630.09
1871	190,000	150,000	340,000	164,485.66	175,514.34
1872	375,000	150,000	525,000	128,442.93	396,557.07
1873	300,000	150,000	450,000	361,101.37	88,898.63
1874	300,000	150,000	450,000	298,440.91	151,559.09
1875	240,000	150,000	390,000	321,752.70	68,247.30
1876	250,000	150,000	400,000	208,489.11	191,510.08
Total	\$1,755,000	\$1,200,000	\$2,955,000	\$1,633,106.40	\$1,321,892.79

The presence and influence of the negro in political, educational and social affairs also complicated an otherwise unhappy condition. Just how far the promoters of mixed school legislation expected it to extend is a matter for conjecture, but that it was perhaps the most unwise action of the period is a certainty, lending itself to a most unfortunate and damaging reaction for many years after the return to home rule. The principal objection raised to the school system during this time arose from the fear of mixed schools, a provision which was not demanded by either race. On the contrary, both races were violently opposed to the scheme and the friends of the schools constantly urged the adoption of separate schools. But the agitation in Congress of the Civil Rights Bill in 1872 had here, as in other southern states, the effect of aggravating a prejudice which had begun to develop with the state constitutional provision for mixed schools. The damaging effect of the policy can be seen in the case of the university, known before the war as the South Carolina College.

This institution had a very creditable career and an extensive influence from 1801, when it was chartered, until the war, when it was severely crippled. After political conditions began to adjust themselves the institution was re-opened; but a radical change in the personnel of its trustees in 1869 and the admission of negro students so increased distrust and apprehension that most of the white students left. In 1873, when the state normal school was organized, it was located in one of the university buildings. The university professors were required to lecture to the normal students, the majority of whom were negroes. The university library was also to

^m Poll Tax estimated.

be used by the normal school. Until this time the negroes had made but few attempts to avail themselves of the privileges of the university, though there were grave apprehensions that the policy of the dominant party would jeopardize its usefulness.

In 1873 Henry E. Hayne, the negro secretary of state, entered the school of medicine. Though "neither vindictive nor aggressive" he had aroused a prejudice among the white people two years before by going to a communion table at a mission church. The incident created such a sensation that the mission was finally suspended. When he registered in the university three members of the faculty resigned. In accepting the resignations the trustees announced their pleasure that "a spirit so hostile to the welfare of our state . . . will not longer be represented in the university, which is the common property of all our citizens without distinction of race." Negroes now entered the institution in large numbers, among them the negro treasurer of the state, F. L. Cardozo, and other adults. In a short time nearly nine-tenths of the students, numbering 200, were negroes. In 1877 the institution closed to open again three years later as the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts.¹⁰

Defects in the school law, which was made hurriedly by legislators who had little knowledge of conditions for which they were providing, were other obstacles which continued throughout the reconstruction period. Lack of adequate authority for cities, towns and local districts to raise special taxes for educational purposes was most keenly felt. Adequate provision for training and certificating teachers was also greatly needed, as well as provisions for a more business-like and safe administration of the school system. Complaints were constantly made against the lax methods of handling school finances,—a complaint universal in the South during these years. The collection of the poll tax was loosely conducted, frequently only those who had taxable property being forced to pay it. As noted above, failure to pay this tax did not disfranchise, constitutional provision having been made on this point. This provision served practically to exempt the

¹⁰ Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff.

negroes from this tax because they had very little taxable property.

It should be remembered that during this period the state was not under home rule, and that there was little chance for native white leadership in political or educational effort. Moreover, the state was pitifully bankrupt. The legislature was composed largely of illiterate negroes, local political puppets, and designing political demagogues, whose policy was one of stolid opposition to conservative white leadership. Flagrant bribery schemes were common, political positions were bought and sold as common commodities, and fraud and extravagance created enormous debts, constituting a colossal reproach to the state. These abnormal and irregular conditions naturally reached the school system and made it "worse than a failure."

In spite of conditions, however, the schools began with a comparatively efficient superintendent. The ability with which Jilison exacted more or less perfect school statistics from many of the local school officers, and the force with which he used these facts in an effort to promote improved educational conditions, are not an uncomplimentary commentary on his work. Not infrequently did his recommendations later reveal themselves in laws, even though such laws were not always enforced. Acts to prevent the shameful discount of teachers' salaries, to levy a property tax for free school support, to establish a normal school, and to enforce the payment of poll taxes were repeatedly insisted on in his annual reports. In order to secure the unpaid balances of past educational appropriations from the legislature, he recommended in 1875 that county treasurers be authorized to retain out of all the funds collected by them sufficient sums to cover the county apportionment of the state school fund.¹⁷ Moreover, he advised a law which would deprive counties of their state apportionment if they did not undertake local taxation to help themselves, but such an act would have required a constitutional amendment.

From 1871 until 1876 a slight improvement in results appeared. In 1871 the school population was 206,000, of whom

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that similar action was advised in Virginia during this period.

123,000 were colored and 83,000 were white. The enrollment for that year showed 33,834 colored and 32,222 white children in 1,639 schools, taught by 1,898 teachers. The following year 38,000 colored and 37,000 white children were enrolled, and the number of schools had increased nearly 300. In 1873 there were about 145,000 colored and 85,000 white children of school age, with an enrollment of approximately 46,000 and 38,000 respectively. The schools numbered 2,017 and the teachers 2,374. The returns from twenty-nine counties placed the average school term at nearly five months. The total state support of free schools was about \$361,000. In 1874 there were 56,000 colored and 44,000 white children reported enrolled in the schools. Of the 2,228 school houses in the state, only 595 were owned by the districts. The following year the school population showed 153,000 colored and 85,000 white children in the state with an enrollment of 63,000 and 41,000, respectively. The schools now numbered 2,500 and the teachers 2,800. In 1876 the enrollment showed 70,000 colored and 52,000 white children in 2,700 schools taught by 3,000 teachers. The average term was four and a half months.

The work of the Peabody Board had some influence in stimulating local educational effort during these years, though it failed to receive the encouragement and coöperation which it deserved. Conditions, however, were not so favorable to this work as they were in some other southern states. Some of these conditions were those which delayed educational progress in general and have already been noted; others were found in the frequent failure of the people to accept the conditions and methods of the Peabody appropriations. The bounty served, however, a very useful purpose, and its influence has extended even to very late years.

As late as 1877 the schools were reported poorly taught and of short term. The school population consisted of 144,000 colored and 83,000 white children, with an attendance of 55,000 colored and 46,000 white—a decrease of about 20,000 from the previous year. The number of public schools reported was 2,483, which was a decrease of nearly 300 from the year before. The reports showed the employment of 2,674 teachers, nearly 400 less than the number employed the pre-

vious year. The school term averaged only three months. The average monthly salary paid teachers was about \$28 for men and \$26 for women.

Throughout the entire period of reconstruction slight effort was made to provide facilities for the training of teachers, but a few institutes and educational conventions were held in some of the counties. The first of these was held at Nazareth Church in Spartanburg County, August 5 and 6, 1870, and was attended by thirty teachers. The organization was made permanent under the name of "The Teachers' Convention of Spartanburg County." In 1871 institutes were held in the counties of Greenville, Orangeburg, and Spartanburg. The following year three institutes were held in Barnwell County, three in Lexington County, and one in Spartanburg County. In 1873 institutes were reported in Barnwell and Pickens. Barnwell, Chester, Fairfield, Georgetown, Laurens, Lexington, Spartanburg, and York reported institutes in 1874; Barnwell, Georgetown, Laurens, Oconee, and Spartanburg in 1875; and Aiken, Barnwell, Fairfield, and Spartanburg in 1876; and a state normal school was established in 1873 for the purpose of training teachers.

In some respects the reconstruction period marked an educational advancement in South Carolina, where notable improvement in constitutional and legal provisions for schools appeared. No constitutional provisions for education, and only permissive legislative provisions on the subject, existed before the war; by the constitution of 1868 and the law of 1870, however, mandatory provisions were made for schools. For the first time in the history of South Carolina provision was made for state supervision. A decided step forward was also made in the matter of school support. Before the war the schools were supported by annual legislative appropriations which, though more or less liberal, were not always judiciously and equitably apportioned, and this practice resulted in considerable waste. Provision for school support was made by a system of uniform taxation under the law of 1870. Only little improvement in local supervision was made, however, by the reconstruction régime; and local school officers were probably no less efficient before 1860 than between 1868 and

1876. During both periods complaints were chronic against the indifference and inefficiency of the officers. The schools of the ante-bellum period were nominally open to all the white children of the State. Preference, however, was given to the poor. The custom of entering indigent children in private or community schools and of paying a per diem for their instruction was popular here as well as in other southern states, especially Virginia, and the ante-bellum schools of South Carolina thus sank early into pauper institutions. It does not appear that those children who were educated at public expense in South Carolina before 1860 ever exceeded 20,000 in any one year.

The reconstruction period was, therefore, not without some valuable educational effect in South Carolina, but the good educational features which appeared at that time were born out of misfortune. Public confidence had been weakened by widespread fraud and extravagance, by the incompetence of teachers and school officials, and by the failure of the state to make good the fair promises which had been made in behalf of public schools. It was many years, therefore, before confidence could be restored and the principle of universal and free education could gather sufficient strength to give it wide acceptance and popular approval. Here, as in the other southern states, it has been difficult to recover from the ills inherited from the reconstruction practices following the close of the Civil War, and here, as elsewhere in that region, the stigma and the reproach of the indignities and the injustices of that period have been a deadly upas to the cause of public education. Only in recent years has recuperation been rapid enough to assure promise of a better day in public education.

Rossetti Studies—Fundamental Brainwork*

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"I shut myself in with my soul,
And the shapes come eddying forth."
(Fragment.)

"Conception . . . Fundamental Brainwork, that is what makes the difference in art. Work your metal as much as you like, but first take care that it is gold and worth working." So wrote Rossetti; and by brainwork he meant that content of lyrical thought or mood which is susceptible of being shaped into poetry.

The laws of physics and architecture cannot in themselves make a building—there must also be the granite; and brainwork must be the structural stuff—the granite—out of which poetry is to be wrought.

We are forever talking of *great* art, *great* music, *great* poetry, not knowing quite what we mean by great, nor ever quite agreeing as to what is great. That we should not agree is both natural and fortunate, for what appeals to you may leave me unmoved; yet I suspect that what we most often mean when we say that this or that work of art is *great*, is that we find it well laden with fundamental brainwork. It is this quality which will wear best and longest; and therefore as our taste and understanding develop we gradually leave behind us those artists whose beauties were trivial and external, and take ultimate refuge there where Beauty is large and deep. In the end it is spiritual elbow-room which we need and seek, and the poet who can give it to us is sure of a niche in our hearts.

A charge commonly brought against Rossetti is that he is difficult reading; but the only ground that I can possibly find for the difficulty is this: he has solidity and core. We are like children, who, if they could, would disregard the substantial part of their fare and eat only sweetmeats; we dislike and avoid whatever is solid in our mental food. Now the accusa-

*The third of a series of articles on Rossetti. Previous numbers were published in the *QUARTERLY* for July and October, 1919.

tion, if accusation is the name for it, which can really be brought against Rossetti is that he is *concentrated*; but instead of condemning, we should praise him for it, and should be genuinely thankful that at least one poet has striven to give us pure gold; thankful that within one small volume can be contained all that he did.

To say that Rossetti's public is restricted because of his narrow range would be specious. In his own chosen plot—that relation of man and woman which we call love—his position is unique; and that in itself should be an earnest for a large hearing. The simple truth is, since the truth must be told, that he is too full of thought to appeal to the many. "One benefit I do derive as a result of my method of composition; my work becomes condensed. Probably the man does not live who could write what I have written more briefly than I have done." And it is precisely because his work is so condensed that Rossetti's readers are not numerous; but, since he cared little for the suffrage of the public, why should we who love him care any more? The true artist cannot be concerned with prostituting his talents to an indiscriminating public; if he wins a hearing that is purely incidental: his sole duty is with himself, with beauty, and with his best possible interpretation of her.

I have spoken of *brainwork* as being a poem's content of lyrical thought or mood. Now let us see how Rossetti exemplifies this definition. Let us take first this sonnet in which the content is lyrical thought. Excellent as the poem is in itself, and indubitably stamped as Rossetti's by the imaginative quality of the sestet, it is not as peculiarly his as are the poems expressive of a mood.

"Think thou and act; tomorrow thou shalt die.
 Outstretched in the sun's warmth upon the shore,
 Thou say'st: 'Man's measured path is all gone o'er;
 Up all his years, steeply, with strain and sigh,
 Man clomb until he touched the truth; and I
 Even I, am he whom it was destined for.'
 How should this be? Art thou then so much more
 Than they who sowed, that thou shouldst reap thereby?"

Nay, come up hither. From this wave-washed mound
 Unto the furthest flood-brim look with me;
 Then reach on with thy thought till it be drowned.
 Miles and miles distant though the last line be,
 And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond,—
 Still, leagues beyond those leagues, there is more sea."

Now turn to a poem of which the content is lyrical mood. Spinoza speaks of emotions as being thoughts too obscure and ill-defined to become articulate; and it is in his ability to make intelligible to us emotions and moods so fine and so elusive that they escape most of us completely, that Rossetti is unmatched. Others can grapple with concepts and ideas, but no poet of whom I am aware can make an abstract mood concrete as he can. See how, in this magnificent sonnet, he renders articulate emotions roused by music heard, emotions which in most mortals can evoke nothing but silence; not that we would not speak, but that we could not if we would.

"Is it the moved air or the moving sound
 That is Life's self and draws my life from me,
 And by instinct ineffable decree
 Holds my breath quailing on the bitter bound?
 Nay, is it Life or Death, thus thunder-crowned,
 That mid the tide of all emergency
 Now notes my separate wave, and to what sea
 Its difficult eddies labor in the ground?"

Oh! what is this that knows the road I came,
 The flame turned cloud, the cloud returned to flame,
 The lifted shifted steeps and all the way?—
 That draws round me at last this wind-warm space,
 And in regenerate rapture turns my face
 Upon the devious coverts of dismay?"

Imagination, atmosphere, and magic, all are closely allied in Rossetti, and whether occurring separately or in combination they make up a large proportion of the content of his poems. Imagination was one of his greatest gifts, and he trod in its ways with as sure a step as that with which most mortals walk their city streets. From the fact that he lived so entirely for and within his art, and from constant association with early Italian poetry and painting and with Old French literature, it was only natural that he should have been en-

amored of things mediaeval. It is in this effort to construct for himself an environment out of the past that he may be called an anachronism; and that he succeeded in no small measure was thanks to his imagination. Hall Caine tells us that, on the occasion of his first visit to Rossetti, after having spent the night amid censers, sacramental cups, and a host of other mediaeval objects, it was with a sense of relief that he greeted the out-of-doors again. As he puts it "outside the air breathed freely."

There is often an element of surprise in Rossetti's imaginative flights; and however wide the sweep of his wings the flight is shorn of whatever might seem fantastic or grotesque by the flashes of verisimilitude which give a sense of reality to what is purely imaginative.

Taking *The Blessed Damosel* as the point of departure in Rossetti's career as a poet, we find him equipped with a splendid technique, and with an imagination which he himself never surpassed. Certain passages from this poem have been so often used to illustrate his imaginative powers, that it would be trite to cite them here were it not that I hope to show how well the poet succeeded in lending a sense of reality to them.

If we take out of their context, as is so often done, the verses which tell that from the bar on which she leaned the damosel was

"So high, that looking downward thence,
She scarce could see the sun,"

there is a feeling of hanging in the air; but if we give those verses their place in the stanza which contains them, we realize a sense of satisfaction that

"It was the rampart of God's house
That she was standing on,"

and the "rampart of God's house" affords a base from which the imagination may move with surer foot and wing. And what the "rampart" does for this stanza, the "bridge" does for the next. It is from the "bridge" as a starting point that

"this earth
Spins like a fretful midge."

It is with just such bits of verisimilitude that, throughout his work, Rossetti gives to his imaginative flights a sense of reality and truth which makes them the more startling and the more overwhelming.

There are times too when his imagination takes a turn which is more subtle, more elusive, and often very poignant. In *The Blessed Damosel* the poet is telling that to the maiden it seems as if she had been in heaven but a single day, while in reality she had been there for ten years; and

“(To one, it is ten years of years,
 . . . Yet now, and in this place,
 Surely she leaned o'er me—her hair
 Fell all about my face . . .
Nothing: the autumn fall of leaves.
 The whole year sets apace.)”

Here the starting point of the flight is “the autumn fall of leaves;” but this time the effect is more vague, and, perhaps for that very reason, more poignant, and gives the feeling of half-remembered music or of the sound of a bell caught in the wind's lull so indistinctly as to make one wonder whether it is real or imagined. There is the feeling too of being brought face to face with an occult revelation. At sight and sound of the falling leaves, the poet suddenly beholds a casement flung open in the blue dome of God's house and the magnificent dream flashes upon his inner eye.

Something of the same feeling is conveyed by the last verse of this stanza of *The Staff and Scrip*, in which the queen is described as placing above her bed the staff and scrip of the knight whom she had loved and who had given his life for her.

“That night they hung above her bed,
 Till morning wet with tears.
 Year after year above her head
 Her bed his token wears,
Five years, ten years.”

What long years are these—years of yearning and of patient hope, intolerable years, did they not hold out the promise of ultimate solace and peace. Yet only the supreme artist, the artist who takes into account his readers' as well as his own

imagination could have achieved the effect which we get here. A lesser poet would have given us a detailed description of those years, but Rossetti knew that he could best make us know of them by leaving them to us. Such passages are numerous indeed, but I must content myself with the two following; from *The Love-Letter*,

"And her breast's secrets peered into her breast"

and from *The Birth Bond*,

"O born with me somewhere that men forget."

The suggestiveness of such a verse as this last cannot be compassed quite, but resembles that of the alluring vistas which we catch in certain of Rossetti's paintings, vistas of distant fairylands seen through an open window or door.

There is a convincing quality in Rossetti's imagination, due, sometimes to the skillful intermixture of verisimilitude, as has already been pointed out, and often to the underlying matter of sense experience. The purely fanciful does not enter in; what the poet sees, he sees not only as the thing in itself, but also as that of which it is capable. Herein lies the power of the creative artist. Looking off to sea on a day of "heat fogs" the poet notices that the sky-line is lost and that sea and sky seem to rise as a single wall. Out of that visual experience he spins this imaginative web, strikingly imaginative, yet wholly tangent with the initial experience and shaping its wings of the very stuff of other common human experience, the sight of flies dropping from a wall as they die.

"But the sea stands spread
As one wall with the flat skies,
Where lean black craft like flies
Seem well-nigh stagnated,
Soon to drop off dead."

This takes us naturally enough to a consideration of the imaginative element in Rossetti's figures of speech, that element which because of its profusion is sometimes distracting, but into which is condensed so much of what the poet had to say. Original, surely, is this from *The Portrait*, though not distracting; and in its calm and melancholy beauty, unsurpassed:

"Here with her face doth memory sit
 Meanwhile, and wait the day's decline,
 'Till other eyes shall look from it,
 Eyes of the spirit's Palestine,
 Even than the old gaze tenderer:
 While hopes and aims long lost with her
 Stand round her image side by side,
 Like tombs of pilgrims that have died
 About the Holy Sepulchre."

From *Rose Mary* is a beautiful but much less striking bit,

"Slowly fades the sun from the wall
 Till day lies dead on the sundial."

The same poem contains this:

"The hours and minutes seemed to whirl
 In a clanging swarm that deafened her."

Reminiscent, perhaps, of the appearance of the angel in the opening of canto II of the *Purgatorio* is this couplet from *The White Ship*:

"At last the morning rose on the sea
 Like an angel's wing that beat tow'rds me."

In *The Dark Glass*, love is characterized as being

"the last relay
 And ultimate outpost of eternity"

while the lover, as compared with Love, is

"One murmuring shell he gathers from the sand,
 One little heart-flame sheltered in his hand."

And here, in *The One Hope*, we have one of those flights, so novel and yet so satisfying, which Rossetti alone could have achieved:

"Shall Peace be still a sunk stream long unmet?"

There are two factors of Rossetti's writings of which one must speak here, for they are so largely the product of his imagination: I mean his magic and his atmosphere. He was exceedingly fond of the ghostly and supernatural; and for magic, he admired Keats, and thought Coleridge one of the greatest of English poets. In the beautiful prose tale which he has left us—*Hand and Soul*¹—he describes a young artist as

¹ Such writing as *Hand and Soul* will be denied the name "poetry" only by those who demand that poetry be in verse.

'They've caught her to Westholm's saddle-bow,
 Sister Helen,
 And her moonlit hair gleams white in its flow.'
 'Let it turn whiter than winter snow,
 Little brother!'
 (O Mother, Mary Mother,
 Woe-withered gold, between Hell and Heaven!)"

And when the wax image is entirely consumed and the lover's lost soul is borne by on the wind, the force of the witchcraft is spent and Helen emerges from witch to woman only to realize that all is lost, even her own soul.

"'Ah! what white thing at the door has cross'd,
 Sister Helen,
 Ah! what is this that sighs in the frost?'
 'A soul that's lost as mine is lost,
 Little brother!'
 (O Mother, Mary Mother,
 Lost, lost, all lost, between Hell and Heaven!)"

In *Rose Mary* and *Eden Bower* the effect is attained, in the first case through the struggle of the girl against the spirits of evil contained in the beryl-stone, and in the latter poem by the yielding of Lilith to the snake element in her nature. The notes for the proposed poems, *Michael Scott's Wooing* and *The Orchard Pit*, show that magic was to be the key-note of both. 'Tis a pity that they were never written. The few stanzas which we have of *The Orchard Pit* make us know something of what we have missed, and show clearly what the tone of the poem would have been. Take these as illustrative.

"Piled deep below the screening apple-branch
 They lie with bitter apples in their hands;
 And some are only ancient bones that blanch,
 And some had ships that last year's wind did launch,
 And some were yesterday the lords of lands.

In the soft dell, among the apple-trees,
 High up above the pit she stands,
 And there forever sings, who gave to these,
 That lie below, her magic hour of ease,
 And those her apples holden in their hands.

This in my dreams is shown me; and her hair
 Crosses my lips and draws my burning breath;
 Her song spreads golden wings upon the air,
 Life's hues are gleaming from her forehead fair,
 And from her breasts the ravishing eyes of Death."

Magic is a note to which Rossetti returns again and again, and we may find many snatches of it throughout his poems. This from *The Bride's Prelude* is unusually fine.

"I woke at midnight, cold and dazed;
 Because I found myself
 Seated upright, with bosom bare,
 Upon my bed, combing my hair,
 Ready to go, I knew not where."

That surely gives one the right thrill and throws open to the imagination the avenues of wonderland! Here is another bit—this time from *The Portrait*—which suggests the painting entitled *How They Met Themselves*. This picture is of two lovers, who, walking by night in a grove, are warned of impending death by suddenly meeting face to face the ghosts of themselves.

"a covert place
 Where you might think to find a din
 Of doubtful talk and a live flame
 Wandering, and many a shape whose name
 Not itself knoweth, and old dew,
And your own footsteps meeting you,
 And all things going as they came."

Magic and atmosphere are often very much at one; but perhaps we may say, though only in a general way, that magic has to do with the struggle of the individual against some elusive and occult power, while atmosphere is the reflection of the state of a soul, on exterior things.

None surely of the longer poems is more the product of atmosphere than *The Bride's Prelude*; and with that fact in mind, we may do well to examine the poem at some length. Just how Rossetti would have ended the poem, which was left fragmentary, it might be hard to say;² but the clouds which have been gathering are surely storm-clouds, and the

² He has left a prose sketch of a proposed ending; but how the finished poem would have compared with this sketch is impossible to tell.

lightning flashes and the thunder groans. The situation becomes increasingly tense, and the crisis, had it come, must needs have been sudden and violent. The Bride is about to be married to the man who had seduced and forsaken her, the man who had caused her such anguish that her child had been still-born, the man whom she has learned to hate and who has come back to marry her only for his own advantage. Before the wedding takes place the Bride feels that she must unbosom herself of her unhappy past to her sister who is just back from a convent and quite ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen the Bride. The distress of these two girls,—of the one because she must confess, of the other because she must hear what costs so much to confess,—is tenseness itself; and of this we are made aware, not by being told so in so many words, but by finding it reflected in their reaction to their surroundings and in the correspondence of those surroundings with their own inner selves.

“‘Sister,’ said busy Amelotte
 To listless Aloyse;
 ‘Along your wedding road the wheat
 Bends as to hear your horse’s feet,
 And the noonday stands still for heat.’”

In this very first stanza, we already know something, and it is a considerable something of these women, simply because the one is “busy” and the other “listless.” And how much the listlessness of Aloyse is heightened by the wheat’s bending to hear her horse’s feet, and by the noonday’s standing still for heat! And here is a splendid glimpse into the nature of the sister to whom the bride felt she must confess. Among other objects is

“A slim-curved lute, which now,
 At Amelotte’s sudden passing there,
 Was swept in somehow unaware,
 And shook to music the close air.”

How could the Bride keep a secret from the girl at whose mere passing the lute-strings are stirred? And it is not because Amelotte is an inquisitive newsgatherer, but only because she is strong and of a largeness of sympathy which unwittingly elicits confidence. The noonday heat is oppressive;

but see how much more oppressive it becomes because the heart-sick Bride projects herself upon it!

"Beneath the drooping brows, the stir
Of thought made noonday heavier.

Long sat she silent; and then raised
Her head, with such a gasp
As while she summoned breath to speak
Fanned high that furnace in the cheek
But sucked the heart-pulse cold and weak."

And see how her sad heart has colored the past seasons of her youth.

"(Oh gather round her now, all ye
Past seasons of her fear,—
Sick springs, and summers deadly cold!
To flight your hovering wings unfold,
For now your secret shall be told.

Ye many sunlights, barbed with darts
Of dread detecting flame,—
Gaunt moonlights that like sentinels
Went past with iron clank of bells,—
Draw round and render up your spells!)"

The Bride is about to speak, and is summoning all possible courage, but the silence itself weighs upon her and only renders her agony more acute. That moment is one of those in which seconds seem like minutes and minutes like hours, a subtle and awesome moment in which the scales are turned by a bird's song. The string cannot be tightened any more: either it is attuned or it must break.

"A bird had out its song and ceased
Ere the Bride spoke."

To make her sister's confession less painful, Amelotte avoids looking at her and conceals her own face in her hands. How intent she is upon hearing is reflected in her immobility.

"The bride took breath to pause; and turned
Her gaze where Amelotte
Knelt,—the gold hair upon her back
Quite still in all its threads,—the track
Of her still shadow sharp and black."

To listen to such a tale would in itself have been trying enough, but to listen without being able to see the speaker and to wait through the pauses was well-nigh terror.

“That listening without sight had grown
 To stealthy dread; and now
 That the one sound she had to mark
 Left her alone too, she was stark
 Afraid, as children in the dark.

Her fingers felt her temples beat:
 Then came that brain-sickness
Which thinks to scream and murmureth;
 And pent between her hands the breath
 Was damp against her face like death.”

Shame is a denizen of dark recesses and flees before sunshine as Satan is said to do at sight of a cross.

“Where Amelotte was sitting, all
 The light and warmth of day
 Were so upon her without shade,
 That the thing seemed by sunshine made
 Most foul and wanton to be said.”

And once more we know how stilly and oppressive this noonday is.

“Through the bride's lattice there crept in
 At whiles (from where the train
 Of minstrels, till the marriage-call,
 Loitered at window of the wall,
 Stray lute-notes, sweet and musical.

They clung in the green growths and moss
 Against the outside stone;
 Low like dirge-wail or requiem
 They murmured, lost 'twixt leaf and stem:
 There was no wind to carry them.”

We need not stop for illustrations of his atmosphere for others of Rossetti's poems: *The Bride's Prelude* has afforded us a sufficient store. And this atmosphere we have seen to be a subtle tone by which we may know a mood, for example, without being told of it. It is an analysis or presentation of the mood's reflection rather than of the mood itself.

I have hinted before at Rossetti's power to depict emotions.

It is a unique note with him and one of his most characteristic. Moods are so much a part of him, so vital and keen a part of him, that he can articulate them perfectly. And the very fact that, in his painting, as in his poetry, he was forever concerned with the picturing of moods, made for that clearness and precision of presentation which are peculiar to him. Mood with him meant the soul become articulate, the soul reaching out to "the ultimate outpost of eternity;" and Art could not be the expression of anything less. That is why his achievement is at so high a level: it is the interpretation of ecstasy; nay, it is ecstasy itself. And because ecstasy is momentary and must be caught in a breath, the lyric is its proper instrument, and Rossetti a lyric poet. His language may not always be spontaneous, in fact it rarely is; yet his inspiration is not only spontaneous, but deep-rooted and authentic; and the best possible proof of it is to be found in the large number of excellent sonnets which he has written. When one has molded his initial impulse into a good sonnet and a good poem, the core of his inspiration must indeed have been large to withstand the shaping which the form has imposed upon it. So form, by the way, may be, among other things, an excellent acid with which the poet can try out his substance.

Mood is the stuff of poetry as action is of drama or clear sequence of logic; and it is mood which we have in the "perfect grief" of *The Woodspurge*, the listlessness of *Autumn Idleness*, the intense yearning of *Broken Music*, the despair of *Lost on Both Sides*, and in the bulk of what Rossetti has left us. And as those conflicting hopes which, in their quest for peace, only frustrate one another, so will the writers who heed other voices than those of the moods, fall short of their goal—Poetry, wander aimlessly.

"and wind among
Its bye-streets, knocking at the dusty inns."

BOOK REVIEWS

THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1919—xiii, 454 pp.

No doubt it is much too early yet to hope for a complete biography of Theodore Roosevelt,—complete in the sense in which Morley's *Gladstone*, or even Thayer's *Hay* is complete. Perhaps it is too early to expect even a reasonably unprejudiced, judicial sketch of the man. Thayer's *Roosevelt* is not a complete biography, neither is it a judicial sketch. From cover to cover it is pro-Roosevelt; from cover to cover it is the Roosevelt of Roosevelt's appreciative autobiography or of Thayer's admiring eyes, not the Roosevelt measured by his own acts assessed by universal standards.

One chapter of twenty-two pages Mr. Thayer indeed devotes to "Hits and Misses," and of this chapter nine pages give the sum total of the "Misses." Roosevelt was tactically in error on the occasion of his luncheon with Booker T. Washington; he had mistaken views on the tariff, which he declared familiarly to Mr. Thayer was "only a question of expediency." Throughout the rest of his active life and the remaining four hundred and forty-five pages of the book, he was dead right, first, last, and all the time.

Roosevelt was right when he stayed "regular" in 1884, right when he bolted in 1912; right when he connived at revolution in Panama; right when he declared in 1904 that "under no circumstances will I be a candidate for and accept the nomination for another term," right when in 1912 he was a candidate for and did accept another such nomination. When Mr. La-Follette advocated, in the 1912 campaign, certain measures of popular government, we are told that he "had caught up early some of Bryan's demagogic doctrines." When Roosevelt championed the same, Mr. Thayer explains that "to arrive at social justice was his life-long endeavor," and that "he would rather die in that cause than be victorious in any other." One more bit of casuistry helps to show to what lengths Mr. Thayer goes in providing his hero with garments of perfection. ". . . He took it for granted," we are told, "that

even the strangers who heard him would hold his remarks as confidential. When, therefore, one of his hearers went outside and reported in public what the President had said, Roosevelt disavowed it, and put the babblers in the Ananias class. What a President wishes the public to know, he tells it himself. What he utters in private should, in honor, be held as confidential."

The deplorable part of it is that Theodore Roosevelt needs no such whitewashing as this. Neither the magnitude of his achievements nor the general wholesomeness of his influence on American life can reasonably be denied. Not the most prejudiced portrait can take from him his irrepressible energy, his predominant honesty, his love, by and large, for what was fair and square, his cleansing influence on politics, his success as a "practical" statesman. Neither can any whitewasher's brush conceal the defects that accompanied those virtues,—his egotism, his occasional truculence, his "passion for immediate results," his tendency to let the end justify the means. Mr. Thayer had an opportunity to give his readers a fair picture of a splendid man. His use of it will add neither to Mr. Roosevelt's glory as a statesman nor to his own as a biographer.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

United States Naval Academy.

THE DICKENS CIRCLE. By J. W. T. Ley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919. Profusely illustrated, with index,—424 pp.

If there is any justification at all for the numerous books on literary circles—and few will dispute their value to students—certainly such a book dealing with Dickens, the most authentic voice of Victorianism, merits serious attention.

Mr. Ley's book has seventy-seven chapters, each devoted to one or more friends of Dickens. Seventy-five different names appear in the titles of chapters, and there are several chapters devoted to whole groups of people. This mob of characters is well calculated to make the reader accept the publishers' claim that Mr. Ley gives adequate proof of Dickens' "amazing capacity" for friendship. The names span the

whole century in time and cover a very wide range of human interests. Poets, novelists, dramatists, actors, artists, critics, statesmen, lawyers, editors, lords, and business men—from such relicts of the preceding age as Jeffrey and Rogers, through the mid-century period of Thackeray, Carlyle, and Hood, to the younger men who lived almost to the end of the century—all are presented in their various relationships to Dickens. If we agree with the author (p. 4) that all these persons really constituted a circle, of which Dickens was the dominant figure, we should certainly have to leave Dr. Johnson to take care of himself while we admitted Mr. Ley's assertion that "no man ever had a bigger or more notable circle." But Mr. Ley himself, after claiming in the introductory chapter that his characters form a real circle, admits later that some of them are little more than speaking acquaintances. If Carlyle was really a member of the circle dominated by Dickens, we have in *Hard Times* a most notable example of the tail wagging the dog. It is even more surprising to find Washington Irving, Holmes, and Tennyson presented as belonging to a circle of which Dickens was the head. In view of the title of the book, the author's ambition for numbers is plainly a little indiscriminate. This does not alter the fact, however, that he has made a pretty close study of all the characters of any note with whom Dickens had dealings and has brought together in one volume an account of the novelist's relations with them. In some cases he has corrected and in others he has augmented the copious material presented in John Forster's standard biography of Dickens.

The interest of the general reader will be materially increased by the numerous illustrations, including sketches by Cruikshank, Leech, and Thackeray, and by many portraits seldom or never printed before. To Dickensians the accounts of amateur theatricals, celebration dinners, and the Dickens illustrators will be of value. The student of nineteenth-century literature will be interested in Dickens' friendship with Landor, Hunt, and Thackeray, the first resulting in Landor's appearance as Boythorn in *Bleak House*, the second in Leigh Hunt's embarrassing portrait as Harold Skimpole (also, as a matter of course, in financial advantage for Hunt), and the

third in a famous estrangement. In discussing the break between Dickens and Thackeray, Mr. Ley, though a Dickensian, shows himself no idolater, for he places the blame squarely, though gently, on Dickens, with whom it certainly belongs.

There are points in the book—and they are the points that throw the most interesting side-lights on the times—at which the reader might imagine himself back in a Dickens novel. All the weepiness of Dickens at his worst is suggested by the tears of Macready and Jeffrey (*quantum mutatus* from the tartarly *Quarterly* days!) over Little Nell, and the broken-hearted sobs of Macaulay over the first number of *Dombey*. The honest benevolence with which the novelist patronizes Tom Pinch, Joe Gargery, *et al.*, has its counterpart in Mr. Ley's picture of Dickens bestowing his blessing on Augustus Egg. "Augustus!" he would call across the table, apropos of nothing, and oblivious of other diners, "Augustus!" then, generously, "God bless you, Augustus."

It is hardly within the province of the reviewer to dwell long on matters of proof-reading and diction, yet it should be noted in passing that typographical errors occur rather too often (e. g., pp. 12, 16, 85, 365,) and that Mr. Ley's use of "a lot," "nice," and "enthused" is somewhat careless.

The Dickens Circle is no more a book to be read from cover to cover than is the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but, in spite of its dubious claims in regard to the "Circle" and its rather unattractive organization, it fully justifies its publishers' statement that it is a valuable addition to the literature dealing with Dickens.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

CURRENTS AND EDDIES IN THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC GENERATION. By Frederick E. Pierce, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918—342 pp.

The history of romanticism is commonly looked upon as the history of the heredity and evolution of a family of general ideas. It is more or less the fashion to link together the developments of several allied abstractions,—the return to Nature, the revival of interest in the Middle Ages, renewal of the spirit of individualism,—and to call them the Romantic

Movement. We might as well group the Penobscot, the Hudson, the Delaware, the James, and the Mississippi under the general name of the Atlantic Movement. Because the associated romantic concepts do not unite to form one mighty river of thought but rather are separate tributaries progressing,—some of them merely meandering,—toward a distant ocean, the method which Professor Pierce has employed for his historical survey of the English romantic generation is indeed well chosen. He discusses in turn various groups of authors, groups which are differentiated by their geographical associations and by their characteristic literary interests, romantic or reactionary. Typical chapter headings are: "The Eddy Around Bristol; Rousseau and the French Revolution in Poetry, 1794-1799," "The Scotch Group and the Antiquarian Movement in Poetry, 1800-1805 and Thereafter," "The Eddy Around Leigh Hunt," "The Elizabethan Current and *The London Magazine*," "The Expatriated Poets and the Italian Movement in Poetry."

From another point of view also the method is admirable, for it places emphasis upon personality. Important as is the matter of abstract generalizations, the generalizations are significant only as they are vivified in the person of authors. Therefore it is especially fortunate that a scholar of Professor Pierce's clear intelligence has been able to combine neatly a history of the course of various romantic notions with a history of the interrelations of English romanticists. The result is a highly informative book presenting several new ideas and a few valuable facts not recorded in earlier essays in the field. What is more, it is a readable book, displaying its author's own personality in the occasional intrusion of a characteristically American metaphor, often a humorous metaphor, among the decorous lines of conventionally polished writing.

Knox College.

ROBERT CALVIN WHITFORD.

BOOKS IN THE WAR: THE ROMANCE OF LIBRARY WAR SERVICE. By Theodore Wesley Koch. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1919—xix, 388 pp.

Mr. Koch, who is chief of the Order Department of the Library of Congress, was in close touch with the work of the

American Library Association, both in America and abroad, and knows from personal experience what reading meant to the men in the European war. He says that his book is not an official report of the American Library Association War Service, but a "human-interest story of what books and reading have meant to the individual soldier and sailor."

It is a "human-interest story" of a great work but, with an atmosphere of sincere feeling and real service through every line of the account, the author has given an accurate and authoritative report of historical value.

The first care of the War Service Committee of the American Library Association was to provide books for the large cantonments in the United States. Library buildings were erected in the camps during the fall and winter of 1917-18—shelving from ten to fifteen thousand volumes each. Interesting details are related of the assembling and handling of the books in the various libraries, including some humorous incidents of inspecting the "gift-horse."

The book campaigns provided material for immediate use and the money received from public subscription was used for the purchase of books of a more serious nature, as the gifts were in the main of the lighter books. Text-books were supplied in great quantities and expensive up-to-date reference books were provided generously.

Naturally there was a great demand for magazines and newspapers from the camps and hospitals in America and overseas. In addition to the magazines sent free, a list of popular and technical magazines were ordered for each camp library and the huts of all organizations giving library service. The metropolitan daily newspapers and selected papers from different sections of the country were supplied to all camps.

Under the title, "Students in Khaki," a chapter is devoted to the co-operation of the A.L.A. with the educational work of the Y.M.C.A. by supplying the books required. Mr. Samuel H. Ranck wrote from Camp Custer in May, 1918: "I was on duty all day Sunday, for a stretch of about fourteen hours, and the caliber of the work on that day was worthy of any university library in this country."

When the American Expeditionary Forces went across, the A.L.A. took up the systematic work, January, 1918, of sending them books, magazines and newspapers from home,—of placing something good to read on ships, in camps, in hospitals, in lookout stations, in trenches and every place in which units of the army and navy were stationed. Books were sent not only to France but also to American troops in England, Italy, Archangel, Vladivostock and American prisoners in Germany. Mr. Koch gives the details of this tremendous undertaking in a way that must surely interest the general reader and certainly does prove fascinating to a librarian.

Permanent headquarters were established in Paris in April, 1918, with the administrative offices of the overseas service in charge of Mr. Burton E. Stevenson.

Through the franking privileges in the Army Post Office, the A.L.A. offered direct mail service to members of the A.E.F. Often as many as 1200 letters asking for special books were received in one day. The records show that "during the month of January, 1919, more than twenty-five hundred individuals were served by this department and the total number of volumes mailed was 33,603."

The library service in the hospitals is described in many conversations with the patients. Their expressions of appreciation are frequently closed with the words, "I should have lost my mind if I could not have had something to read."

In the chapter, "Reading in Prison Camps," Mr. Koch tells of one of the most important services of library workers. There is abundant proof that thousands of prisoners of war were saved from serious mental collapse by having access to reading material. In addition to fiction, magazines, and newspapers, books were furnished on subjects in which the prisoners were specially interested.

The idea of sending pictures and poetry to men in the horror and din of fighting may seem far-fetched but Mr. Koch, with his examples of actual occurrences, shows us how poetry and good pictures helped the men to remember that there is beauty in the world.

"Books for Blinded Soldiers" deserves a part of the work which received much thought and care. The soldiers were

taught to read and write in Braille and books were supplied them for recreational reading and instruction in various occupations.

In addition to the part of the American Library Association in the war, a full account is given of the work done by the library organizations in Great Britain.

The book is attractive in appearance and is illustrated with more than one hundred excellent photographs which are in themselves a most interesting story of "books in the war."

EVA E. MALONE.

LIGHT, A NOVEL. By Henri Barbusse, translated by Fitzwater Wray. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. First Edition, 1919—309 pp.

To anyone whose appetite for war books has not been satisfied this work may be recommended as one of the first rank. It will stand comparison with the "Four Horsemen," which it resembles in some particulars of method, perhaps due to a common ancestry in Emile Zola. Indeed it is superior to Blasco Ibáñez' popular work in unity and in vision. There are passages which suggest Wells' "Joan and Peter," but this is undoubtedly a coincidence due to a similarity of viewpoint and an identity of scenes described. The descriptions are etched by a master hand. Metaphor follows metaphor in almost excessive profusion. The reader almost feels as if they are being sprayed upon him by a machine gun. The realism of the novel is at times relieved by passages of fine lyric quality.

The story relates very naturally the daily routine of a most typical young man in a small French manufacturing town. Simon Paulin is a clerk in the office of a large factory. He has been brought up by an old aunt, who keeps house for him. He has the usual white-collared respect for employer, church and noble, and for "things as they are." We accompany him as he returns from work and meet various town characters—the old general repair man, the tavern keeper, the drunken Socialist blacksmith, and others. Paulin's aunt dies, he falls in love with his cousin Marie, courts and marries her. He takes a patronizing interest in the laboring man and rejoices when a demonstration is broken up by the employers'

simple expedient of plying the labor leaders with champagne until they are too drunk to know what they are about.

Then comes mobilization, with the general breaking up of the national life and the reaction to it of the various members of our group. Paulin finds himself in uniform, marching and countermarching, and digging trenches and carrying huge packs for countless miles. Finally a German attack throws back the line of defence and during the counter-attack, while in the act of grappling with a German, he is seriously wounded. He lies unattended for three days and during that time in his delirium he sees things in a new light—as they are, as they may be, as they should be. He evolves a philosophy strongly contrasted with his old attitude. He goes over the causes of war and the chances of wars ceasing. He defines religion and patriotism. He looks for a brighter day of internationalism, when love of country will be supplemented by love of humanity.

He is finally discharged from the hospital and his wife takes him home. He sees the changes wrought by the war—the newly rich, the widows, the church damaged by a bomb. He attends a memorial service and is disgusted with the chauvinistic sentiments expressed. Have the dead died in vain? And has he fought for this? Why, when we have destroyed the old, bad order, build it up again? Why cannot all the nations get together and build a new and more lasting structure—a system built on men, not on things? We leave him at home with his wife, trying to adjust himself to the world and his new viewpoint.

FRED A. G. COWPER.

IRELAND AND ENGLAND. By Edward Raymond Turner. New York: The Century Company, 1919,—504 pp.

THE NEW MAP OF ASIA. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: The Century Company, 1919,—xiv, 571 pp.

At first thought it would seem unnatural to notice these two books in the same review, but the tasks of the authors have many points of similarity and the results of their performance are easily the subjects of contrast. Both authors have undertaken to supply a real need by reviewing the his-

torical background and stating the points at issue in contentious questions now much in the public mind with an attempt to make them clear to popular readers of average information. Neither had an easy task, and it would be unreasonable to expect either to have succeeded to the entire satisfaction of any reviewer. As a matter of fact, Professor Turner seems to have brought to his task as nearly the correct attitude of mind for its performance and to have applied himself to his undertaking as conscientiously as one could expect. Not so Mr. Gibbons. He begins by creating two imaginary foes to combat, which he calls "European eminent domain" and "imperialism," and then spends his volume in an effort to slay these demons. The result is that one can recommend Professor Turner's book to an inquiring citizen anxious to inform himself about the Irish question, but nobody wishing to inspire a sane state of mind about Asia would commend Mr. Gibbons' book in the same way.

Professor Turner organizes his material in three nearly equal parts. The first is a review of Irish history from the earliest time through the famine, and nowhere else in so short a compass is there a better statement of the essential information for one who would understand the Irish question. There may be grounds of accusing the author of giving too little attention to difficult subjects like the passage of the Act of Union and the failure of the attempt at compromise in the early years of the French war, but on the whole the work is well done. The second part was not so easy and will satisfy fewer informed readers. The first chapter in this part, "The Beginning of a New Spirit," contributes little to the treatise and might have been omitted without much loss. But the remaining chapters on the reforms of the nineteenth century and the agitation for Home Rule in the twentieth are perhaps as impartial and as accurate as could be hoped, despite the many disputatious points that could be raised. The third part on "Irish Nationality and the War," which includes also some of the author's opinions and conclusions, certainly merits inclusion in the book, though, in the nature of things, few will commend it as highly as the rest of the work. There is a useful critical bibliography at the end of the volume.

Professor Turner writes as one who feels with Ireland but who, because of his study of English history, can also see the justice of much of the English point of view to which the sympathizers with Ireland are too often blind. In fact, in an effort to combat what he assumes, no doubt with some justification, is a general American prejudice, Professor Turner probably leans a little more than he realized toward the English side of the discussion. On the whole, though, in spite of an assumption of their ignorance that will almost be resented by some of the readers for which the book was intended, and of some generalizations which will make it difficult for many of the initiated to repress smiles, the author has rendered a difficult and needed service.

No doubt we shall have many more polemic books about Asia; perhaps we need them. We are but on the threshold of what must likely be a long period of discussion of questions pertaining to that continent. Had Mr. Gibbons offered his book frankly as a contribution to that type of literature, no objection to it could be offered. Those sufficiently informed about the subject to have opinions about it one way or another might find a stimulus to further reflection in the pronounced views which Mr. Gibbons states so positively and dogmatically. He has a large fund of information, and, in that respect, few persons are better equipped to write the manual so much needed. The trouble is, he lacks almost entirely the impartial, judicial attitude that ought to characterize a book of this sort.

Many readers will feel much sympathy with the emotional attitude of Mr. Gibbons, and his indignation is by no means wholly unrighteous. But if the dominant powers of Europe are as entirely bad as he leaves the impression they are and the United States has decided to acquiesce in their villainy, what boots it? It is no doubt a bad world, but why all the tears about Asia? The needier fields for study and missionary endeavor would seem rather to be Europe and America.

Scarcely a chapter in the book, in addition to, perhaps because of, this general partizan character, but contains points which may well be questioned. Take the subject of the Ottoman Empire, about which the author writes with the advantage of much first-hand information. He devotes an entire

chapter to "Palestine and the Zionists" in which his revolving emotions develop several tangents. In the first place, should the settlement of Jews as now planned in Palestine prove successful, it would be under British auspices and so would extend the dominion of that arch fiend of the shadowy "European eminent domain" with which Mr. Gibbons is obsessed. But, were that not true, it would be altogether wrong to permit the establishment of a Jewish theocratic state in the old land of the Hebrews. For one thing, a theocracy is contrary to the spirit of political institutions as they have developed in the twentieth century. Besides, the Jews would not be likely to treat well the native population who do not wish to be molested. True, Mr. Gibbons thinks these natives ought to be made into democrats of some sort, willy nilly, but that is another question.

The chapters on China and Japan have the same intolerant character, though there is a sympathetic treatment of the rise of Japan that would deserve wider circulation were it not interwoven with so much that is questionable. Even here, one cannot wholly agree with the author. He says, for example (p. 477): "There never would have been any Japanese imperialism had European powers not been conscienceless hogs." There is no need to comment on a characteristic sentence of this sort. It makes clearer than any criticism the defects which make Mr. Gibbons' book as unsatisfactory for the purposes for which it was intended as Professor Turner's is welcome and useful.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

BELGIUM: A PERSONAL NARRATIVE. By Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1919, 2 vols.—xi, 661, 818 pp.

For a number of reasons Mr. Whitlock's *Belgium* enjoys a distinction among the many personal narratives relating to the World War. The author was a lover of the country long before he became official representative of the United States. The natural scenery, the monuments of art in its cities, the traditions and customs of the people appealed to his sense of

beauty and his love of things antiquarian. It is not surprising therefore that his sympathy for the Belgian nation in its years of suffering is profound. The soul of the people, refined and strengthened by adversity, stands revealed in his pages. For the interpretation of character and description of events Mr. Whitlock has the rare literary power of suggestion,—personages seem to stand before the reader's eye, small happenings have a significance not specifically told in words, and great scenes are portrayed with a few bold sentences. It is the case of the artist revealing the mind, the soul of the subject, through media wholly material. The text is also fortified with numerous documents which reinforce the story or fortify the views of the author. Altogether a more authoritative or more damning commentary on German militarism has not been presented; for sheer power of conviction it will live as long as the war is a recorded fact of history.

The treatment of three matters deserves especial notice. First is the organization of relief for the civilian population. It was at the American legation that the food problem was discussed and plans laid for a local relief organization, the Brussels *Comité Central de Secours et d' Alimentation*. This in turn gave birth to a national organization, the *Comité National*, with sub-committees in every province. The moving spirit was M. Emile Franqui, who stood in relation to the administration of relief work in Belgium that Herbert Hoover did to the world organization, the Commission for the Relief of Belgium. The functioning of the national and the world organizations was perfected at meetings of their representatives at the American Legation. The scenes at relief kitchens are described briefly but with a world of pathos. The scope of the work is indicated by the following incident:

"When our problems seemed for the moment all to have been solved, I broached another question that had long been on my heart; it concerned the great, patient draft-dogs, those that the Germans had not requisitioned. They turned their pathetic eyes on me from under their carts, in what I could imagine as a dumb appeal:

'Ce qu' l y a de meilleur en l'homme c'est le chien.'

"I had a suspicion that those dogs had not enough to eat: I could share my own rations with my own dog, but what of those dogs of the street that worked so hard, leading a dog's life indeed, with no trade union, no *syndicat*, nothing to represent them, but trusting wholly to the capricious generosity of man?

"'Oh,' said Mr. Hoover to my joy, 'I've already thought of that. We are organizing a department to issue biscuits to chiens de service, but chiens de luxe must depend on the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables.'" (Vol. II, p. 233)

In strong contrast to the humanity thus portrayed is the brutality and duplicity in the trial and execution of Edith Cavell. Interesting is the opinion of Mr. Whitlock concerning the reason for the execution. "The armies of Great Britain were just then making an offensive and it was partly in petty spite for this, partly an expression of the violent hatred the Germans bore everything English . . . that they did what they did." In all the annals of militarism no incident was beset with greater duplicity or inhumanity or was less calculated to win moral support for a cause. And no such incident has had a better annalist than Mr. Whitlock.

The third subject of paramount interest is the German policy of forcing the Belgians to work for the enemy of their country. This "Monstrous Thing" is described with minute detail and numerous documents are cited in evidence. Yet the Belgian spirit was unbroken and unconquered. The more severe the persecution, the more refined and more irresistible became the temper of Belgian patriotism; the naked souls of men remained undestroyed, though their bodies were forced to yield obedience. The reader can not help but raise the questions: Will such a policy ever be repeated? Has militarism learned a lesson? Will moral, humanitarian considerations be preserved in future wars or will civilization finally collapse?

Certain personalities stand in bold relief. There were Hermancito Bulle, the kindly, helpful Mexican who died under the strain of his duties as a neutral, and Villalobar, the Spanish Ambassador, man of the world, well poised, efficient, cynical, helpful. How much might the memoirs of the latter add to the list of war literature! Minor characters now and

then loom clear; such was the German officer who drew his hand across his face wearily and said, "This thing of standing old peasants up against the wall—well, it's no business for a gentleman." Such personages and such incidents give to the reader a constant sense of expectancy and leave an impression more lasting than thousands of documents.

W. K. B.

MARE NOSTRUM, A NOVEL. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez; translated from the Spanish by Charlotte Brewster Jordan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919.

Mare Nostrum (Our Sea) forms a companion novel to "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." As the latter showed the Allies and Germany struggling on land, this work shows the submarine warfare and the German spy system in words that no one but Blasco Ibáñez could write.

It begins with the story of a seafaring family of Valencia, then relates the history of Mediterranean towns and heroes, the natural history of the ocean bottom, describes Italy on the point of entering the war, the meeting of a German siren with a full-blooded sailor and the train of circumstances following therefrom. Captain Ferragut has agreed to carry a cargo of oil to some German submarines. Not able to use his own vessel because of objections on the part of his mate, he sends it home to Barcelona and carries the cargo on a strange vessel. But he pays heavily for his assistance to the submarines. Esteban, his only son, when he sees his father's boat return without its captain, thinks that Ferragut is deserting his family and goes to Naples to look for him. Being told that his father has started for home, he sets sail for Barcelona and becomes one of the first victims of the submarine. On learning of his son's death, Captain Ferragut becomes conscious of the inhumanity of submarine warfare and dedicates himself to the single idea of revenge. His boat carries supplies for the Allies at the Dardanelles and at Salonika. He brings about the death of two of his old acquaintances, important members of the German secret service. He rather brutally repels the siren on several occasions when she pleads to be rescued from

the spy system. Both Freya and Ferragut meet tragic ends in the performance of duty.

The book is, of course, full of striking descriptive passages in the characteristic Ibáñez manner. The central picture, corresponding to the Battle of the Marne in the "Four Horsemen," describes the Naples Aquarium and its inhabitants. Captain Ferragut, waiting there in the hope of meeting Freya, the siren, while away the time before the numerous tanks. At last he stands before the cuttlefish and there Freya appears. The repulsive creatures excite in her the most brutal sensuality, she throws her arms about Ferragut and kisses him in a manner similar to that in which the cuttlefish seizes the living food thrown to him by his keeper. From that moment the captain is in the woman's toils. She is the type that appears in so many of Ibáñez' novels, the Dona Sol type, but here the character is very highly developed. The author has treated her in such a way that while we loathe her much of the time, we feel that she is the victim of circumstances and her end inspires in us sympathy and pity.

The colorful descriptions, interesting plot, and unusual characters make this work rank among Blasco Ibáñez' best novels. It has points of resemblance with Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea." The Aquarium scene and the final chapter suggest the battle with the octopus and the fate of Hugo's hero.

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER.

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CONTENTS

THE AMERICAN COTTON ASSOCIATION	97
ROBERT P. BROOKS	
PRESERVING NORTH CAROLINA'S WORLD WAR RECORDS AS A STATE ENTERPRISE	109
ROBERT BURTON HOUSE	
PRICE INFLATION: ITS BENEFICIARIES AND ITS VICTIMS	118
WILLIAM H. GLASSON	
THE DEVIL IN THE PLAYHOUSE	131
THORNTON S. GRAVES	
LEXIPHANES: SATIRE'S VIEW OF DOCTOR JOHNSON	141
ROBERT C. WHITFORD	
FRENCH PROBLEMS	157
WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY	
"THE SIMPLE COBBLER OF AGAWAM"	163
ROY F. DIBBLE	
PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY	171
CLARK S. NORTHUP	
BOOK REVIEWS	176

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Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

OCTOBER, 1919

North Carolina's New Educational System.....	<i>Eugene C. Brooks</i>
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Democracy or Disaster.....	<i>William Thomas LaPrade</i>
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Rossetti Studies: The Lyric.....	<i>Albert Edmund Trombly</i>
Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina.....	<i>Edgar W. Knight</i>
Book Reviews.....	

JANUARY, 1919

The South's Labor Problem.....	<i>Monroe N. Work</i>
Two Famous Poems of the World War.....	<i>H. E. Harmon</i>
Poets of the American Ambulance.....	<i>Walter Graham</i>
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For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

The Sewanee Review is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

The American Cotton Association

ROBERT P. BROOKS

Macon, Ga.

I

Side by side with incalculable suffering and material losses, war periods bring social, political and economic convulsions which in the long run often prove beneficial to mankind. So great is man's inertia that he tends to put up with conditions which limit his progress until shaken out of his accustomed well-worn ruts by the forces let loose in such times as we have recently had. National emergencies set the wheels of change moving in some lines and in others accelerate the pace of movements already begun. It is practically never possible to restore ante-bellum conditions. Witness the world changes now going on in the realm of international trade and national industry, as well as the far-reaching developments of a political character and readjustments in the relations of capital and labor.

The cotton South, along with the rest of the world, is being powerfully affected by the uprooting of old conditions. The ills of the cotton farmer are an ancient and oft-repeated story.¹ His spokesmen represent him as being cursed with inefficient labor, oppressed by a wretched credit system, exploited by spinner, speculator and compress interests, and show that for two generations he has been able to wrest from the land a bare living. The cotton planter has always felt that, having an ideal climate and soil and a practical monopoly of one of the world's

¹ M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, Chs. V, VI, X. (Publications of the American Economic Association, 1897.)

R. P. Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution in Georgia*, pages 32-36. (University of Wisconsin Studies, 1914.)

Hammond, "Cotton Production in the South since 1865." (*South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. VI. 87-104.)

St.G. L. Sioussat, "Economic History of the South." (*History Teachers' Magazine*, vol. 7, pp. 224-229.)

prime necessities, he ought to be prosperous. That he has not been he attributes to adverse forces with which he could not successfully contend.

The conditions surrounding the cotton farmer have been graphically described by the man who is now playing the role of a modern Moses, leading his people out of economic bondage. In a number of papers and published speeches, Mr. J. Skottowe Wannamaker, President of the American Cotton Association, has painted in drab hues an impressive picture of the cotton South.²

In his speech before the New Orleans Convention of the American Cotton Association he said:

"While interested broadly in the welfare and happiness of the whole country, we are primarily and immediately concerned with the South and its problems, and to it we shall give our main attention. This favored section of the United States ought to have been the most prosperous part of our nation. It has a fertile soil that will produce any crop grown in America, in fact almost any crop grown anywhere in the world. It has vast natural resources, including water power and minerals; it has an unrivalled climate, with mild winters and summers and only occasional storms. It offers certainly opportunities of every kind inferior to none to be had elsewhere. It would seem then that the South should have become the garden spot of America, that it should contain a dense white population, and yet with these many natural advantages and the stirring record of the South in all phases of human endeavor in America before the introduction of cotton, the South is today cursed with illiteracy, bad roads, and poverty when it should be the leader in prosperity and enlightenment. That the South is poor, the poorest section of the United States, is evidenced by the tax assessment of the government, in the calls for Liberty Loans, for Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other national demands on the loyalty and ability of the people. The South was assessed the least, not because it was the least loyal, but because it had the least money. Why is this true?

In the practical monopoly in the production of cotton the South has long held in its hand the opportunity to become immensely wealthy. But the production of cotton in the South has brought wealth to every section of the globe where it is handled commercially except in

² *Carolina Farmer and Stockman*, Nov. 1, 1919. (Charleston, S. C.) Speech delivered at the Convention of the American Cotton Association, New Orleans, La., Sept. 8, 1919.

Modern Farming, Nov. 10, 1919 (New Orleans). Address delivered at the World Cotton Conference.

The Banker-Farmer, Nov. 19, 1919 (Champaign, Ill.). "What Cotton Must Bring."

Modern Farming, Nov. 25, 1919 (New Orleans). "Complete Change Wrought in Cotton Industry by Organized Producers."

New York Commercial, Jan. 10, 1920. "How the American Cotton Association Aids the Farmers of the South."

Manufacturers' Record, Nov. 20, 1919, p. 95.

the South; to the South it has brought poverty along with other misfortunes. It has blessed mankind wherever the sun shines except in the South; to the South it has proved a curse. For the production of cotton in the South brought Negro slavery; the slaves were sold into physical bondage, and the South at the same time thereby became foredoomed to commercial bondage. It exchanged its birthright for a vile mess of pottage. It cannot be questioned that had it not been for the production of cotton, the South would have been the country's greatest granary, its stock-raising center. Her vast mineral resources would have been developed and manufacturing on a great scale would have early been started and developed. Concretely put, it may be declared that the production of cotton in the South is responsible for the following deplorable results: Negro slavery, that ultimately caused the War between the States, and after it only slave labor in practice if not in theory; the enslaving of the South to the production of cotton with cheap, inefficient labor and unable financially to shift its economic life, since with meager returns from the production of cotton the producers were unable to finance other commercial undertakings, or to grow other money crops. These starvation wages for labor forced on the South through unfair returns for its cotton linger still today and have brought in effect the illiteracy of the South, its impoverishment, its bad roads, the enforced withdrawal of the white population from rural communities where they are unable to support schools for their children and to find even meager comforts and recreation. Even the negro slave is now unwilling to remain on the farm, for with his new aspirations he is no longer satisfied with his uncomfortable surroundings. It is responsible for the child-labor and the woman-labor on the farms in the South, where they often labor from early morn till late evening performing manual labor beyond their power of endurance in tilling the soil and gathering the crop. It has often made it impossible for the producer of cotton to own sufficient cotton clothing made from his own product and manufactured with great profit by spinners who would sell it back to him at a cost beyond his reach. And added to this economic depression and mental backwardness the people of the South were forced through the production of cotton to become the defenders of slavery and are so until this day condemned by the thinking world. They become the victims of a vindictive peace and were long the sufferers of sectional prejudice even from their own national government. And the natural demand that cotton should be grown cheap and sold cheap has forced the South to appear in everlasting defense of its life-product and in the fatal position of organizing within the country an *ex parte* government for its own protection. These things furnish the answer to the question why the South is poor and not rich."

The unprosperous character of cotton farming has been due to three main causes: (1) an unscientific general system of farming; (2) the crop lien arrangements; and (3) an unsatisfactory marketing system.

Farming in the cotton belt has been unscientific and uneconomic until very recently. There has never been practiced that wise diversification of agriculture which would make it possible for the farmer to provide his own living and regard his cotton as a money crop, the ups and downs of which would be a matter of comparative unimportance. On the contrary, he has tended for a half-century to stake everything on the cotton crop.

To go no further back than the Civil War, this exclusive devotion to cotton is a product of conditions beyond the farmer's control. In the sixties and seventies he was without capital except land. To obtain the means of production—farm animals and equipment, food and clothing for his family—he was driven to appeal to the town supply merchant. Having no collateral to offer for advances except nearly worthless land, the practice arose of giving a lien on the cotton crop when it was planted. Practice crystalized into custom and soon the vast operations of the cotton belt proceeded on the basis of liens on the cotton crop. No other crop was so certain of making; no other could so stand drought, rain and inefficient labor. The farmer thus entered thralldom to the supply merchant. The supplies he received were sold to him at ruinous prices and interest charges.

The marketing system was intimately bound up with the credit system. Rent notes became due in the fall and the merchants expected immediate payment. A glutted market and low prices almost invariably resulted. Merchants, warehousemen and speculators might, and frequently did, hold cotton for better prices, but the producer never got the advantage of them.

II

The remedy for these economic maladies seems obvious enough when stated—diversification, better credit facilities, and revolutionary changes in marketing methods; but it is easier to prescribe than to effect a cure. Diversification can be realized only by overcoming the weight of inertia and skepticism of farmers wedded to a one-crop regime and in spite of a laboring population lacking in versatility and intelligence; reformation of the credit and marketing systems can come

only through a determined and successful fight against vested interests of a powerful character. Farmers are hard to organize into a co-operative effort; individualism is their strongest trait, especially in the South; whereas, the agencies interested in maintaining the *status quo* are well organized and in control of the financial machinery of the country. The Herculean task of marshaling the hitherto inarticulate masses of Southern farmers is, however, actually in process and the progress already made is such as to hold out hopes of ultimate success.

The American Cotton Association was organized at a propitious time. By the beginning of 1919 boll-weevil ravishes had forced farmers over the larger part of the cotton belt to introduce diversified crops on a scale never before known. The production of corn, velvet beans, peanuts, potatoes and tobacco reached enormous figures; the partial eradication of the cattle tick and hog cholera facilitated the beginning of cattle raising and hog raising on a commercial scale. Moreover, these developments came during a period when, on account of war conditions, prices of food-stuffs were very high and enabled the farmers to make a profit from the beginning. The short cotton crops of the past five years in the presence of war demands raised the price of the staple to a point exceeded only by Civil War prices, and served to convince thousands of farmers of the wisdom of raising food-stuffs primarily and a small crop of cotton as a subsidiary money crop. Furthermore, the psychology of war conditions tended to put the producers in a frame of mind favorable to organization, the great benefits of which had been so evident during the war itself.

Under these circumstances the movement to organize the cotton producers was begun early in 1919. The leading spirit was Mr. J. Skottowe Wannamaker, a South Carolina banker, business man and farmer. He has proven a genius in organization and a publicity agent of uncommon ability. After a period of newspaper agitation, there met in New Orleans in May, 1919, a "Cotton Acreage Reduction Convention." It was called by Governor Pleasants, of Louisiana, and was attended by two thousand or more delegates, representing all of the cotton-growing states. The delegates were appointed by

the Governors, Commissioners of Agriculture, and Presidents of various organizations, such as the bankers' associations. This convention organized the American Cotton Association, and on May 15, 1919, adopted a constitution.³ The preamble recites that the producers of cotton "have been condemned to lives of grinding toil and deprivation in order that they might win a bare and pitiful subsistence for themselves and their families." In general terms the purposes are stated to be the production of cotton in such a way as to adjust the supply to the demand and thus maintain a fair price; to promote diversification; to improve transportation and distribution facilities; and to act as a clearing-house of information for the cotton producer.

Membership in the organization is not confined to producers, but is open to all who are interested in the prosperity of the farmers, particularly bankers and merchants. The constitution creates a Board of Directors consisting of forty-five members. Each cotton-producing state is to have a State Division and the President of the State Association is to be an *ex officio* member from the given state on the Board of Directors. Other members of the Board are allocated to the states in proportion to their importance in cotton raising. The Board of Directors is empowered to carry into effect the purposes of the organization and to elect the officers, President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer. The President and First Vice-President are members of the Board. The Board is required to designate not less than five of their number to serve as an executive committee, which will wield all the powers of the Board while the latter is in recess. One annual meeting of the Association is required.

The convention adopted a recommendation that each state form a division of the American Cotton Association, and that each county or parish and each division thereof organize units of the same sort. The ward or township or other political unit shall elect its board of directors; the county board of directors is to consist of representatives chosen from the several community boards; the states organization is to have as its board

³ Printed in *Official Bulletin* No. 1 of the American Cotton Association, May 22, 1919, issued by the Secretary, Dallas, Texas. Nos. 2 and 3 of this *Bulletin* were issued in June and July, respectively, after which the publication was discontinued.

of directors representatives of the county boards of directors. In this way it is provided that the representative principle shall be carried out in an extreme way and an intimate relation established, running all the way from the smallest political unit to the parent organization.

At the same New Orleans meeting, on May 16th, a Board of Directors was named by the state delegations and the directors elected Mr. J. Skottowe Wannamaker, president and *ex-officio* chairman of the Board of Directors; J. T. Scott, of Houston, Texas, vice-president; and W. C. Barrickman, of Dallas, Texas, secretary. An executive committee was also named from the Board of Directors, consisting of one member from each one of the cotton-producing states.

On July 1st and 2d the Board of Directors, with representatives from nine states present, met at New Orleans and adopted by-laws,⁴ which give elaborate details as to the work of officers, create many committees for the various phases of work to be done, provide for the employment of a statistician, a publicity director (J. W. Mahone, of Dallas, Texas, was employed and began work on July 8), for foreign representatives, and also various classes of members, fixing the dues for each. Cotton growers are to pay dues to their state association of twenty-five cents per bale of cotton produced by said member in 1917, and each membership shall run until January 1, 1920. Merchants, bankers and other firms and corporations shall pay dues from "July 1, 1921,"⁵ on the basis of twenty-five cents per thousand dollars of capital stock invested. After January 1, 1921, cotton growers, merchants, bankers and other business firms and corporations shall pay dues in advance of ten cents for each bale of cotton ginned in 1917, or for each thousand dollars of capital invested in their respective businesses. Other individuals, such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers, shall pay \$3.00 per annum. The central association is to be supported by dues from the state association at the rate of two and one-half cents per bale produced in 1917 until January 1, 1921; after that date, dues are fixed at one and one-half cents per bale of cotton produced in 1917. In order

⁴ *Official Bulletin* No. 3, July 18, 1919.

⁵ Apparently a misprint for "to January 1, 1921."

to obtain funds for organization purposes, the board of directors is authorized to elect a limited number of charter members at \$100.00, such members being exempt from dues until January 1, 1921.

Section 9 of the by-laws gives in minute detail the plan of organization of the state and smaller units. The state organization is made to consist of three representatives from each county association and is to have officers analagous to those of the general organization; and similarly with the smaller units. All officers are to be paid salaries determined by their organization.

A national organization committee was appointed (at a directors' meeting in Atlanta, on August 2d and 3d), including nine governors and fourteen United States senators.⁶ Harvie Jordan, of Georgia, was made national campaign director and Atlanta was designated as the headquarters of the Association. The incorporation of the Association on August 21st under the laws of the state of Delaware completed the framework of the organization. In each state during the fall and winter mass meetings were held and organizations effected prior to the meeting of the Association in Montgomery, Ala., in March, 1920. In some of the states, notably Louisiana and North Carolina, special publications were put out and from all states the reports were that farmers and business men by thousands were joining. No statistics, however, are available as to the exact numbers.

III

The plans announced by the American Cotton Association in its fight for a revolution in the cotton industry are well laid and seem for the most part practical. The end in view is more profit to the farmers. To realize this purpose, there must never be a larger production of cotton than the world demand seems to justify, and the Association, in order to keep the farmers posted on this point, will maintain agents in every cotton-spinning country to report on conditions, and will issue reports on acreage, on the effects of the boll weevil and other pests, the amount of cotton in local warehouses and in the

⁶ *American Cotton News*, January 20, 1920. (Atlanta, Georgia).

hands of spinners, the cost of spinning and of manufacturing cloth. It will recommend the amount of cotton to be planted per farm; it will suggest a fair price at various times of the year; it will conduct a determined campaign for diversification.

A study of the literature thus far produced by the movement leads one to believe, however, that the main emphasis will be placed on a drastic reform in the machinery of marketing.⁷ It is believed that the world will need ever-increasing amounts of cotton at good prices and that profits can be realized, provided the producers do not allow the advantage to be lost by waste or by the operations of middlemen. The Association is urging the erection of adequate warehouse facilities in each county in the cotton belt and at the ports, so that every bale produced may be housed. There has always been a tremendous waste due to allowing cotton to stand about the farm houses and unprotected in towns, a loss estimated at from \$35,000,000 to \$50,000,000 annually. These warehouses will be operated under federal or state supervision, with an expert grader in charge. Each bale will be sampled, graded and appropriately marked at the time it is placed in the warehouse, and a receipt given to the owner. This receipt will protect the farmer in the matter of weight and grading. The Association proposes to install in each county high-density compression gins, so that the cotton at the point of origin can be put into a proper marketable condition, thus avoiding shipment to compress plants, which involves unnecessary freight charges, resampling and rewapping. Such a system in operation would enable the producer to obtain carload rates on cotton. At the present time this cannot be done, because carload lots are based on weight and the bulk of the uncompressed cotton is such as to make it impossible to load a car to its capacity.

This warehousing scheme is the heart of the whole matter. With the cotton stored in a fireproof structure and holding a government receipt, the producer will be able to finance himself by borrowing up to about seventy-five per cent. of the face value of his receipt. In this way he can avoid dumping his cotton on the market in order to satisfy creditors. Distributing the sale of cotton over twelve months, withholding it from the

⁷J. S. Wannamaker, *New York Commercial*, Jan. 10, 1920.

market during periods of low prices, will, it is hoped, prove the salvation of the producer. The recent amendment of the Federal Reserve Act permitting national banks to lend on cotton up to 25 per cent. of their capital and surplus will help to provide funds for this purpose.

It is realized, of course, that large sums will be needed to finance cotton-holding movements. In the early days of the Association a beginning was made in organizing a concern to be known as the "American Cotton Export Corporation."⁸ At the time it was thought that a large sum of money in the hands of the War Finance Board would be available for a long period at low interest rates. It was discovered, however, that no such funds were to be had, and the Export Corporation plan collapsed. It is now the intention of the Association to further the organization under the Edge Act of export corporations or cotton banks in each state (similar to those now being organized in Georgia and South Carolina), and that these shall all clear through a large central corporation along the lines of the originally proposed export corporation.

Leaders of the American Cotton Association point to recent developments in Spartanburg County, S. C., as evidence of the practicability of the warehousing scheme.⁹ Spartanburg County is said to rank next to Lowell, Massachusetts, in the number of cotton mills, having twenty-eight mills, with an annual consumption of 150,000 bales, about twice the production of the county. Despite this fact, Spartanburg County cotton was, under the old regime, hauled away and other cotton imported, involving a loss of freight to both producers and spinners. John B. Cannon, vice-president of the Bank of Spartanburg, saw the possibilities of the situation. He organized a local unit of the American Cotton Association, with 2,200 members and annual dues of \$10,000. The membership includes farmers, bankers and merchants. He then organized, in September, 1919, the Spartanburg County Warehouse Company, with a capital stock of \$300,000. Funds thus being provided, the company bought the warehouse system of Camp

⁸ *Official Bulletin* No. 1, May 22, 1919.

⁹ *Southern Banker*, October 1919. Cotton Extra.

John B. Cannon, *New York Commercial*, January 10, 1920.

W. L. Glessner, *Southern Ruralist*, January 15, 1920.

J. Sidney Cates, *Country Gentleman*, January 17, 1920.

Wadsworth for \$140,000, and threw it open to cotton. Within ten days, it is said, more cotton was stored than had ever before been collected together in Spartanburg County at one time, and today the company has storage facilities for more cotton than is raised in the county. For, in addition to the "Central Warehouse," the company has a number of smaller warehouses scattered about over the county for the temporary storage of cotton, and is operating a truck system to convey the cotton to the central warehouse. The warehouse system is being operated under the Federal Warehouse Act. Its advantages are obvious. The owner of the cotton is able to take his receipt to the bank and borrow seventy-five per cent of its face value. The bank will readily lend, because it is absolutely secured against loss by damage, or fire, or by a mistake in the value of the collateral. The bonded receipt contains details as to weight, grade and staple. The cotton merchant is aided, because under the new system he can go to the warehouse and buy his cotton in a lump and not have to find a dozen or more farmers who have small lots to sell; he is further saved the expense of weighing, grading and stapling. Perhaps few counties will find themselves so favorably situated as Spartanburg County in the matter of capable leadership and excellent warehouse facilities already established and purchasable at a small part of the original cost; but it is believed that every cotton county in the South can in a measure reproduce what Spartanburg has done, and the example of that community is an inspiration to the whole section.

IV

Any attempt at this time to appraise the American Cotton Association is necessarily premature and without value. There can be no gainsaying the statement, however, that never before has any proposal to organize southern farmers and allied interests met with such universal response; never before has such able leadership been forthcoming; never before have conditions been so favorable for the emancipation of the cotton producer from the ills which encompass him. Leaders in the movement claim¹⁰ that already noteworthy results have been

¹⁰ Thomas J. Shackelford, in *New York Commercial*, Jan. 10, 1920.

obtained—that the price of cotton last year was kept up by the Association in the face of a determined bear movement; that warehouses are being built very rapidly all over the South; that large cotton banking and export corporations are being organized in two states; that the Association was instrumental in having the National Bank Act amended in 1919, so as to permit loans of twenty-five per cent on stored cotton.

On the educational side the publication of a high-grade journal as planned, to be devoted to cotton interests and the dissemination of information on the many problems of rural life, will undoubtedly have a far-reaching effect.

Those inclined to view the whole movement with doubt, on the other hand, do not believe it possible to organize farmers into an effective coöperative movement. They particularly doubt whether farmers can ever be led to reduce cotton acreage with the hope of larger returns. The tendency, many believe, will be for the individual farmer to try to feather his own nest at the expense of all the others; that the tenant farmers, the vast majority of the whole, are so ignorant and improvident that it will not be possible to get them to hold cotton once it is ready for the market. Others do not believe it possible to organize the vast scheme of financing. The compress people, with millions invested, seem not to be worried about the future of their business, which, of course, would be ruined if the county high-density compression scheme should prove successful. Furthermore, cotton merchants say that the scheme of grading and stapling at the point of origin, even when done by a government agent, will not prove acceptable to buyers and spinners, who will be unwilling to take such judgments at their face value.

Some parts of the plan of the American Cotton Association may, of course, prove impracticable. Modifications no doubt will have to be made as the result of experience. Coöperative efforts all over the world are, however, being successfully managed and no serious student of southern economic conditions will fail to watch with the keenest interest the result of the present movement. It is a truism that cannot too often be repeated that the prosperity of the nation depends on the prosperity of the farmer.

Preserving North Carolina's World War Records as a State Enterprise

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Collector of War Records, North Carolina Historical Commission

Every nation that took any part in the World War is now engaged through some governmental department in collecting data concerning its own contribution to the war and in making preparations for a complete and reliable war history from its own point of view. Likewise, practically every state in the Union is engaged in a similar task of culling from the national archives and collecting within the state itself all data which throw any light upon the war activities of the state as a distinctive unit in the nation. This work, while it does not antagonize the efforts of authors, organizations, and communities in general to write histories from their own points of view, is, nevertheless, distinctively a state enterprise, financed by the state and directed by a state officer.

The agencies conducting this work in the several states of the Union vary both in the nature of the work undertaken by them and in their relations to the state governments. For instance, the Massachusetts Historical Society is a body privately endowed and unrelated to the state financially. It has merely the prestige of state support and recognition in the work of preserving Massachusetts' World War records. On the other hand, Kentucky is conducting its war-records work through the Kentucky Council of Defense, which continues its existence as a special historical body. But the general course taken by most of the states is to delegate this work to a special department created for the purpose, or to some historical commission or other historical body that has been in existence in the state for some time.

North Carolina is preserving its war records through a special Department of World War Records created within the North Carolina Historical Commission by the General Assembly of 1919. This department did not spring up full-grown in the Historical Commission, nor did the work of preserving war records await the creation of this department. The whole enterprise is a development from work instituted

within the Historical Commission itself, carried on by the Historical Committee of the North Carolina Council of Defense, and eventually turned over to the Department of World War Records, under a special collector employed under the law by the Historical Commission. The general work of the Historical Commission, until the appointment of the Collector of War Records, has been, first, to teach the people of the state just what war records ought to be preserved, and, secondly, to organize the various counties of the state in such a way as to make this collection of war records systematic. Gratifying success has met the efforts of the Historical Commission so far, which has organized sixty-five counties of the state to carry on the work for those counties.

The nature of the work undertaken by the various states likewise differs with almost every state. Iowa, for instance, is not trying to collect a general body of historical material relating to its part in the war. Instead of this, the Historical Society of that state endeavors to secure an expert in historical study who shall take some particular department of the war, collect as much data as possible relating to it, and prepare from this data a monograph on that special field of study. Virginia, on the other hand, through its War History Commission has limited its field of study to sixteen heads, which it considers essential. Each one of these heads it has put in the charge of a chairman for the entire state, and the sixteen chairmen assemble as soon as possible the available data. The state has also secured the services of eminent Virginia writers to treat the subjects after the material has been collected. Some revisions in this plan Virginia has already made, but the state's plan remains essentially as outlined above. The general plan followed by approximately every other state in the Union is, first, to collect as fully as possible documents, reports, records of all kinds; secondly, to use these documents for the publication of a history as soon as possible; but to continue, nevertheless, collecting records which will serve to revise this history as it may be necessary.

This last plan is the one the North Carolina Historical Commission is putting into execution. The Collector of War Records, the only paid representative of the state, has as his

duty to survey all probable sources of war records and materials; to assemble these in the archives of the Historical Commission; to classify and arrange them; and eventually to publish from them a complete history of North Carolina in the great World War, which will treat of the following general heads:

- a. Operations of the United States government in North Carolina during the war.
- b. Operations of the North Carolina State government in war times.
- c. Operations of county and local government in war times.
- d. War work of volunteer organizations.
- e. Military, naval, and air service of North Carolina units and of individual North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen.
- f. Organization and services of the Home Defense.
- g. A roster of North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the war.
- h. Services of North Carolinians in national affairs during the war.
- i. Effects of the war on agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, finance, trade, and commerce in North Carolina.
- j. Social and welfare work among the soldiers and their dependents.
- k. Contributions of schools and churches to the war and the effect of the war on education and religion.
- l. Such other phases of the war as may be necessary to set forth the contributions of the State and her people to this momentous event in the world's history.

The watchword of the Historical Commission is *documents*. A document is anything that preserves a record, and the documents which preserve North Carolina's World War records are sought under two general heads:

(1) *Statistics*, reports and histories to be compiled of individuals and organizations which performed any kind of war service. Complete records of soldiers, sailors, airmen, doctors, nurses, etc., are of course sought as paramount. Likewise reports are sought of work done by such organizations as the Council of Defense, Food Administration, Fuel Administra-

tion, Draft Board, Red Cross, etc., organizations that operated in every county in the State. The above organizations grew out of the war itself. But also organizations such as women's clubs, local churches, the Masonic Order, chambers of commerce, etc., added to their normal activities some form of war work. Accurate reports of this work are sought.

(2) *Documents of the time* that preserve the life, color, feelings, and tone of the war. It is impossible to specify these in detail, but they exist in four great classes: (a) Printed matter, such as books, newspapers, sermons, addresses, etc.; (b) Manuscripts, such as letters, diaries, minutes of proceedings, reports, etc.; (c) Pictures, such as photographs of people, places, and events, posters of all sorts, maps, sketches, etc.; (d) Mementoes, such as service flags, pennants, insignia, etc. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of preserving these sources. An examination of any great historical work will show how its author has depended on letters, posters, diaries, etc. There is probably no historical record more important than a letter, and certainly none so hard to obtain. People deem their letters both too commonplace and too personal to be of historical value. Herein they err, because the records of the most historical value are accurate, commonplace, personal, records of a time. People moreover hesitate to give their letters to a historian because of reluctance to subject their affairs and emotions to public scrutiny. They should remember, however, that in years to come these features of a letter fade out, while the document as a type of individual experience remains invaluable.

The above specifications outline the field of investigation covered by the Collector of War Records. The Collector of War Records began work on June 19, 1919. Notwithstanding the foundations laid by the Historical Commission, he has nevertheless had essentially to create plans and methods of procedure. After a few months of experience, he has found the work to fall under four general heads. The first is that of administration. A voluminous correspondence is maintained with all possible sources of information. Documents secured are arranged and filed, and those lent only temporarily are copied and returned to the lenders. The second department is

that of field work. Some people do not respond to written requests for materials. It is, therefore, often necessary to visit in person those who have any information of value, to convince them of its value, and by repeated efforts finally to secure the coveted thing—a picture, a diary, a report, as the case may be. It is obviously impossible for one man to do all of this canvassing himself. A primary feature of field work, therefore, is the organization of assistants in the several counties into war-records associations. These associations apportion among themselves the work of compiling statistical reports, and co-operate to secure fugitive, ready-made, documents. An example of this kind of organization is the Mecklenburg War Records Association. This organization headed by Mr. R. M. Miller, a prominent business man of Charlotte, is surveying every department of Mecklenburg County's war activity, and is securing records of each one. These records it prepares in duplicate, one copy to go to the Historical Commission, one copy to remain in the files of the Association.

A third department of the Collector of War Records' work is that of publicity. Every effort is made to keep before the public just what records the Historical Commission wants. The press of the state gives its columns very generously to this work. By this means valuable records have been secured from states so far away as Georgia, Arkansas, and Maryland. A fourth department of work, and one of increasing service, is that of research and information. Requests for all kinds of information come to the Collector of War Records. Libraries want material; memorial associations, the American Legion, and other organizations want lists of soldiers. These requests grow out of the fact that there is as yet no general body of information compiled for the state. The records in the Washington archives are too complex to furnish it yet, or do not contain it, and records from the counties have not yet been compiled. All of these requests are carefully filed and honored, as soon as possible, from the store of information relating to North Carolina in the World War which the Collector of War Records is accumulating.

In the process of this work every effort is made to give due recognition to the negro's participation in the war. Rep-

representatives for the negro race are being secured in each county, and the records pertaining to the North Carolina negro's participation in the war are filed in a special department.

Judged by results accomplished, the plan of the Historical Commission bids fair to succeed. Sixty-four counties have representatives at work gathering data for the white race, and sixty-four for the colored race. Of these counties, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Bertie, Bladen, Cumberland, Columbus, Gates, Greene, Halifax, Hoke, Nash, Orange, Pasquotank, Richmond, Tyrrell, Wake, Warren, and Washington have not only active representatives at work, but also committees of citizens formed in associations for systematic canvass of all county sources of information. These associations are increasing. In a number of the counties the school teachers and the school children are giving valuable assistance, notably in Columbus. In some counties, notably in Bladen and Bertie, definite work is progressing on a county history. The Daughters of the American Revolution, the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the American Legion are coöperating with the Historical Commission in compiling military records.

The official records which the Historical Commission must explore are of three classes. The first of these is the national archives in Washington. Here the departmental files of the army, navy, marine corps, and government bureaus must be searched for all materials relating to North Carolina. Because of the difficulty in culling out this material for each state in succession, and because of the similarity of the demands made on these archives by the several state war history organizations, the several states have found it convenient to associate themselves in an organization for research and co-operation which is called the National Association of State War History Organizations. The following states are the charter members of this organization: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and they are now endeavoring to bring all other states of the Union into this organization. In general, it may be stated that, allowing for the time necessary to compile the

records, materials needed from the archives of the national government are sure to be obtained. For instance, definite provisions have been made to secure the full records of the 83,000 North Carolina men who served in the army, the navy, or the marine corps. A survey of all government material has been made by the director of research of this association.

The next class of records is that of the several state departments—the Council of Defense, the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Department of Education, etc. It has been the special duty of the Collector of War Records to survey these sources for information. He has obtained complete reports from the State Council of Defense, the State Food Administration, and the State Fuel Administration, and has made arrangements to secure files of every other state department, and therefore it may be stated that the records desired from North Carolina as a state are certain to be obtained.

The last, and in many respects the most important, class of official records exists in the several counties of the state. The counties of the state presented in their war organization a type of the entire organization for war used by the national government. For instance, there was in each county a Council of Defense, a Food Administration, a Fuel Administration, a Local Exemption Board, a Red Cross Chapter, and so on. While these organizations in general followed the instructions of the national and state governments, they nevertheless had special problems to confront, so that the records of these several organizations present a complete and individual history for each county of the state. It is, therefore, necessary to obtain these records in order to make North Carolina's war records complete. The state is interested in getting these records in order to insure completion of the state records. The counties should be interested in preserving these records in order to insure that each county be fully represented in the history of the state.

The Historical Commission is meeting one of its severest tasks in securing reports from these county organizations. In the first place, they kept no accurate records. In the second place, they have for the most part destroyed what records they did keep, because the officials of these organizations deemed

the records to be of no value after the termination of the war. Quite naturally these county officials did not look upon their duties as including that of a historian, and as soon as these documents had served their practical uses, they destroyed them. It has, therefore, been the work of the Historical Commission in many instances to compile these anew. The Collector of War Records is making vigorous pleas to get this done.

The materials outlined immediately above form, so to speak, the warp of history. They give firmness and body to the work without which it would be valueless. But the woof of history—the materials that give life, color, tone, to it—are found not in statistical reports, but in the manifold experiences of the people. People will remember the letters of Bill to his *Dere Mabel* long after they have forgotten the amount Bill's compatriots subscribed in Liberty Bonds. They will treasure stories of Sergeant York and Kiffin Rockwell long after they have forgotten the number of soldiers that went across. Valuable as they are, statistics have a definite limit of interest, but incidents of individual experiences in the war are limited in interest only by their limitation in number. Every home in North Carolina has a "Private Bill" as an inmate or as a neighbor. Every community has its own quiet hero. Every man, woman, and child in the state did something in the war, felt something in the war, which, if it could be recorded, would make the war's history a living, breathing thing. To collect and preserve these human documents is the hardest task before the Historical Commission.

It is difficult to secure these personal records because, in the first place, people do not recognize their value. The average man, for instance, when he has read a letter, destroys it without a thought of its historical value. He can see no use it has to history because he is not interested in the technical side of history and knows nothing about preserving historical records. In the second place it is difficult to secure personal records because people don't want to give up private collections to which they are attached.

The Collector of War Records, therefore, has to conduct a vigorous campaign of educating the state to a sense of historical values on the one hand, and on the other to arrange to copy such documents as he may borrow from private collectors.

Between those who destroy materials and those who hoard them, his plight is a sad one.

But progress is being made in gathering both statistical and human documents. Gradually the citizens of the state are learning what each one should do. Everyone agrees that North Carolina's war record should be preserved; everyone agrees to help preserve it. And as the citizens of the state learn that war records really mean the papers lying around their homes, the pictures in their albums, the clippings in their scrap-books, they gladly give them to the Historical Commission, copies in some cases, or lend the originals to the Historical Commission so that copies can be made. As organizations learn that war records really mean an accurate report of what they did, they are compiling these reports. Lastly, as counties and communities learn that this effort to preserve North Carolina's World War records is an enterprise of their state government, they form associations to insure proper representation of their own particular sections of the state.

The value of this work to North Carolina can be appreciated only through knowledge of what history means to a people. Never before in the progress of the world have people thought so intensively about the causes leading up to a great upheaval, and this will continue, for the people in the future will find themselves living under conditions resulting from forces now in operation. They can never understand these forces without the study of history, and they can never study this history unless we preserve it for them. We can never preserve this history for them without preserving carefully the fugitive documents now scattered over the state, which alone can tell the story.

Price Inflation: Its Beneficiaries and Its Victims*

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Among the far-reaching effects of the Great War none has been more striking than the violent and world-wide disturbance of long established values. Economic stability and security seem for the time to have disappeared from the earth. The period of wartime and after has been one of many unmerited gains and many undeserved losses. Ordinary expectations as to the consequences of economic conduct have been to a large degree without fulfillment. Thrift and prudence have too often failed of their usual reward and suffered heart-breaking losses. By contrast, the favors of fortune have been showered upon many individuals and enterprises that were extravagant and speculative. Some have stood helpless while the forces of the economic world have cut in two the value of lifetime savings. Others have seen their debts unexpectedly dwindle and their assets swollen by the rising tide of easy profits. The struggle that has brought about the political reorganization of the world has caused also vast economic changes. So general and radical has been the disturbance of values and prices that it amounts to an economic revolution.

What is the nature of the economic change that has taken place and how far-reaching has it been? Without bringing forward elaborate statistical tables, it is substantially true to say that, as a whole, prices of all sorts of commodities have doubled in the United States since the beginning of the World War. In some cases the increase has been much more; in others somewhat less. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States government keeps accurate records of the wholesale prices from month to month of over three hundred commodities, representing farm products, food, clothing, fuel and lighting, metals and metal products, lumber and building materials, chemicals and drugs, house furnishing goods, and miscellaneous articles. Taking this comprehensive list of commodities as a whole, the Bureau reports that wholesale prices

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have increased 121 per cent between July, 1914, just before the war began, and September, 1919, the last month for which the final figures have been announced. It is much more difficult to make general statements about retail prices. They show greater variations than wholesale prices from city to city and from business establishment to business establishment. On the whole, however, it seems conservative to assume that the advance in retail prices has been at least equal to the advance in wholesale prices.

The fundamental cause of the upheaval of prices has been a decrease in the available supply of commodities and a tremendous increase in the volume of money and credit offered for the purchase of commodities. The war caused the nations of the world to withdraw millions of men from their ordinary productive activities in field and factory and shop. Instead of making an abundance of commodities for human use, the whole energy of the great armies of the nations was for years devoted to the consumption and destruction of supplies and property. Even the workers left at home were to a large extent withdrawn from their peace-time employments and engaged in war industries. They turned out ships and guns and munitions and army supplies rather than the food, clothing, and other commodities required by a civilian population. Thus a world-wide shortage of goods was produced.

While the world was suffering from this shortage in the available supply of goods, the machinery of war finance brought about a vast increase in the supply of various sorts of money and credit to be offered in payment for commodities and services. Many European countries printed irredeemable paper money lavishly. The United States, in the years before it entered the war, received an excessive supply of gold in payment for goods sold to foreigners. The fighting powers of Europe, engaged in a life and death struggle, eagerly desired our products, but could not send us their own commodities in exchange. Nor would we accept their paper money. So they partly went in debt to us and partly paid us from their accumulated reserves of gold. This new gold found its way into bank reserves in the United States and became the basis of expanding loans and credits. After our country entered the

war, a succession of huge Liberty Loans, obtained from the banks and people, furnished the government with unlimited purchasing power with which to demand goods. But the same Liberty Bonds in the hands of individuals and corporations were a gilt-edged security upon which they could obtain credits from their banks and enter the market as competitors of the government for the purchase of materials and commodities. In a market insufficiently supplied with goods, both the government and the general public appeared as buyers abundantly supplied with funds. Under such conditions it was natural that prices should advance by leaps and bounds. A policy of governmental price regulation restricted and modified the advance in certain lines, but, on the whole, fundamental economic forces had their natural effect. The advance of prices meant a corresponding fall in the purchasing power of the dollar. The dollar was cheapened because it could be obtained for a much smaller amount of goods, or of labor, than before the war.

If we divide our population into the two general classes of creditors and debtors, it is clear that the cheapening of the dollar has been unfavorable to creditors. The man who made a loan of \$5,000 ten years ago and receives repayment of the debt today, finds that the purchasing power of the money has been cut in two. There is returned to him command over about one-half the goods that his money would have purchased at the time he made the loan. A large class of creditors throughout the United States consists of the many thousands of savings-bank depositors, who have loaned billions of dollars to the banks at about four per cent. interest. We often rejoice at the increase of such deposits as an indication of the thrift of the industrial masses of our people. It is surely a lamentable fact that the effect of the upheaval in prices has been a serious impairment of the fruits of such past thrift. Deposits which have been slowly accumulated through long years of care and self-denial will, if withdrawn today, buy for the owner far less of the necessary commodities of life than when the deposits were made. A workman who placed a hundred dollars in the bank in 1914, and who withdraws the amount today, will find that the purchasing power of his money has been cut in two. If the depositor had invested his

\$100 in non-perishable commodities in 1914, they might on the contrary be sold for about \$200 today. The annual increase in prices has far more than offset the modest interest paid the depositor for his funds. If the present level of prices is long to continue, there can be no doubt that the savings-bank depositors of the past have suffered a real and disheartening loss in the power of their funds to aid them in meeting the needs of the proverbial "rainy day." However, the prospect ahead of those who today deposit cheap dollars in our savings banks is much more encouraging. There is, in fact, a great incentive to present thrift. For, if we are to assume that the purchasing power of the dollar will be gradually restored, money deposited under prevailing conditions may be returned in dollars of far greater purchasing power in future years; and depositors of long standing would do well not to withdraw their money and spend it under the present high prices, but, if they are able, to save it for use in a time when commodities sell on a cheaper level.

The beneficiaries of long standing insurance policies form another class of creditors who have suffered an unmerited loss through the price revolution. The policy-holder whose twenty- or thirty-year endowment contract becomes payable during the present year receives the number of dollars agreed upon, but their power to provide comforts and necessities for the declining years of life is greatly diminished. Widows and orphans find that the insurance benefits, which would a few years ago have provided an income adequate for their support, are pitifully inadequate to solve the problem of meeting present living expenses. The dollars that are now being received in payment of insurance claims have a protective value far inferior to that of dollars in the long years through which the premiums were paid. This disappointing result has come about from causes which neither the insurance companies nor the policy-holders could control. It should not impair the confidence of the public in the value of insurance for future protection. In fact, there are reasons why insurance taken in these days of cheap dollars is likely to make an exceptionally satisfactory return. While premium rates remain about the same, rising interest rates will enable the companies to earn

higher returns on investments than has previously been the case. This may in time make possible some increase in the dividends paid on participating policies, provided the expenses of conducting the insurance business do not increase too markedly. Again, policies taken today may not become claims on the companies until long years hence when the former purchasing power of the dollar has been partly or wholly restored. But while prices remain at their present level, it is certain that the beneficiaries under maturing policies of long standing have suffered a severe and unmerited loss in the reduction of the real value of the protection afforded them.

Another illustration of the damage done to creditors is found in the present position and problems of our colleges and universities. The funds of such institutions have usually been invested according to the most conservative financial judgment in bonds or other similar securities bearing a fixed rate of interest over long periods of years. The money return on these old endowment funds is precisely the same as it was in low-price days. But, if college teachers are to live respectably and maintain families under present living conditions, salaries must be largely increased. Running expenses of an educational institution for fuel, books, supplies, and upkeep of plant are doubled. Though the income of a college may now be exactly as large in dollars as it was before the war, it is not now sufficient to maintain the institution even on the scale of the ante-bellum days. With students crowding all our colleges and universities in numbers never before known, the old endowments have become doubly inadequate. The situation has brought urgent appeals for new funds from nearly all the leading universities of the country. An educational institution that does not exert itself to gain new resources to meet the present emergency is lacking in vitality and vision. Harvard asks for fifteen million, Cornell for ten million, Princeton, Columbia, and others for amounts proportionate to their estimated needs. The South should not lag behind in this matter. Liberal additions should be made to the funds available for our public school system and for the publicly owned and privately endowed colleges in order that they may be able to pay their

teachers decent salaries and to meet effectively the needs of the hour in training our young men and women for useful citizenship.

Many other illustrations might readily be given of individuals and institutions that have suffered by the fall in the value of the dollar. There are many cases in every considerable community of persons no longer able to play an active part in business life who have been living on the income of funds invested in supposedly safe and conservative bonds or other similar securities, bearing a fixed rate of interest. Seven or eight years ago these securities seemed gilt-edged, and the income they produced was adequate for the support of the owners. Now the investors may receive precisely the same income in dollars, but they are able to command a real income only half as large in food, clothing, and shelter. Influences beyond human foresight and control have destroyed the fruits of past saving. If funds have been invested in the bonds of some of our standard railroads, formerly considered second only to government or municipal bonds in safety, very likely a great shrinkage in the market value of the principal of the securities has also been experienced, due to the fact that many of the leading railroads of the country have avoided receiverships only by the aid of a government guarantee of earnings.

The extreme rise of prices has in many cases brought depression or disaster to railroads, local traction companies, and other public utility enterprises whose rates for service are fixed by law, by franchise, or by some governmental commission. With employees demanding greatly increased wages to meet the higher cost of living, with current expenses for fuel, repairs, replacements, and maintenance doubled, a business which is not permitted to increase its charges to the public is in a difficult plight. This is well illustrated in Greater New York, where local traction companies operating under a five-cent fare have experienced financial collapse, and their security holders are bearing severe losses. The railroads have been permitted to make considerable advances in rates, but in general such advances have been by no means adequate to cover the increased expenses of maintenance and operation. For the

time being, a government guarantee of earnings throws upon the public treasury a part of the heavy burden of railroad losses. The new railroad law holds forth the promise of some measure of relief in the establishment of rates which will yield a fair return on the actual value of railroad property. But the extent of the benefits to come from the new legislation is as yet uncertain, and, as the railroads are returned to their private owners, their employees are pressing in their demands for large increases in wages.

Salaried men and wage earners are creditors for the amount of their money compensation, and it is to their interest that the purchasing power of money be maintained. The more goods their money will buy, the better off they are. When the prices of commodities are rising, it is usually the fact that wage and salary increases lag far behind, and the workers suffer loss accordingly. But the circumstances of the present price inflation have saved many classes of wage earners from harm and have in some cases given the workmen a positive gain. The war created a situation in which the government called millions of men from the ranks of industry into the army and thereby caused a scarcity of labor. There were, however, just as many mouths to be fed and as many backs to be clothed as ever. In addition, tremendous amounts of military work had to be done in pressing haste. To get prompt results in the most urgent work, the government became a lavish employer, paying its emergency employees at extraordinary rates. Private industry had to pay corresponding wages or lose its working force. Consequently, during the present period of high prices, the wages of common laborers and of many classes of artisans have been promptly increased in a manner to offset, or more than offset, the increase in the cost of living. Where goods were urgently needed, strikes, or the threat of strikes, were quickly effective in securing increases of wages. Many laborers and artisans, indeed, find themselves more prosperous than ever before.

But the adjustment of wages and salaries to the new level of prices has been, in many occupations and professions, slow, uneven, illogical, and inadequate. Many physical or mental workers are today resentful or discontented because they feel

they have unjustly lost ground in comparison with other classes as respects their relative position in economic society. We live in a day when plumbers and bricklayers and iron workers are frequently better compensated than librarians and ministers and college professors. In some cities the janitor who sweeps out the school rooms and feeds the furnace is better paid than many of the teachers who train the minds of the pupils. All over the country there are salaried workers in positions of varying degrees of importance who are feeling the pinch of the effort to make a slightly-increased salary meet the demands of a greatly-increased living cost. Officials and employees of national, state, and municipal governments have very generally not received increases adequate to maintain their former standard of living under the new conditions. However heartily we may agree that policemen and firemen and other guardians of the public safety cannot be permitted to strike, we should see to it that some other method is found for doing justice to their claims for increased compensation. Even high officers of the federal government and of great states are finding themselves ground between the upper and nether millstones of high cost of living and constitutional or statutory limitations upon the increase of salaries. They will not starve, they only occasionally resign, but their efficiency is doubtless lessened by the difficulties of their economic situation.

So far we have considered in the main the losses suffered by classes of people who have been hurt by the price inflation. There is another tale to tell. While rapidly rising prices of commodities and labor have harmed creditors, the burden of debtors has been lightened. Merchants, manufacturers, contractors, and the directors of industry are usually debtors doing business with money borrowed on long or short term securities. To them the rapid expansion of the money and credit supply has meant a brisk demand for their goods at rapidly-rising prices. To be sure, raw materials and wages have advanced, but many concerns have been so fortunate as to own large reserve supplies of raw materials. If costs have been rising, prices of finished products have been rising faster. The great profits made by many of our industrial corporations have meant increased dividends and largely enhanced market values

for their stocks. Thus the fortunate stockholders who bought at a lower level have reaped easy profits.

Merchants who bought stocks of goods at lower price levels have been enabled to dispose of them at profits far beyond their most optimistic expectations. Buying new stocks on higher levels, they have been able to mark up the goods and get their price from a public afraid that even higher prices would rule in the near future. Price advances have been made easy by the existence in the market of large classes of careless or inexperienced buyers with more money to spend than ever before in their lives. The existence of such buyers has increased the difficulties of the situation for those who are obliged to satisfy their needs upon the basis of incomes which have not been increased.

Such prosperity in business circles promotes expansion. A general spirit of optimism is produced. Active business men are likely to be well content with abundant profits in dollars. Projects for recapitalization and expansion, for the construction of new mills and factories, and for a further reaching out after trade, are set on foot. The profits of conservative industries overflow into industries of a more speculative character, and the danger is that the enkindled imagination of those who have enjoyed great profits may lead them to misdirect capital into enterprises that will finally fall with a crash.

The price revolution is a boon to our farmers and planters—the directors of agricultural industry. Old prices for the products of the farm are doubled, or tripled, and sometimes even quadrupled. Though agricultural labor is scarce and its wages high, though the farmer pays more for machinery and fertilizers and manufactured goods, yet on the whole the farmer is a great gainer in this era of high prices. This is the time to pay off the farm mortgage. The farmer who mortgaged his land for \$3,000 when cotton was \$75 a bale received the equivalent of forty bales of cotton. Now, if his cotton brings \$200 a bale, he can pay off the debt by selling fifteen bales. Naturally the great increase of farm profits and the amount of agricultural and other gains seeking investment has brought on in some parts of the country an extensive speculation in farm lands. Prices are reached in some localities which even

present agricultural profits do not justify, and the chances are that, if the present prices of farm products seriously decline, some owners will have farms on their hands which will not pay a fair income on the investment.

Just now the conflict in the economic interest of city dwellers and farmers is particularly striking. Railroad employees, salaried men, and the millions of wage earners in our great cities are crying out for cheaper bread, meat, milk, eggs, cotton and woolen cloth, and other household staples. The railroad brotherhoods have stated with great force that the cost of living must come down or their wages must again be increased. But the producers of cotton, cattle, milk, grain, sugar, fruits and other agricultural products are combining to keep prices up, and even in some cases to withhold their commodities from the market unless further price advances can be obtained. This struggle of conflicting interests places the government in a dilemma. During the past winter the federal government has been acting distinctly in the interest of urban populations by exerting itself to cause a lowering of the cost of living. The governmental sale of low-priced army supplies, which cuts in two the cost of the city man's bacon and canned goods and provides his family with cheap army blankets, may well depress the market and lessen the profits of the rural producers of staple commodities of life. The governments of our agricultural states, on the other hand, are more apt to use their forces in behalf of the farmers, who have great political power, and to leave the minority of town dwellers to cope with high prices as best they can.

One direction in which the failure of adjustment to the new level of costs is causing great distress is in the matter of housing in our towns and cities. Rents of houses and apartments rise slowly and after much friction and resistance. City dwellers whose salaries have been only moderately increased find difficulty in meeting demands for greatly-increased rentals. Consequently the prospect of gain has not been sufficiently attractive to stimulate the erection of many new houses at the present costs of labor and building materials. The situation gives old houses a decided scarcity value. Nominally the owners are made richer, but there is much danger of illusion

here. Perhaps before the war the owner of a house considered it worth eight thousand dollars—what he had expended to build it. Under present conditions he may be offered fifteen thousand dollars for it, because houses are very scarce, and the property cannot now be duplicated for less. With this offer in mind, the owner may feel that the change in the level of prices has added seven thousand dollars to his wealth, and his mood may be very optimistic. But, after all, he has only precisely the same house. His real wealth in the house has not changed. If he sells the house for fifteen thousand dollars, he will probably have to spend the whole amount to provide his family with an equally good home. If he invests the money in other goods than houses, they will probably cost twice as much as before the war. Where is the real gain? But, if the house was mortgaged for five thousand dollars when it was built, the owner is in the way of gaining a very substantial advantage. He can sell for fifteen thousand dollars, pay the creditor off with five thousand of his cheap dollars, and have ten thousand dollars left to repay him in cheap dollars for the three thousand dollars of his own money he invested in the house under the old scale of prices. It must be added, however, that the federal income-tax collector will in such cases take a substantial tax out of the profits.

It is probably a fact that handling more money—more counters—often creates a feeling of prosperity and ability to spend, which in the long run leads to extravagance and debt. We hear from many sides that people are buying regardless of prices, that many persons will no longer accept low-priced articles. The bricklayer who made \$18 a week a few years ago may feel that with \$35 or \$40 a week he is now in a position to have what he wants. But when he comes to the realization that his rent has been increased, his grocery bill doubled, that milk for his children costs from two to three times as much as before the war, that shoes and clothing have ascended to prices not before known in his lifetime, he will be undeceived as to his real economic position. Probably he will strike for higher wages. If he succeeds, he will increase costs to somebody else. In the meantime extravagant and unintelligent spending has made the situation immensely

more difficult for mental and physical workers who are struggling to meet a hundred per cent increase in prices with a ten or twenty per cent increase in income. It often requires considerable moral courage today to make a careful comparison of prices and quality before buying, and to object to undue profits in the face of the dealer's condescending assertion, "That is what we are getting," or of his other odious remark, "They are sure to be much higher next season."

Some economists tell us that we are on a permanently higher level of prices which will not be much reduced in a generation. If this is true, there are many persons living under a pleasant delusion. Suppose that you were worth ten thousand dollars before the war and that you have prospered and now count your wealth as twenty thousand dollars. You may be pardoned for feeling complacent, but what have you really gained? If the present scale of prices is permanent, you are actually not richer at all. Twenty thousand dollars will do no more in buying houses, food, clothing, and the necessities and luxuries of life than would ten thousand dollars before the war. If you can command only the same number of dollars as before the war, your purchasing power in real goods, assuming the continuance of the present price level, is only about one-half what it formerly was.

In conclusion, it is worth while to contrast 1896 with 1919, and to point out that our experience with economic history is that prices move in cycles. About 1896 the gold dollar had been appreciating in value year by year, and the burdens of all debtors had been increased. The South and the West were suffering from the low price of their cotton and wheat. The silver bullion in the silver dollar was not worth fifty cents. There were charges that moneyed interests had conspired to oppress the masses of the people, and that mankind was being "crucified on a cross of gold." How the situation has been reversed in less than a quarter of a century! Our gold standard dollar has been cheapened in comparison with practically all other goods. As the dollar has depreciated, the burdens of all debtors have been lightened. The farmers of the South and the West, who suffered in 1896, are selling their cotton and wheat and corn at prices that mean comfort and prosperity.

Even the despised silver dollar has recently had a bullion value of more than a dollar in gold, and fears are expressed that it is becoming so precious that it will be withdrawn from circulation and melted down for its bullion. The reversal illustrates the extreme instability of our monetary measure of values and shows that we live under a monetary system which falls far short of doing ideal justice to all. But, if so complete a change can occur in less than twenty-five years, may we not believe that when the world is again fully and efficiently organized for production, the supply of goods and commodities may be greatly increased in relation to the supply of money and credit? Already steps are being taken to contract gradually the expanded credits of the United States and of other nations. With the prospect of renewed abundance of all sorts of goods and a probable contraction of money and credit, may not those who suffer from the high prices of today reasonably hope for a gradual descent to lower levels which will bring them better fortune in future years?

The Devil in the Playhouse

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The playhouse, declared Tertullian, is the "Devil's Temple"; Satan, according to Saint Chrysostom, was the first builder of theatres. "The Chappel of Satan," "The Schoolhouse of Satan," "Sathanes Synagogue," "The Devil's Tabernacle" are other terms that have been applied to the playhouse by men of zeal from Stephen Gosson to William Law. The early Methodists, too, according to Tate Wilkinson and others, were somewhat fond of pronouncing all theatres the houses of the devil and all actors the devil's children. "Devil's Home" was one epithet hurled at a Glasgow playing-booth by George Whitfield, who, standing in a near-by graveyard, saw his invocation of heavenly wrath responded to by a mob that burnt the newly-erected structure to the ground. Twelve years later another preacher with the aid of a vision incited an audience of Christians militant to apply the torch to a second temple that Beelzebub had dared to erect in the same city. "I dreamed last night I was in Hell," he exclaimed as a climax, "where a banquet was being held. All the devils in the pit were there, when Lucifer, their chief, gave them a toast: 'Here is to the health of John Miller of Westerton, who has sold his ground to build me a house on.'" Other epithets equally inflammatory could be culled from the homiletic literature of a later date to prove the playhouse the peculiar property of the devil, and other acts equally pious could doubtless be cited as arguments for purgation by fire. These are sufficient, however, to prove what they undertake to prove and to explain those frequent trips which the owner of such property has made from hell, usually for the purpose of quietly overseeing his possessions, but sometimes for the purpose of mustering recruits in his synagogue or performing in his tabernacle.

There are perhaps a few persons of skeptic tendencies who will be inclined to question the actually visible appearance of Satan in a playhouse; no one, of course, will deny his presence in spirit. As a matter of fact, it should be equally obvious that he has frequently appeared in person, for such visitations have been proved by statements both printed in a book and spoken in a pulpit. Charles Lee Lewes, to illustrate, ap-

parently basing his assertion on a passage in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, remarks that the Scotch divines of the early eighteenth century were accustomed to preach against the theatre, where, they declared, "his infernal majesty frequently appears clothed in a corporeal substance and possesses the spectators, whom he holds as his worshippers." To anyone who appreciates the diplomacy of "his infernal majesty" or values his qualities as a business man, it is evident that the vast majority of such visits are necessarily made in the disguise of some such personage as a gallery-god or policeman. Visits of this sort are too numerous to be interesting; consequently we are concerned only with those rarer instances where his identity has been detected by zealous penetration or voluntarily revealed during an outburst of rage or in a spirit of braggadocio.

The earliest case, I believe, of Satan functioning openly as a recruiting officer in the playhouse is that recorded by Tertullian, a story essentially correct, as is proved by the large number of subsequent writers who have accepted it. Let us give the incident in the language of J. G.'s *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615): "In the times of the primitive church, a Christian woman went into the theatre to behold the plays. She entered in well and sound, but she returned and came forth possessed of the Devil. Whereupon certain Godly brethren demanded Satan how he durst be so bold as to enter into her, a Christian. Whereunto he answered that he *found her in his own house*, and therefore he took possession of her as his own." This story, says J. G., he "both read and heard"—read perhaps in Tertullian's original, heard from "the mouth of a Reverend Preacher at Bristol in a set sermon against the abuse of plays." Thomas Beard in his *Theatre of God's Judgments* (1597), the author of a *Shorte Treatise Against Stage Playes* (1625), Prynne in his *Histriomastix* (1633), John Rowe in a sermon preached at Witny in 1653, all repeat the narrative and vouch for its accuracy, the latter affirming that "many instances there are in this kind." In a more critical age Jeremy Collier employed the story in his well-known *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698). Immediately the writer of *A Defense*

of *Dramatick Poetry* flippantly remarked that whereas he did not dispute Tertullian's "veracity in this relation," still neither the primitive ecclesiastic nor Mr. Collier has "over-well proved the playhouse to be the Devil's own ground"; and he concluded that such a self-confessing devil was singularly ignorant of his own interests: "This I must say that this foolish devil's impudent discovery was so capital piece of treason against the interest of his own infernal kingdom, that really I am of opinion, to set him *rectus in curia diabolica*, he wants absolution." Not long did such irreverence remain unchallenged. In a few months the author of *The Stage Condemn'd* gave vent in no uncertain language to his contempt for anybody who plays "all the artillery of his wit and banter" against a Father of the Church. "It ill becomes any man," he thunders, "who calls himself a Christian to question Tertullian's veracity in a matter of fact like this, that the enemies of our Holy Religion could easily have disproved had it been false, and that the credit of that learned Father, for the great service he did to the Christian cause, has set him above the snarls and banter of the playhouse or its advocates." In the face of this anathema let him who dares do it question the veracity of Tertullian's "matter of fact."

Less involved in curse and controversy are those later instances where the devil has made visible visitations to the English theatres. As early as 1604 Thomas Middleton obviously points to such an instance, when in his *Black Book* he has Lucifer remark: "He had a head of hair like one of my devils in *Doctor Faustus*, when the old theatre cracked and frighted the audience." Cotton in his *Story of the Drama in Exeter* states that about the same time, apparently, the devil suddenly appeared at Exeter during a performance of Marlowe's famous play, thereby frightening the spectators from the house and the strolling players from the city. Nearly fifty years later Edmund Gayton refers somewhat vaguely to the report that Satan had once appeared uninvited "amongst *Doctor Faustus* his supernumary fiends." Gayton is perhaps echoing the more specific language of William Prynne, who in his *Histriomastix* had mentioned "the visible apparation of the Devil on the stage at the Belsavage Play-house in Queen

Elizabeth's days (to the great amazement both of the actors and spectators) whiles they were prophanelly playing the History of Faustus (the truth which I have heard from many now alive, who well remember it) there being some distracted with that fearful sight."

It is fitting at this point to mention that, according to a tradition perpetuated by an old seventeenth century antiquary and biographer, the devil by visiting the playhouse has occasioned the founding of at least one college. The famous Eliabethan tragedian, Edward Alleyn, was once playing one of seven demons in a Shaksperian play. In the midst of his histrionics the great actor was startled by the appearance of the devil himself. At the sight, continues Aubrey, he was overcome with excitement and remorse and made a vow which he kept by building Dulwich College with a part of his ill-got funds. Old Aubrey's story has been roughly handled by later scholars. John Payne Collier pronounced it an absurdity which perhaps arose in consequence of a distorted version of the disturbance during the performance of *Doctor Faustus*. The elder Charles Dibdin observes that no extant play of Shakspeare seems to depend for its success upon seven demons and remarks that the devil is not accustomed to endow colleges in this particular fashion.

Perhaps scholars have done wisely in questioning Aubrey's tradition, for it seems possible that such a story might have well originated among those who were unable to explain otherwise how an actor should repent or why he should meddle with an institution of learning. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how such people, living before the days of charitable millionaires, should suspect that the devil is ever responsible, directly or indirectly, for the establishing of a college. This apparent contradiction can be reconciled somewhat by inferring that Aubrey has preserved the tradition in a garbled form and that the original intended no such honor to the devil, since his infernal majesty was not actually present on the stage, Alleyn merely imagining him to be present. In support of such a supposition it may be said that, in a period when wine and its attendant creative powers were not totally unknown and when meticulous care was bestowed on the make-up

and vocalism of infernal personages, Alleyn may have mistaken a fellow-demon for a more exalted reality. At any rate, such mistakes by actors have sometimes been made. It will be remembered, for instance, that even George Ann Bellamy once fainted before the audience at the first sight of Laiu's ghost in a mid-eighteenth century revival of Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus*; and Edmund Gayton tells a story which, though long, is worth repeating for several reasons: "In a tragedy (that was prepared for the public view of the University) the actors were privately to be tried upon the stage, that upon the insufficiency of the persons or unfitness the men might be changed. But two scholars there were in this Spanish Tragedy (which was the story of Petrus Crudelis) whose parts were two ghosts or apparitions of some noble personages which that bloody prince had murdered. These two at the repetitions [i. e., rehearsals] spoke their lines very confidently, insomuch that the judges thought they would be very good ghosts; but when the trial night came that the play was to be presented to some few friends before the public exhibit and then these two scholars were put out of their blacks into their white long robs, their faces mealed and some flashes of sulphur made at their entrance, just as they put their heads through the hangings of the scene, coming out at two several sides of the stage, they shook so and were so horribly affrighted at one another's ghastly looks that no force of those behind them could get them to advance a foot toward the stage or speak a word of their parts; but there as they first stood they stood for half an hour shaking, quaking and staring upon one another, insomuch that they put the auditory into such a shaking with laughing that they almost died with the excessive motions of the diaphragm. In fine, the ghosts retreated, and two other persons of better hearts were pitched upon, who were such fellows that if the Devil had appeared (as 'tis said he did amongst Doctor Faustus his supernumary fiends) they would not have been afraid of the sight."

With this concluding remark should be compared two traditions surviving as late as 1870. Writing in *Notes and Queries*, Mr. George Rankin tells how as a boy he heard a garrulous old citizen in the Barbican relate how Ben Jon-

son's *The Devil is an Ass* was once interrupted at the Fortune Theatre. As a novelty on that occasion a dance of twelve imps was introduced. Soon the audience noticed that the number had increased to thirteen. Not liking an unlucky number of dancers nor the personal appearance of the new addition, the spectators objected and the thirteenth dancer was "bowled out." At this point the rejected performer, who proved to be "Old Nicholas himself in *propria persona*," lost his temper and, belching forth blue flames, set fire to the building and escaped in the confusion. Mr. Rankin concludes by asking if there is any connection between this event and the saying that it takes twelve men to raise the devil.

In the same publication appears a somewhat different story recorded by Mr. Hyde Clarke. This story differs from the previous one in that nine demons instead of twelve attempt to perform, the playhouse is not totally destroyed, and the disturbance takes place on a Sunday. Says Mr. Clarke: "All went on well for some time, until the dance was thrown into a confusion, and it was found that there was a tenth dancer like the others. The spectators and manager were indignant, and the latter, to settle the trouble, called on the artists to unmask. Nine did so, but the tenth showed himself as the real devil and went off in a flash of flame, carrying off the roof. I did not understand that the playhouse was burnt, but that the people took the kindly warning given them and abandoned the playhouse and Sunday performances."

Old Nicholas blowing the roof off his own property and giving a kindly warning against Sunday performances! This is bad business, open and palpable and not to be endured—worse than endowing a college. It must consequently be explained away or motived adequately. Most persons would insist that this outburst so disastrous to his own interests is sufficiently explained by the devil's boundless rage at being flouted by manager and spectators in his own tabernacle. A few will argue, however, that here is one of those cases where Satan has been credited with achievements of which he was in no wise guilty.

In favor of the less popular view it must be admitted that the devil, like other theatrical dignitaries, has sometimes suf-

ferred in consequence of practical jokers, or as the result of a bad conscience or overmuch credulity on the part of theatre-goers. An instance of the first case in point is found in John Jackson's history of the Scottish stage. Another lengthy quotation will be pardoned, for Jackson's language somehow reminds one strikingly of the traditions recorded by Rankin and Clarke. Early theatres were not provided with roofs, explains the old manager, because the owners had been convinced by enthusiastic preachers that sooner or later Satan would destroy such accommodations in a flash of fire. "The belief of a possibility of this kind," he continues, "existed even in London the beginning of the present century, and at this moment [1793], I do not think it is totally exploded. In one of Rich's celebrated pantomimes, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, I believe the *Sorcerer*, a dance of infernals was to be exhibited. They were represented in dresses of black and red, with fiery eyes and snaky locks, and garnished with every appendage of horror. They were twelve in number. In the middle of their performance, while they were intent upon the figure in which they had been completely practised, an actor of some humour, who had been accommodated with a spare dress for the occasion, appeared among them. He was, if possible, more terrific than the rest; and seemed to the beholders as designed by the conductor for the principal fiend. His fellow-furies took the alarm; they knew he did not belong to them, and they judged him an infernal in earnest; their fears were excited, a general panic succeeded, and the whole group fled different ways; some to their dressing-rooms, and others through the streets to their own homes, in order to avoid the destruction which they believed was coming upon them for the profane mockery they had been guilty of. The odd devil was *non inventus*. He took himself invisibly away, thro' fears of another kind. He was, however, seen by many, in imagination, to fly through the roof of the house, and they fancied themselves almost suffocated with the stench he had left behind.

"The confusion of the audience is scarcely to be conceived. They retired to their families, informing them of this supposed appearance of the devil, with many of his additional frolics in the exploit. And so thoroughly was its reality believed, that

every official explanation that could be made the following day could not entirely do away with the idea. I myself have gone purposely, more than once, before I was convinced of the fact, to see if I could trace the repairs of the end of the house that had been carried away by a waft of the devil's tail.

"An explanation of the above circumstance I had from Mr. Rich, in the presence of his friend, Bancroft, the contriver, if not the actor, of it, who designed it only as an innocent frolick to confuse the dancers without adverting to the serious consequences that might ensue."

During the earlier years of our drama, when the devil was a favorite stage figure entrusted to the most skillful actors and portrayed with all the realism of goggle-eyes, bottle-nose, and flashing hell-fire; it is little wonder that unquestionably there are other cases where the more unsophisticated part of the audience was unduly impressed by the infernal character on the stage. There can be little doubt, to illustrate, that when in the morality play of *Wisdom*, the devil, in obedience to an old stage direction, seized a "shrewish" boy from the audience and "went his way crying," the shrewish boy at least believed himself to be in the clutches of something more than an actor. To what extent the shepherds, servants, and ploughboys of a much later date were capable of responding to certain stage effects is revealed in Anthony Pasquin's description of the dress-rehearsal of *Blue Beard* given at Lord Barrymore's private theatre at Wargrave: "When I, who had the honor of playing the Devil on that occasion, ascended through the stage trap, there was an instantaneous shriek in a hundred different keys." Believing it all a "peep into Tartarus," he adds, the rustics "blessed themselves in a cold perspiration."

Again, there are those who as a result of early training and a vivid imagination are wont to vivify all playhouse disasters with pictures of the supernatural. In 1653 the floor of a room at Witny gave way during the performance of *Mucedorus*. At the time of the accident, says John Rowe, who preached elaborately on the calamity, a wild man in the costume of a bear was "courting and soliciting his lady." Various persons present, writes Rowe, blamed the devil for the death of their fellow-citizens, since they actually saw him on the stage in the

hide of a bear at the moment of the collapse, and heard him preface his act of destruction with the remark that the devil had now come to act his part. But the Witny parson is inclined to question this testimony, for, as he explains, a mistake could easily have been made by excited people, especially since there had been an allusion in the text of the play to "the devil in a Bares dublet." It is to be regretted that the historian of the disaster did not speak conclusively on Satan's share in the achievement, because the tone of his sermons inclines one to the belief that he is too anxious to assign to another power all credit for this mutilation of women and children. A similar confusion as to where honor should be bestowed occurred in 1701, when the theatre in Smock-Alley, Dublin, collapsed during a performance of Shadwell's *Libertine*. Many pronounced it a divine judgment on the enormous crowd that had assembled to witness so loose and improper a performance. On the other hand, writes Robert Hitchcock, the historian of the Irish Stage, some declared that on the occasion "the candles burnt blue, and went out, that two or three times a dancer extraordinary, whom nobody knew, was seen, that he had a cloven hoof, etc., etc., with many other ridiculous stories."

Granting, for the sake of argument, that the devil rather than another power is responsible for such bruising of playgoers, why should he choose to destroy his own property during the performance of particular plays like *Doctor Faustus* and *The Libertine*? Those who refuse to admit the total depravity of the playhouse may find the clue to an answer in a document written many years ago by John Dennis. Replying to Jeremy Collier's argument that those who introduce devils into stage-plays do not believe in their existence elsewhere, he asks why should it be more irreligious for Englishmen to bring devils on the stage than it was for Aeschylus to employ furies. Nothing can be more terrible, he argues, than the showing of devils, if they are shown solemnly. And can anything that moves terror, he asks, "do a disservice to religion?" There is the clue. Terror propagates religion; and *Doctor Faustus* and *The Libertine* are terrible. The solemnity with which the devil is handled in the one is attested by the large number of squibs that popped as the doctor made his final exit; the terror

of the other is apparent when Don Juan, covered in a cloud of fire, sinks into hell in the midst of thunder and lightning and a parcel of demons. Naturally, the devil, while he would not object to a presentation of himself as a lovable comedian, would resent the solemn portrayal of his powers as a warning to the frequenters of his chapel. Satan, wrote a contemporary of Shakspeare, flies into a rage when he is nipped in the nose by a stage-play. Customarily he haunts the playhouse quietly and in disguise, but occasionally he has been nipped to such an extent by his own children that, unmindful of his own interests, he has given vent to his indignation by smashing the galleries of his tabernacle, enveloping his schoolhouse in blue flames, or blowing off the top of his synagogue. The capers of a devil rampant are to be so explained, else we are forced to the awful alternative of admitting that perhaps the old questioner of Tertullian's veracity was not altogether wrong in referring to Satan's treasonable indiscretion in managing the business of his Kingdom.

Lexiphanes: Satire's View of Doctor Johnson

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Samuel Johnson bulks large among the dim and ghostly heroes of literary history. In pleasant despite of time and place I range him alongside Homer and Aristotle, Milton and George Meredith, Ibsen, Chrétien de Troyes, and Christopher Marlowe. For me he is as unreal as the other great legendary figures, Confucius and Thomas Jefferson, Robert Burns and Sardanapalus, Roland, Oliver, Hind Horn, and Guy of Warwick. He might be an ogre or Beauty's Beast or a Jinn out of the Arabian Nights. I revere him somewhat as I revere Balaam and his Ass. It is disconcerting to think that he actually lived only a few years ago, ate and drank, lumbered along the streets and byways of London, erred mildly and repented like you or me. Yet so he did; he was very human, rather less of a superman than his adoring biographers would have us believe. And just because his friends of the club and the tea-table, whose accounts give us our conventional notions, were more affectionate than accurate in their delineation, it is salutary and agreeable to observe another contemporary impression of Johnson's greatness. It makes for Horation moderation in our estimate of a man to observe what coetaneans undeceived, if not unprejudiced, really thought of him. Such a body of opinion about Doctor Johnson has for a century lain unobserved in dusty stacks or satirical pamphlets; scattered details collected from them are presented in the following pages to sketch a new picture, a rough portrait showing the man as he appeared in the eyes of an irreverent group of his fellow-workers. For the satirists of his day "Surly Sam" was no remote and sacred figure of Gospel or Apocrypha, but a mere struggling companion and pitiless competitor in the great game of letters. Therefore their view may be of value and interest to those who have derived chiefly from Boswell and critics of Boswell the traditional conception of the eccentric literary dictator of mid-eighteenth century England.

The Doctor was a huge and tempting target for satirical archery. On that account, although satire, a literary *genre* by nature conservatively censorious, would naturally rally to the de-

fence of classicism against the rapidly strengthening forces of romanticism, he was the object of much versified ridicule and rebuke. Satirists attacked him from many angles. They found objects of mockery in his personal peculiarities, his ugliness of figure, visage, and manners. They dared to question his honesty with regard to various matters. Most persistently they mocked at his principal foibles, his acceptance of a pension, his inconsistent dislike of Scots and Scotland. They questioned the value of his work as a critic. They commented unfavorably upon one of his cherished pieces of creative writing, the tragedy *Irene*. They found food for laughter in his *Dictionary*. And they had many derisive things to say concerning the ponderous style of his sonorous prose.

The most famous satirical portrait of Johnson is one of the earliest, Churchill's account of him in *The Ghost*. One passage is as follows:

Pomposo with *strong sense* supplied,
Supported and confirmed by *pride*,
His comrades' terrors to beguile,
Grinn'd horribly a ghastly smile:
Features so horrid, were it light,
Would put the Devil himself to flight.

At another place the satirist describes him as:

Horrid, *unwieldy, without form*,
Savage as ocean in a storm,
Of size prodigious . . .

The shoemaker poet, James Woodhouse, recorded in his *Crispinus Scriblerus* a less exaggerated picture of

. . . lumbering Johnson of gigantic size,
Like Learning, Wit, and Genius, in disguise;
So slatternly—distorted—graceless—loud,
To startle strangers, or convulse the crowd.

There was less delicacy of diction when less refined poets than Woodhouse the Cordwainer snapped at the heels of Johnson. Such couplets as the following, from an anti-Caledonian satire called *The Triumph of Brutes*, remind one of some details emphasized in Macaulay's essay:

J—n, that various man of various parts,
More skill'd in scratching than the liberal arts.

Like many a more contemptible scribbler, Dr. John Wolcott ("Peter Pindar") found him a ready subject for hasty satirical remark. Several of Peter's descriptions are interesting. For example, he tells a ludicrous anecdote of Johnson's Oxford days to the effect that when he was living at the house of Mr. Thompson, a cabinet maker, the maid once brought him Mrs. Thompson's chemise instead of a shirt, and the scholar absent-mindedly tried to get into the garment:

Wedg'd in the Smock (a Lion in the Toil),
He roar'd, and kick'd, and sweated—huge turmoil!
Stamp'd, bounc'd, and ran (a Buffalo) about,
Till Mistress Thompson let the Savage out.

In another context, Peter Pindar described him as conquered by Reviewers:

Lo, like an Elephent along the ground,
Great Caliban, the Giant Johnson, stretch'd!

Yet another brutish metamorphosis is suggested by this couplet from an anonymous pamphlet called *Asses Ears*:

Next shaggy *Bruin* to be heard,
With leer uncouth, his suit prefer'd.

Thus freely did the satirists express their opinion of the great man's personal appearance. They were no less frankly severe in passing judgment upon his behavior.

In particular, his overbearing manner in conversation and his firm and unlogical, if not illogical, prejudices laid him open to much satirical criticism. Churchill roused unpleasant smiles at the expense of his "Pomposo, insolent and loud,"

Who with jealous eye surveys,
And sickens at another's praise;
Who, proudly seiz'd of *Learning's* throne
Now damns all learning but his own;
Who scorns those common wares to trade in,
Reas'ning, Convincing, and Persuading,
But makes each sentence current pass
With *Puppy, Coxcomb, Scoundrel, Ass.*

Similarly the author of an anonymous pamphlet called *Propriety* seems to have had Johnson in his mind's eye when he drew this picture:

Full of the learned Logic of the Schools,
Stentorius deems all adversaries Fools;
 Stiff in his own Opinions, he can ne'er
 The slightest breath of Opposition bear.
 Oppos'd, Resentment flashes in his eyes,
 And Tyger-like, he at th' Opposer flies;
 Who oft, tho' not convinc'd, the subject quits,
 And to a stronger pair of Lungs submits.

In a few satirical poems Johnson was not adversely criticized, but, on the contrary, was defended against the assaults of his scribbling enemies. In the year 1770, when his political activities, especially his pamphlets in defence of the Ministry's American policy, were rousing hostility, his esteemed friend, the Rev. Percival Stockdale, produced a poem called *The Remonstrance*, which was simply an apology for the good Doctor. Even his most conspicuous departure from the rules of propriety, his rudeness in conversation, this strange satirist had a way to approve:

Thy honest censure, and thy honest praise,
 Perhaps ill suit our false and polished days;
 Timid politeness says thou art severe;
 But simple virtue loves the tongue sincere.

Another friend, John Courtenay, wrote this description of Johnson's manner in colloquy:

In converse quick, impetuous Johnson press'd
 His weighty logic, or sarcastic jest:
 Strong in the chase, and nimble at the turns,
 For victory still his fervid spirit burns;
 Subtle when wrong, invincible when right,
 Arm'd at all points, and glorying in his might,
 Gladiator-like, he travers'd the field,
 And strength and skill compel the foe to yield.

The author of *The Remonstrance* showed no flaws in the character of his hero:

Thou nobly singular, immortal man!
 Whom nought could e'er divert from virtue's plan!

Other satire-makers were so far from agreeing with him, however, that they accused his hero of actual mendacity. Churchill, for instance, observing that Johnson's edition of Shakespeare

was very slow in forthcoming, declared that the critic "for integrity renowned"

. . . for subscribers baits his hook,
And takes the cash—but where's the book?

More coarsely a shocking defamer of Methodism asserted that a notorious Methodist "outlies Sam J—s-n." And J. Moir, the reverend author of a poem called *The Wits*, enlivened his portrait with a touch of malevolence:

JOHNSON grown rich, iniquity again
Spreads and provokes his classic rage in vain!
Now he reviews his conscious toils and vast,
His rambles all, through moral science past.
Full of the plaudits his efforts receiv'd,
Careless who live, or not, as once he liv'd! . . .

All men of genius at his levee sees
But such as rival him at repartees.
For who yet ever knew a wit profest,
Who droll himself, could bear another's jest?
Want oft has made him hector and exclaim
Against the proud oppressor's ruthless aim!
He then could make the foes of freedom smart,
And poignards speak to every callous heart.
Now hunger gripes not, all the world goes well,
He eats at ease, and we may *go to hell!*

Several satirists thought that they discovered in Doctor Johnson's acceptance of a pension a real defect in his character. Peter Pindar stated the general opinion as follows:

Ambition made sour Johnson lick the Throne,
And blink at every merit but his own.

Likewise Churchill says:

He damns the pension which he takes
And loves the Stuart he forsakes.

Imitating the stronger style of Pope, one obscure wielder of the satiric scourge shouts:

I call a Spade a Spade, and Hill a Quack,
Johnson a Pensioner . . .

The indulgence of indolence, for which pensioned ease gave him opportunity, was not hidden from social critics and lam-

pooners. Some of them attributed his idleness not to mere sloth, however, but to a cold indifference concerning right and justice. This was the opinion of Moir, as we have seen, and the opinion was shared by a far more distinguished poet. "When Bute," wrote Chatterton,

With royal favour pensioned Johnson dead;
His works in undeserved oblivion sunk,
Were read no longer, and the man was drunk . . .
Fixed in his chair, contented and at home,
The busy "Rambler" will no longer roam.
Released from servitude (such 'tis to think)
He'll prove it perfect happiness to drink.

The political pamphlet, *The False Alarm* (1770), concerning the government's difficulties with the American colonies, roused all sorts of comment from the satirists. A representative passage from *The Theatres, A Poetical Dissection*, is sweet in the ears of American readers; it describes how the author

In a sad state of dotage takes up arms,
And crams the public with his *False Alarms*:
Defends a ministry, in whose defence
He murders virtue, liberty, and sense.

But such jibes as this were mild beside the scalding words of the unrestrained romanticist Chatterton:

His genius dead, and decently interred,
The clamorous noise of drums sonorous heard,
Soured into life, assumed the heavy pen,
And saw existence for an hour again;
Scattered his thoughts spontaneous from his brain,
And proved we had no reason to complain;
Whilst from his fancy figures budded out,
As hair on humid carcasses will sprout.

Like his pension, Johnson's aversion, in the abstract, to all things Scottish earned many shillings for the versifying scandal-mongers. The best satire on the subject, however, was written by no London rhymer but a forerunner of a greater Rob, Robert Fergusson. This poem, not in "braid Scots," but in ponderous Johnsonian, is a gem of good-humored rebuke, written soon after the Doctor's visit to the land of cakes. The following lines, referring to the definition of

"oats" in Johnson's Dictionary as food for cattle in England and for men in Scotland, illustrate the general style:

Have you as yet the way explor'd
To let liquarian chalice, swell'd with oats,
Thy orifice approach?

Less genial than the Scot and more cynical, Peter Pindar saw in the anti-Caledonian prejudice an evidence of lack of candor:

But who, alas! on Johnson's word relies,
Who saw the *too kind* North with jaundiced eyes;
Who rode to Hawthornden's fair scene by night,
For fear a Scottish tree might wound his sight;
And, bent from decent candour to depart,
Allowed a Scotchman neither head nor heart?

A summary of satire's view of Johnson's personal, as artificially distinguished from his literary, qualities, is afforded by Soame Jenyns' unmerciful epitaph. Cowper, too, wrote an epitaph, smooth, kindly, and unimportant. Jenyns was a much weaker poet than Cowper, but he bore the dead man an ancient grudge for having condemned his *Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*. Therefore Jenyns' epitaph is much more to our purpose than that written by William Cowper. Here is the hostile poet's frank and not ungenerous characterization of Johnson:

Here lies Sam Johnson:—reader have a care,
Tread lightly, lest you wake a sleeping bear:
Religious, moral, generous, and humane
He was; but self-sufficient, proud and vain,
Fond of, and overbearing in dispute,
A Christian, and a scholar—but a brute.

If Johnson's private character was as heartily satirized as has been indicated, it is not wonderful that his critical and creative literary performances were likewise eagerly attacked. Tory prejudice and warping jealousy were the two influences which, in the opinion of some satirists, caused him to deviate from the strict line of critical justice. The only man among them who so much as suggested that the dictator's critical standards were wrong was Thomas Chatterton, and he no more than hinted at Romanticism.

Typically, the anonymous author of *The Beauties of the Brinsleiad* arraigned critics like Johnson—

Who Whigs, as wits, through loyalty condemn,
 (Pensions are parts and principle with them)
 And envious now, and now corrupt, by fits,
 Lash Tories too for daring to be wits.

Most of the satirists' disapproval of the dictator's critical *dicta* concerned the *Lives of the Poets*. Mathias, the little author of *The Pursuits of Literature*, does indeed have a few words of metaphorical mockery of Johnson as master of that pack of "Black Letter dogs," the eighteenth century critics of Shakespeare. And he remarks in general upon the Doctor's churlish chiding of everything in sight, declaring that no author attacks others in character or writings with more spleen and injustice. But even here the chief reference is apparently to the criticism in the *Lives*. If modern scholars find certain inconsistencies in these biographies, it is the less to be wondered at that contemporary satirists shouted aloud their indignation. A favorite general accusation was that Johnson played a coward's part in maliciously attacking the dead masters. Another imputation the author of the *Brinsleiad* implied in his picture of critics who find fault with Milton, Pope, and Swift, and

Make pregnant stanzas, by their shrewd explaining,
 Sink into utter emptiness of meaning.

In the satirists' estimate of Johnson's judgments upon individual poets there are few notes of praise and many of censure. Bare indeed are such couplets as this of George Dyer's with regard to Dryden:

See Johnson throw a glory round a name
 Already shining in the rolls of fame!

More typical is the opinion expressed by the Rev. J. Moir when he declares that Johnson

On Milton, though almost benumb'd with age,
 Pours all the virulence of party rage!

Various lives were distasteful to various readers. Probably that of Gray roused the greatest storm of satirical resentment.

John Courtenay opened his poetic biographical notice with a long account of the Doctor's weaknesses as a critic, and the passage begins with these lines:

Lost is the man who scarce deigns Gray to praise,
But from the grave calls Blackmore's sleeping lays.

Now, Blackmore's interminable epics were notorious for their soporific qualities. The reader who bears in mind that some twentieth century Americans rank Gray next to Shakespeare among the English poets may judge of the indignation with which Gray's admirers saw him rated below the dullest epic poet of their century. Even gentlewomen rose in revolt at the dictator's mean valuation of the poetic genius who wrote the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. Anne Seward, one of the readiest letter-writers among learned ladies, vented her indignation in a poem of twenty-two lines. It was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and it is not a bad magazine-poem, if one compares it with others of the period. But it is characterized by the typical classical abstractions and circumlocution. Instead of aiming her shafts at the great critic, she takes a nearer target, William Mason, author of a life of Thomas Gray. Through Miss Seward as a medium the awful voiced Muse of Gray rebukes Gray's biographer for having allowed malicious hands to tear the wreath from her brows, and urges him to wrest the envy-pointed falchion

From that Philistine critic, who defies
The chosen armies of the heavenly muse.

The satirists were not blind to Johnson's great importance in the world of letters. Few among them would have passed as careless judgment as that of "Rattlesnake," the reviewer, in Hoole's *Modern Manners*:

Respecting the Doctor, you say very true,
I think him as scurvy a critic as you.

Even Peter Pindar acknowledged his eminence, as is shown by this couplet concerning the general mourning at his death:

Who cried the world can match his Prose or Rhyme?
O'er wits of modern days he towers sublime.

Everywhere he was recognized as the leader among conserva-

tive traditionalists. Critics in general gradually were coming around to see some worth in "sensibility" and "runic" and "Gothic" ideas and feelings—but never Johnson. A hint of the common opinion is afforded by the Reverend Richard Graves, the author of *The Spiritual Quixote*. This sentimental old humorist in 1786 wrote some verses to Christopher Anstey, complimenting him upon his *New Bath Guide* and other light and lively anapestic verses and praising them in these significant terms:

They long have gain'd thy native Cam's applause,
And brav'd old *Oxford Johnson's* rigid laws.

Johnson was generally recognized as the great exponent of traditional conservatism, not only in critical theory, but in his creative literary practice as well. Satirical comments upon his tragedy of *Irene* involve typical derogation for his personality and for his classical criticism. Chatterton, for instance, thus amplified the thought which is suggested in the couplet by the Reverend Mr. Graves:

Once (let the lovers of *Irene* weep)
He thought it perfect happiness to sleep.
Irene, wondrous composition, came
To give the audience rest, the author fame;
A snore was much more grateful than a clap,
And pit, box, gallery, proved it in a nap.
Hail, Johnson! chief of bards, thy rigid laws
Bestowed due praise, and critics snored applause.

In a passage from *Kew Gardens*, the wonderful boy rephrased the opinion in somewhat different fashion:

Hail, Inspiration! whose mysterious wings
Are strangers to what rigid (*Johnson*) sings;
By him thy airy voyages are curbed,
Nor moping wisdom's by thy flight disturbed;
To ancient lore and musty precepts bound,
Thou art forbid the range of classic ground.
Irene creeps so classical and dry,
None but a Greek philosopher can cry.
Through five long acts unletter'd heroes sleep,
And critics by the square of learning weep.

Somewhat similarly the author of *The Theatres*, which some

malicious cataloguer has attributed to Garrick, indulges in this vigorous lampooning of Johnson in connection with the damning of his tragedy:

Johnson, that huge Leviathan of wit,
 Made once a turgid, tasteless tragic hit;
 Told a soft tale in such laborious strains
 As damn'd the fair Irene for his pains.

A literary warehouse, well supply'd
 With learning's lore, and not a little pride;
 Who in his own opinion sits supreme,
 Whatever stile he takes, whatever theme;
 Who never yet his own applause has miss'd,
 Poet, philosopher, philologist.

In *The Children of Thespis* of John Williams ("Anthony Pasquin"), who though a vile person was the purveyor of much valuable gossip, I find a footnote which furnishes a stepping stone to take us away from this dull matter of *Irene*. "In 1749," writes Pasquin, "he produced a tragedy at Drury Lane Theatre, entitled *Irene*, but being created upon an Aristotelian bias, the public could not relish its beauties. A few years after this period, he published his wonderful and stupendous Dictionary."

The *Dictionary* seems, indeed, to be the corner-stone of Doctor Johnson's reputation. Everybody referred to it. Almost every satirist mentioned it who mentioned its author. The low writer of *The Diabolo-lady: or, A Match in Hell*, for example, takes occasion to remark (falsely) that the word *approve* is absent from the monumental lexicon. With similar effort at wit, the author of *Matrimonial Overtures*, another obscure and scandalous pamphlet, declares that after Johnson was induced to write for the government, "the long tribe of pension'd pamphleteers" turned to him for explanation of the word *good-breeding*. According to another scribbler, who wrote *The Triumph of Brutes*, the lexicographer

Confessed his Dictionary, like his head,
 Tho' full of reading, never to be read.

In a complimentary epigrammatic poem upon the *Dictionary*, David Garrick praised Johnson pleasantly at the ex-

pense of the French encyclopedists. After boasting of the supposed superiority of one British soldier over ten French, he concluded his stanza with this couplet :

And Johnson well arm'd, like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more.

There were many other passages of comment upon the great work, but its chief appearance in satire was more subtle. Satirists mocked at the dictionary-maker when they wished to criticize the defects (one cannot call them weaknesses) of his style. "Lexiphanes," the phrasemonger, was their favorite name for him, and his sesquipedalian words they appropriated as weapons of ridicule. Fergusson's poem *To Samuel Johnson*, already mentioned, which has as a subtitle "Food for a new edition of his Dictionary," abounds in such lines as :

The muse silent long, with mouth apert,
Would give vibration to stagnatic tongue,
And loud encomiate thy puissant name.

Of Johnson's other works, aside from the *Lives of the Poets*, *Irene*, and the *Dictionary*, the satirists had little to say. There were a few passages of attack, and others of defense, for his political pamphlets upon the American situation. *The False Alarm*, a particularly weak piece, caused noisy discussion. A few details also of his private life were seized upon by scribblers as matter for ridicule, or, less commonly, for praise. Peter Pindar loved to tell the story of Johnson's obsequious interview with Majesty, and quoted joyously the reply to a question concerning his impressions of the King: "'His Majesty seems to be possessed of some good nature and much curiosity,' replied the Doctor: 'as for his *vous*, it is far from contemptible. His Majesty indeed was *multifarious* in his *questions*; but, thank God, he answered them all himself.'" Other satirists chose to record other small matters of the great man's biography. A sufficiently scandalous sample is this couplet from *The Sauce-Pan*, in comment upon his residence in the house with the widow of his friend the brewer :

And what can wisdom, learning, parts, avail?
E'en Johnson's only known—to live with Thrale.

Thus satire's coarse guffaw sounded continually in the ears

of Samuel Johnson, the literary autocrat of the age. Of all the caustic rhymers, only Churchill pierced the thick skin of the incontrovertible Doctor's steady complacency. Yet the whole mediocre throng of ephemeral scribblers, like the village children at the heels of Mark Twain's astrologer, followed the great man and mocked at him to conceal their awe. They derided his ugliness, ungainliness, rudeness, his social and political prejudices and the harsh inaccuracy of his criticism of poetry; they even revived the memory of his dead tragedy for the sake of one more chortle. And that quality which made him distinctly eminent, they magnified to an absurdity. For the satirists the ponderous force of his characteristic prose was a never-failing source of impish joy.

They called him Lexiphanes to signify that, in schoolboy phrase, he had "swallowed the dictionary." They called his style "lexiphanian" or, taking a word from his own book, "sesquipedalian." They used Johnsonian great words for small thoughts. And their readers were amused.

The name Lexiphanes came to England, of course, in Lucian's dialogue of that title. The source of its currency as a satiric tag for Doctor Johnson was: "*Lexiphanes, a Dialogue. Imitated from Lucian, and suited to the present times. Being an attempt to restore the English Tongue to its Ancient Purity, and to correct, as well as expose, the affected Style, harsh words, and absurd phraseology of many writers, and particularly of our English Lexiphanes, the Rambler.*" This witty and ribald burlesque was the work of Archibald Campbell, who may or may not have been identical with the colonel of that name who drove the patriots out of Augusta, Georgia. At any rate, he was a clever parodist, not excessively clean-minded. Borrowing ideas from Lucian, and Samuel Butler, and perhaps Ben Jonson, he produced a really funny caricature of his great subject. The ordinary "shake" or grip of friendship, his hero calls "a reciprocal and most amicable intermixture and conquassation of hands," and he uses similar language through a hundred and fifty pages of frivolity, till a medical man who has had experience with his peculiar sort of madness administers the emetic which brings all the lexicographer's tremendous vocabulary rolling from his throat.

“Lexiphanes” Johnson became to all satirists, and Lexiphanes he remained to the end of his days. Few indeed were satire’s notes of praise for his manner of writing. His friend Arthur Murphy had the courage to declare :

Whate’er you write, in ev’ry golden line
Sublimity and elegance combine :
Thy nervous phrase impresses ev’ry soul,
While harmony gives warmth and rapture to the whole.

But Charles Churchill offset this commendation by his picture of Pomposo :

Who, to increase his native strength,
Draws words six syllables in length,
With which, assisted with a frown,
By way of club, he knocks us down.

Next in chronological order came the full-length caricature of Campbell’s dialogue. The author of *The Theatres* added nothing to the purpose when he wrote :

Johnson, thrice happy in a new-coin’d word,
Reigns in full state, most pompously absurd.

On the other hand, Johnson’s chief defender among the satirists, the Reverend Percival Stockdale, allowed a suggestion of irony to creep into this passage of admiration :

Great is thy prose ; great thy poetic strain ;
Yet to dull coxcombs are they great in vain.
When weak opponents would thy strength defeat,
Thy words like babbling parrots they repeat ;
But mixed with theirs, the vigour all is fled,
The letter living, but the spirit dead :
Their want of powers these insects will not see ;
Bombast in them is sublime in thee.

If the approbation had been more mildly put, it might have pointed effectively to the fallacy in the popular criticism of its hero’s prose style. At best, however, this is the last stand of the friends of Johnson in the field of satire. Thereafter, till the pitilessness of biographers made satirists sympathize with Johnson dead, the ponderous stylist was pretty generally ridiculed. William Mason, in his satires two-thirds political and one-third literary, was fond of pointing a mocking finger

at the great Johnson. Friendship with Horace Walpole, who always hated the Rambler, probably was an important element in strengthening Mason's aversion. In his earlier satirical poems, the *Ode to Pinchbeck* and the *Epistle to Shebbeare*, he expressed his feelings thus:

Poor Doctor Johnson, I'm afraid,
Can give but metaphoric aid;
His style's case-Harden'd graces!

and more cleverly thus:

O for a thousand tongues and every tongue
Like Johnson's, arm'd with words of six feet long,
In multitudinous vociferation
To panegyricize this glorious nation,
Whose liberty results from her taxation.

But it was under cover of the double anonymity of the *Archaeological Epistle to Dean Milles* that Mason took occasion to criticise Johnson's prose most thoroughly. Most of his preface he devoted to a comparison between Johnson's diction and that of Chatterton's *Rowley*, greatly to the advantage of the latter. It is recorded in Walpole's *Letters* that the dictator of the Club read the poem without reading the preface, and pronounced the satire good; even after discovering through the preface that he himself was one of the principal objects of attack he was sufficiently candid to admit that the work had merit. Yet Mason's mode of criticism is neither genial nor gentle. He remarks incidentally that "the merit of the Doctor's style is known to consist in his long words, hard words, and stiffly constructed sentences." He declares that the Rowleian style contains fewer long words, and those not nearly so long as the monsters of the Doctor's coinage; Rowleian involves hard, obsolete words also, to be sure, but they are brought in not through affectation but from sheer necessity. He characterizes the two styles in words of their own:

Then as to the construction of whole sentences, nothing in the world is so totally dissimilar as the Lexiphanic and Archaeologic manner; the one is *swotie, mole, and fetive*: the other *rugose, cacophonous, and dentifragent*.

An anonymous scribbler, author of *Matrimonial Overtures*,

from an enamour'd lady, to Lord G—— G—rm—ne, had expressed similar critical ideas with less originality but admirable onomatopoeic cacophony in these lines:

Next Johnson's self, in letter'd pride, should bring
 The stiffest plume that grows in Herme's wing; . . .
 He in tremendous sounds can all excell
 Whose every page takes half a year to spell:
 Words that defy Gargantua's mouth to speak,
 The monstrous spawn of Anglo-Celtic Greek.

The popular opinion of Johnson's literary method and manner was voiced more typically by Robert Fergusson when he addressed

him whose potent lexiphanian style
 Words can prolongate, and inswell his page
 With what in others to a line's confined.

With such a reputation, if the testimony of the writers of satire is to be relied upon, the Great Lexicographer went to his grave. And "Doctor Johnson of *sesquipedalia verba* memory" was the Doctor Johnson who stuck in the minds of the satirists among his contemporaries who survived him. But the rancour with which they had derided his style died with him. They still smiled in memory of his frailties, but they hated him no longer.

French Problems

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Never in her history has France been confronted with problems more perplexing than those which she now faces. During the Hundred Years' War, it is true, she passed through exceedingly grave crises. In the following century Emperor Charles V threatened her very existence. More than once in the dark days of the Revolutionary period her chances seemed desperate. Nor would the greatest optimist have thought her future bright after the war of 1870, culminating in the fratricidal ravages of the Commune. But, after all, those earlier crises were largely accidental and transitory. France, a victim to excessive chivalry, dynastic discord, bad government, or unpreparedness, found herself in a dangerous situation; but with the cause of danger removed, she quickly recovered her former prestige, and the more rapidly, because in population, wealth, and civilization she was the first nation in Europe. National prestige, however, is only relative; it depends upon the strength of one's competitors. Here lies the chief source of the present weakness of France: certain of her rivals excel her in population, wealth, and economic productivity. Her inferiority now is not temporary, but the result of long ailment. With the most favorable conditions it will take her population three generations to regain the relative rank it once held. Meanwhile her statesmen, instead of wasting their time in intrigue, quarrels, and domestic persecution, must pursue a broadly national course.

The problems that confront the French are of three kinds: economic, political, and social. Although for the moment the most pressing may seem to be the economic, eventually they will prove to be the social. But all three are so interrelated that, like the links of a chain, they will hold or give way together. Without immediate financial and industrial relief, economic depression must speedily lead to anarchy; unless social abuses are checked, even more complete disaster will result; but no lasting reforms, economic or social, are possible without serious political reform. The most pressing need of France is

a strong man with power to carry out his policies. For more than thirty years the French—with the exception of professional politicians and their dupes—have been yearning for a leader and a stable government. A leader endowed with courage to defy the cries of "dictator!" and with a proper contempt for ideologists and parliamentary eloquence could inspire in his compatriots faith in industrial undertakings, and could rid them of their greatest fault—timidity in commerce. An energetic government would attack political corruption, abolish the evils of alcoholism, and deal with the vital questions of public health and "race suicide." Such a leader of men is likely to arise in France. Has not Clemenceau, despite his forty years of sterile parliamentary wrangling, and the demoralizing influence of his fellow-politicians, already made a beginning?

In all countries the principal economic problem of today is how to develop agriculture, industry, and commerce by perfected scientific methods. Unfortunately the French, victims of long misgovernment, are poorly equipped to deal with this problem. While restoring their devastated provinces, they must replace defective industrial equipment, construct waterways and harbors, build ships and railroads, erect sanitary dwellings, develop mining and hydraulic power. Their forests, neglected even before the war, demand the immediate expenditure of millions of dollars. Division of labor must be greatly extended at the expense of individualism. French industry, static hitherto, should become dynamic. At the Ministry of Public Works more than four thousand applications for mining concessions have been held up by routine and bureaucracy. French agriculture, in spite of superior soil and favorable climate, lags behind that of most other European countries. No other land is so favorably situated for commerce as France, yet her trade has not maintained its rank.

These painful facts were known to her economists long before the war, but their exhortations availed nothing. Public opinion in France no longer realized the capital importance of securing men of talent in public offices, nor did it possess a proper conception of superior talent. Accordingly, French legislators came to be politicians who, engrossed in

party quarrels, took no serious interest in national questions. This attitude was inevitable, since the egalitarian system of politics, as practiced in France, tends to eliminate from office men of capacity. Unhappily, too, the so-called higher classes, disgusted with the prevailing "cult of incompetence," as Émile Faguet termed it, have maintained in politics and commerce an attitude of disdainful reserve, tending more and more to resemble fatalism. Thus, with a few exceptions, French industries, owing to antiquated equipment, red tape, and the national apathy in seeking commercial orders abroad, have declined year after year. This decline was hastened by the antagonistic attitude of labor. Incited by demagogues, French workmen refused to believe what their German neighbors had demonstrated, that their employers' interests were their own. All of these circumstances favored the German manufacturer, whose "pacific penetration" during the first fourteen years of the century made marvelous strides. Had peace endured twenty years longer, practically every French industry would have been either under German control or else ruined, as even the most naive French optimists now realize.

How the "knights of the politician industry" and the frivolous press brought France to the verge of ruin is told by Victor Cambon. In his convincing diagnosis of the case, he writes: "Obstinately slumbering in false security, we were totally uninformed about matters of vital importance. Interested in scandal rather than useful knowledge, we tolerated with resignation incompetent public officials, who constantly succeeded one another. We were exposed to vice by stupid humanitarianism, lulled like children with the empty loquacity of vain rhetors (*rhéteurs inconscients*) . . . who concentrated all their attention upon sickening political quarrels. We viewed with indifference the wane of our prestige abroad as that of other nations increased. Our finest provinces were poisoned by the curse of alcohol, which paralyzed their economic productivity and blighted the race. Our birthrate had fallen below that of all other European countries. Such was our suicidal course while the enemy beyond our frontier was expanding by leaps and bounds. Did ever a situation resemble more closely the last days of Byzantium? And yet," he goes

on to say, "people assert that we are decadent. What must have been the vitality of our country, to have withstood so long such a régime!" Little wonder that Paul Deschanel, one of the pillars of the Third Republic, should have admitted in a public address in January, 1917, that before the war France was "*en train de se suicider.*"

It is particularly the social and moral infirmities alluded to by Victor Cambon that add to the gravity of the situation. Intemperance increases because a majority of the French people have no conception of hygiene and physical culture, for the very good reason that nobody has ever enlightened them on these subjects. And what could be a worse national peril than race extinction? Paul Deschanel calls "race suicide" the greatest French problem of the future, a question of life and death. Similarly Alexandre Millerand, formerly Minister of War, declares that France "*ne connaît pas de menace plus terrible que celle de la dépopulation.*" Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the foremost French economist of our time, gave the menace constant attention during the last thirty years of his life. But thus far all remedial efforts have been futile.

The causes of this menace are voluntary birth restriction and abortion, intemperance, and infant mortality. Voluntary restriction, according to the disciples of Le Play, results mainly from the French inheritance laws, which with each generation necessitate the division of family property among the children. In this connection some social writers lay the blame upon "bourgeois prudence" and the desire to provide well for one's children. Others attribute it to neo-Malthusian propaganda. All are agreed that restriction is fostered by the decline of religion and the lack of a sense of civic and moral responsibility. Such causes explain, also, the alarming increase in abortion, which, competent authorities assert, is at present practiced in France to the extent of more than 200,000 cases annually. Of the involuntary causes of depopulation, alcoholism is the chief. This tends to engender insanity and tuberculosis, and favors the spread of venereal disease, which admittedly is largely responsible for infant mortality.

These causes of depopulation are much more readily understood than is its remedy. Among the inducements proposed

to encourage the rearing of more than two children in a family are a reform of the inheritance laws, exemption from military service, premiums in money, education at the expense of the state, exemption from taxation, reduction in house rent, and preferential consideration for government appointment. While, no doubt, these measures might prove useful, moral remedies alone can be really efficacious. The present materialistic conception of life must give way to convictions of social, civic, and moral duty. And this result cannot be achieved if the French Government renews its attacks upon the moral forces of the country, evidenced in its opposition to moral education, its unfair "neutrality" in religion, its confiscation of church property, and its proscription of the religious orders.

It is obvious that none but statesmen of broad vision, firm moral convictions, and indomitable will, can direct simultaneously the far-reaching reforms necessary for France. Five hundred zeros (French politicians) are not worth one man of genius for governing a country. The situation demands men with the courage and tenacity of Richelieu and Colbert, administrators and specialists conversant with social and economic laws, and above all, a master-mind like the great Corsican. Certain temperate French writers have proposed to take all legislative power out of the hands of Parliament and to confer it upon a legislative council to be appointed by the President. Thus Parliament would only approve or reject laws. Wholly inadequate are the old tactics of French parliamentary wranglers. How could constructive results be expected from a régime in which the leaders seek, as a rule, only to dislodge one another from office? If perchance a ministry accomplishes something, its successor, to attain distinction, adopts a contrary course. Scarcely started, the successor falls in turn, and the next minister undoes everything—a procedure which paralyzes national growth, and makes of France a veritable Penelope's web.

No! Parasite politicians cannot solve these problems. For even if the war indemnity pays the cost of restoring France's devastated territory, the regeneration of her industry and commerce will be a Herculean task requiring billions of new

capital. Other billions will be needed for the development of her colonial empire. In view of her huge public debt, the scarcity of money, and the even greater scarcity of labor, successful industrial reform is unthinkable without the patriotic coöperation of all social classes. More difficult still, as experience has shown, will be social reform. Nobody thinks that a French Parliament like those of the past thirty years would take serious measures to abolish the evils of alcohol or check race suicide. Nor can political reform be of avail without such changes in the constitution as will make the French President something more than a figurehead with a "responsible" ministry—that is, a ministry destined to be overthrown every few months at the sweet will of professional politicians. Authority for the President and stability in the ministry will curb parliamentary abuses. Something better than the present system must be found, even though it necessitates a *coup d'état*. Since in France all initiative emanates from above, the central authority should be strong, experienced, provident, and durable. A stable government would enable France to look ahead, not merely three months, but fifty years.

“The Simple Cobbler of Agawam”

ROY F. DIBBLE

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“An hundred witty Speeches of our celebrated *Ward*, who called himself *The Simple Cobler* of Agawam . . . have been reported,” runs a passage in the “Remarkable Occurrences” of Increase Mather, “but he had one Godly Speech, that was worth ’em all; which was, *I have only Two Comforts to Live upon; The one is in the Perfections of Christ; The other is in The Imperfections of all Christians.*”

The industriously inquisitive reader who is fortunate enough to chance upon that quaint little volume, *The Simple Cobler of Agawam in America*, will be forced to conclude, however, that its author took immeasurably more comfort in contemplating the manifold sins of Christian humanity than in rapturously meditating on the supreme excellence of a lone divinity. For the Reverend Nathaniel Ward frankly admits in this same book that his “Trade is to finde more faults then others will mend; and I am very diligent at it; yet it scarce findes me a living, though the Country findes me more worke then I can turne my hand to.”

Ward’s preliminary preparation for the task of using his “patching braines” to repair the ubiquitous faults he observed in Puritanic New England, in England, and in the universe in general, had been very thorough and adequate. The son of a well-known preacher, Ward was born in the County of Suffolk, probably in 1578. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Cambridge in 1599, began the profession of law, and “read almost all the Common Law of England, and some Statutes.” Then he was seized by a *Wanderlust* that carried him over enough of Europe to see “the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes,” and “most of the Reformed Churches in Europ.” At Heidelberg the then famous David Pareus, who held the ponderously impressive chair of theology, persuaded Ward to forego the mazes of jurisprudence for the even more intricate labyrinths of theology; and at the same place, though perhaps at a later date, he dandled in his arms the nephew of King Charles I, Prince Rupert, who “promised

then to be a good Prince," but who fell from Ward's favor when, as was natural, he supported his uncle's cause in arms. This avuncular predilection of Rupert's led Ward, in his "Simple Cobler" to state that "if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wise hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the English; to forgive all his sins, and at length to save his soul, notwithstanding all his God-damne mee's: yet I may doe him wrong; I am not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would. I dare say the Devills dare not." It is sadly probable, however, that Rupert used that oath as well as even more heinous ones when the King's forces under him were defeated at Marston Moor; but this is a question that may properly be left for historians to settle.

After returning to England from these various peregrinations Ward began to preach in Essex; but in 1631 he was convicted of what, in the eyes of Archbishop Laud and his harsh coterie, was the unspeakably nefarious sin of non-conformity. Since he was then forbidden to preach at home, three years later he cast in his lot with those who had already followed the Puritanic gleam, and became pastor of a church at Ipswich (then Agawam), Massachusetts. Here he was the chief figure in the compilation of the first Puritanic Code, the "Body of Liberties." In 1646, since Laud had died on the scaffold and the non-conformists were already enjoying Pisgah views of a Cromwellian promised land, Ward returned to his native shores. By reason of strength he lived to be over four score years old, and died, probably in 1653, in the fulness of Protectorate bliss.

To those of his own day in New England, Ward's was a name to conjure with, principally because of the primary influence his shaping hand had in the formation of the "Body of Liberties"; but that which gives him a secure, even though small, niche in American literary fame is "that piece of pedantic growling at toleration, and pungent advice to British Royalty," as the Duyckincks call it, *The Simple Cobler of Agawam in America*, written here in 1645, and published in England in 1646-7. This work is perhaps English rather than American, since its author was born, spent most of his life, and

died in England; since also it was written rather for the reform of English religion, manners and politics than for the edification of already super-edified New England Puritans; but it was at least penned on our shores, and contains enough local color to stamp it as a cis-Atlantic product. As the title implies, Ward wrote under the guise of a cobbler “Willing to help mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.” The higgledy-piggledy, helter-skelter hotch-potch of alliterations, puns, antitheses, of invertebrate pariphrases and circumlocutory divagations which alternate with pithy apothegms and sententious epigrams that form the composition, or lack of composition, of this preposterously spasmodic and crotchety ninety-odd pages of reading, is little less than staggering. The work contains many hybrid words that will drive him who seeks for them in a dictionary to the brink of despair; it gives evidence of curious bits of information, gathered in peripatetic wanderings, that would have rejoiced the author of the immortally-misnamed “Bible in Spain”; it violates more grammatical and rhetorical principles than the most ardently erring freshman ever did; it would probably have irritated even Sterne, Carlyle, Browning and Meredith. Yet, despite its unconscious or intentional perversity, it manages to convey a certain unified totality of effect far better, and to form a picturesque portrayal of the author far more vivid, than thousands of almost infinitely more correctly-written books have done. And it accomplishes this because, cantankerously freakish though it is, it has a central theme: “the Imperfections of all Christians”—provided, that is, that the word “Christian” be occasionally broadened to include all manner of religious devotees, apparel-worshipping ladies, long-haired gentlemen, and rebellious Irishmen. Charles Lamb would have read this book, which, even more than his own essays, is composed of “unlicked, incondite things—villainously pranked in an affected array of antique modes and phrases,” with pure delight, Samuel Johnson with snorts of anger and grunts of disgust, Goldsmith with chuckles of quiet enjoyment; Coleridge would have rushed from it to the consolations of metaphysics,

and Byron would have leered approvingly at its slashing attacks on feminine frivolities.

"I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interdependent," Ward stoutly affirms; but more than anything else he was a Calvinist, as strenuously bigoted, as intrepidly dauntless, as sturdily aggressive, and as ferociously vituperative as "Jack" himself. He had not a grain of that sweet charity which his contemporary, John Eliot, showed both in his life and his writings, and he was astonished "to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance" as to believe in the doctrine of liberty of conscience that was preached by another contemporary, Roger Williams; but had he lived to read Michael Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*, he would doubtless have nodded vigorously in approval of its gentle sentiments concerning infant damnation. Against all "Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts" who were responsible for all the "squint-eyed, wry-necked and brazen-faced Errors" that he found in his community, Ward valiantly hurled his caustic excoriations and blazing anathemas. "How all Religion should enjoy their Liberty . . . in one and the same Jurisdiction," he vociferates, "is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize such multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidibitis quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can doe more then the Senate of Heaven." Then, apparently fearing that some members of the heavenly parliament, hovering by chance over his shoulder as he wrote, might construe this verbal blast to be a reflection on their sempiternal omnipotence, he makes haste to add this rather condescending apology: "My *modus loquendi* pardoned: I entirely wish much welfare and more wisdom to that Plantation." To all the faithful who oppose the "Amalekitish onsets" of those believers in freedom of conscience who "desire not satisfaction but satisfaction" (a pun that Southey thought good enough to mark in his copy of the "Simple Cobler") in speaking for their theories, Ward utters the following beatitude: "Feare nothing Gentlemen, *Rubiconem transisistis, jacta est alea*, ye have turned the Devill out of doores;

fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, lest he makes an errand for it againe.”

Ward’s religious ideas were no more rigidly cramped and virulently malevolent than his patriotism was peevishly insular and chauvinistic. “*Englishmen*, be advised to love *England* . . .,” he says; “I am bold to say that since the pure Primitive time, the Gospel never thrived so well in any soil on earth, as in the *British*; nor is the like goodnesse of nature, or Cornucopian plenty else—where to be found: if ye lose that Country, and finde a better before ye come to Heaven, my Cosmography failes me.” That he had in overflowing measure the traditional British hatred of that day toward the French and Spanish, this mixture of spiteful badinage and raucous acrimony will attest: “There is a quadrobulary saying which passes current in the Western World, That the Emperour is King of Kings, the *Spaniard*, King of Men, the *French*, King of Asses, the *King of England*, King of Devils. By his leave that first brayed the speech, they are pretty wise Devils and pretty honest; the worse they doe, is to keep their Kings from devillizing, and themselves from Assing: Were I a King (a simple supposal) I would not part with one good English Devill, for some two of the Emperours Kings, nor three of the *Spaniards* Men, nor four *French* Asses; If I did I should think my selfe an Asse for my labour.” The Irish revolt of 1641, essentially a Protestant-Catholic feud, gave Ward the chance to employ his vitriolic vocabulary against Celts in general, and “Popish Doegs” and “truculent Cutthroats” in particular. “These *Irish* anciently called *Art ropophagi*, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That when the Devill shewed our Saviour all the kingdomes of the earth and their glory, that he would not shew him *Ireland*, but reserved it for himselfe: it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the rest. . . . They are the very Offal of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Christendome, the Bots that crawle on the Beasts taile, I wonder *Rome* it self is not ashamed of them.” While Ward ostensibly honored Charles I with such epithets as “Tres-Royall Sir,” “Gracious Sir,” and “*My Dearest Lord*, and my more

than *dearest King*," he roundly attacks Charles for his alliance with a Catholic in this bit of droll doggerel:

"He cannot rule a Land,
As Lands should ruled been
That lets himself be rul'd
By a ruling Romane Queen."

And the King's moral character was perhaps never more effectively stabbed than in this sentence: "I never heard our King was Effeminate: to be a little Uxorious personally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vicious virtue in Politicks."

More than anything else in this doughtily whimsical volume, Ward's savage bombardment of "women's fashions" has afforded unmitigated pleasure to its unfortunately narrow circle of readers. "I was loath to pester better matter with such stuffe," he admits; but he finally decided to "make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued Liberty, and mispend a word or two upon their long-wasted, but short-skirted patience." Furthermore, he candidly confesses that he has written in an alternately passionate and flippant vein rather than in logical fashion, "supposing those I speak to are incapable of grave and rationally arguments." He does not inveigh against those dames who follow fashions in moderation, but points his pen "only against the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against those Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake." It is to be feared that his inflexibly righteous soul had more than Puritanic feelings for such "Most deare and unparallel'd Ladies" as were possessed of a "native lovely lustre," for he remarks that he has been a "solitary widower almost twelve yeares, purposed lately to make a step over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow." But he finally decided to remain single through fear that "exotick garbes" might have changed even English ladies into "gant bar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts," who are "the surquedryes of pride, the wantonnesse of idleness, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgement, *Zeph.* 1, 7, 8." Ward is ingenuous enough, indeed, to

acknowledge a love for elegant, refined dress; a trait which is merely another illustration of the eternal inconsistencies of a creed that is ultimately perhaps as much a matter of pose as its contrary dandyism. "I can make my selfe sick at any time," he says, "with comparing the dazzling splendor wherewith our Gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the gut-foundred goosdom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. Wee have about five or six of them in our Colony." The unconscious revelation of suppressed desire evinced in the sentence immediately following would make an orthodox Freudian more sanguinely cock-sure of his theories than ever: "If I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanse my phansie of them for a moneth after." The passage in which Ward reaches the apogee of mordant asperity against unseemly female garb is the one which several literary historians of America have singled out as being perhaps most representative of his style in the whole volume: "I am not much offended if I see a trimme, far trimmer than she that wears it: in a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with *London* measure: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiusteritant fashion of the Court; I meane the very newest: with egge to be in it in all haste, what ever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if shee were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd." Certain of our notorious modern evangelists who, pausing amid ecstatic portrayals of the eternally sulphurous abode which, they asseverate, has been considerably prepared for an overwhelming quorum of humanity, attack modern fashions with language wherein their innate indecency is thinly concealed by hilarious slang and blatant vulgarity, might possibly acquire a more chaste and vigorous form of utterance if they were to read the above diatribe. Ward did not direct his attack against ladies only; he tartly berated those men who followed the common fashion of lengthy hirsute adornment, and as usual fortified his remarks with Biblical quotations: "If those who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans, would take up a Resolution to

begin in moderation of haire, to the just reproach of those who are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their malinesse, . . . if neither can find a Barbour's shop, let them turne in, to *Psal.* 68. 21. *Jer.* 7. 29. *I Cor.* 11. 14."

Nathaniel Ward lives as the first American satirist. In an age when the literature which his country produced consisted almost wholly of jejune chronicles of the hardships of settlement life, of harshly crabbed, woefully imitative, and hence unconscionably dull rhymes, of meditations on an immortality of fiery damnation for the many and of gorgeously gilded and spangled salvation for the few, *The Simple Cobler of Agawam* stands out by reason of the strident, swaggering egotism of its author. Ward rioted in misery and comforted himself with reflections on the general stupidity and perverse worthlessness of by far the major part of mankind with almost as much glee as did the author of *Ecclesiastes*, as did Diogenes and Dean Swift. He was a sort of animated gargoyle who, squatting serenely on his lofty perch, shrilled out galling taunts and unceasing imprecations at the stream of humanity passing below him. He persevered in caprice and eccentricity as stanchly as Don Quixote himself, but had not a touch of that knight's plaintive poetry and humility of soul. Supremely confident of his moral and verbal superiority over his fellowmen, he galloped along on a roaring search for outrageously grotesque polysyllables, and tilted his wrathful pen against all the ills which his jaundiced imagination could conjure up. He was the counterpart of another of his contemporaries, Miles Standish, as inexorably pitiless in transfixing the fleshless imps of Satan with his stabbing quill as was that splenetic militant in wreaking condign punishment on the very real physical foes of the Puritans. Essentially, though he quite certainly never realised it, Ward was a poseur, who employed sour invectives and boisterous affrontery as devices for focusing meek and admiring attention upon his egregiously vain self, and who sagaciously sought to win notoriety by parading in the guise of a penitent sinner turned evangelist for the welfare of his fellows.

Problems of Democracy*

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The close of the world war finds the world face to face with many serious problems. Liberty has been apparently won for many peoples; but how are they to use it? How many of them are ready and able to govern themselves? The autocracy of the Kaiser has yielded the stage to the autocracy of the bolshevik: how shall this menace be met and put down? How shall we reconcile capital and labor? How shall the ballot box be freed from the control of the grafter? Is a world which has had a bath of blood and has yielded up the accumulated treasure of many decades to put down the hordes of the Hun, able to guard itself against a repetition of the horror, or must we begin at once to prepare for the next "Day?"

Some of these problems, among others, are studied in the volumes listed below, with notable results.

Mr. Means begins very deliberately by going back some 475,000 years to the time when our troubles as human beings began. That is, he first studies the evolution of all the races of the world, seeking to indicate what each has evolved that is good and worthy to be perpetuated. The results, from one point of view, are not likely to fill us with pride or confidence. To think that we have been some half-million years in acquiring the thin veneer of civilization of which some of us boast does not give support to any belief that the end of international or civil strife is near. Another point of view suggests itself, however—that the world has evolved much good that it might have retained and ought never to have lost. And here comes in Mr. Means' advice: that we shall study the various civilizations of the world, endeavoring to perpetuate all that

* "Racial Factors in Democracy." By Philip Ainsworth Means. Boston. Marshall Jones Co.

"Democracy and World Relations." By David Starr Jordan. Yonkers, N. Y. World Book Co.

"What is Democracy?" By L. H. Bailey. Ithaca, N. Y. Published by L. H. Bailey. The Comstock Publishing Co., agents. The Background Books.

"Les Instituteurs et la Democratie. Par A. Vincent. Nouvelle edition. Paris. Nouvelle Librairie Nationale.

Safe and Unsafe Democracy. A Commentary on Political Administration in the American Commonwealths. By Henry Ware Jones. New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

is good and to eliminate all that is base or objectionable. A good illustration of the consequences of such a policy is furnished by the contrast between Persia and India. "The British, on making themselves the masters of India, far from destroying this magnificent social and material fabric, preserved it and added rich new elements derived from their own culture, elements which gave to India just those qualities which she needed to enable her to maintain her great position in the world. In other words, cultural reciprocity resulted in the creation of a hybrid civilization adapted to the needs of India as a modern nation. Persia, on the other hand, had no such advantages, and no such teachers. Consequently, although her position was once no less great than that of India, she fell further and further behind the march of the world. Hence arose her present state." Moreover, in each civilization there is the problem of bringing the lowest up to the level of the highest or even of the average. The chief value of Mr. Means' book lies in the emphasis it places on the importance of fighting race antipathy and race snobbishness.

Dr. Jordan wrote his book as an elementary exposition of democracy as related especially to the community of nations and to the present problems of war and peace. In clear and untechnical language he unfolds the various theories of the nation, the evils of the dynastic state, the relations between imperialism and trade, the problems of internationalism and federation, and the present state of international law and arbitration. An appendix, not the least valuable part of the book, details the crimes of Pan-Germanism. One point on which we can hardly agree with Dr. Jordan is the attempt to relieve Nietzsche of any share of responsibility for the war—Nietzsche, from whose writings, Dr. Jordan contends, "an ideal which the lonely poet would repudiate in disgust, has been formed for emulation by German youth." This is, of course, a moot point. It is quite possible that an application differing from that which Nietzsche intended has been given to some of his utterances; but it can hardly be denied that he admired Napoleon, that he delighted in the prospect of turning Europe into an armed camp, that he applauded "the will to war, to power, to conquest, and revenge," that he loved to exploit the

dominance of the Superman, that whether he intended it or not, he succeeded in covering with a certain glamor those brutally immoral practices which the Junkers defended in order to bring about their despicable ends. So far as we know, the contentions of Dr. Herbert L. Stewart's *Nietzsche and the Ideals of Modern Germany* have never been disproved. Still, this criticism of Dr. Jordan's views must not outweigh decided commendation of a very useful book.

Dr. Bailey is the author of the most searching inquiry into the nature of democracy of all the volumes before us. His book, though small and compact, is comprehensive. He starts by telling us what democracy is not—it is not anti-monarchy, or freedom, or laissez-faire, or anarchy, or a free press, and so on. Then passing to the positive side, he finds democracy to be a state of society which "allows each member to develop his personality to the full and at the same time to participate in public affairs on his own motion." But this state of society is a long way from full realization. Among the "hindrances," next discussed, he finds to be self-interest, the influence of mass-drives, class organization, capital and labor as at present organized, and so on. Then follow four chapters dealing with those aspects of the problem of democracy which especially concern the farmer—the demand for cheap food, proper acreage per family, the influence of tenantry on decreased fertility and in producing castes in the population; and there is finally an interesting and stimulating chapter on China—for "the way in which the nations react to China will be a test of their democracy." It is an eminently readable and practical book.

M. Vincent's book first appeared in 1912. It now reappears in a second edition, which includes a new chapter entitled "Pour l'Ecole Rurale de Demain" by the author, and a preface by M. Georges Valois. Except for these additions the volume is unchanged. In his excellent preface M. Valois speaks of the book as one of the first signs of national reconstruction among the schoolmasters of France. Vincent's position is entirely sound. He pleads for a differentiation between urban and rural schoolmasters and for special normal training in agriculture for the teachers of rural France. Only

such a training will provide an adequate check to the cityward movement of the rural population; hence in this lies the salvation of France herself. A "democracy" which opposes or views with indifference this sort of education is surely misguided, or to put it another way, is under the blind sway of mediocrity. But France and the world know now some things they did not know in 1914. They will come to the view of this far-sighted rural schoolmaster-soldier, who "sees that the welfare of the school and of the country lies in the reconciliation of the school and the church, or rather in the collaboration of the schoolmaster and of the priest."

Mr. Jones' book suffers from its excessive bulk. If its five hundred pages could be reduced by one-half, there would be great gain. A publisher's notice intimates that this might have been entitled "The Vade Mecum of Democracy." But vade mecums are as a rule small, handy pocket volumes—such as this ought to have been. A good deal could well have been left unsaid, as quite superfluous, e. g., pp. 56-7, the definitions of individual power, virtue, knowledge, wisdom. Mr. Jones' thesis is that unsafe democracy is the kind now in vogue, controlled by the partisan party, and that we shall never have safe democracy till we have eliminated partisanship from the control of politics. Everywhere there is the implication that unless the "party" is wiped out, the country is going to the dogs. Now the facts do not seem to warrant this conclusion. The parties still have very serious faults, and much that Mr. Jones says of them is true; but in general they are becoming steadily less corrupt. Moreover, so long as human nature remains what it is, can we get rid of parties? Mr. Jones says the electors should not try to settle more than one political question at a time. But political questions have a way sometimes of crowding upon us in droves or clusters and insisting upon quick settlement. Suppose, too, we follow Mr. Jones' advice and organize non-partisan "political leagues." It is a fair question how long it would be before they would yield to partisan organizations, which are more interesting and more human, and which need not be corrupt. Mr. Jones points the way to the political millennium. He discusses things as perhaps they ought to be. But the state of things as they are is a long

way from this; and revolution or sweeping change is unlikely or impossible. We must have evolution, with education of the voter. If we can begin the reconstruction period with increased interest in politics on the part of the voter, it will quickly become evident whether or not the party system has broken down; and when it does, perhaps Mr. Jones' excellent suggestions can be put into practice.

BOOK REVIEWS

DEMOCRACY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION. The problem of the Far East as demonstrated by the Great War and its relation to the United States of America. By Thomas F. Millard. New York: The Century Co., 1919—pp. ix, 446.

Mr. Millard is one of our most prolific American writers on current problems in the Far East. In the *New Far East* (1906), *America and the Far Eastern Question* (1909), *Our Eastern Question* (1916), in numerous magazine and newspaper articles, and through the pages of *Millard's Review*, the influential American weekly of Shanghai, he has been seeking to inform the American people in the United States and China on the Far Eastern question and to mold their opinion. The present volume deals principally with events in China and with Chino-Japanese relations from 1916 to the middle of March, 1919. It opens with four introductory chapters giving the historical background, a statement of the problem, and a summary of events from the outbreak of the war to 1916, the date of publication of *Our Eastern Question*. It then carries on, in some detail, the story of the development of events in China, and, particularly, of Japan's relations with them, recounting the growth of Japanese influence and the policies of Tokyo in the unhappy republic. Mr. Millard has much to say of American relations with China and with Japan's activities in China. He treats at some length the situation in Eastern Siberia, giving an account of events in that section of Asia after the collapse of Russia. He concludes with the story of Japan and China at the peace conference down to the eve of the Shantung award, and with a suggested program for solving the Chinese problem. The volume in nearly ninety pages of appendices gives numerous and valuable documents.

Mr. Millard confesses at the outset that he is biased, and that the "work is not presented as a non-partisan or an impartial discussion of the subject." He very frankly takes the attitude which is so common to Americans in China—and elsewhere one may add—that Japan is in the grip of a militaristic group and that her policies are a menace to democracy and peace in China, and to the world at large. He ardently

desires America to assume a more active part in insuring justice in the Far East, and the independence and peaceful progress of China. In his program he has, however, not American, but Chinese interests chiefly at heart. He believes that a just and sane solution of China's problem would involve the cancellation of all spheres of influence in that country, and of all mining and other concessions that compromise her sovereignty or the open door, the international neutralization of all railways in China, the placing under international control of all leases of territories and mines with a view to their reversion to China on the fulfillment of certain conditions, the removal of foreign troops, posts, and telegraphs on the fulfillment of certain stipulated conditions, a plan for the gradual abolition of extraterritoriality, the establishment of a uniform currency system, the granting of full tariff autonomy, the consolidation of all national foreign loans under one financial syndicate which shall be under international control, and finally, the restoration of Chinese local administrative autonomy where it has been jeopardized in recent years.

The conviction which one carries away from a perusal of the volume is that Mr. Millard's program for insuring the independence and progress of China is both constructive, comprehensive, and equitable, and one which can well form the working basis for American and international policy in the Far East. One feels, however, that Mr. Millard is not entirely just to Japan. While his program would be fair to her, in his statements about her he emphasizes her well-known and deplorable defects and sins without a seeming appreciation of her liberals, or of the extremely precarious situation in which she has been placed by her expanding population, her need of markets and raw materials, and her danger from predatory European powers. Given these factors, and it is not a cause for wonder, much as it may be for censure and regret, that Japan has taken the opportunity of the Great War to attempt to place China under her tutelage and to make her position so secure that no aggressive occidental people can replace her. The solution which will be at once just to all parties and safe for the world must lie, in the main, along the lines which Mr. Millard outlines, and we cannot press it too strongly even

at the expense of Japanese enmity. It is far more likely to be obtained, however, if Americans appreciate the difficulties in which Japan finds herself, seek to win her confidence in their unswerving purpose to acquire no special privileges for themselves in China, assure to her the full opportunity, unhampered by foreign discrimination, for that commerce with the neighboring continent in which her geographical position gives her the natural advantage, and thus strengthen the hands of those Japanese liberals who are endeavoring to check their nation's militaristic and imperialistic tendencies and to enable her to take her place among the democracies of the world.

The book is not particularly easy reading, especially for those unfamiliar with recent events in the Far East, for it assumes something of a knowledge of conditions and abounds in long quotations from newspapers and periodicals. It is the work of a journalist, and not of a scholar, but it is interesting for all that, and deserves a careful reading by all who endeavor to be familiar with events in the Far East. What America needs is more writers who, with Mr. Millard's earnestness and enthusiasm for China, will combine a more appreciative attitude toward Japan and thus help lead the United States to an intelligent policy in the Far East which will not only be fair to China and Japan, but will assure both these lands of our desire for a just and generous international policy toward their common problems.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.

Denison University.

ELIZABETH CARY AGASSIZ; A BIOGRAPHY. By Lucy Allen Paton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1919—423 pp.

In this delightful study of the first president of Radcliffe College, a woman who was a lady of the old school and a pioneer for the new, Lucy Allen Paton has done a valuable service not only to the institution which commissioned her, but to all students of educational progress.

The book is, on the whole, excellently proportioned and organized. The story of Mrs. Agassiz's life is, to a great extent, presented through her own letters and diaries and addresses. There are glimpses of a very human little girl con-

triving by stratagem to finish before going to bed the third volume of a thrilling novel; of a sedate miss of sixteen reporting to her father her purchase of tickets for a course of improving lectures with a gift of five dollars from him; of a mischievous young lady of eighteen gently teasing an over-pompous cousin about his inability to waltz. There are references to dinners, parties, balls, amateur theatricals. There are also accounts of serious and systematic reading, and assiduous musical study. Her devotion to her husband and her complete absorption in his interests as long as he lived, with a resultant modification of her nature, are excellently depicted. For his sake she planned a school, which they operated for eight years. For his sake, also, she mastered the ability to write accounts of his lectures and investigations, developing in this way talent as a writer and appreciation for scholarly habits of work. To her efficiency, poise, and bubbling good humor was due much of the success of the schools of natural science founded by Agassiz. All these experiences were laying the foundation for her later work for Radcliffe College.

The work of Mrs. Agassiz for Radcliffe, the steps by which it grew, occasioned this book and constitute its chief claim to interest. In all the steps by which the school grew from a nameless experiment, through the dubious dignity of the nickname "Annex," to its final induction into the Harvard family, christened with the name of Harvard's first woman benefactor, Anne Radcliffe, Mrs. Agassiz directed its affairs with so much of grace and tact and dignity as to ward off all unseemly controversy. On more than one occasion she even turned critics and carpers into friends and supporters. Her standards were always such that she could say in her commencement address of 1892, when the affiliation with Harvard was in the air: "Whatever be its attitude in the future—whatever be its relation to the University—whatever name it may bear—I hope it will always be respected for the genuineness of its work, for the quiet dignity of its bearing, for its adherence to the noblest ends of scholarship." In her commencement address of 1894, when the desired union had been consummated, she warned against any spirit of intellectual snobbery, saying: "Our school

will not be worth much if it does not lend itself in gracious service to whatever path in life it may be our lot to follow."

Altogether her biographer throws the emphasis on Mrs. Agassiz's work for Radcliffe, yet she manages to set forth clearly her versatility, and the book is stimulating in its revelation of the energy of Mrs. Agassiz and the range of her interests. She was throughout her mature life until near its close the mistress of a home, caring for her husband and his two children, then for her widowed stepson and his children. At the age of seventy she made a visit in California; at seventy-two she made a tour of Europe, especially studying the colleges for women associated with the great English universities; at seventy-seven she was capable of enjoying evening concerts and was devoting "every spare minute" to the newly published Browning love letters, not without scruples. When she was in her seventy-ninth year, she jotted in her diary: "A rather full day. Dentist. Lunch with the Queens (a club of ladies dating back to her girlhood). French lecture—delightful. Sallie Whitman to dine. Evening, meeting of the Associates of Radcliffe." When she was past eighty-one she lunched out, returned home for dinner, and then went to see Mansfield in *Julius Caesar*. Toward the close of her days she led a quieter life, writing a friend in her eighty-sixth year: "I hear only dimly from the world outside."

A reader lays down the account of her life with a keen realization of her vivid personality. Lucy Allen Paton is to be congratulated on her successful achievement of a task in which failures are not rare.

FRONDE KENNEDY.

LABOR IN THE CHANGING WORLD. By R. A. MacIver. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1919—xi, 230 pp.

THE POLITICS OF INDUSTRY. By Glenn Frank. New York: The Century Company, 1919—214 pp.

Months ago our national problems of economic readjustment became of paramount importance. None of these is so urgent and so intertwined with fundamentals as the labor problem. Upon this topic, therefore, the spotlight of public discussion should be turned, particularly in the South, where

as yet we seem scarcely to realize how deeply our future is involved in the solution. Therefore, regardless of their angle of approach, the books under review are welcome.

Mr. MacIver has undertaken to give in compact and readable form the full case for labor. His habit of anticipating in one chapter ideas which he later develops more fully makes a summary difficult; substantially, however, the argument runs thus: The development of our competitive industrial system has resulted in upsetting the equilibrium which once existed between capital and labor. The war precipitated but did not create this situation. Labor is now thoroughly dissatisfied, and so production lags. For its satisfaction labor demands removal from the category of commodities (inclusion is necessarily implied in the wage system) and recognition as a partner in industry. The waste "of potential resources, of potential energy and skill, and finally of potential well being" seconds this demand. Fortunately the existing mutual dependence of men and the surplus of products in every normal year constitute secure economic foundations for the proposed new superstructure. To include under labor those who work with brain as well as those who work with hand and to cease discrimination on account of sex are important characteristics of "the widening of the idea of labor." In England important progress has already been made through the formulation of "Labor and the New Social Order" and the creation by the Government, with the consent of capital, of concrete institutions based on the Whitley Report. The principles of this report "must, in one way or another, be applied if industrial relations are to be improved." But this application is only a first step—"the fundamental differences of interest between capital and labor as at present constituted are not abolished"; the ultimate goal is harmony, not equilibrium. In America the individualistic traditions of the law, the attitude of the courts toward labor and that of the public toward competition, and the entrenched economic and political power of consolidated wealth—these are "lions in the path." Add to these the American indifference to the organization of labor—a necessary preliminary to equilibrium—and we have conditions that may render the application of any specific European plan im-

practicable. Education is what is needed "more than anything else," but it must be social as well as technical. As "practical conclusions" are suggested: (1) the establishment of maximum hours, of minimum wage rates periodically determined by joint agreement, of minimum age regulations for children, and of health and safety laws for all; and (2) assurance of security against unemployment or its consequences and against "arbitrary dismissal, unfair treatment and exploitation of any kind." These assurances, however, "cannot be attained, nor in any case would they suffice" without bringing the organization of workers where such exists into "any council which has to do with determining the conditions of their work."

Mr. Glenn Frank's five chapters have previously appeared as articles in the *Century Magazine*, of which he is an associate editor. He has tried, he tells us, to interpret and synthesize the views of a large number of liberal leaders in business and industry—"anonymous liberals," he calls them—and from this fact his chapters derive unusual interest and importance. It is the fourth chapter that gives title to the book. Strikes, injunctions, profit-sharing and all the other modern devices "fail to touch the ultimate labor issue—the status of the worker in industry and his relation to the control of industry." "The movement toward representative government exists in industry just as it existed and exists in politics," and unless the "King Johns of business and industry" collaborate with labor, labor will "wrest from them by revolutionary methods the Magna Charta of a new order in industry." His plea, then, is addressed to the captains of industry and from them he seems to expect the solution: if the "twenty outstanding leaders should pool their brain-power in a study of the labor problem," taking counsel with labor specialists, they "could with dramatic suddenness invent a new order of industry." Pending this improbable event he offers suggestions of his own: "Between the extremes of state socialism and the extreme forms of private capitalism there exists an intermediate region of industrial self-government." Let this be given objective existence through a charter upon the basis of which labor and capital may in coöperation work out the machinery of government. England's Whitley Report and Industrial

Councils will serve as guides for the constitution and the machinery, and the experience of the Filene Coöperative Association as an illustration of detailed management. The superiority of this plan lies in its "making for a narrowing and intensifying of the field and operation of statesmanship at Washington and our several state capitals and a correlative awakening and widening of statesmanship in New York, Pittsburg, Chicago, Kansas City, San Francisco and the other significant centers of American life." "The state is right in its insistence that business and industry have a social responsibility; but social responsibility, to say nothing of that high efficiency without which a sense of social responsibility is only a pious and abortive emotion, will never be enforced by the political policeman; it must be evolved by the business and industrial statesmen." And only by such a segregation of industrial control can the desired result be obtained; for "it is very unlikely that we shall get anything in the nature of occupational representation supplementary to our representation by geographical areas."

Both writers, then, believe that a substitute must be found for industrial warfare and both prefer industrial coöperation rather than state socialism or communism or anarchy. Presenting the case for labor Mr. MacIver is aggressive, assumes his facts, grows eloquent and, at times, denunciatory—especially when he discusses "the law of the land"—and thereby creates distrust of his usual appearance of fairness. So conciliatory, on the other hand, is Mr. Frank that one scarcely realizes how far he is carrying you with his long, smooth periods. Taken together they certainly make a strong case for an attempt at industrial coöperation. But Mr. MacIver, it should be noted, gives no proof whatever that under his system of maxima and minima production would be adequate. And Mr. Frank does not relieve us of a fear that his self-governing industries would prove tyrants. These are vital considerations. We must not permit vipers' eggs to be smuggled into the nest of an unsuspecting "public."

C. C. PEARSON.

Wake Forest, N. C.

THE NEW RATIONALISM. The development of a constructive realism upon the basis of modern logic and science, and through the criticism of opposed philosophical systems. By Edward Gleason Spaulding, Professor of Philosophy in Princeton University. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1918—xviii, 532 pp.

This is a new, striking and very important contribution to modern thinking; new in that it accords a well-balanced and well-reasoned significance to the findings of modern science; striking in that it breaks irrevocably with the tradition and logic of Aristotle which has so completely dominated current systems, and important as an exposition of philosophy. Several characteristics of the work must be mentioned.

In the first place, it departs from the usual historical method of presentation and instead lays before the reader a vividly portrayed and intelligently emphasized cross-section, as of the present time, of each of the great systems, thus facilitating a systematic comparative study without the confusion of a bewildering mass of developmental detail—thus becoming a most excellent introduction to, and exposition of, modern philosophy.

In the second place, in its break with tradition it lays the foundation for a philosophy more in accord with science and common sense and thus bids fair to bring to the aid of scientific thinkers the more refined methods of philosophy. This should result in a winnowing process beneficial to both science and philosophy.

Somewhat more specifically—although to be very specific is impossible—the subject under discussion being a philosophy, and hence by implication embracing the universe, the author presents his point of departure through an examination into existing systems in which he finds that contrary to usual classifications there are fundamentally but two—a causation philosophy, typified in phenomenalism, and a substance philosophy, likewise typified in objective idealism. Subjective idealism, positivism, naturalism, pragmatism, etc., are classed with the former because they are founded upon the metaphysical assumption that “all things causally affect one another.” The second group, embracing the monistic systems of such philosophers as Spinoza, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Brad-

ley, and others, have resulted from the assumption that "a numerically single, substance-like underlying entity is necessary in order to mediate the relationships which are universal among things." These two apparently opposed groups can be traced to the Aristotelian tradition, a logic and philosophy dominated by the concepts of things, substance, class, causation, etc., but which fail to include other concepts and relations, notably the modern concept of series, which constitutes the foundation of the new realism. In contradistinction the new rationalism finds that the "knowing process neither causally affects, modifies nor creates that which is known, nor demands an underlying entity to mediate the relationship between knowing and its object."

Realism arrives at its position concerning the knowing situation from analogy with relations which are denominated "external," in contradistinction from the "internal relations" of other systems. Under the influence of the "causal relation" of the traditional logic, all relations were regarded as somehow biting into and affecting the very nature of things. No exception existed. Even the pair of terms "knower" and "known," thus being related, were thereby affected, and on the one hand the "known" was assumed to be effected or even caused in the process of being known. Hence all that we can know of the external world is a picture, created or distorted in the very knowing itself.

Objective idealism cannot conceive knower and known getting into the relation of knowing except through the intervention of some underlying entity which has in practice generally been identified with God, so that what the knower really knows is but the idea of the absolute underlying reality, or, in other words, things as we know them are but the thoughts of God.

Now realism holds that relations simply relate "with no causal effect, no dependence, no underlying entity" to mediate the relationship. The relation between knower and known is simply a functional one after the manner of "the series of real numbers in order of magnitude."

"Still other instances of co-subsisting relatedness and independence are as follows: space as a whole is related to matter,

but is independent of it. Empty space is quite conceivable, and is examined scientifically in geometry with no implication of matter or of physical forces. So also are matter, motion and change in general related to time and time to them; but time is independent of all these entities. The clock does not create time, nor affect it causally in any way; it only measures time in units that are relative to one another, but time itself is not relative.

"If there are these cases of related and independent terms, then can it be consistently argued from the mere fact of relatedness, either that knowing modifies, or that it is in any way necessary to the existence of (known) entities? And also can it be consistently maintained that, if all finite minds were annihilated, there must still be, as necessary to the existence of the universe, an infinite mind or spirit, analogous to a human mind?"

"For the realist the answer to these inquiries can only be 'no.'"

Instances might easily be multiplied to present the method, the vigor and the newness of the new rationalism, but the reviewer must content himself with this single one and with commending to scientific workers and other thinkers with a philosophical bent the volume under discussion as a worthy contribution to modern thinking.

JAS. J. WOLFE.

THE BEGINNING OF SCIENCE. Biologically and psychologically considered. By Edward J. Meuge, M. A., Ph. D., M. Sc., professor of Biology in the University of Dallas. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918—256 pp.

The above title is rather a poor index of what the volume is about and even after a rather careful reading one is not entirely sure of its chief purpose, but if forced to classify it the reviewer would probably include it in a second- or third-rate group of Christian apologetics.

The author pleads for a study of philosophy, epistemology, metaphysics, psychology and logic as a preparation for the study of science—especially biological science—to the end that such a student may arrive at a correct philosophy of life;

more specifically, for epistemology and metaphysics, that he may adopt sound first principles; for logic, that he may reason safely; and for psychology and some other things for various and sundry reasons. This sounds very well, for biology does carry rather important implications and one can offer no valid objections to the demand that the biologist lay a broad and adequate foundation, but the above specifications outline a rather too comprehensive task and would postpone much biologizing very considerably. Furthermore, the particular metaphysics, philosophy, etc., adequate to these admittedly desirable ends is not specified, but the would-be biologist is left to his own resources amid the multifarious philosophical systems, each differing more or less in their several branches, unless it is to be inferred from the numerous citations of Jesuit authors in the reading course suggested, that scholasticism is the preferred system.

Furthermore, the author is guilty of making ill-considered statements which, while not entirely untrue, nevertheless imply a situation which is untrue. For example: "Darwinism must not be confused with evolution." "Charles Darwin was not a Darwinian." "Huxley, the greatest defender of the Darwinian theory was himself not a believer in it, but defended it against unfair attacks." These are less than half-truths and too grossly misrepresent Darwin and Huxley to need refutation at my hands. The statement that "Darwinism is not held by very many biologists now," and that "De Vries' theory of mutation is probably accepted to a greater extent than any other single evolutionary theory," shows that the author has overlooked the strong reaction that has set in against the mutation theory.

Such statements, repeated most of them again and again, give a one-sided view and stamp the volume as of little or no permanent value, at least to biology.

JAS. J. WOLFE.

THE AMERICAN ARMY IN THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT. By Chambrun and Marenches. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919—420 pp.

This book, compiled and written from official records and personal observations of two French officers, Colonel De Cham-

brun and Captain De Marenches, who were attached to General Pershing's Staff, is now required to be read in the public schools of France. It gives a very vivid and sympathetic history of the causes which forced the United States into the World War, our patience during long provocation, the psychology of the American people so fatally misunderstood by Germany, and the final plunge which first held and finally turned the scale against the victorious Central Powers, forcing them to sue for armistice and peace; also the steps taken by the United States for the organization and transport of our great army over three thousand miles of ocean infested by enemy submarines are fully described, and although not referred to by the authors, it is very apparent into what a pitiful state of unpreparedness for the defense of our country we had drifted.

Our military operations in France are graphically described, with names and rank of the officers commanding armies, corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments, with maps and military orders in the field showing clearly and in detail the strategy and tactics of our military commanders on the French and British fronts. Our impetuous onslaughts on the enemy and the results of American dare-devil dash on the slower-minded German troops, the final march on the Rhine, and the reception given our troops by local German civil authorities and people, are both interesting and instructive.

The great services of the various benevolent associations, such as the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A. and many others, are given in detail. The concluding chapter on Franco-American coöperation tells of the friendly methods by which, in spite of the difference in language, we were able to coöperate successfully with our ancient friend and ally.

The book deserves a place in every library and is written in a manner to please both the casual reader and the student of the Great War. In it are recorded all the names and deeds of officers and men known in every state of our Union.

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The
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CONTENTS

FIGHTING ADULT ILLITERACY IN NORTH CAROLINA	189
FRONDE KENNEDY	
SOME RELATIONS BETWEEN SOIL, CLIMATE AND CIVILIZATION IN THE SOUTHERN RED HILLS OF ALABAMA	201
ROLAND M. HARPER	
LITTLE NATIONS	216
JAMES H. DILLARD	
THE CASE OF HOLLAND	221
J. F. SCHELTEMA	
ORGANIZED APPLAUSE	236
THORNTON S. GRAVES	
ADVANTAGES OF CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION	249
EZEKIEL J. LONDOW	
THE DRAMA—AFTER THE WAR	258
ARCHIBALD HENDERSON	
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTHERN COLLEGE TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION	266
PAUL SHOREY	
BOOK REVIEWS	270

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Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

JANUARY, 1920

The South's Labor Problem.....	Monroe N. Work
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Thomas Cooper—A Survey of His Life.....	H. M. Ellis
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Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina (Concluded).....	Edgar W. Knight
Rossetti Studies—Fundamental Brainwork.....	Albert Edmund Trombly
Book Reviews.....	

APRIL, 1920

The American Cotton Association.....	Robert P. Brooks
Preserving North Carolina's World War Records as a State Enterprise.....	Robert Burton House
Price Inflation: Its Beneficiaries and Its Victims.....	William H. Glasson
The Devil in the Playhouse.....	Thornton S. Graves
Lexiphanes: Satire's View of Doctor Johnson.....	Robert C. Whitford
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QUARTERLY

EDITED BY JOHN M. McBRIDE, JR.

FOUNDED in 1892, *The Sewanee Review* has steadily and consistently maintained its policy, announced in the first issue, of being a serious literary and critical journal. Avoiding all temptation to court wider popularity through mere timeliness in its articles, it has ever sought to serve as a repository of the literary essay and the critical review.

For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

The Sewanee Review is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

The
South Atlantic Quarterly

Fighting Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina

FRONDE KENNEDY,
Trinity College.

Until very recent years the people of the southern states carried their high percentage of illiteracy as a part of the white man's burden, irksome yet inescapable. But a spirit of restiveness under it developed with the realization that it was a menace of rapidly increasing proportions. The opening of closer communication with the mountain section and the exodus from the mountains and the farms to the mills which accompanied the industrial expansion emphasized the fact that not on the negro alone, but to a considerable extent on the tenant farmer and the isolated mountaineer lay the responsibility for what was beginning to be recognized as a curse and blight. Certain activities of the mountaineers and the susceptibility of the negroes and the ignorant cotton mill operatives to the wiles of demagogues and labor agitators emphasized the hazards to a society which tolerated conditions that allowed such developments. All over the South leaders awoke to a sense of danger. Consequently when Mrs. Cora W. Stewart of Kentucky in 1911 hit on the scheme of "Moonlight Schools," her experiment was eagerly watched and imitated in other states.

North Carolina was one of the earliest and most enthusiastic of them. Her county superintendents during their annual session in 1914 agreed to organize "Moonlight Schools" wherever they could. In 1915 the State Department of Public Instruction issued a pamphlet, prepared by W. C. Crosby, Secretary to the Committee on Community Service of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, which set before

North Carolinians the facts about illiteracy in their state together with very definite plans for its elimination. After describing Mrs. Stewart's work and the success of the plan in North Carolina in the year just ended, when eighty-two schools had enrolled more than sixteen hundred adult illiterates, Mr. Crosby made the plea: "Kentucky, led on by the spirit and inspiration of a woman, has preëmpted the first place in this glorious work. North Carolina may be second; indeed she may even yet outstrip Kentucky and be the first to reach the coveted goal of every person in the state reads and writes in 1920."

These first plans proposed close coöperation between the State Department of Public Instruction and all the agencies for social service in the state. Every county was to have an organized committee made up of the county superintendent of schools, the farm demonstration agent, the secretary or president of the county Farmers' Union, a representative of the Junior Order of American Mechanics, and a representative of the women's clubs of the county. These members were to be empowered to add to their number such other members as local conditions made advisable. The county committee was to appoint a local committee for each school district in the county, including in it always the teacher, the chairman of the local school board, the president of the local Farmer's Union, and two or three public-spirited citizens, one at least a woman. These committees were to set apart one month to be known as "Moonlight School Month" and to organize forces to secure publicity and support of the movement. Pledge cards for volunteer teachers were to be distributed at the teachers' institutes during the summer.

Leading influential organizations in the state were definitely pledged to coöperate in the work. Mr. Crosby's bulletin included keynote addresses made by the presidents of the State Teachers' Assembly, the State Farmers' Union, the North Carolina Sunday School Association, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, and the State Councilor of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Each of these addresses presented to the members of these different organizations specific plans for coöperation in the movement. In July, 1915, while this bulletin was in press, Superintendent

Joyner made an address before the State Press Association asking for coöperation from the newspapers. He received hearty responses, the Association adopting a resolution to give editorial endorsement and encouragement and to devote space every week to material to be used in the schools and to mail a copy of their papers to each of the pupils enrolled in "Moonlight Schools."

With such cheering pledges of support the State Department of Education proceeded with its appointed task of leadership. It was not long before Mr. Joyner realized the necessity of a business-like administration of the work. In his biennial report for the years 1914-1915 and 1915-1916, he said: "I do not feel that it would be right to call upon the poorly paid, hard-worked public school teachers of the state to continue to give their services without compensation to this work of teaching night schools for illiterates, nor do I believe that this work could be efficiently and permanently conducted under a volunteer plan, therefore I have recommended for its continuance an appropriation by the state to be duplicated by the county and the community. With the aid of such an appropriation I confidently believe that adult illiteracy can be practically wiped out within the next few years." The appropriation of \$25,000 was voted by the legislature. Another step toward the systematization of the work was the employment of Miss Elizabeth Kelly, in August, 1917, to be Director of Schools for Adult Illiterates.

Miss Kelly carried to her new undertaking great enthusiasm and energy and a fund of first-hand knowledge of educational and social conditions in North Carolina. She formulated very definite plans of procedure and called on the county superintendents for aid in executing them. She sent them census blanks for making illiteracy surveys, directed their attention to the valuable assistance available from the several organizations pledged to aid the campaign, urged the employment in each county of one woman for her whole time to coördinate the efforts of the various agencies at work in each county and direct the schools, and again and again emphasized the importance of perseverance. She addressed earnest appeals to the negro supervisors employed under the Jeanes Fund to coöperate

with the county superintendents and to be especially on their guard against letting in incompetent teachers. To teachers she wrote explicitly of plans projected for a midsummer drive against illiteracy, describing how to arrange for teaching adults and stating definitely the provisions for remunerating such teaching. For each class of ten illiterates above fourteen years of age the state was to give the teacher twenty dollars and the county an equal amount for a month's teaching, with twelve lessons in the month. Additional pupils were to be paid for at a rate of four dollars each for a month. The suggestion was made that a teacher might arrange to have two schools running at the same time in adjacent communities, each meeting three nights weekly. The reason for this was the fact that many of the pupils had regular meetings of lodges or unions or prayer meetings to attend on some nights. A book entitled *Twelve Lessons in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, Designed for Use in Teaching Adults in North Carolina* was provided for use in schools for adults.

The evolution of Miss Kelly's official title through the stages of *Director of Schools for Adult Illiterates* and *Director of Schools for Adults* to its present *Director of Community Schools for Adults* seems to indicate a deepening of human sympathy and an infusion into the work of what has come to be called "Americanization." From a mere effort to remove from North Carolina the stigma of illiteracy the department has taken upon itself the task of bringing in to the feast of civic life those who have fasted in the by-ways and hedges or fed on crumbs. Not merely reading and writing and arithmetic, but the fostering of community spirit, the teaching of health and thrift, engross the teachers of Miss Kelly's schools. She refused her consent to the proposal that her teachers be subjected to examinations and tests or be required to hold some specified certificate. She believes that zeal and sympathetic insight into the minds of the adult pupils are the indispensable requirements for success in teaching them. In her booklet of instructions to the teachers she says: "Our main purpose in the work of reducing illiteracy in North Carolina is to help all illiterates realize their worth as citizens, each in his own community, state, and nation; and as such to provide

means by which they may attain to the best possible citizenship. . . . For these citizens of North Carolina let us in some measure provide opportunities which have been denied them and by which they may come into their own as intelligent members of a responsible citizenship."

Legislation has kept steady pace with the development of the work. During the school year 1915-1916, 997 schools, enrolling about 10,000 illiterates, were taught without pay. During the next year, on the recommendation of Superintendent Joyner, the General Assembly provided that the teachers be paid and a director be employed. In spite of the fact that much of the energy of those employed in the work was at first occupied in organization, 3,593 illiterates were taught by 242 teachers at a cost to the state of about \$1.25 for each illiterate. Reports for the next year, not yet published, will show, in spite of the hindrances of the war activities and influenza epidemics and shortage of teachers, that the work "carried on." Now it is developing rapidly, and Miss Kelly has plans for a vigorous campaign during the summer of 1920. The appropriation of the General Assembly in 1917 was \$25,000 "for conducting schools to teach adult illiterates with suitable provision for supporting and organizing these schools." In 1919 the General Assembly passed an "Act to make all schools organized to teach adult illiterates a part of the State public school system." It provided that such schools should be supported as other schools of the state are supported; that is, with a six months' term in every public school district. By its provisions county superintendents are required upon direction from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to provide annually in the county budget, unless otherwise provided, a sum necessary to teach the adult illiterates in accordance with public school regulations; and a like sum is appropriated from "the Public School Fund." It also authorizes an annual appropriation not to exceed \$5,000 for the organization and direction of such work under the authority of the State Superintendent. If the so-called "Kenyon Americanization Bill" now pending in Congress is passed, North Carolina will be in a position to avail herself immediately of the Federal aid for which it makes provision. This bill is described in the Congressional Record as

intended: "To promote Americanization by providing for co-operation with the several states in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes." The money appropriated is to be apportioned by the Secretary of the Interior among the several states in a pre-determined ratio, but no state may receive its apportionment unless it provides for the teaching of English at least two hundred hours each year to all residents who are citizens of the United States and all aliens of more than six months residence who are between sixteen and forty-five years old and unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language. If this bill is passed as it stands and North Carolina meets its conditions, it should be easily possible for Miss Kelly to win her campaign by 1930, since it entails compulsory attendance on the schools by illiterates.

To one interested in this fight a visit to Miss Kelly's office in the Department of Public Instruction in Raleigh is well worth while. There one may see copies of the many circular letters of instruction and encouragement and appeal sent out during the past three years to county superintendents, Jeanes supervisors, presidents of women's clubs, mill owners, and farmers' unions. One big piece of clerical work done in this office was the tabulation of the names of the men who made their mark instead of writing their names in the draft, and the distribution of the lists among the county superintendents with specific instructions how to organize efforts to reach such men and get them into the schools. Illumination is thrown on one of Miss Kelly's handicaps by the following extract from one of these letters: "A goodly bit of money and much time and careful work have gone into the preparation of this list of names, and so I am asking you to use the list for the purpose for which it was intended rather than for stuffing your waste basket or kindling a rainy-day fire—experience has taught me that either or both of the above things may happen in a county superintendent's office."

The department provides regulation forms for the teachers' reports, and on one of them an entire page is left for the record of work done to enlarge enrollment and of work done in the community outside of school work. Some of these re-

ports make fascinating reading. For example, Mr. A. F. Corbin, of Polk County, reported among his activities in one community between March 3 and March 28, teaching ten hours daily, making two hundred and five calls, visiting in the homes of the community and urging girls to help their parents, gathering Indians curios along the Pacolet river for the Tryon Museum, making speeches before farmers' meetings on soil improvement and other subjects, singing and playing the organ at public gatherings, getting jobs for some of the people, writing an article for *The Survey* on "Americanization and Patriotism in Polk County," and selling spectacles. And startling as this last-named item may sound, it may justifiably be said that nothing else the man ever did more became him! In many of the letters of the superintendents emphasis was laid on the importance of tactfulness in dealing with adult illiterates. Mr. Corbin has it; he convinces his illiterate friends that poor eyesight may account for their never having learned to read, and then he sells them for ten cents some spectacles (warranted to be of clear glass and harmless). With such aid many of his new pupils make rapid progress and get much joy in their achievements. These spectacles are given Mr. Corbin by the Association of Charities of Washington, D. C., and are, he remarks in one report, in great demand. Between April 6 and April 29 Mr. Corbin reported boarding among the people in another community, visiting historic spots, encouraging farmers' meetings and exhibits for fairs, studying old ballads and arranging music for them to be submitted to publishers, furnishing music for rallies, urging the screening of the cabins for the sake of the babies, and conferring with two county superintendents on agriculture in high schools.

A very different type of worker, but equally valuable to the state, is revealed in the reports of Miss Pearl Justice, of Johnston County. Her report for September 29 to October 24 contains such items as these: "I have gone into all the homes and have given each person a personal invitation to come to school. Have tried to interest them in home problems—especially those that they were deficient in." The next month she again reports visiting in all the homes, enlisting coöperation of the best citizens in efforts to get every illiterate en-

rolled, holding public spelling contests, and taking part in the various activities of the community in every way possible. Again she reports visiting in every home, assisting in the organization of a Sunday school, helping the mothers in various ways, and she says: "Each illiterate has had an earnest personal invitation by friends and neighbors to attend school."

Some significant factors of this problem were brought to light through an investigation conducted by a private individual in March, 1920, to determine what is being done by the educational agencies of the state to eliminate illiteracy. A letter was sent to each of the hundred county superintendents of public instruction asking for specific information as to what each had done and what he was planning for the future. Forty replies were received—a revelation in itself of one of Miss Kelly's greatest handicaps, indifference and unbusiness-like office management on the part of county superintendents. For it would seem that replies would have been made by all interested in the work. Of the forty who replied, only one spoke unsympathetically of the work. He wrote: "We pushed this work four years ago, had about two hundred enrolled all over the county, worked the teachers to exhaustion, got a few men and women to sign their names, which they have since forgotten how to do. We have isolated schools going on about all of the time, but to little success. I am not pushing the work." From another county came a letter showing exactly the opposite attitude. "When he (the county organizer employed) has finished his first round he follows up the work he began with the first group, giving them further help and showing them how it is possible for them to help themselves. . . . We do hope to follow up the work that has already been done until something really effective has been accomplished." With Hamlet, one would say, "Look here upon this picture, and on this."

There were all possible gradations of interest, effort, and achievement between the two extremes. Some of the letters indicated that their writers are concrete thinkers who organize what they undertake in a definite way and can stand and deliver specific information when called upon so to do. Others, however, with every asseveration of interest and approval of the

movement, made only vague and incomplete replies to inquiries as to what they had done, what success they had attained, and what plans they had for the future. A thoughtful consideration of this exhibit leads to the conclusion that the elimination of illiteracy would be hastened by eliminating from the offices of county superintendents all incumbents except enlightened educators. After all of the very specific suggestions of methods sent out from Miss Kelly's office, one superintendent wrote: "We have no plans and would appreciate help." Another said: "I have no plans. If you have any, I will be glad to help." It is assuredly not to such leaders as this that the state can look with confidence for a victorious conclusion of the illiteracy fight.

But among these letters are many of the most encouraging nature; even some of those that are vague contain earnest acknowledgments of the importance of the work and desire to get hold of it. Some of them are such as to fill the heart of a patriotic reader with joy that North Carolina has among her public servants such men. For example: "I haven't done much. I have no stenographer, no farm demonstrator, no club agent, no assistance at all—and have to do all this work myself. You can understand that some things have to be left undone. I realize that this is a matter which should receive special attention and I have called attention to it." Another runs: "My work is so crowded I have no time for it. I am attempting to fill two positions, County Superintendent of Schools and County Superintendent of Public Welfare. I have no office help. I feel there should be some one appointed for this special work."

One rather depressing phase of the investigation is the evidence that the "Moonlight Schools" movement which began so auspiciously in 1914 in North Carolina was allowed to follow the course of a fad, a wave of hysteria; practically every social agency in the state coöperated in it with remarkable results for a season,—and then sat back as though the machinery might be kept going by its own momentum. To be sure, the effects of the World War early began to make themselves felt in the very elements of society most concerned in the illiteracy campaign; the extra demands on labor and on teachers forced suspension of much of the illiteracy work.

Then just when conditions seemed to favor resumption of it,—when the whole country had been alarmed by the illiteracy statistics as secured in the draft, when North Carolinians were told by investigators that in reality at least one-third of the adult white population of the state are illiterates,¹ when it seemed as if the forces that had been directed into war activities were available for the proposed drive against illiteracy,—in this stage of affairs came two paralyzing influenza epidemics which threw into confusion the entire educational system. On account of all these conditions much of what had been gained by the excellent work of 1914 was lost, and in most counties fresh beginnings were necessary.

But the past has afforded some valuable lessons from which much profit may be derived in renewed attacks on the problem. Some of the handicaps, the pitfalls, the blind alleys, are known. One after another of the superintendents emphasized that success can not be attained unless the teacher has a somewhat exceptional personality. Tact, perseverance, good humor, good health, versatility, are essential. The sensitiveness of the class from which the pupils come is mentioned repeatedly in the letters of the superintendents; and so is the difficulty of securing and then holding their interest. "Most of our adult illiterates are abnormal people," says one. "This is a rather difficult phase of education. I confess I do not know how to make it succeed," is another comment; one pronounces it "the most difficult part of our educational work."

A frequently emphasized point is the importance of placing such work in the hands of one person who shall devote to it all of his or her time. In several counties this plan has been tried, and results have proved its wisdom. Two outstanding examples are Johnston and Polk counties. The superintendent of Johnston says: "We have a whole-time woman conducting the community schools in Johnston County. She has had remarkable success in these schools. In several districts she has made an average attendance of thirty-five adults for the month. So far she has been able to earn on the basis of attendance around \$120 per month. We propose to keep this

¹ Accepting as a working definition of an illiterate: "One more than fourteen years old who cannot read intelligently, write a readable letter, or use figures in solving simple every-day problems."

woman the year round at work in Johnston County. We shall doubtless put on another woman next year. We propose to have this teacher train any other teachers who undertake this work in the county. She seems to be well adapted to this kind of work. We also conduct community schools in five colored school districts. One of the teachers is doing good work. We are planning to continue our drive for the elimination of adult illiterates in Johnston County. We have in mind not only teaching adults how to read and write, but to make better citizens out of them; particularly to make each of these men and women better school parents and thereby stop the production of adult illiterates."

The superintendent in Polk County writes: "We have tried several plans, but I think the best one has been the securing of a tactful man to organize small classes in the homes of the community. This man spends one month in one community, then passes on to another, spending a month in this community. He has four such organizations in the county in one year. When he has finished his first round he follows up the work he began with the first group, giving them further help and showing them how it is possible for them to help themselves. In this way we have been enabled in the nearly three years we have been doing this kind of work to practically cover the county, and quite a great deal has been accomplished."

It is natural for human interest to focus on superlatives, and so some very bad and some very excellent examples have been cited. Excellent work has been done in many parts of the state besides Polk and Johnston. One teacher writes from Transylvania with reference to his teaching of adult illiterates: "I do not think there is anything a person can do that will bring so much pleasure. I am a poor letter writer, but I could talk all the time on this work." The county superintendent of Forsyth writes very optimistically of the work there and mentions the helpful coöperation of the Young Men's Christian Association in the towns. In Asheville a capable woman has volunteered her services as county director and is doing excellent things in the way of securing books and pictures and enlisting the aid of the Daughters of

the American Revolution, as well as making careful surveys of the city of Asheville and Buncombe County. In many of the mill districts the manufacturers have provided half of the teachers' salaries and all the running expenses and have encouraged their operatives to take advantage of the evening classes so provided. A number of reports from both white and colored schools state that the students themselves have paid the portion of the expense which by law must come from local sources. Several of the superintendents reported that appropriations had been made and schools arranged for when either influenza or the shortage of teachers checked all action.

"We will fight it out along this line if it takes all summer," was once said. "We expect to keep it up for ten years if it is necessary," says Miss Kelly. "It is our determination that by 1930 the census shall show that illiteracy in North Carolina has reached the vanishing point." Undaunted by difficulties Miss Kelly is planning for the summer of 1920 the most aggressive blow yet delivered. Hers is the spirit that ensures success.

Some Relations Between Soil, Climate and Civilization in the Southern Red Hills of Alabama

ROLAND M. HARPER,
Geological Survey of Alabama.

In the coastal plain of the southeastern United States there is a belt of country extending from South Carolina to Mississippi, with a maximum width of about fifty miles, characterized by red loamy hills superficially like those of the Piedmont region farther inland, but differing from that in having less rock and more swamp, and contrasting strongly with the more level and sandy regions nearer the coast. The geological strata throughout are of Eocene age (early Tertiary), with several subdivisions cropping out in longitudinal belts.

In South Carolina and Georgia the southern red-hill belt is separated from the piedmont by the fall-line sand-hills, averaging about ten miles wide, while in Alabama and Mississippi there are several distinct types of country between the red hills of the coastal plain and the rocky highlands, the best known of which is the black prairie belt. The eastern end of the red hills is ill-defined, but may be placed approximately at Laurinburg, N. C. Westward from there the belt includes Statesburg and Orangeburg, S. C., Waynesboro, Louisville, Sandersville, Jeffersonville, Fort Valley, Richland and Cuthbert, Ga., Abbeville, Ozark, Troy, Enterprise, Greenville, and Thomasville, Ala. In Mississippi it curves northward, past Meridian and Oxford, and fades or tapers out near the Tennessee line.

In its length of nearly a thousand miles this belt naturally exhibits some variations. Generally speaking, it is more sandy eastward and more clayey westward, with corresponding differences in fertility, and this difference is reflected in the vegetation, the crops, the density and racial composition of the population, and many other features.

In *Science*¹ the writer showed that if for every weather sta-

¹ August 30, 1918.

tion in the United States, or as many of them as practicable, we determine the difference between the rainfall for April, May and June and that for August, September and October, and plot the results on a map, we can make some interesting correlations. Where early summer rain predominates over that of late summer, as is the case nearly throughout the area drained by the Mississippi River and a few of the larger rivers on either side of it, the soils are generally much more fertile than in northern Michigan and Minnesota and near the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, where the warm late summer rains steadily leach out the soluble constituents of the soil and leave the silica and other inert substances. Although the late summer rain area covers less than one-fourth of the United States, probably two or three times as much commercial fertilizer is used there as in the remainder of the country. And even if there were no difference in soil, this seasonal distribution of precipitation would affect the cotton crop, for rain in the late summer and fall interferes with picking; which is doubtless one reason why so little cotton is raised in Florida.

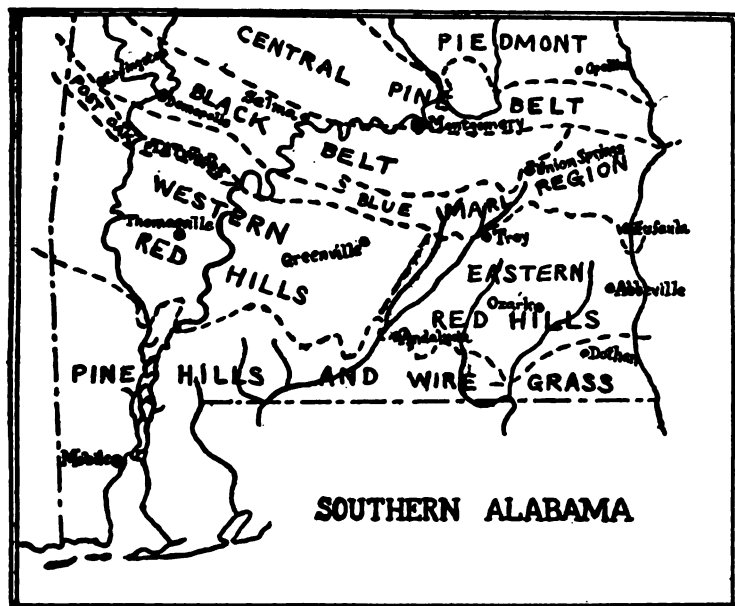
The zero line, or line of equilibrium, where early and late summer rain are equal, crosses the red-hill belt obliquely in Alabama, the South Carolina and Georgia portions of the belt having wet late summers and the Mississippi portion wet early summers. At Pushmataha, near the western edge of the state, the average rainfall from April to June exceeds that from August to October by more than five inches, while at Eufaula, on the eastern edge, the difference is about an inch and a half the other way. The soils vary correspondingly, those of the western portion being evidently more fertile on the whole than those of the eastern.³

In the preparation of a statistical report on the resources of southern Alabama³ the writer has recently worked out separate ratios for the eastern and western portions of the red

³ Some of the differences in soil fertility may indeed be independent of present-day climates, and have originated far back in geological history, when the sandy and marly strata of the coasted plain were being deposited on the sea bottom; or else be due to the fact that southwestern Alabama is traversed by two large rivers that cross the black belt and other rich calcareous regions, while the eastern portion of the red hills is directly south of the piedmont region of granitic rocks, and has very few streams that head in limestone regions. But the climatic factor above mentioned has undoubtedly had a considerable influence.

³ Geol. Surv. Ala., Special Report No. 11, July, 1920. (It is being published almost simultaneously with this.)

hills, and obtained in nearly every case just the results that one would expect from the evident differences in soil. The accompanying sketch map shows the geographical or, more strictly speaking, chorographical, relations of the two divisions. A belt fifteen or twenty miles wide at the coastward edge of the western division, sometimes known as the lime hills, which has previously been treated as a separate region⁴ is here combined with it, because the differences are comparatively slight, and also because it lies mostly in the same counties whose census returns are used farther on to illustrate the western red hills, so that the two areas cannot very well be separated statistically.



We have, unfortunately, too few chemical analyses of soils to give a fair estimate of the natural fertility of this region. But soil texture is correlated with fertility—fine soils as a rule being richer than coarse soils—and there are abundant data on this point in the government soil survey reports, which now cover most of the counties in Alabama. From these it can

⁴ See Monograph 8, *Geological Survey of Alabama*, and *Soil Science*, August, 1917.

be ascertained, by consolidating the estimates of the areas of different soil types, that by texture over half the soil in the western division is classed as fine sandy loam, and next in order are clay, sandy loam, fine sand, gravelly sandy loam, meadow, and silt loam. In the eastern division the order is sandy loam, sand, fine sandy loam, fine sand, loamy sand, meadow, swamp, and coarse sand,—indicating a predominance of sandy soils of moderately coarse texture.

There are some significant differences in topography between the two divisions. The eastern is, generally speaking, an upland region, with broad divides having a maximum altitude of about 600 feet above sea-level, and comparatively narrow and swampy valleys. Farming is chiefly confined to the smooth uplands, and the existing forests to ravines and swamps. The western division is characterized by narrower ridges, many of them rocky, and broader valleys. The highest ridges are probably no more elevated above the sea than the uplands of the eastern division, but on account of being steeper and narrower they stand out more conspicuously, and some of them are known locally as mountains. The valleys are now generally cultivated and the ridges wooded.

A plant census of this region (as of other parts of Alabama) has been made by the writer by traveling through every county two or more times, jotting down the names of the species observed in every mile or other convenient interval, and combining the results. The ten commonest trees of each division at the present time are here arranged in order of abundance in parallel columns for the sake of contrast.

<i>Western Division</i>	<i>Eastern Division</i>
Short-leaf (loblolly) pine	Long-leaf pine
Short-leaf pine	Short-leaf (loblolly) pine
Long-leaf pine	Short-leaf pine
Sweet gum	Black-jack oak
Spruce pine	Red oak
Magnolia	Poplar
Beech	Sweet gum
Poplar	Magnolia
White oak	Spruce pine
Water oak	(Swamp) black gum

It should be borne in mind that the differences in this respect are doubtless less now than they were before the country was settled, for the forests that have been destroyed to make room for crops in the western division are mostly those of fertile valleys and in the eastern division of dry uplands, while trees preferring steep slopes have been spared in both divisions. But the trees that are more abundant westward are almost without exception species characteristic of richer soils. The sweet gum, for one, which ranks fourth in the western division and seventh in the eastern, is believed to be especially partial to soils well supplied with phosphorus. It is interesting to note that in the western division the most abundant oak ranks only ninth in the list, while in the eastern, as in most other parts of the eastern United States, some of the oaks are next to the pines in abundance.

From a directory of Alabama sawmills published by the *Southern Lumberman* in 1912, giving the capacity of each mill in board feet per day, the kinds of wood cut, etc., it appears that 48 mills in the western division had an average daily capacity of 18,480 feet and the 39 in the eastern division only 10,280 feet. A generation or two earlier the eastern mills may have been the larger, but now those in the western division have numerous well-wooded rocky ridges from which to obtain their timber, while in the eastern division the forests being now largely confined to narrow swampy valleys, contain comparatively little valuable timber. According to the same directory 30 of the mills in the western division were cutting short-leaf pine (including loblolly), 28 long-leaf pine, 19 poplar, 17 white oak (doubtless including one or two related species), 10 red oak (a name used to cover several species), 5 sweet gum, 4 hickory, and 3 cypress. In the eastern division the order is as follows: 36 long-leaf pine, 25 short-leaf (including loblolly) pine, 19 poplar, 4 white oak, 4 hickory, 4 ash, and 3 sweet gum.⁵

The differences in soil are also faithfully reflected in population and agriculture, as will now be shown by statistics computed chiefly from census returns by counties. Statistics of population for Alabama go back to 1820, and of farms to

⁵ Woods cut by less than three mills are omitted here.

1850, but some phases of agriculture appear only in later censuses; for example, the expenditures for fertilizers having been first returned in 1880, the value of farm buildings in 1900, and certain data for white and colored farmers separately only in 1910.⁶

The statistics of the western division are based on the counties of Choctaw, Clarke, Monroe, Wilcox and Butler, and those of the eastern on Crenshaw, Coffee, Dale and Henry. The belt includes considerable parts of several other counties, which extend so far into other regions that to use them to typify the red hills would impair the accuracy of the results—for most census data as published are based on the county as the smallest unit. Changes in county boundaries in former decades introduce a little difficulty, but that has been allowed for in the calculations as far as possible.

In the following tables the density of population is given for each census since 1820, except that of 1870, which was not very accurate in the South on account of the chaotic conditions then prevailing. The percentage of whites and the extent of farm land, size of farms, etc., are given for thirty-year intervals, and several other kinds of statistics only for 1910. Incidentally these tables will serve to illustrate a few of the many kinds of useful information buried in census reports and elsewhere and going to waste, as it were, for lack of persons sufficiently interested to dig them out and put them together by natural regions, instead of merely using state averages as is commonly done. Some of the significant features of the tables will be discussed farther on.

⁶The most complete summary of census data relating to negroes is a special report of 844 quarto pages on the Negro population of the United States, 1790-1915, published by the Census Bureau late in 1918. Some additional data for 1900 are included in the "Supplementary Analysis" volume of the Twelfth Census.

TABLE 1. POPULATION.

	West	East
	1820..... 4.7	1.1
	1830..... 7.8	5.2
	1840..... 10.2	7.0
	1850..... 11.5	7.3
Inhabitants per square mile.....	1860..... 17.2	12.5
	1880..... 21.2	17.4
	1890..... 23.1	23.6
	1900..... 27.1	33.2
	1910..... 28.9	37.9
Percentage of whites.....	1820..... 63.1	76.2
	1850..... 47.3	83.2
	1880..... 38.9	74.9
	1910..... 37.0	68.0
Percentage illiterate in population over 10 years old, 1910:	White 7.6	13.1
	Negro 44.2	39.8
	Total 30.3	21.2

TABLE 2. AGRICULTURE, 1850-1910.

	West	East
Percentage of land in farms.....	1850..... 36.0	16.1
	1880..... 56.5	54.5
	1910..... 64.0	83.0
Percentage of total area "improved"....	1850..... 9.8	5.9
	1880..... 16.4	14.7
	1910..... 26.0	42.5
Average number of acres per farm....	1850..... 415.0	152.5
	1880..... 133.5	158.0
	1910..... 83.5	89.0
Average improved acres per farm....	1850..... 113.0	56.5
	1880..... 38.7	42.7
	1910..... 33.8	45.2
Average number of slaves per farm...}	1850..... 10.8	1.8
	1860..... 11.3	2.7
Percentage of white farmers, 1910	37.0	72.3
Average value of farm land per acre, 1910 (\$)	7.35	9.62
Average value of farm land per farm, 1910	613	850
Average value of buildings per farm	248	272
Average value of implements and machinery	53	63
Average value of livestock, poultry, etc.	223	237
Expenditure for fertilizers per acre of improved land, 1879-80 (\$)	.07	.44
1909-1080	1.45
Value of crops per acre, 1909-10	14.45	16.30

TABLE 3. AGRICULTURE FOR THE TWO RACES SEPARATELY, 1910

	WHITE		NEGRO	
	West	East	West	East
Percentage of farms operated by owners or part owners	64	50	19	16
Average number of acres per farm ...	152.0	98.6	43.0	62.3
Average improved acres per farm ..	46.4	45.8	26.5	43.6
Value of farm land per acre (\$)	6.95	9.45	8.12	10.21
Value of farm land per farm	1057	933	350	636
Value of buildings per farm	468	322	118	141
Value of implements and machinery ..	98	74	26	33
Acres of cotton per farm	13.5	16.9	14.8	21.2
Acres of corn per farm.....	9.7	14.4	5.8	12.4

The leading crops in both divisions in 1909-10 were cotton and corn, but peanuts ranked third in value in the eastern division and only ninth in the western. Since that time, owing mainly to the coming of the boll-weevil to Alabama in 1910, peanuts have replaced cotton to a considerable extent, and may even rank first in the eastern division by this time, though certainly not in the western, where cotton is still "king."⁷

The most significant facts brought out by the foregoing tables and confirmed by evidence from other sources are as follows:

The western division had the densest population at first, on account of its more fertile soil, but the eastern division had the advantage of smoother topography and more easily tilled (because sandier) soil, and when commercial fertilizers became available in sufficient quantities, through the opening up of deposits of potash in Germany, phosphate rock in South Carolina and Florida, and sodium nitrate in Chile, it was able to compete successfully with the western division, which it outstripped in both population and farm land per square mile, about 1889.⁸

In the pioneer days, when many of the inhabitants lived by hunting, fishing, logging, and grazing cattle on open ranges, whites predominated in both divisions; but as soon as possible the forests in the fertile valleys of the western division were cleared away and superseded by large cotton plantations

⁷ The partial substitution of peanuts and hogs for cotton has proved so satisfactory to the farmers of the eastern division (which is now one of the leading peanut sections of the United States) that a monument to the boll-weevil was erected last year in the town of Enterprise, in Coffee County.

⁸ In this connection see *Geographical Review*, vol. 2, pp. 366-1367; *Journal of Geography*, vol. 15, pp. 42-48, 229. 1916-17.

worked by slave labor, and negroes have been in the majority there since about 1845. As in many other parts of the United States, the more fertile lands had rather inferior drinking water and were formerly more or less malarial, which conditions negroes could endure better than whites.

In ante-bellum days the contrast in size of farms between the two divisions was quite marked, large plantations never having developed to any considerable extent on the poorer soils eastward. But in later years the farmers of the eastern division have become the more progressive, a circumstance closely correlated with the more rapid growth of population there, and the mingling of new settlers from other states and sections. The average value of all farm property, per farm and per acre, the expenditure for fertilizers, and the value of crops per acre of improved land, are all higher eastward. But if we consider the two races separately we discover some curious facts, which modify the foregoing statements considerably.

In the western division in 1910 the average white farmer cultivated nearly twice as much land as his black neighbor, and had a house worth nearly four times as much; while in the eastern division, where negroes are decidedly in the minority, the amount of land cultivated by the two races, per farm, was nearly equal, and the ratio of building values only a little over two to one.⁹ Statistics of illiteracy show a similar tendency, and those for per capita wealth, if such were available, doubtless would likewise. This relation is too universal throughout the South, wherever there is any considerable proportion of negroes, to be ascribed to chance or injustice; and it seems to be a fundamental sociological principle not hitherto widely known. If the negroes in predominantly "black" sections were as intelligent and efficient as they are where they are in the minority, or had the same voice in governmental affairs as the

⁹ In Wilcox, the most fertile county in the red hills, which had 81.6% of Negroes in 1910, the average farm building values for the two races were \$770 and \$99, a ratio of nearly eight to one, or about the same as in the black belt. The "poor whites," characteristic of some of the mountainous and sandy parts of the South, are practically non-existent there, and many if not most white farmers live in two-story painted houses. In the more broken sections of the same division, however, the farm-houses are more primitive. For example, in Choctaw, which is probably the most "mountainous" county in southern Alabama (it had no railroad up to about ten years ago), the average white farmer's buildings in 1910 were worth only \$372 (which happens to be just about the state average for that race).

whites, and if those who live most simply were not as a rule the most contented, there would be much more friction between the races than there is, as can easily be imagined.¹⁰ As it is, the social advantages of the black and the white sections of the South are pretty nicely balanced, and should remain so indefinitely if there is not too much outside interference. This will also go a long way toward explaining the different attitude toward the negroes North and South. In the North and West, where they constitute only a small fraction of the population, they may be nearly as efficient as their white neighbors (in most of the northern and western states there is less illiteracy among negroes than among foreign whites), so that there is little ground for prejudice against them.

In both divisions the negro farmer devotes about half his improved land to cotton, while the white man diversifies more. It will be observed that in both (and the same is true in many other parts of the South) the negro's farm land is worth more per acre than the white man's. This, however, is chiefly due to the fact that the white man's farm is usually about half woods, while the negro, being in most cases a tenant, is not likely to rent much land that he cannot cultivate. From the first two lines of Table 3 it can be seen that in both divisions the white farmer cultivates less than half his land, and the negro about two-thirds of his. Similar relations are brought out plainly in the chapter on plantations in the South, in one of the agricultural volumes of the 1910 census.

The census has not given statistics of manufacturing by counties since 1880, or of the kind of power used in each county since 1870; but a few notes on the subject from those censuses may be of interest. In 1870 the western division had about one manufacturing plant, chiefly sawmills, grist mills, blacksmith shops, etc., to twenty square miles, and the eastern one to thirty-three square miles. The principle that water-power does not generally abound in fertile regions holds true even in this limited area, for in the western division 14% of the plants were run by steam and 15% by water-power, and

¹⁰ In this connection see the chapter on Vicksburg, Miss., in Julian Street's book, "American Adventures" (1917), bearing in mind that Vicksburg is in a county that had 70% of its population colored in 1910.

in the eastern $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ by steam and 60% by water-power.¹¹ The utilized water-power amounted to .07 horse-power per square mile in the former and .18 in the latter, notwithstanding the sparser population.

In 1880 the number of manufacturing enterprises was about the same, the number of employees a little less than two apiece in each division, and the average annual wages \$196 in the western division and \$124 in the eastern. Presumably most of the hands were employed at manufacturing only part of the year.

From an alumni catalogue of the University of Alabama, compiled in 1901, it appears that from the founding of the university at Tuscaloosa in 1831 to its interruption in 1865 there came to it from the western division of the red hills 158 students, of whom 24 graduated, while only 13 came from the eastern division, and none of those graduated. From 1870 to 1895 the former was represented by 172 matriculates and 64 graduates, and the latter by 62 matriculates and 32 graduates.

These figures can be variously interpreted. We must bear in mind first that in 1835 there were about twice as many white people in the western division as in the eastern, and the numbers did not become equal until about 1882. The smaller representation of the eastern division at the University in ante-bellum days is doubtless also due partly to the lack of railroads and the difficulty of making a journey of 200 miles or so twice a year by stage or private conveyance; and since the war the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, founded in 1872—which teaches many of the same subjects that the University does—being considerably nearer to that division than Tuscaloosa is, may have attracted more students. Not only is the western division nearer to the University in an air line, but before the days of railroads persons living anywhere near the Tombigbee River could reach Tuscaloosa conveniently by steamboat. The difficulties of transportation doubtless also limited the number of students who had the perseverance and the means to go to college three or four years and graduate. For in the ante-bellum period about one-

¹¹ See *Journal of Forestry*, vol. 16, p. 443. 1918.

fourth, and from 1870 to 1895 about one-third, of the students registered from the same region in which Tuscaloosa is situated graduated, and for Tuscaloosa County by itself the ratios are still higher.

But a complete explanation of the differences will probably have to take into consideration the fact that the average white family of the western division was, and is, more prosperous than in the eastern, as already indicated, and thus more likely to send its sons to college. This very fact, however, may have operated to reduce the percentage of graduates, for a boy who goes to college merely to spend his father's money and enjoy society probably has a smaller chance of graduating than one who values an education sufficiently to work for it. The fact that the ratio of graduates to matriculates among students from the fertile black belt—which is considerably nearer to Tuscaloosa than the red hills—is below the state average in both periods seems to bear this out. Although there were no graduates from the eastern division before the war, after the war it was above the state average in that respect.

The political complexion of the two divisions shows some interesting contrasts, which one who had not looked into the matter might not expect. According to the election returns published annually in the *New York World Almanac*, at the presidential election of 1916—which is representative enough of all elections in the last decade or two, since the negroes were practically disfranchised—97% of the vote in the western division was Democratic, while in the eastern division the vote was about 80% Democratic, 19% Republican, and 1% miscellaneous. In this respect the western division is very much like the black belt, and the eastern like several other parts of the state that are below the average in fertility.

The Census Bureau has published the results of a special religious census of the United States made in 1916, giving the membership, etc., of the leading denominations in each county, and separating white and colored churches in the South in most cases. The differences between the two areas under consideration are not very pronounced, for close correlations between soil and religion are hardly to be looked for, but as far as they go they accord pretty well with the differences in civili-

zation and wealth already pointed out. For example, among the whites the Presbyterians and Episcopalians are relatively much more numerous in the western division and Primitive Baptists in the eastern. In both divisions about half the white and two-thirds of the colored church members are Baptists, with Methodists ranking second.

A few remarks on malaria might appropriately be added here. Dr. Eugene A. Smith, in his report on the geology of the coastal plain of Alabama, an unnumbered publication of the Geological Survey of Alabama, issued early in 1895, wrote as follows concerning the "Ridge," a high escarpment in the northwestern portion of Butler County, in the western division of the red hills:

"This part of the county was at one time the center of civilization and culture in Butler County.¹³ Upon the Ridge were the houses of the planters who cultivated the rich prairie soils of Cedar Creek lying at the foot of it towards the north. At the present time very few white families are to be found here, and the whole section, from long neglect, is badly cut up by gullies, and the once fine houses of early days have fallen into decay and the Ridge now presents a scene of dilapidation painful to behold."

In June, 1919, the writer walked practically the whole length of the ridge in question, parts of which are over a dozen miles from the nearest railroad, with a view of studying present conditions and getting some photographs of the decayed old mansions if they still existed, but almost nothing of that description was to be found. The homes of white farmers were rather few, as expected, but they were nearly all substantial and well painted, and some had garages for one or two automobiles. This puzzled me a little until the planter with whom I spent the night, a well-informed man who had sent several children to college, furnished the explanation. It seems that at the time Dr. Smith wrote of the Ridge, a quarter of a century ago, that fertile section, in spite of its elevation of 100 feet or more above the creek bottoms, was very subject to "chills and fever"; and the white residents were in the habit of spending the summers in a long-leaf pine forest a few miles

¹³ This might be supplemented now by saying that three out of six graduates and three out of eleven non-graduates at the University of Alabama from Butler County before 1865 were from points on the Ridge, and the remainder nearly all from the county seat.

farther south, where they enjoyed better health,¹³ but some finally gave it up and abandoned their plantations to the negroes.¹³ As is well known, about 1900 it was proved that malaria is transmitted by a certain mosquito that spends three weeks of its life in the "wiggletail" stage, and bites only after sunset, and it can therefore be avoided by the simple expedient of not allowing water to stand near houses more than three weeks at a time, or keeping behind screens at night, or both. Advantage has been taken of this knowledge, with the result that the malaria germ, for lack of access to human hosts, has become almost extinct here and in other formerly unhealthy regions, and white farmers have come in again and repaired and repainted the old mansions and are prospering. This new development began too late to affect the 1910 census materially, but the results of it should show in the racial composition of the population in this year's census.

SUMMARY

The relations here brought out between soil fertility and civilization are believed to hold true practically throughout the cotton belt of the South, if not over a much wider area. Some of them have long been known in a general way, while others are apparent only after statistical analysis. The main general principles illustrated are about as follows:

1. Of two neighboring regions differing in fertility, the richer is likely to be settled first and most thickly, though the other may later surpass it in population density on account of the influence of commercial fertilizers, manufacturing or commerce.

2. The percentage of negroes is roughly proportional to soil fertility, partly because large plantations operated with negro labor developed in fertile regions in ante-bellum days, when farming on a large scale was impracticable on poor soils on account of lack of fertilizers, and partly because many fertile regions are not well provided with water and were formerly malarial; conditions which negroes can endure better than whites.

¹³ In this connection see 6th Ann. Rep. Geol. Surv. (1914), page 288.

3. Where negroes are relatively most numerous there is the greatest contrast between the two races in education, wealth, etc., as shown by the illiteracy percentages, size of farms, value of farm buildings, etc.¹⁴ This is partly because in such regions the whites are chiefly concentrated in towns and cities, leaving the rural negroes isolated to a large extent from the stimulating example of the whites, and partly because where there is an abundance of negro labor the "poor white" class is relatively small, and the average white farmer is one with executive ability, who operates on a comparatively large scale, directing the labor of many negroes and reaping the profits thereof.

4. Where there are no cities close by to stimulate intensive farming the white farmers on the poorer soils generally cultivate fewer acres and use more fertilizer than those on the richer soils, and the resulting greater crop yields often make the price of the poorer land the higher.

¹⁴ Some similar data for Georgia were brought out in an article on the distribution of illiteracy in Georgia, in the *High School Quarterly* (Athens, Ga.) for July, 1919. A review of this by Ellsworth Huntington in the *Geographical Review*, vol. 8, pp. 274-275 (dated "October-November, 1919", and published the latter part of January, 1920) may be more accessible to some readers.

Little Nations

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Paradoxical as it sounds, many of us in America still believe that in the Great War we were fighting for the establishment of friendship among all nations of the world, that we were, in the words of the Dublin verses,

Fighting one another for conciliation,
And hating each other for the love of God.

Up to this time nations have been administered on the theory of inevitable contention with fellow-nations. The governments have seemed to believe that the prosperity of each could be promoted only at the expense of some other or others. To use a phrase of John Fiske, "tomahawks and tariffs" has been the motto. It is unthinkable that such internationalism should continue indefinitely.

My purpose in this brief article is to suggest a particular good which may perhaps result from a League of Nations, and to express the thought that no other good would go further towards making amends for the awful sufferings through which the world was dragged. I mean the safety of little nations.

We should realize the fact that the contribution of a nation to civilization need not depend upon its size. Let us incidentally make a brief digression on this interesting question of size. We have become so enamored of mere bigness that a plea for anything not big, whether it be a shop, a school, a town, or a nation may seem to many a sign of unorthodoxy. We have come to marvel at and then to admire the bigness of all kinds of enterprises and institutions and governments, so that we are actually in danger of losing sight of the fact that there may be virtues in little things. The little shop with its individual proprietor may still have attractions and advantages beyond the big department store. The little school with its closer approach of pupil and teacher may still offer better chances of real education than the big institution. The little town with its trees and quietness may be a better place to live in than it will be when grown into the bigness to which it

ambitiously aspires. The virtue of bigness or smallness depends upon the more favorable conditions which one or the other may afford for the satisfaction and welfare of mankind.

The object of all our labor under the sun is the development of the individual man, or rather let us say of all individual men. All creation must bend to this chance for the development of the individual intellect and character and soul. It is to this purpose that all business, all institutions, all governments must bring their service. When big enterprises and big institutions and big governments are more effective for this purpose, then we shall have enterprises and institutions and governments that are big; but if at other times smaller ways are better for the best human needs and satisfaction and activity, then the ways and days of smaller things are not to be despised. The huge manufactories, let us say of furniture, have enabled many to have comforts which the old way of hand-made articles could not supply, but there are still virtues and beauties in the work of the free hand of the individual workman. Little of the free play of hand and mind is to be seen in modern work, but we see it at every turn in the medieval cathedrals, for example, with their charming variations of detail and decoration. Individuality had play even to running over, as we see in caprices like the rose-face of King's College Chapel and the Imp of Lincoln Cathedral. Consider the differences between the workman who stands by a machine to watch and see that it makes the same things over and over according to the pattern and the workman who with exuberant joy or mischief in the midst of his work some four hundred years ago put the face in the center of that marble rose in King's College Chapel. The factory that consists of one man has its virtue.

The mere fact of the physical extent of the government under which men live is one of importance in their development, for one of the factors in the development of man is his being a part of the independent development of his country or section. This is one of the arguments for what is called local self-government, and those of the fathers of our country who contended for the preservation of state-rights in the nation and for county-rights in the states were contending for a great principle not only in politics but in the arts. The

smaller state or nation naturally offers the better field for local development and for the promotion of characteristic traits and customs rather than of borrowed traits and customs. So for individual development it is hard to see how the large size of a country can be of benefit, unless the pride of belonging to something big and powerful may be considered a benefit. It was perhaps occasionally useful, for purpose of protection, to say *civis Romanus sum*, but the actual effect of the big Roman Empire, with all the lack of interference which it professed to practice, was to hamper the spirit of the conquered peoples.

So long as war and opposition prevail among nations, as they have prevailed up to the present time, it is inevitable that nations should seek mere size and power. And it is inevitable that in large nations there should be a tendency toward concentration of power, which brings a consequent lessening of local and individual initiative and development. The tendency is toward assimilation, toward stifling local ways. In dress, in habits, in education, in architecture, in music, in literature, in all the ways that should manifest individual development and interesting variety, the tendency is toward slavish similarity. Local efforts for freedom of development are well-nigh helpless in the face of the domination of some central influence. New York must dominate all the States, London all Britain, Paris all France, and since 1871 Berlin all Germany.

There is one striking particular, familiar to us all, on which it may be worth while to pause a moment to consider the damage done by this centralizing influence. I refer to education. With the remarkable extension of popular education we can see all the more fully the unfortunate effect of the tendency to one type, one standard. How much richer, more interesting and more valuable would be the whole of education if various localities would follow methods of their own. "The strength of England," says a recent writer in *Blackwood's*, "has been that she has had schools and universities of many types. . . . If the ambition of the Board of Education be not checked we shall all be shaped and inspected to a single pattern." Not only in England but elsewhere there is danger that this tendency is producing the uniformity of method which

is death to all that would make for freedom and life. In the United States, for example, hardly in more than one or two places within thirty years has there been any effort for local initiative. There is a surprising aspiration toward a general sameness. The schools of Omaha, Atlanta, and Providence are, as they seem to want to be, quite like the schools in New York or Boston.

This tendency to sameness is a loss. Public education is but one example of the way in which people may lose the richness of local color and the free feeling of individual development by not heeding the fact that the best contribution to the good of the whole on the part of a community, or city, or state, as of an individual, consists in the expression of itself. Individuals and peoples, it cannot be too often said, fulfill their true destiny by being allowed to be true to their real selves, not by being drawn into the imitation of other individuals or peoples. Silesia and Poland, for example, would surely have fulfilled a nobler purpose could they have developed their own characteristics as independent nations, and all the world would have been richer for the free and natural distinctive development of these nations.

The world is surely made infinitely richer in all fine qualities by means of variety in independent development. It does not follow that each locality or small nation left to its own ways would produce great art or ennobling customs. There are other elements involved besides mere freedom, but it is absolutely true that freedom, with the feeling of independence, is the beginning of all the elements that foster distinctive and characteristic development. All small nations have not produced greatness, but it is a remarkable fact that out of a little nation came our religion, and out of a little nation came the greatest art and literature of ancient times. Out of little Tuscany came the greatest art of medieval and renaissance times. It was even in a little England that Shakespeare was born. And all the fineness in literature and music that was transferred to Germany came when there may be said to have been no Germany. Goethe was born in little free Frankfort, Schiller in little Würtemberg, Bach in little Saxe-Weimar,

Beethoven in the little Archbishopric of Cologne, and Wagner in little Saxony.

With the establishment of a League of Nations the free day of little nations may dawn again. A true League of Nations would free them from the fear of oppression and from the need of ambition toward an unnatural bigness. It would make plain the way for all nations to develop their own civilization within, while in outward relations conforming to international coöperation.

Consider the tragedy upon tragedy that has been enacted in grim reality upon the world's stage in the deliberate slaughter of little nations. It is useless to name names, like Silesia or Poland, for the history of the world has been made lurid by the injustice, cruelty, and ruthlessness which have been manifested toward smaller states by their more powerful neighbors. And yet the great nations believed themselves right and did not blush to continue to call themselves Christian, driven as they were by the fear of other neighbors and by the mad belief that international cut-throatism must be an inevitable and perpetual policy. There is no reason for the annexation and unification and centralization for which conquerors and statesmen have worked and of which the peoples have been falsely proud except the security of power and the gain of commerce by force. At the bottom has lain the conception that one nation must thrive by another's loss. The utter rejection of this conception is the prime demand. Then with the removal of the fear of oppression, which a League of Nations should assure, and with the spread of the new thought of friendly internationalism, which a League of Nations would promote, there need be no ambition for mere bigness or overwhelming power. The peoples of the earth, left to independent action in their natural groupings, could develop their natural and individual characteristics in the ways that would most surely honor themselves and enrich the world.

The Case of Holland

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Holland's situation in our war of wars was not a pleasant nor an edifying one. Too often to bear repetition, we heard it compared with that of the poor wight placed between the devil and the deep sea. Beset by dangers on all sides, her greatest peril lay, however, in her own attitude towards the issues of the titanic contest. That attitude was determined by her historical evolution or, rather, her decline as a member of the European group of states, which, again, was the result of her national character and temperament. Deficiency in backbone constituted and still constitutes a worse menace than either the devil or the deep sea, for the basis of a country's, especially of a small country's, safety is not only international morality but also, and primarily, morality at home.

Holland's lack of that desideratum, specifically with respect to her colonial administration, is becoming an astonishment, a proverb and a byword among the peoples of the earth, notwithstanding her endeavor to pass it off as evidence of enlightened, perfect statesmanship by means of rose-colored official and semi-official publications. Shirking her duties and responsibilities in the council of nations, she took her downward road by bartering her position as a world power for the exclusive gratification of her commercial instincts on the most lucrative, if not always strictly equitable, lines, and her consequent degeneration has been accelerated by the easy wealth derived from her colonies. Squeezing out of the vast and fertile Dutch East Indies every penny they could yield, without expending anything but hollow promises on the development of their mercilessly exploited resources, she throws away her large opportunities in Asia, too, neglecting her chances of founding a mighty colonial empire which in times of storm and stress might be a strong support for the little kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe.

Instead of working judiciously with such a lofty end in view, the Dutch Government and people go on draining their

Asiatic possessions, varying their methods but never relinquishing their rapacious aims. Cloaking their greed with spurious ethics, they sap the foundations of the economic life of their colonial wards by excessive taxation and forced labor, and ruin them physically and morally with opium for the sake of ever more revenue. Meanwhile Holland's own demoralization assisted her pacific penetration by Germany, which went *crescendo* until the outbreak of the war and still has its innings notwithstanding the events that led up to the Treaty of Versailles. All-embracing German influence affected her colonial as well as her domestic activities. And even though, for instance, her incautious agreement with *Wilhelmstrasse* concerning her use of the German cable system came to lapse, secret clauses and all, owing to Japan's seizure of her Teutonic neighbor's Far Eastern acquisitions, there are plenty of indications that Holland, including her colonies, has not ceased to be a promising field for intrigue directed in Berlin.

For the proposition that her most sagacious move to recover her ancient maritime glory would be a close union with Germany, willing ears were found, notably in the shipping centres which thrive on the profitable traffic by water with the Rhine provinces. Following up this advantage, German professors of history contended that the Low Countries had politically long been and, geographically and ethnographically still were, an essential part of the German Empire. Without German aid they would never have succeeded in gaining their independence from the house of Austria: ergo they belonged rightfully in the German union. We could go on indefinitely citing such arguments, intended to bolster up Germany's claim to the possession of both Holland and Belgium with the mouths of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, not to mention the rival harbors of Rotterdam and Antwerp, those valuable assets in the yearned-for permanent control over Central Europe from the North Sea to the Propontis, with Asia beyond! The conception of a Middle Empire or coalition, dividing and constraining the western and eastern realms of minor import, has lost nothing of its glamor since it passed from the Caesars to Charlemagne!

When, in the opening years of this century, new aspects of old international problems caused a regrouping of the powers

and forced Europe out of the groove into which Bismarck had led it at the Congress of Berlin, a peaceful settlement of growing differences began to appear more and more unlikely. War came and found Holland unprepared according to the habit of the Dutch, which, as one of their great men wrote in 1670, is such that, if impending troubles and perils are not put clearly before their eyes, they cannot be induced properly to heed their own security. In the dark days of 1914 it was certainly no exaggeration on the part of the Dutch Premier, Cort van der Linden, to speak of severable vulnerable points in Holland's foreign relations. The invasion of Belgium drew attention to her military unpreparedness, to the insufficiency of her aircraft and artillery, in particular to her antiquated coast batteries. True, she had her so-called water lines, but the much-applauded *bon mot* of the President of the Second Chamber of her States General, "let us keep our powder dry and our country wet," did not make up for strange rumors regarding the arrangement for inundation on which the positions of Utrecht and Amsterdam have to rely for their defense. As regards the defense of her colonies, even of Java, the Star Island of the Malay Archipelago, the millions of the natives' money squandered on illusive forts and redoubts emphasize only its scandalous neglect.

With a long seaboard on the West and North, at the mercy of any enterprising navy, and an eastern front at the mercy of a German army of observation, while very soon she had to protect her southern boundary against liberties taken by the troops that were overrunning Belgium, Holland's one desire was to stay out of the fray. Queen Wilhelmina is reported to have declared that she would "rather lose a small slice of her kingdom than risk the whole by participating in the war," a statement entirely inconsistent with the royal lady's spirited character. Yet its currency among foreign correspondents at the Hague well revealed the feeling predominant among her subjects, namely, to put up with anything rather than to fight. Peace they wanted, not necessarily peace with honor but with continued affluence. Degenerated through fatal, soporific, ill-gotten colonial riches, Holland chose to remain passive, a placidly speculating spectator of the tremendous combat for

principles in which her neighbors were bleeding white. Keeping her eye on the main chance, she was well typified by the editor of one of her most widely-read newspapers, mouth-piece of a community grown fat on Rhenish trade, who, improving upon the alleged utterance of his Queen, voiced his sentiment in the matter of taking up arms for the defense of direly-menaced national rights and liberty of action, by cravenly delivering himself of the stale witticism that he would prefer becoming a live German to running the risk of being buried as a dead Hollander.

For all that, the Dutch had to indulge their censorious mood by venting their notions of the merits and demerits of the combatants. Rhetorical criticism has always been dear to the Dutch heart and we should not forget the political reformers and geniuses who seized every opportunity to push themselves to the front, dispensing advice to Russia how Finland must be ruled, to Britain how the Irish problem must be solved, and so around the world, while Holland's shortcomings, both in Europe and Asia, were crying to heaven. Noisy men and women with more ambition than knowledge or common sense, issued absurd, polyglot manifestoes as if to parody the motto flaunted by the faction accidentally on top: We live in times that need deeds, not words. And what did they amount to, those deeds, insisted upon as the self-appointed duty of that momentarily highest authority? They resolved themselves into a timorous shunning of the actual doing of things. Hostile arrogance, overt contempt for the rights of neutrals, downright outrages were met with nothing but the feeblest protests. Even the torpedoing of seven Dutch steamers in a bunch could not stir the Dutch nation to action. On the contrary, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Hague received praise for his ability to find satisfaction where none was given. Ardent admirers went into raptures over the dexterous maintenance of the Dutch "equilibrium"—between pretended firmness, we are tempted to add, and a very real knuckling under to German frightfulness. A servile press rejoiced in the Dutch lion, degraded to a porcupine in Napoleonic days, being further metamorphosed into a whining animal of still lower order by a for-

eign policy which surely made the de Witts and Oldenbarneveldts turn in their graves.

To use the simile of a bleating lamb would be an injustice to that unsophisticated creature, for in the sordid Dutch attitude there entered a good deal of guile—guile of the basest sort, commercial guile. The pleasant illusion, though, that the aftermath of the war, no less than the war itself, will continue to profit the country, considered as a purely mercantile concern, may be rudely shattered like the other one, that Holland can go on in the identical fashion, availing herself of the beneficial results of a victorious resistance to militaristic aspirations, without having shared its burdens. Now already her miscalculation becomes apparent. Her economic life is seriously out of gear. Her national debt increases while new taxes are introduced and old taxes raised. Drifting along in her foreign as in her colonial policy, her reluctance to relinquish her indolent ease, even for the sake of preserving a semblance of dignity, has provoked the extravagant Belgian claims regarding her southern frontier. Reducing herself to a negligible quantity in the shaping of her own destiny, she has become an object of ridicule to the native inhabitants of her colonies, more and more estranged from her when the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, like the route around the Cape of Good Hope, were barred, so that communication with the Dutch East Indies could be maintained only in a precarious fashion via this continent. Although direct intercourse has been re-established, the scorn excited by her undignified condition feeds the unrest spreading among subject peoples whose experience does not tend to make them look forward with delight to a continuance of her selfish guardianship. The display of Turkish flags and the colors of the Prophet by insurrectionary bands in Java and elsewhere leaves no doubt about political wrongs stimulating, as usual, an always latent fanaticism.

A gradual expulsion of Holland from her colonies in an economic sense, which the present trend of affairs seems to prognosticate, may be the prelude to her loss of them altogether, whether the natives rise in concerted rebellion or not, thanks to her mismanagement of her trust, her greedy incapacity to conduct a large colonial business on broad, progres-

sive lines, and her shortsightedness in sacrificing the consolidation of her international position to building a stronghold among the millions and millions of her Asiatic wards, whom she rather considers as so many human cattle, *taillables et corvéables à merci*. Morally deficient, she is in her colonial relations still the robber state between Dollart and Scheldt arraigned by Eduard Douwes Dekker, the gifted author of *Max Havelaar*. True, her methods of colonial depredation have been cunningly modified to meet the requirements of parliamentary fustian when the Dutch East Indian budget comes up for discussion in the States General, but in substance they remained the same: *plus cela change, plus c'est la même chose*. Even now, despite the humiliating lessons of the war, the signs point rather to a continuation than to abandonment of her grinding fiscality, which endangers her hold on the source of her opulence and potential greatness, her improvident piratical policy, finely illustrative as it is of Burke's remark that empire and little minds sort ill together.

Dividing the nations of the earth into two bitterly hostile camps, our war of wars emphasized in its initial stages the hazards of colonial tenure, whether founded on the strength of a presumptuous mailed fist or of long-established prescriptive rights. Its culmination in a revision of political boundaries draws the attention of the observant student of international relations in increasing measure to its eastern aspects. Closely connected with sundry problems pertaining to the evolution of the Far East and the impending struggle for the mastery of the Pacific, are the status of the Malay Archipelago and the control of the Sunda Strait, which, being the principal approach to the Gaspar and Karimata Straits, forms a gateway between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea even more important than the Strait of Malacca. The navigation of Sunda Strait—separating the islands of Java and Sumatra—is subject to Holland, whose government of the Dutch East Indies, as regards both her power to oppose foreign invasion and her internal administration, is of the weakest imaginable kind. No wonder, especially in the present circumstances, that strong neighbors, watching their interests in those parts, covet the

possession of an island realm so vast, so fertile and so rich, but so neglected by its administrators.

They find as yet unconscious allies in the native population whose moral and material progress, ostensibly the prime object of the Dutch Government's care, is almost systematically drowned in oceans of ink and buried under mountains of paper. Notwithstanding the loud ethical pretense of scribbling make-believe, greed and sloth remain the characteristic features of Dutch colonial bureaucracy. Talking of principles, Dutch colonial politicians—they cannot be called statesmen—live on flimsy expedients. Not to go farther back than the beginning of this century, the sort of statecraft exhibited by the successive Ministers of the Colonies at the Hague and Governors General at Buitenzorg furnish most telling instances in point. Their action can be best described, with an Irish turn of phrase, as total abstinence of action—except for their sedulous worship of the main chance. Bureaucratic sagacity, staring itself blind on the exorbitant demands of the home treasury, took and takes no notice of the natives' earnest wish for education, their eager though clumsy endeavor to develop their mental capacity and slumbering energies, which, led in the right direction, promise a brilliant future where immense natural resources wait for the able hands of workmen well worthy of their hire whenever their labor is commensurately rewarded. But dull-witted cupidity adheres stubbornly to the time-honored system of extortion, in new forms truly, more refined, more indirect to save appearances, yet no less inexorable and injudicious: the old story of the goose and the golden eggs.

If the claims of a government to respect rest on its fitness for securing the welfare and happiness of the people it governs, what respect is due to the Government of the Dutch East Indies? And what is to be said of the men who abuse their trust while conducting it by evading the law which prohibits their partnership in private enterprise, by feathering their nests against the day of their country's inevitable collapse with the loot obtained from its forsaken wards, the natives they have bound themselves by oath to protect with just and equitable vigilance? One of the effects of this open or, more

commonly, secret participation of ex- and active Cabinet Ministers and Governors General in commercial, industrial and maritime ventures can be seen in the perpetual shifting of officers and officials of all services and grades, with the inevitable result that they are seldom in full touch with the part of the population they live amongst, a predicament particularly injurious to the performance of the delicate task of the Civil Service. A "contrôleur" who, in a couple of years' time has been transferred from work among the Papuas in New Guinea at one end of the Archipelago to develop the resources of the Bataks in Sumatra at the other, and then to the Dayaks in Borneo with the prospect of Celebes next or Banka or the Moluccos, is not over-keen, however zealous he may have proved himself at the outset of his career, to learn the languages and study the manners and customs of new regions into which he is dumped only to be commandeered to still newer environments where such laboriously-acquired knowledge cannot profit him. But this *chassé-croisé* profits the shareholders in railroads and shipping concerns immensely, at the natives' expense, in more senses than one.

Apart from evils of this kind, the manipulation of Dutch East Indian loans as floated, for instance, by the Minister of the Colonies, has not tended to give confidence in the Government's financial dealings. A false patriotism, which rather conceals than seeks to cure the "ulcer that groweth daily more and more," objects to frank discussion of such incidents. Encouraged as it is, if not paid by the ring of colonial freebooters who have lobbyists and press agencies at their beck and call, it hushes up every shady transaction traceable to those Shagpats, alarmed at the possibility of light shining on their ugly baldness, whose hostility to the truth betrays their fear of being exposed. Unfortunate for a kingdom in Europe that tolerates them and their fraudulent manoeuvres, when the natives begin to wake up, chafing under the heavy yoke, and become restive.

The Dutch East Indies, in fact, present a spectacle of growing unrest. From many localities we hear of grave disturbances and actual insurrection. A serious rebellion broke out in Jamby, East Sumatra, spreading to the Rawas in the

Residency Palembang; in Acheh, the whilom independent Sultanate of North Sumatra, still unconquered, at any rate subdued after sixty-six years of ravage and abortive pacification, fresh trouble has arisen; the Residency Tapanuly and the Padang Highlands in the same island are seething with sedition; revolts are reported from the Aroe Islands, from the Islands of Flores and Celebes, from the Residencies Rembang and Kediri in the Island of Java. During the earthquakes which preceded the recent eruption of the Kloot, a rumor came drifting from the Principalities of Surakarta and Jogjakarta, the heart of Java, that the Javanese were waiting for a command from heaven, expressed in violent manifestations of their fire-mountains, to drive the Dutch into the sea. Although a certain Minami, a Japanese, was condemned to a year's imprisonment for his propaganda to overthrow Dutch rule, and a certain Keil, of German extraction, since discharged for lack of evidence, was accused of a similar offense, foreign intrigue has little to do with these danger-signals.

Their causes lie nearer home and are, in the main, excessive taxation, aggravated by the intolerable burden of forced labor and such wrongs as are inflicted by the flagitious, officially-conducted and expanded traffic in opium. If not removed, quickly removed, their persistence, despite the bloody quelling of the armed resistance they engender, may reach fruition in a combined effort very difficult to repress. When the natives learn to coöperate, they may give a hard nut to crack to the Dutch colonial army, however fitly trained it be to the business of crushing importunate aspirations, thanks to its continuous employment in expeditions, punitive or otherwise, which, incidentally, swell the dividends of transportation companies patronized *en haut lieu* for that specific purpose. Inasmuch as winged victory flies invariably with the big, well-accountred battalions, it has been so far but child's play for the soldiers of the Government to vindicate its prerogatives with their field-artillery, machine-guns, dynamite bombs and repeating rifles, versus the primitive weapons, the lances, krisses, *pedangs* (native swords) and *goloks* (choppers) with a chance flintlock, of isolated bands of natives, innocent of the art of strategical and tactical combination.

For the defense of Java against a foreign enemy, supplied with the latest apparatus of modern warfare, the Dutch colonial army is nevertheless altogether insufficient in numbers and equipment, not to mention the deficiencies of an absurdly composite navy, quantitatively and qualitatively still worse situated with respect to its fighting capacity, and the absolute worthlessness of the few antiquated forts and fortifications that, scattered *à la grosse morbleu* along Java's coastline, make a ridiculous show of shielding the island against encroachments and trespass. It is not that the question of defence has never come to the fore. On the contrary, the military prodigy whose occupancy of the viceregal throne marked the commencement of this century, owed his preferment to the highest dignity in the Queen of Holland's gift to the hopes cherished in regard to his proficiency as a second Coehoorn or Vauban—hopes woefully disappointed like those entertained of his coadjutor for finance, who botched *that* issue. And almost every Governor General before and after has made a system of defence his pet hobby, namely his own personal system of defence, rejecting interior projects, revelling in brand-new designs on which he spends incredible large sums, duly charged to the natives, for the satisfaction of seeing them rejected in their turn, the instant his office has expired. So, in rapid succession, innumerable systems of defence have been hatched which hardly ever pass the initial stages of consideration and reconsideration, never the final one of complete execution.

The outbreak of the war surprised in this Sisyphean labor a commission of wise men, experts, some of them having been summoned expressly from Java to the Hague for continued palaver, again at the natives' expense, anent the old controversy whether a numerically strengthened, regenerated colonial army, or a colonial navy, yet to be created, should be the basis of the newest system of defence. While everybody saw the great conflagration threatening, while there was the most pressing need for immediate provision, the expert commission, forgetting that any type of warship for the moment quite up to date will be superseded in at best five or six years, recommended the building of a fleet which they

fondly hoped would in thirty-five years remove all danger of losing the Dutch East Indies. It goes without saying that absolutely nothing has since been done to carry out this able, energetic program. Conformable to precedent, it only precluded the appointment of the next commission to argue the same problem in order to arrive at an equally negative solution, more hopelessly negative, in fact, for now there is talk of reducing the Dutch navy to impotence, in prayerful reliance on the proposed League of Nations' taking Holland under its wing and reserving her colonial predominance, which she has lost the vigor to protect herself, steadily qualifying for the final ignominy of the Dutch colors being lowered over the head of bold and staunch Jan Pieterszoon Coen, whose statue graces the front yard of the "palace" at Batavia as an emblem of Holland's masculine past. Sad ending for a people whose eighty years' struggle, at enormous odds, for religious and political freedom fills one of the most inspiring chapters of history!

The ludicrous character of the solemn farce related above was emphasized by the extraordinary enthusiasm professed by a section of the Dutch press *apropos* of meetings held in several towns of the Dutch East Indies by citizens of Dutch descent, to insist that the defense of that priceless inheritance of the Dutch East India Company should really be attended to. It would appear to the unbiased that such gatherings, avowedly arranged to urge Holland to action in a matter of prime importance, rather than to revel the exuberant attachment to the mother country they were acclaimed for, reflected somewhat sharply on its neglect of plain duty—the more so because they gave rise to anything but loyal demonstrations, notably from the side of a native society, appropriately called the Sarekat Islam. Worse than that was the action of the League of Petty Officers, Sailors and Marines of the Royal Dutch Navy. Invited to take part in the local meeting, its members insolently disregarded their bond of allegiance to the reigning house by proclaiming that the defence of the colonies was none of their concern: in case of war they would fight only if forced to fight! Other instances of misconduct might easily be multiplied. The insubordinate spirit and lack

of discipline among Her Majesty's naval forces are notorious and often breed down-right mutiny, as on board the *Ternate* which, conveying a detachment of blue-jackets destined to bring up to full strength the crews of the sparse Dutch men-of-war in the Malay Archipelago, had to turn back to an intermediate port because of the men's riotous behavior.

Such happenings set a fine example to the native, already dissatisfied and profoundly stirred by the general turbulence of a world out of joint; who is, moreover, not quite so ignorant of Holland's wavering, undignified attitude between the belligerents of yesterday as the average Hollander at home would fain believe. However this may be, the latter's own ignorance of the colonies which constitute the main spring of his prosperity, besides being far less excusable, is perhaps fraught with still greater peril than that of the former's discontent. That ignorance, artfully utilized by those responsible, *inter alia*, for the defenceless condition of those valuable possessions, fancies to have discovered an effective mode of insurance against the aggression of powerful nations, eager for expansion at the cost of Holland's Eastern Empire, in compulsory military service for Europeans, half-castes and natives alike. With regard to the Europeans and half-castes, it makes light of the colonial old-stager's recollection of the grotesque *schutterij*, a sort of militia recruited from the white and mixed strata of the population. With regard to the natives, it superciliously dismisses the objection raised in better-informed quarters, that in their present mood it would be the height of folly to provide them with rifles. The regular native battalions are already considered of doubtful loyalty in certain contingencies; why intensify the risk by arming some ten thousands more of the *orang kechil* ("little men," the populace), who might get it in their heads to compel the fulfilment of the promises they have so long been cozened with. For them it was always jam tomorrow but never jam today, while they saw the *orang wolanda* (Hollanders) coming on in swarms, swooping down upon their land and despoiling them of their patrimony, to scamper off, without so much as saying thank you when glutted with their good things.

Who in Java does not remember the defiant demeanor of the people of Bantam at the time of the eruption of Krakatoa and, later, the flaming up of their smouldering hate in the massacre of Chilegon? Thinking of these and like experiences, what can one expect of a native militia, proposed as another of those jerky attempts at reform, another of those frantic experiments to which the Dutch East Indies are too often subjected? For a corps of territorials the natives will be very unwilling material, to say the least of it, however much stress an interested clique may lay on the "patriotism"—a strange word in this connection!—shown at the occasion of the meetings just spoken of. What does the native care for the defense of Java, inclusive or exclusive of the rest of the Malay Archipelago, save for his well-founded fear that, as usual, he shall have to foot the bill whether the new scheme is bungled or not? The possibility of a change of masters leaves him cold. He faces it with the apathy born of his pitiable condition. For proof I quote a saying reported by a native correspondent of a Batavia paper as current among the people of Surakarta: "We are simply *barang* (goods) kept in a *tampat*" (receptacle or place wherein anything is kept—here Java, the home of the Javanese). The *barang* has no value, but the *tampat* has. Whoever acquires the *tampat* gets the *barang* into the bargain. It is valueless. Only when the *barang* is prepared in a way which imparts value to it, does it become marketable.

Talking of the native estimate of the situation, it also deserves notice that a prophecy, attributed to Joyoboyo, King of Kediri in Java, some centuries ago, is widely circulated with evident appreciation of its meaning in connection with the recent eruption of the Klook. When iron wires shall encircle the earth, it foretells, and carriages move without horses, and men are seen flitting through the air, the hour will strike for the Javanese to settle accounts. Western superiority may smile at a childish belief in such predictions, but precisely because the natives are children in many respects, silly talk like that in their secret confabulations can lead, as it frequently has led, to grave happenings. The potential gravity lies in the chafing of the native under Dutch rule and the happy-go-

lucky muddling of the Dutch Government. The time-honored process of ignoring and, if pushed to the wall, denying the real state of affairs; of assuring the public at large by means of doctored colonial reports and no end of official, semi-official, and officially-inspired publications to prove that everything is for the best in the best of worlds, will not do in the long run.

Holland shall have to search herself, soberly and honestly, and to turn over an entirely new leaf, if she wants to retain her position as a colonial power, for that matter as an independent power at all. Her pertinacity in killing the truth, perversely bent on covering up instead of redressing her colonial shortcomings, is apt to kill her. She is being found out. The polite encomiums bestowed upon her colonial administration by complaisant foreigners, satisfied with the pabulum of Dutch East Indian information of the type cunningly prepared for foreign consumption, are gradually overruled by comments in a strain quite different but pertinent. The exigencies of this period of reconstruction force candid publicists to lay flattering affability aside for unceremonious veracity. Permitting ourselves a quotation from a warning by one of them, we recapitulate: "Even the condition of things in the Eastern Archipelago demands immediate attention unless it is to pass beyond remedy."¹

When, in the anxious days before this country entered the war, a late Governor General of the Dutch East Indies addressed the Amsterdam branch of the Dutch "League of Free Liberals" on the eternal subject of colonial defense, in accordance with the paramount article of Dutch political faith that endless discussion of the colonial business fully compensates for its never being despatched, a member of the Second Chamber of the States General, sitting at his feet, summarized his discourse as a statement that the successive colonial administrations had been guilty of criminal neglect. This inference from the lecture just delivered met with hearty applause. Concerning his Excellency's own administration—present company is always excepted. And concerning his plaudatory audience—they displayed but their habitual forgetfulness of their

¹ *Holland's Last Chance*, published in the *Fortnightly Review* over the transparent pen-name "Y."

solidarity with the colonial policy concocted between Binnenhof and Plein, and of their duty as voters which, well understood and performed, would soon put an end to colonial practices detrimental to Holland's good name and subversive of her ancient renown and her future national existence. They overlook their plain duty to liberate Netherland's India, if it were only for the mother country's own sake, from the rapacity of a government as hypocritical as impotent—rather the simulacrum of a government, run by quasi-reformers whose statecraft consists in shirking responsibility, whose political life depends on the favor of wire-pulling politicians that batten on the immorality of a vitiated people as maggots on a mouldy cheese.

Organized Applause

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Most of us no doubt, perhaps at times when we were not paying adequate attention to matters on the stage, have noticed instances of unusually ostentatious applause on part of certain individuals in the audience; many of us, too, have probably detected heavenward glances suspiciously given by actors and suspiciously followed by minor commotions in the gallery; and some of us have perhaps actually discovered ushers leading the applause. When those of us who are ignorant of modern theatrical subtleties but who are more or less acquainted with certain devices of the early theaters detect such crudities, we should be pardoned if we wonder whether the present generation is being imposed upon by certain survivals of the old *claque* system of encouraging drama, such a system as was organized in the last century by M. Auguste, especially, and described and defended by Dr. Véron, a former manager of the Paris Opera House. And when we consider the elaborateness and efficiency of this system practiced in the playhouse of Dr. Véron—the selection and coaching of *claquers*, the disposition of them in the theater, the use of complimentary tickets, the knowledge of psychology displayed in the methods of inciting applause—we are led to wonder whether all this was entirely new in the nineteenth century. Were there *claquers* of note before M. Auguste, and had there been systematic attempts at organized applause before he perfected his elaborate system? More specifically, to what extent had the clever Frenchman been anticipated by the early theatrical people in England, either in consequence of their native ingenuity or foreign example?

There are no clear and unmistakable references, so far as I know, to Elizabethan leaders of applause who can favorably be compared to M. Auguste. It almost goes without saying, however, that characters of a similar type were known during a period when applause at a first performance was vital for the success of a play and when a large part of the audience

was, as the dramatist Beaumont puts it, accustomed to look for critical guidance to "the man in black" who frequented the theaters. Allusion after allusion is extant to those would-be dramatic critics who ostentatiously insisted on supervising the damning of plays in good Elizabethan fashion; and as a means of counteracting the effect of such an ordinary practice, the actors and managers of the time, we may rest assured, were capable of inducing sundry men in black to lead the applause in behalf of "a bad poet or vicious actor" as well as in behalf of more commendable representatives of the professions. Perhaps those

"Patrons of Arts, and Pilots of the Stage,
Who guide it (through all tempests) from the rage
Of envious whirle-windes"

appealed to in various prologues of the period included persons other than honest gentlemen and fair-minded critics. At least we know that various dramatists and players had their "ingles," young gentlemen, for the most part, provided with less than average sense but considerable money and a willingness to applaud their idols at the least provocation. That such characters were sometimes considered a valuable aid in insuring the success of a new play is revealed in the second act of *Histrionmastix*, a drama which perhaps satirizes the methods of the Company to which Shakspeare belonged. The actors are represented as rehearsing a production entitled *The Prodigal Child*. Suddenly one of the players expresses a doubt as to whether the "Lords" will applaud their performance:

Gulch—I, but how if they do not clap their hands?

Posthaste—No matter so they thump us not. Come, come, we poets have the kindest wretches to our ingles.

Belch—Why, what's an ingle, man?

Posthaste—One whose hands are hard as battle doors with clapping at baldness.

Clout—Then we shall have rare ingling at the prodigal child."

That these "ingles" or "ningles" were sometimes admitted free to the theaters of the period is brought out in Nabbe's *Covent Garden* (I, i), where a character ironically says of the London actors: "They buy not their Ordinary for the Copie of a Prologue; nor insinuate themselves into acquaintance of

an admiring ningle, who for his comeing in (i.e., at the theater), is at the expense of a Tavern Supper, and revises their bawling throats with Canarye."

From the Restoration to the close of the eighteenth century leaders of applause are frequently referred to in England. One of the earliest and most interesting of these is the fat, one-armed friend of the actors, who soon after the Restoration, according to Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let*, led the applause at every play and who, in consequence, was habitually admitted free of charge at the back-door of the theater. Naturally the question may arise as to how such a person could be a sort of *chef de la clique*. One of Davenant's characters thus explains how the one-armed man could clap:

"Troth, the good man makes shift, by laying his
Plump cheek thus—then with such true affection
Does so belabour it."

Much more familiar to modern readers is the boisterous but unerring dictators described in Addison's "Account of the Trunkmaker in the Theatre" (*Spectator*, No. 235), a character who, in the time of Addison, was accustomed to occupy the upper gallery and give vent to his approbation of the play or the acting by vigorous raps with a cudgel or hammer on the adjacent fixtures. This worthy, according to the *Spectator*, was a great friend of the players; and rumors circulated to the effect that he, like M. Auguste, was in the employ of the management. So honest was his applause, however, and so unerring his judgment as to dispel as highly unjust, in the mind of Addison, any such accusation. To what extent Addison's account is based upon actuality it is difficult to say, but it is entirely possible that his dictatorial trunkmaker owes something to the ignorant but haughty shoemaker of Madrid described in *The Ingenius and Diverting Letters of the Lady —'s Travels in Spain* (1691). So absolute was this shoemaker's prerogative to judge drama and regulate applause that theatrical persons sued for his approbation, and audiences at first performances meticulously followed his lead, whether he yawned, laughed, or played on his small whistle to alleviate his anger or weariness.

Among the leaders of dramatic opinion who performed later in the eighteenth century should be mentioned the friend of George Anne Bellamy, a Mr. Chitty, "who was dictator to the pit and therefore ludicrously denominated Mr. Town" and who interfered on various occasions in George Anne's behalf. Not only did he inspire applause in her favor but on one occasion led the hissing of Mrs. Hamilton because she had refused to play in Mrs. Bellamy's benefit performance. Nor should the Scottish dictator—the "daft dominie" familiarly known as "Mad Sinclair"—be neglected, since he bears some similarity to Addison's Trunkmaker. Provided with a special chair in the second row of the gallery and surrounded by his followers, he regulated at will the applause of a considerable part of the Aberdeen audience. And finally, attention should be called to Zephyr in Sir Henry Bate Dudley's *The Dramatic Puffers, A Prelude* (1782), a creature that is worthy to rank with M. Auguste or any other Frenchman, not only on account of his knowledge of human nature but for his invention of a very ingenious "Applauder," that is, "a mechanical improvement on the vulgar art of manucussion; by which one man, with the simple winch of a barrel-organ, shall give more mark'd and judicious applause, than can possibly be derived from any stationary band of hireling clappers." Remarks his friend Breeze on learning of the "Applauder": "Egad that is a happy invention!—but pray, Zephyr, won't it tend in some measure to counteract the *real* plaudits of an impartial audience?" To which Zephyr replies: "Oh, quite the contrary; for as clapping, like gaping, is nothing more than an involuntary accordance of muscular motion, I will engage, my dear Breeze,—barring rheumatic and gouty cases,—to carry every hand on any particular occasion, in unison with my 'Applauder.'"

Sir Henry's satire indicates that the art of regulating applause had developed to a considerable degree of perfection by the time of Garrick's retirement from the stage; and his reference to "hireling clappers" indicates that M. Auguste was by no means the first to purchase approbation by means of the free-list or actual money. The space at my disposal does not permit an exhaustive discussion of the subject; yet a con-

siderable number of representative illustrations will be given to establish the fact that, whereas they may not equal the subtlety of the methods employed by the famous Parisian *chef de la claque*, various devices of "puffing" dramatic performances and "bespeaking" applause enjoy a respectable antiquity in England.

As is well known, the Elizabethans were capable of damning plays by systematic effort. Dramatists frequently refer to plays being condemned before they were actually presented. The method resorted to on such occasions is perhaps indicated pretty clearly in Dekker's *Satiromastix* (I, ii), where Asinus and Horace (i.e., Johnson) are discussing the dramas being composed to satirize the latter. "Me ath stage?" exclaims Horace, "I can bring (& what they quake at) a prepar'd troope of gallants, who, for my sake, shall distaste every unsalted line in their fly-blowne comedies." Asinus adds: "Nay, that's certaine; ile bring 100 gallants of my ranke."

At a time when actors and authors would naturally be inclined to organize applause as a foil to such practices, when the keenest rivalry was manifested among the various London companies, when playwrights were trembling in a manner quite modern for the success of a first performance, when "lay-poets" and courtiers were willing to pay out considerable sums in order to have their dramas adequately acted, when actors had their "ningles," when men like Johnson, at least, were acquainted with the employment of hired *claqueurs* in the Roman theaters, and when the various types of "puff" enumerated much later in Sheridan's *Critic* had had at least their rude beginnings, we may rest assured that more than once during the days of Shakespeare the London theaters were sedulously provided, by questionable devices, with a sufficient number of spectators friendly to the author or the management. Actual evidence is extant indicating that such is true. Jonson and others frequently refer in a general way to the questionable devices which were employed by their contemporaries in order to draw the "rude and beastly claps" of the publicans; and Nabbes in the prologue to his *Covent Garden* (acted 1632) refers very definitely to the practice of authors rallying their friends in behalf of a play:

CRITICAL ANECDOTES

The title is written in a partial way
I should be very glad to have the Play
I wish your Examiners; but this
and you your opinion."

Reply to the 1758 edition of *Boone's Crown-Garden*
and apparently a reference to a similar practice:

It is not only least, but not the way
I never intend to engage in Play,
I wish it's Arbitrary for you
I wish not to be it, nor was so common—
I wish a himself, that he brought
I wish to know though they like it not.

At this night

It is not the Attention does move.
It is not so possible to be sought
It is not the before-hand with a thought."

Among playwrights themselves inducing to inspire
in their own productions are common after the
The ingenious Mr. Bayes in *The Rehearsal*
is appointed two or three dozen of his friends
and called "the Pit," who, he explains, are sure to clap
and so the rest, you know, must follow."
The author's *Love at a Venture* (1706), where one
of his "projects" is the submitting of the following
to their acquaintances to sign: "We whose names
is set down, do promise to make our personal appear-
ance, here, or opera, that shall be written by
Mr. Bayes, and play'd at one of the Houses or
Theatres, on agree about that, on forfeit of a guinea,
to be kept in the hands of the author." Not
unlike the "dramatis" of the period. In Samuel
Johnson's *Thomas* has composed a very extrav-
agant which he fastens on another; and when the
author for insuring its success, volunteers to
engage all his friends to
Thomas thus rejects
the piece will

want no such assistance." Fielding's *Eurydice Hissed* (acted 1737) ridicules the play-writer who seeks to insure by bribery the success of his own production. When Pillage approaches Honestus, the conscientious critic, in his efforts to "bespeak" applause, the latter protests as follows against a common practice of the period:

"I rather hope to see the time when none
Shall come prepared to censure or applaud,
But merit always bear the prize.

.
Curse on this way of carrying things by friends
This bar to merit: by such unjust means,
A play's success, or ill success is known,
And fixed before it has been tried i' th' house"

Naturally when such practices were common various eighteenth century prologues disclaim any effort on the part of the author to regulate applause. Sewell, for example, in his prologue to Mrs. Centlivre's *The Cruel Gift* (1716) writes:

"On Hopes like these her Tragedy depends,
Not on confed'rate Clubs of clapping Friends,
Dispos'd in Parties to support her Cause,
And bully you by Noise, into Applause."

Very similar are the sentiments expressed in the prologue to William Shirley's *Edward, the Black Prince* (1750) and Colley Cibber's epilogue to Philip France's *Eugenia* (1752).

The providing by actors of applause for themselves is, of course, an old and common practice. It is said, for instance, that when Nero undertook to oblige the public with his histrionic talent, the appreciation of this same public was insured by such governmental methods as bribery and the presence of armed soldiers. More humble Roman actors likewise were capable of obtaining "bespoken applause," as is revealed in the prologue to Plautus's *Amphitryon*, where Mercury requests the "conquistores" to go through the audience and locate, if possible, the suborned applauders of various actors contending for the reward of the aediles. Various references are extant to the "claque" in the Roman theatres, a body of paid applauders who cheered those who paid them and hissed the speeches of rival actors. When Colley Cibbers wrote his *Apology* (published in 1742), the activity of players in "bespeaking" applause

had evident become common in England, for speaking of Nokes, the comedian, he writes: "He scarce ever made his first entrance in a play but he was received with an involuntary applause, not of hands only, for these may be, and have often been partially prostituted and bespoken; but by a general laughter, which the very sight of him provoked, and nature could not resist." George Anne Bellamy, in enumerating her own virtues somewhat later, says: "Nor did I ever engage persons to applaud me; or pay the doers of the papers to put in puffs to impose upon the public, under the signature of 'Impartial Writers'" (*Apology*, ed. 1785, IV, 138). About the same time Tate Wilkinson describes in his *Memoirs* (Ed. 1791, I, 232) a scene which illustrates how actors might "plant" applauders in the audience and reveals at the same time the chicanery of which theatrical managers of the period were capable. In order to humiliate him, says Wilkinson, Foote and Garrick "planted" persons in the house with instructions to call for him at an inopportune moment and then accused Wilkinson himself of the device. "As for my own part," writes the victim of the trick, "I am clear I was perfectly innocent, not having any knowledge of the town, or by any means, at that time, knowing how to raise a clamour of the kind."

As would naturally be the case, the friends of actors or dramatists were frequently responsible for organizing the applause in behalf of their favorites. Such procedure is of course by no means confined to England; for the admirers of Cardinal Richelieu, to illustrate, packed the theater with a bought audience in order to gratify the Cardinal's vanity on the occasion of the second performance of his *Meràme*. The custom of filling the theater with the author's friends, says Pope, was tried for the first time in England at the initial performance of Ambrose Phillip's *The Distressed Mother* in 1712. Pope is mistaken, however, for it is obvious that the custom was frequently resorted to during the seventeenth century. Thomas Durfey in the prologue to Lacy's *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (1684), for example, addresses the "scribbling fops" as follows:

"We know

If you would write us plays, they'd (i.e., poets) lose their ends,
Kind parties still would make your pains amends;
For there's no top but has a world of friends,
Who will like city whigs help one another,
And every noisy fool cry up his brother."

Frequently, too, the "party zeal" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries explains the necessity of the friends of an author being compelled to organize in order to overcome the organized opposition of another faction.* As early as 1664 Etheredge evidently refers to this "party zeal" in the prologue to his *Love in a Tub*:

"For such our fortune is, this barren age,
That faction now, not wit, supports the stage."

It will also be remembered in this connection that Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*, which appeared in 1682 when party spirit ran high, was saved from being damned largely through the efforts of a strong faction organized to support it. Everyone is familiar with Steele's packing the pit with Ardent Whigs at the first performance of Addison's *Cato* and the lively scene that followed. Well known, too, are some of the scenes that took place in the Dublin Theater during Sheridan's management in consequence of personal animus and party spirit. Numerous must have been the struggles similar to the one thus described by Fielding in his *Eurydice Hissed* (1737), even if they were not so boisterous as the commotion which took place on the third night of Henry Bate's *The Blackmoor Wash'd White* in 1776:

* Instances of such systematic damning of plays are, of course, frequent during the Restoration and the eighteenth century. Just to give a few instances, the practice is referred to in the prologue and epilogue to Shadwell's *The Libertine*. The cabal formed against the actor Smith during the Restoration is familiar, as is Cibber's statement that his own play, *Love in a Riddle*, was killed by the organized effort of his enemies. In portraying English life of the latter half of the eighteenth century Thackeray in his *The Virginians* makes interesting use of a frequent practice, when he explains the failure of George Warrington's pretentious *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the basis of a faction formed against the handsome Irish actor Logan. The damning of plays as a pastime by gallants and others is interestingly described in the fourth act of Charles Boaden's *The Modish Couple* (1732), a scene which was apparently based upon an actual occurrence.

"'Tis true, at first the pit seemed greatly pleased,
 And loud applauses through the benches rung,
 But as the plot began to open more,
 (A shallow plot) the claps less frequent grew,
 Till by degrees a gentle hiss arose:
 This by a catcall from the gallery
 Was seconded: then followed claps,
 And 'twixt long claps and hisses did succeed
 A stern contention. Victory hung dubious.
 So hangs the conscience, doubtful to determine
 When honesty pleads here and there a bribe."

More important in that they approximate more nearly the motives which prompted the devices of M. Auguste and Dr. Véron are the various attempts on the part of the English theatrical managers to regulate applause. In his interesting *Notes on Don Quixot* (1656) Edmund Gayton humorously refers to "An applause obtained like that of a play, most ridiculously penn'd and acted, where the Auditors (who notwithstanding convinced in judgement to the contrary) durst dislike nothing, but give greate plaudits to most things that were to be hiss'd off the stage with the speakers; but the exhibitors of that shew politiquely had placed Whiflers arm'd and link'd through the Hall, that it was the spoyl of a beaver hat, the firing a gown beside many a shrewd bastinado, to looke with a condemning face upon any solaecism, either in action or language" (p. 246). Whether Gayton was exaggerating some special performance it is impossible to say; nor do I know to what extent later "exhibitors" have resorted to this Neronian method of regulating dramatic taste. It is certain, however, that devices somewhat similar to the one above have been sometimes advocated by critics and certain academies; and it is possible that they have occasionally been employed in the various "theoretical" and "experimental" theaters which have sprung up in modern times.

Somewhat more subtle were the tricks practiced by the Restoration managers and their successors. Free admission and actual cash were paid in exchange for applause. In the first act of Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let* (ca. 1663) several actors are represented as having fallen upon hard times, and consequently they take extreme precautions to insure the success of an impending performance. The following dialogue between

the housekeeper and one of the players gives some insight into an interesting plan :

"Housekeeper—There is least malice in the upper gallery,
For they continually begin the plaudit.

"Player—We'll hire a dozen laundry-maids and there
Disperse 'em, wenches that use to clap linen;
They have tough hands, and will be heard."

That Rich, the well-known manager of the theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields, had profited by this earlier introduction of the rough-handed element into the gallery seems proved by his obvious motive for the unlucky opening, in 1697, of the upper gallery gratis to the servants of gentlemen patrons.

A somewhat similar method of purchasing applause seems to be hinted at in the prologue to John Wilson's *The Projectors* (1665) :

"Shall I treat ye then (to applaud) ?
A poor inducement, if ye will not do it,
Out of good nature let me bribe ye to it.
Ay!—now ye hearken; but mistake me not,
We give no money back, that were a plot
Upon ourselves."

Perhaps too much emphasis is not to be placed upon "Critic's" remark in *A Comparison Between the Two Stages* (1702), when he says of Congreve's *Love for Love* with which the new theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields was opened: "I allow that play contributed not a little to their reputation and profit; it was the work of a popular author; but that was not all, the town was ingag'd in its favours, and in favour of the actors long before the play was acted." More specific is Sneer's reference in Sheridan's *Critic* (1779) to the lavish use of the free-list, which, according to William Shirley and others, was a favorite practice with Garrick: "Yes, but I suppose one shan't be able to get in, for on the first night of a new piece they always fill the house with orders to support it."

Managers were not only eager to insure a sufficient amount of applause for a new play; they were equally interested oftentimes in preparing adequate demonstration in favor of a new player. Rich, writes Mrs. Bellamy, took every precaution to insure her favorable reception, one of his precautions being

the placing of all his friends in different parts of the house to inspire the entire audience with a proper amount of hand-clapping and encouragement. Similarly Barry when he introduced Miss Nossiter to the Lond audience, says Mrs. Bellamy, "spent his whole income in entertaining his countrymen upon this occasion" and "brought his Hibernian phalanx to support the lady." Equal precautions have been taken in the "bringing out" of more recent "stars."

It is hardly necessary to add that managers, realizing the average actor's passion for applause, have taken it upon themselves to see that even the experienced player has a sufficient amount of incentive to good acting. One instance of this sort of thing is given primarily because it reveals the kindly nature of Tate Wilkinson, manager of the York Theater late in the eighteenth century, and the child-like vanity of the great actor Woodward. The York audience, writes Wilkinson in his *Memoirs* (III, 86), was not lavish in applause on the occasion of Woodward's visit. The old actor was "so hurt," continues the York manager, "that I was under the necessity of calling on all my acquaintances the next day to assure them that Mr. Woodward was so chagrined by their coolness as to reception and expressing admiration, he could not act so well as if on the London, Dublin, or Edinburgh stages. They took the hint, and the next night he acted *Bobadil*, and the *Apprentice*, and from the different mode was so surprised and elated, that he sat up till past two, after all his fatigue (aged 57) in the highest of spirits."

Finally, a passage from John Jackson's *History of the Scottish Stage* (1793) may be quoted as showing the manner in which the London managers of the eighteenth century, like the private friends of authors and actors, combatted the organized attempts to damn a play or hiss an actor: "If a new play is intended to be run down, a young actor exploded, or any arrangement of the managers is expected to be opposed, from private animosity, partial pique, or particular whim, the friends of the theatre are immediately applied to, and stationed in groups in every part of the house; there joining the plaudits of the unbiased auditors, they openly exert their influences in support of the measure, without ever being deemed culpable

for their interference, or any blame being thrown upon the manager for seeking their support." Jackson, it may be added, states that he does not approve of such action and that accordingly his Scottish theater was free from such tactics.

It does not fall within the limits of the present paper to enumerate the various measures—legitimate and otherwise—which our early theatrical people have adopted to insure the success of their performances—the "puff direct," the "puff preliminary," the "puff collusive," etc., by means of newspapers and coffee-houses; nor is it desirable to discuss the early nineteenth century period of "puffing and plenty of tickets," which reached its climax, perhaps, during Charles Kemble's management of Covent Garden Theater when some 11,000 orders were issued at that house alone between May 17, 1824, and July 12 of the same year. The illustrations given above are more than sufficient to establish the fact that the organization of applause is a venerable and widespread device. They are sufficient, too, to enable the modern reader to realize the essential truth of the words by Sir Thomas in Samuel Foote's *The Patron*, who, when he hears the first indications of the dismal failure of his *Robinsue Crusoe*, refuses to grasp the situation and conceitedly remarks: "Oh, attentive, I reckon. Ay, attention! that is the true, solid, substantial applause. All else may be purchased; hands move as they are bid; but when the audience is hushed still, afraid of losing a word, then—"

Compared with the subtlety of M. Auguste the early devices mentioned above may seem crude and inefficient indeed; possibly they may seem even more so to those who are minutely acquainted with the practices of the modern stage, but surely they are no more naïve than those present-day attempts at regulating applause which the average play-goer sometimes suspects that he has detected.

Advantages of Coöperative Education

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What industrial education is and why it is necessary are not academic questions today. The money which has been appropriated out of public funds in the interest of occupational training is sufficient evidence of the practical stage reached in a discussion once confined to theorists. The American public is now concerned with the plan which presents the greatest feasibility and advantage for putting into effect convictions in the matter of education. In this paper an attempt will be made to discuss the arguments favoring the coöperative type of vocational education. Its advantages will be treated as affecting industry, education, and society.

Professor Park, of the University of Cincinnati, where the coöperative plan in university instruction received its first American trial in 1906, defines it as "the coördination of theoretical and practical training in a progressive educational program."¹ A clear conception of the system will follow a study of the methods prevailing in Cincinnati and in Fitchburg, Mass. There the student spends part of his time in school under instruction and part of his time as a paid employee in some branch or industry. The "coöp" of the University of Cincinnati spends two weeks in the shop, then two weeks in college; in Fitchburg alternate weeks in high school; in Cincinnati, five hours a week in public school. While details vary as to the nature of the agreement between parents and employees as to the pay of students and as to the program of studies, the important elements are the actual engagement in industrial occupation on the one hand and instruction in class-room subjects on the other.

What benefits accrue to industry from coöperative education? One of the striking features of modern industrial practice is the gradual disappearance of the apprentice. Provision for instruction for a trade in the trade itself has been growing since the Middle Ages more and more rare, while the

¹ Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, 1916, No. 37.

demand has been increasing for trained craftsmen. Gone forever seems to be that interesting relationship between master mechanic and student, wherein the apprentice was taught everything about his future calling and was permitted, in sympathetic coöperation, to share in the occupational experience of his employer. Until recently in this country, trade training has been left entirely to the barren combination of chance and the inexperience of youth. In Massachusetts a study of working children showed how those with little education shifted from one industry to another in the hope that by frequent change relief might be obtained from the monotony of grinding routine on one particular kind of machine.*

Under the division of labor it is to the employer's interest to keep his workers steadily at tasks which can be performed quickly. But neither the uninterrupted occupation with one small phase of industrial process nor the change from one line of industry to another leads to a proper knowledge of the trade as a whole. Young workers are found in the iron industry who do not know the difference between cast and wrought iron. Limited as the opportunities for development become, the employee grows discontented, his interest in his work lags, and he succumbs more easily to fatigue. Lack of a healthy attitude and the tendency to quit add to the employer's burdens growing out of the problems of turnover. Professor Sumner H. Schlichter in *The Turnover of Factory Labor* discusses the value of instruction of the new worker in relation to the attitude of the employee toward his task and his employer. Such education, he believes, is beneficial because (1) it convinces the worker that the employer is interested in him; (2) it mitigates fatigue and the difficulties due to ignorance; (3) it increases earning capacity and thereby reduces discontent and arouses interest and ambition; (4) it discovers fitness for trade.

Again, those whose education has been prolonged even in technical schools are not suitable subjects for apprenticeship. Craft skill is more easily acquired in early youth. The young man must start at apprentice wages because he is practically

* Special Report on the Need and Importance of Part-Time Education (Mass.) 1913.

unskilled and unpracticed, but his small pay leads to discontent. He feels he is prepared for responsible positions, whereas he is qualified to hold only the lowest. It is not easy for him to adapt himself to his new environments, there being but few about him, possibly, who are college men.

On this point the following testimony was given before the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education by Mr. Charles Gingrich of the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company: "A man who has put in four years of his young manhood getting a university education cannot get the shop atmosphere even if he does don overalls and work as a regular hand. Such men have passed beyond the age at which boys freely ask questions and learn quickly all those little details which are such an important part of the training and experience of shop men. They feel they do not want to be laughed at."

Such difficulties are removed when the student in his early youth goes into occupational work. After several years of experience with these youthful student-employees, Superintendent Dyer, of the public schools of Cincinnati, was able to furnish the following interesting comment: "The employers and foremen say there is no loss of output by the boys' being out one half-day a week. They more than make up for the absence by their diligence and zeal when they are at work. When the boys start school they are as a rule depressed, indifferent, disgruntled. They look upon their employer as an aristocrat, their foreman as a slave driver, their machine as a treadmill, and the world at large is against them. Their faces are frozen in a perpetual frown. The path to advancement seems long and uncertain. As they feel mind and body settling in a groove, they become rebellious and ready to quit.

"The school comes as a new interest in their lives. They can scarcely realize at first that anybody cares, but soon they thaw out and a new light shines in their eyes. They see for the first time the purpose of instruction which bored them in school days. They have a motive, they can put their knowledge to use. They become interested and intellectually awakened. Their attitude changes toward their employer, their

³ Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, 1916, No. 37, p. 12.

foreman, their machine, the world. They are no longer mere hands, cubs, operatives; they are becoming masters of an honorable craft. As they are induced to go from one shop to another, they have been known to make it a condition that they be permitted to attend the continuation school."⁴

In view of such experience, the opinion of the Massachusetts Commission, that the coöperative plan of part-time schooling provides a substitute for the apprentice, seems justified.

In studying the needs of industry and watching the effects of new methods educators have become impressed with the pedagogical values of an occupational education. Those who are active in technical education have long had to contend with complaints coming from business men that the graduates of our schools are woefully out of touch with the realities of industry, that they are unpractical and unskilled in the technique of production. Valuable as all the work done in school may be, some of the courses, it must be admitted, are but poor preparation for the duties of business. Theoretical description can never take the place of actual contact by the senses.

Because of the criticism of engineering graduates without practical knowledge, and in order to determine the prevailing practices in the work of professional engineers, Professor Schneider, of the University of Cincinnati, conceived the necessity of introducing a young man while a student to the working conditions of industrial life. He was familiar with the inadequacy of the instruction given in the so-called practical courses of school and college. It was found that however extensive the equipment of the school shop may be, it can never equal in completeness or up-to-dateness the machinery, tools, and instruments employed in the engineering trades. The producer must keep up with the progress of inventions in his contest for profits, but the educational plant cannot afford to install every new type of mechanism for the benefit of scholars. Even where excellent school shops are possible workmanship therein is far different from that fostered in industry. The contrast is strikingly pointed out by Professor Leake, the Canadian authority on vocational education:

⁴ *School Review*, vol. 19, pp. 293, 294.

“There is all the difference in the world between a school where boys and girls are making things for themselves and a workshop where they are being made for others and the general market. In the schools as at present organized the boy is able to please himself, to choose largely what he shall make, how he shall make it, how much time he shall spend doing it, and what kind of material he shall use. In the shop the work must be done on time, the orders of others must be obeyed, articles made and work done regardless of personal whims and fancies, and the greatest economy exercised in the use of material.” Shop men find that even boys who have had manual training are wasteful of both time and materials. Training in plants creates a realization of the costs of production and leads to a sense of responsibility that cannot always be imparted in the classroom, regardless of the enthusiasm or ability of the teacher.

Aside from the physical impossibility of creating a shop atmosphere in the laboratory and classroom, there is the detachment of the school from life due frequently to the incapacity of the teacher of industrial arts. In many cases the instructor has had little trade experience; frequently he is brought from another city where different types of business prevail. These difficulties do not exist under the coöperative plan. Skilled foremen direct the work of student-employees. The instruction is not only “alive”; it is truthful and craftsmanlike. Furthermore, the “coöp” grows familiar with the industry of his own community, the place where he will probably do his life work.

Returning to the classroom from contact with production, the student comes to the lectures and books not only refreshed but with an inquisitive mind. He has seen things which demand an explanation. The value of theory thus becomes justified for him. Such has been the observation of teachers in the institutions where the coöperative system is practiced. Instruction consequently has been improved. Less time need be devoted to descriptive courses and more time is found for theory. Subjects in general are taught more and more in direct relationship to the needs of life. School and shop are

* Leake, *Industrial Education* pp. 83, 84.

made to dovetail. Even the members of the faculty have learned to work together in their joint effort to prepare their charges for occupation and citizenship. Out of this desire for harmonious instruction has developed a distinctive type of teacher, the "coördinator," whose duties, as the designation suggests, are to fit together the student's efforts in and out of school.

Such beneficial effects in educational efficiency are not surprising. A wellspring of creative interest has been uncovered and that is no less an inspiration than the life-career motive. An impelling force it is in a human being, this desire to be somebody and to do something. It is because of this interest, as President Eliot of Harvard so forcefully contended before the National Educational Association, that so much more work is done in professional and commercial schools than in academic institutions. Employment for which a lad receives remuneration at work which he finds he can do increasingly better and to which he may devote his energies throughout life, stimulates him to apply himself steadily to his tasks. His tools and his books have an intelligible bearing on his livelihood and on his future. He sees the importance of study and values the rewards of diligence; he thus finds himself.

And finding out what one is fit for is no easy matter. The waste due to the time and energy and happiness lost by men in their struggles to get into permanent life work is appalling. Coördination between shop and school makes it possible to determine in many cases what the capacities of children are, with the result that misdirection is prevented and proper direction given. Boys who imagine themselves successful engineers merely because they can tinker with electric batteries or are good in geometry, find out at the lathe or on the steam-shovel how limited are their technical gifts. Others, to whom study is drudgery, catch visions of their true worth as soon as they are placed amid whirring motors or sent afield with transit and level.

Interesting and profitable work keeps the boy in school. The large number of young men and women who are not under instruction is a commentary on our failure to adjust our education to individual talents and to the needs of society. We

are beginning to see that one of the reasons why we are not educating people is that our program is built in hard and fast moulds for all children as if they all had one type of mind. Not all the failures in school are failures in life, but many children are terribly handicapped in their future battles because their stay in school was so short. Perhaps as many as four-fifths of our children do not reach secondary schools. Of the children investigated by the Massachusetts Commission, only 3.9% had gone beyond grammar grades, and 71% of the young employees between 14 and 17 had started working at about 14 years of age. Professor Leake attributes their early departure from school to

(a) The belief of parents that further education is of no material benefit.

(b) Necessity for earning to eke out the family income.

(c) Restlessness and lack of interest.

A mere glance at these causes reveals how curative co-operative education must be. The youth becomes interested in his school life when he finds it a means of self expression and discovers in work an outlet for his energy. It is a satisfaction to know that upon graduation he will be prepared to accept a responsible position and will not have to start at the beginning. The parent can have no objection to continuation of the child in school when he sees him placed on the road to economic independence. Even in his student days he is no longer a burden, as he is being paid apprentice wages.

Increase in the earning capacity of boys who have enjoyed technical training is a matter which will interest hesitating parents. From the Massachusetts report it appears that at the end of four working years boys with one year's industrial schooling to their credit earned more than those who had gone without such education. Likewise, the earnings of a boy who had spent four years in a technical school were found after twelve years of employment to be one and one-half times the earnings of his untrained friend. These facts argue for the value of any method of technical education. For the co-operative plan there is the additional argument as to the time gained in occupational progress while in student days, so that

upon graduation from school the student is prepared, as his brother of the day school is not, for a responsible position.

The contrast this system offers to evening school is even more marked. Experience with night classes has not been very favorable. Close mental application after a day of toil and during hours which should be devoted particularly to recreation is hardly to be expected of adolescents and to a still less degree of those energetic boys who love action more than books. Yet it is this very type that is especially lacking in education and needs the direction of the teacher.

Too much cannot be said in favor of any proposition which holds out the promise of keeping more of our children in school and prolonging their stay under the beneficent influence of the teacher's thought and inspiration. We Americans still have faith that the school is the hope of democracy. The permanence of our institutions depends upon a citizenship imbued with social ideals and trained to love truth and pursue it. Coöperative education does not aim at technical efficiency alone. No sensible man would argue against the importance of mechanical skill and progress. Even the Soviet Government, it is stated, has had forced upon it the value of efficient production. Mere technical training might be brought about through industrial shops and coöperation schools. But an education which results in making a livelihood the sole ambition of childhood would not be received because it would not deserve the support of the American people. It is not the function of our public school system to become a feeder for the factories. What we need is education for citizenship. Starting with the hypothesis that to be a good citizen a man must be able to earn a living and do his work well, the proponent of coöperative education insists that the workers of the world must not only be trained for efficient labor, but must also be given an opportunity of understanding the society in which they live and of catching a gleam of the civilization they are helping to build. For this reason there are courses in coöperative schools devoted to English, Civics, and Economics,—subjects which must widen the horizons of men.

Little does one understand the grave problems confronting the world today, if he fails to appreciate the part education

must play in their solution. With the rapid growth of the power of the masses, the safety of organized society calls for a corresponding rise of understanding, sympathy, and devotion to truth. No scheme of industrial peace can hope to operate without leaders possessing these spiritual qualities. In the hope of taking care of that majority of children from whom the leadership of the workers of the world must come, co-operative education makes its appeal to the wisdom of America.

The Drama—After the War

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON,
University of North Carolina.

The Great War put an end to many things only superficially associated with Germany's ambition for a place in the sun, England's will to world-supremacy, France's desire for the "Lost Provinces," and America's determination to make the world safe for democracy. In the drama, in particular, the world-conflict gives the effect of putting an end to a movement which seemed to be in full swing in 1914. In our thinking, in the mood in which we approach the drama today, we feel the need for making a new beginning—for dating drama from a new fixed date in history, that of the signing of the Armistice.

The movement which Ibsen inaugurated and which formed its culminating point in Ibsen also, has spent itself; and the more recent school of modern comedy—with Shaw and Brioux as most conspicuous examples—seems a bit stale and insipid after the colossal events and cosmic passions through which we have so recently passed. Individual destinies have been dwarfed by national destinies; brilliant wit and radical epigram have lost much of their savor in face of the high seriousness of war's stern tests; and dramas of middle class society dwindle in face of the stupendous drama of the Marne, the Meuse, and the Argonne.

From the standpoint of America, the idea of making today a true beginning in drama has much to recommend it. There is noticeable nowadays in this country an interest in our dramatic beginnings, an absorbed preoccupation in the study of what this country has already accomplished in the drama, which augurs well for the future. A considerable number of the earlier American dramas which are milestones along the rather uninteresting pathway of our dramatic history have recently been brought once more to national attention through the appearance of scholarly and ably edited editions. And now Mr. Arthur Hornblow, for nineteen years editor of *The Theatre Magazine*, has made an important and per-

manently valuable contribution in his extended work "*A History of the Theatre in America*."¹ This work—which covers the history of the theatre in America from the earliest beginnings down to the present time—entirely displaces such partial and incomplete studies as the more or less valuable and useful works of Dunlap, Seilhames, and Ireland. It was not possible for Mr. Hornblow to make detailed studies of the theatre and of the drama, as they developed in close association with each other, in the leading theatrical centres of the country—Charleston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, New York, and Boston—nor to draw the elaborate background of social and literary interests, such as was to be found, for example, in Wilmington, North Carolina, or in Williamsburg, Virginia. The field was too large, the territory too extensive. But he has sketched for us, in vivid outline, the main features of the theatrical landscape and indicated, incidentally, many new lines of research which beckon to the investigator and the would-be historian of more specialized areas and themes. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of Mr. Hornblow's work is the variety and range of the written and printed materials upon which he has drawn—histories of the theatre, memoirs and biographies of actors, early and forgotten notices in obscure newspapers, and all that great wealth of theatre ephemera in which lie buried, until thus resurrected, quaint, unique, and forgotten features of the checkered and kaleidoscopic picture of our native theatre and drama.

In striking contrast to this solid and, it must be admitted, at times somewhat heavy recapitulation of the main currents of our theatric history, stand two recent works of that sprightly and irreverent critic of our contemporary theatre and drama, Mr. George Jean Nathan.² Like that other brilliant critic of affairs American in art, literature, theatre, and drama, H. L. Mencken, Mr. Nathan represents the current reaction against the academic in criticism now in full swing in this country. To Mr. Nathan, nothing is so ire-provoking as the alleged criticism of the drama solemnly purveyed by

¹ Two volumes. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia and London, 1919.

² *The Popular Theatre and Comedians All*. A. A. Knopf, New York; 1918 and 1919.

the dry-as-dust professor of dramatic literature in the American college and university. Here we have in full flower Broadway versus Evanston, Illinois; the Great White Way versus the tall timber of Cincinnati and Minneapolis; the freedom and diversity of European dramatic taste versus the conscientious, yet amateurish tentatives of the Drama League of America. But it must be admitted that Mr. Nathan is nothing if not impartial in the lavish distribution of his critical thwackings. The vacuities of Forty-second Street, New York, the varieties of American cosmopolitanism, and the cheapness of American initiativeness come in for their share, as well, of the dextrously administered, irreverently delivered blows of Mr. Nathan's slap-stick. I confess to an almost unholy joy in reading the pert irreverences of this Pierrot of dramatic criticism. For the tinkling of the bells on the cap of this dramatic jester furnish only the gay accompaniment to a criticism that, for all its prankishness and light *bavardage*, is essentially pertinent, shrewd, and thought-provoking. The dull, the turgid, the academic, the rule-of thumb in dramatic criticism—they are the bane of his existence. Upon them he shoots out a perfect shower of coruscating sparks which not only scintillate, but burn wherever they fall. But for the sincere student of the drama, for the honest experimentalist who thinks of dramatic criticism and playmaking as a great and thrilling adventure in creative literature, Mr. Nathan has the ready word of downright, albeit humorous, approbation—so slangy, so contemporaneous, so iconoclastic—yet withal so shrewd, caustically kindly, so antiseptically sane.

As an antidote to Mr. Nathan, one should turn for a time to the felicitously expressed, solidly constructed, structurally sound dramatic criticism of Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University.³ For his illustrations Professor Matthews ransacks the entire kingdom of world-drama—from Aristotle to Brunetère, from Aeschylus to Ibsen, from Molière to Maeterlinck, from Sheridan to Gillette. It is the quintessence of the urbane—"polite literature" in the best

³ "The Principles of Playmaking." Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1919.

sense—apt in quotation, fertile in allusion, rich in background. Above all, it is marked by a sureness of step and a scarcity in appraisal, which impart a note of assurance and authority to the carefully reasoned judgments. Professor Matthews deliberately eschews the facile witticism and the pungent epigram, which so often leave on deposit but a half-truth. But his graceful essays are marked by a vivacity of expression and a rich patina of personal reminiscence which impart to them dignity, finish, and authority. In this volume he is at his best—a volume which deals, in addition to the principles of playmaking, with such arresting subjects as: On putting literature into the drama, Shakesporean stage traditions, the pleasant land of Scribia, Hamlet without Hamlet, the playwright and the player, the simplification of scenery, the conventions of the music-drama, the vocabulary of the show business, Matthew Arnold and the theatre, and some vivid memories of Edwin Booth.

Typical of recent advance in the American drama, along lines which promise to place us fully abreast of Europe, is the work of Professor B. Roland Lewis, of the University of Utah.⁴ How far in sophistication and, more important still, in dramaturgics, have we come when such a “study in dramatic construction,” nearly three hundred pages in length and devoted exclusively to a consideration of the technique of the one-act plays, appears to be demanded by the situation as it is developing here in America! The significance of the volume may be surmised from the interesting set of chapter headings: The care of the one-act play, the dramatist and his audience, the dramatist and his technique, the theme of the one-act play, the plot of the one-act play, the beginning of the one-act play, the middle of the one-act play, the end of the one-act play, dramatic characterization, dramatic dialogue, and stage direction and stage setting. There is a need for such a volume—and that the volume is useful, suggestive, and unique is exhibited in the appendix, which contains an impressive list of contemporary one-act plays, conspicuous among the authors of which are George Middleton, Stuart Walker, Percy Mackaye,

⁴*The Technique of the One-Act Play.* John W. Luce & Co., Boston. 1918.

Mary Macmillan, and Percival Wilde, to mention a scant few; while conspicuous evidence of the studies in dramatic construction being made in American universities and "little theatres" is afforded by the titles: Harvard Plays (the 47 workshop), Harvard Plays (The Harvard Dramatic Club), Wisconsin Plays, Utah Plays, Provincetown Plays, Portmanteau Plays, and Washington Square Plays.

Widespread and almost universal as are the concern and the actual working interest in the drama, I think the present and approaching era in dramatic history bids fair to be known as a period which marked, in an extraordinary way, the recrudescence of interest in the theatre considered as the home, the environment, the setting of drama. Of foreigners the greatest authorities and practical artists in the newly rediscovered profession of stage management are Max Reinhardt and Gordon; in the new manner, in this country Robert Edmund Jones has won enviable repute as a *régisseur*—i. e., chiefly as a designer of costume and creator of aesthetic stage-setting. The name most widely known to the American public—because of conspicuous successes in artistic play production, and for a certain indescribable wizardry of accomplishment in bringing off superlatively well the things that he undertakes—is the name of David Belasco. In the collation of the two names, Gordon Craig and David Belasco—is a piquant and suggestive contrast which might well furnish the theme for extended observation.

The new volume by Gordon Craig⁵ is not another work of genius by the author of *The Art of the Theatre*—for genius never repeats. It is, nevertheless, a valuable and suggestive work—capricious, one-sided, partial, if you will—but none the less instinct, pregnant with creative thinking. The four parts of the book are made up, for the most part, I surmise, from Craig's magazine, *The Mask*, which for years he issued from the Arena Galdom in Florence. How better can I illustrate Mr. Craig's "reaction" to modern stage realism—of which Mr. Belasco is a past master—than by the following quotation:

⁵ "The Theatre—Advancing." Little, Brown & Co. Boston. 1919.

Is Realism illegal? Should it, when carried as far as violence, be prevented by law? Certainly, by all the laws of taste.

"Only the other day the realism of the stage proved again its dangerous power. It is reported that while Desdemona was being strangled during a performance of 'Othello' at a theatre in Lübeck, a man rose in the pit, his face purple with rage, and aimed a revolver at Othello. After he had been disarmed he explained that *he had come to the theatre for the first time in his life*, and was possessed with too chivalrous a spirit to see a woman murdered before his eyes.

The danger is not evident as first sight; it is none the less clearly inferred. The sudden death of a bad actor or two would be nothing to us. On the other hand the slow but deadly influence upon the audience which is exercised by the exhibition of deeds of violence realistically represented is a very decided danger. It is a danger just because it no longer terrifies us as it should do. We are no longer alive to, or convinced of, the horror of it. If we are convinced, we should rise from our seats and endeavor to prevent the violence or revenge the victim.

Imagine the criminal tendencies aroused in Gordon Craig on seeing one of David Belasco's productions. And I dare say he "sees red"—and perhaps many times lurid and flamboyant—on reading the recent work by Mr. Belasco.⁶ In a very definite way Mr. Belasco is a sort of sovereign of the stage; and for many years he has been daily bombarded with interrogating letters, manuscripts of plays, and with visitors in the flesh. The book under consideration actually finds its origin and publication in this state of affairs. For while the earlier chapters were written for the purpose of answering the conventional questions of the letters and visitors, and to explain the reasons for the unsuitability of the manuscript play for production, the later chapters were written to answer the innumerable questions directed at Mr. Belasco as the result of the advance publication of these earlier chapters in *The Ladies Home Journal*. This whole book might properly be entitled *The Case for Belasco*, and though the ideas be conventionally expressed, there is much food for reflection here—especially gracious to the "reflective palate" are they as specimens of originality, novelty, and ingenuity which not a few of Mr. Belasco's most successful productions undoubtedly exhibited. The violet reaction of Mr. Belasco against the

⁶"The Theatre Through its Stage Door." By David Belasco. Edited by Louis V. Defoe. Harper & Bros., New York and London. 1919.

“extreme impressionism” of the school of Max Reinhardt and Gordon Craig is excellently represented in the following passage from the chapter, “Holding the Mirror up to Nature” :—

This school of impressionism is avowedly hostile to naturalism—the art of reflecting life and nature in their true and normal aspects, either through the proscenium opening of the theatre or upon the canvas of the painter—and as a lover of nature who sees beauty through normal eyes, and draws all his inspirations from it, I would be unfaithful to my ideals if I did not raise my voice in protest. Its champions argue that impressionism is revolutionizing all existing forms of dramatic production. Let us see. In Germany, where before the war it claimed its greatest number of adherents, where Max Reinhardt, the Berlin producer, is its oracle, it is only casual. Mr. Reinhardt has earned the compliment of inspiring many imitators, but, of the two theatres he directs, one is restricted entirely to dramas, produced by established methods, while he devotes the other to his fantastic experiments with impressionistic draperies. Warsaw, Moscow, and St. Petersburg each has had a small “art” theatre given over to these stage experiments. The movement has also claimed a few adherents in Paris, but there it has been a pronounced failure; it has hardly so much as tinged the art of the French stage. London has had its voluble mouthpiece in Gordon Craig, who has accomplished little more than to ventilate his fantastic theories in an inexplicable book, entitled *On the Art of the Theatre*. He certainly has not succeeded in dimming the luster of Sir Henry Irving as a commanding genius among British actors and producers, or Alma Tadema as a genius of the scene designer’s brush.

The unquestioned significance of the position occupied by Mr. Belasco in the history of the American stage is fully set forth in the exhaustive biography of him written by the distinguished dramatic critic, the late William Winter.⁷ Upon this posthumous work Mr. William Winter worked practically down to the day of his death; and the work was completed by his son, Mr. Jefferson Winter. No adequate survey of these two bulky volumes, of more than five hundred pages each, can be made in this place. Suffice it to say that they constitute not only a biography of Mr. Belasco but virtually a history of many of the most significant events in the past fifty years. I can do no better than conclude this survey of recent books on the drama and the theatre with the final paragraph of the preface which William Winter penned:

⁷ “The Life of David Belasco.” Moffat, Yard & Co. 1918. 2 vols.

“David Belasco is the leading theatrical manager in the United States; the manager from whom it is reasonable to expect that the most of achievement can proceed that will be advantageous to the stage, as an institution, and to the welfare of the Public to which that institution is essential and precious. I have long believed that a truthful, comprehensive, minute narrative of his career—which has been one of much vicissitude and interest—ought to be written now, while he is still living and working, when perhaps it may augment his prosperity, cheer his mind, and stimulate his ambition to undertake new tasks and gain new honors. In that belief I have written this book, not as a panegyric, but as a memoir.”

The Importance of the Southern College to American Civilization.*

PAUL SHOREY,
University of Chicago.

It is a pleasure to welcome another worthy southern college to membership in this all-American fraternity, symbolic of all that is finest in the American tradition. I doubt if there was any need of the preachment that preceded the formal presentation of your charter or of the little sermon with which I am now expected to accompany it.

With each visit that I am privileged to pay to the southern colleges I feel more and more strongly that I am returning to the real America. This is no disloyalty to my New England ancestors. There is an abundance of genuine Americanism in the North. But we are scattered, submerged, sometimes, I fear, impotent. Here you are in every sense in the saddle.

But the Americanism of the South is not merely a matter of racial statistics. It is your loyalty to fundamental American principles, and perhaps still more the preservation of your intellectual and spiritual life from contamination (in the comparatively innocent Latin sense of the word)—from contamination with incompatible and for us noxious European cultures. As I am myself a graduate of a German University, you will not misconceive this as an obscurantist apology for self-complacent provincial ignorance of the larger intellectual world. But in the revenges of the whirligig of time and in the mysterious workings of the law of compensation is it not possible that a renewed and conservative progressive South may discover in the purer, saner quality of her Americanism some recompense for the temporary limitations and delayed developments due to old unhappy far-off things that survive only in transfiguring memories?

You did not follow the flights of Emerson and Margaret Fuller in the transcendental ecstasies of their enthusiasm for

* Remarks made by Dr. Paul Shorey, Senator of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, on the occasion of the presentation of the charter to the newly installed chapter at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., March 29, 1919.

was then the "New Thought"—of Germany. You sat at the table with might (in Emerson's phrase) and read Walter Pater and Blackstone, and the British orators, essayists, and poets, and the Bible. You did not enter so rapidly and fully into the North into the later movement that enabled us to import and appropriate great universities—Germanized universities. Your culture, or perhaps rather your scholarship, lost something. It may have gained a compensating immunity from that European infection with an alien and unassimilable culture which we have yet to cut out like a cancer from our faculties, our scholarship, our encyclopedias, our histories, our text-books. A brilliant and popular professor in a prominent northern college published in 1918, during the war, a text-book of ethics. To bring home to the hearts of American students the beauty of Greek loyalty and the consecration of patriotism she quotes not a Greek, not a Latin, not an English, not an American poet, but a German stanza that concludes

"Gladly we die for the Fatherland,
(Wir bluten gern für's Vaterland)."

I like to believe that this could not happen here.

I like to believe also that you are immune to the still more dangerous infatuation for things Russian that has taken possession of our intellectualist weeklies, our novelists, and has even found expression in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The fate of chaotic Russia was as clearly foreshadowed in its literature as was that of militaristic Germany. Whatever the artistic charms of a few exceptional books, a people who could produce or complacently contemplate its own image in such a literature was headed towards the abyss. And the novelists, the social settlement sentimentalists, the fluent Jewish journalists, and the advanced literary critics who endeavor to Russianize American literature and American sentiment are, as far as in them lies, seeking to lure America into the same pit. They will not succeed.

The America of 1914 had even in its laymen, its clever women, and its hosts of minor writers, resources and reserves of sagacity, logic, enlightened patriotism—yes, and culture that left the German superman gasping in inarticulate im-

potence of unproved affirmation, and made his most cunningly devised propaganda look silly in the double light of common sense and the imaginative reason. And the America of today, if aroused again and tempted too far, will not lack the moral or the physical force to purge and scour hence the Russian poison.

There are many indications that in the coming decades the colleges of the South are to be among the chief springs and reservoirs of an Americanism that will find a more wholesome mean between the extremes of passionate nationalism and sentimental cosmopolitanism than that recommended by the alien journalists of New York,—that they will be the seats of a culture that will establish a juster harmony between the competing ideals of specialized research and dissipating dilettantism than we have yet worked out in our great Germanized graduate schools,—that without sacrificing efficiency or the demands of the new age they will help to lead us back, or forward (it is both), to a truly American, an English, a classical, a humanistic and human, a Christian education.

Among these hopeful signs I count the tone and spirit of such southern collegiate publications as the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, the *Sewanee Review*, and the *Texas Review*. Even when their articles from the point of view of a purely professional erudition might seem somewhat slight and amateurish, their temper and the dignity and sanity of their intellectual approach are fraught with more promise for the future of American culture and American education than the epigrammatic smartness of the radical weeklies or the ponderous pedantry of too large a proportion of the articles in our technical journals.

And if we are right in any of these hopeful forecasts, it does not mean any selfish, separate and sectional triumph of the solid South, or the domination of any party or class. It will be an advance towards that broader and deeper American unity for which we all pray and which alone can save us and the world. It will be the contribution of the South to the maintenance and refinement of the old American tradition, the Americanization of all our culture keeping pace with but

not thwarting its liberalization, the security of an American democracy of law, order, decency, and the square deal in that greater America of the future to which we all look forward, in which aliens in blood shall no longer be aliens to the spirit of American loyalty, and in which, except in pious and reverent memories, no vestige shall remain of the division of North and South.

BOOK REVIEWS

LIFE OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. By Charles Allen Dinsmore. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919.—xvii, 306 pp.

Into his widely used *Aids to the Study of Dante* (1903), Dr. Dinsmore put little of his own writing, the volume being largely made up of extracts from well known authorities. He was impelled to undertake the present work, he tells us, by the fact that "no exhaustive Life of Dante has been written on this side of the Atlantic." It may be remarked that Professor Grandgent's *Dante* (Master Spirits of Literature Series, 1916) forms, with his other recent volumes, a more comprehensive treatment of the subject. This does not, however, diminish the usefulness of the new *Life*. Every such book approaches the subject from its own point of view, and helps to increase the number of Dante readers.

Advanced students will not find in the work any new material of importance, or any great originality of treatment. The author accepts without much scrutiny the testimony of others as to the facts, and frequently cites as authorities compilations similar to his own. He has a tendency to quote often, without giving a reference, statements of no particular importance. But when he gives the results of his own long and devoted study of Dante's writings, his observations are noteworthy, his eloquence and enthusiasm admirable.

Aside from its convenient presentation of the accepted facts, the chief value of the book is in its discussion of Dante's psychological development as shown in his writings. "Dante's true life is not to be learned from any facts which the documents record; it is to be found in his own self-revealing books. The personality there made manifest presents a most interesting psychological problem. . . . Outwardly Dante walked in a way that was all humiliation, disillusionment, disaster; inwardly he trod a path to power, vision, and final peace. . . . I have sought to lift the veil from those processes of thought and will by which he won a victory over himself and his misfortunes." Dante emerges from the his-

torical background as an individual figure rather than as representative of his age: "As a man and an artist he was singularly great, but not as a thinker. He was big enough intellectually to comprehend the spirit and thought of the Middle Ages, but not independent and original enough to break through its constraining limits" (p. 295).

The point of view indicated in these quotations is obviously sound, but the literary and philosophical antecedents are less satisfactorily treated than the historical background; for instance, in discussing the *Vita Nuova*, Dr. Dinsmore makes this statement (p. 79): "Thereafter his pen, instead of following the models of former poets, kept close to the movements of the dictator love. From this greater faithfulness to nature came the 'sweet new style' . . . The change in his poetic power is further emphasized by the adoption of a 'nuova rima.'" Here we find repeated the unfounded assumption of many commentators on an important passage in *Purgatory* that "the dictator love" is to be identified with "nature," or with natural affection. This ignores the connotations of the word "amore." The meaningless phrase about "nuova rima" is apparently derived from the same passage. A little later Dr. Dinsmore states his belief that while *Vita Nuova* was composed between 1292 and 1295, it did not receive final form until 1300, the date assumed for the action of the *Divina Commedia*; in support of this belief he quotes the argument long ago shown to be false, that the pilgrims mentioned in the *Vita Nuova* were those who went to the Jubilee in 1300. It is possible that the last chapters of the *Vita Nuova* were added some years after the composition of the main portion; but the weight of evidence is against this view. A curious case of inconsistency is found in Dr. Dinsmore's statements about the "pargoletta" of *Purgatory*, xxxi, 59; on page 86 he asserts that she is probably the "lady of the window," while on page 119 he identifies her with the lady called Pietra.

The discussion of the allegory of the first canto of *Inferno* and of its bearing on the chronology of the *Divina Commedia* as a whole, leads to some curious and insecure conclusions (pages 173-184). The chief note in this canto is, as the

author says, a distinctly personal one; and Dante "had too great respect for the facts of experience and too genuine a love for fitting them into a consistent scheme not to make the outline of his moods and adventures as here recounted substantially accurate." This is the correct basis for interpreting the canto; but it does not necessarily follow that the famous three beasts would, if spiritually interpreted, represent Dante's personal sins. The "spiritual interpretation" suggested by Dr. Dinsmore is that the leopard stands for sins of incontinence, the lion for violence, the wolf for avarice. He apparently derived this interpretation from confusing two well known and divergent theories on the subject; at any rate, the present critic has never before encountered it. But, on the ground that these sins do not fit Dante's case, Dr. Dinsmore believes that "the political interpretation of these symbols is preferable." He says nothing as to the source of this political interpretation, but continues: "If the twelve or thirteen hours occupied in fighting the beasts, discoursing with Virgil, and in deciding to follow him, represent years, then Dante informs us that it was some thirteen years after his awakening before he . . . seriously began his mystical journey." A little later he appears to forget the "if," and bases an argument on the assumption as if it were a proved fact: "His prevailing mood had changed during these thirteen years of struggle with the beasts. . . . It was in the year 1313, if I am not mistaken, that Dante definitely outlined his poem."

It need hardly be said that this method of reasoning is hazardous, and that a book of this scope can properly be called "exhaustive" only in a comparative sense: some of the fundamental problems and principles of Dante-scholarship are not even mentioned. Nevertheless, in spite of certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies, the book is in the main a trustworthy guide, interesting to read, and giving a vivid idea of its subject. The concluding chapters, "Qualities and Character," are the most satisfactory part; there the author's sympathetic insight into Dante's psychology results in bringing out many illuminating ideas and suggestions.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

University of Illinois.

OUR WAR WITH GERMANY. By John Spencer Bassett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919.—378 pp.

The average reader who seeks a general knowledge concerning the part of the United States in the Great War is under heavy obligations to Professor Bassett for a timely and attractive study of the subject. It is brief, considering the immensity of the subject, is based upon a wealth of well-organized material, drawn chiefly from newspapers and official reports, is exceedingly readable and interesting, and gives an excellent idea of our contribution to the struggle.

Opening with thoughtful discussions of the early effects of the war in Europe upon the United States, the difficulties of our neutral relations, particularly in respect to trade, with the warring countries, and our peculiar difficulties with Germany, there follows a good analysis of the changes wrought in American ideals by the first two and a half years of the war. Our entrance into the contest is concisely described and the rest of the book is devoted to the story of our actual participation, due attention being paid to our military preparations, involving as they did a complete revolution of our thought as well as of our methods, the organization of our natural resources, a no less revolutionary change, and the war policies of the administration. Three chapters are devoted to military operations in France. One describes the problems of over-seas organization and the development of the American Expeditionary Force; another, the military operations in the Marne salient from May to July of 1918; and the third, the last two months of fighting, covering the St. Mihiel drive, the two phases of the Meuse-Argonne campaign, the collapse in the East and in Germany, and the operations of the American units other than those taking part in the fighting just mentioned. A chapter on naval operations is followed by a discussion of German peace offers and the negotiations culminating in the armistice. A final chapter gives a brief account of the Peace Conference and its problems and the resulting Treaty of Versailles.

The author would be the last person to hold the opinion that his work is definitive in its narrative or analysis. In the preface he makes this comment: "No writer at this time

can expect to produce a completely reliable history of the war. I venture to hope that this book contains the outline facts with reasonable accuracy and that no injustice is done to any person or cause." To the reviewer his hope seems well justified. The book is popular in its appeal, but it has little of the character of the so-called, hastily-written, popular history. It is scholarly and temperate in its treatment of the causes of the war and of mooted questions in the United State and is on the whole accurate in its narration of events. It is an excellent brief discussion of the outlines of the activities of the United States at home and in Europe and, though unburdened with details, it is sufficiently specific for its purposes.

The tone of the book is notably sympathetic towards President Wilson, but lacks any partisanship. In fact, even in this respect it is marked by what the reader feels is a fine restraint. This is particularly true of the part which deals with the opposition to the President at the close of hostilities. Nor is it lacking in other respects, for there are nowhere in the book any exaggerated claims on the subject of who won the war or of our part in general.

A few minor errors, chiefly in dates, have been noted, but they are unimportant. Probably the chief criticism which might be brought against the work is the lack of any extended discussion of the influence of the United States in relation to allied policy and allied morale. But that in no way destroys the impression held after a careful reading that the book has fine values.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

University of North Carolina.

WOMAN TRIUMPHANT (LA MAJA DESNUDA). By Vicente Blasco Ibanez. Translated from the Spanish by Hayward Keniston, with a special introductory note by the author. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1920.

This novel is an absorbing psychological study of a fancy which became an obsession, strikingly different from the other works of Blasco Ibanez. It is a picture of the world of artists drawn with consummate skill. The characteristically

brilliant word pictures fall into a more perfect unity of relation to the whole than in the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* and *Mare Nostrum*. There are no digressions. The story moves straight from the humble beginnings of the artist Renovales, through his youth, early triumphs, marriage, birth of his only child and mature fame. His wife becomes jealous of his devotion to his art and is forever spying upon him in his studio. Irritable and ill, she finally taunts him in such a way that he decides to give her cause to be jealous and establishes illicit relations with an erratic schoolmate of his wife, who resembles somewhat the Dona Sol of *Blood and Sand*. This high-born "maja" is represented as a leader of the Woman's Rights movement. The author in this commits the inconsistency of making the women who are struggling against the idea of woman as a mere sex being follow the leadership of a being given over to lust.

The death of the wife is the catastrophe which brings out the message of the novel. I quote Ibanez, who, in his introduction to the excellent English translation, expresses the central thought: "Renovales, the hero, is simply the personification of human desire, this poor desire which, in reality, does not know what it wants, eternally fickle and unsatisfied. When we finally obtain what we desire, it does not seem enough. 'More: I want more,' we say. If we lose something that made life unbearable, we immediately wish it back as indispensable to our happiness. Such are we: poor deluded children who cried yesterday for what we scorn today and shall want again tomorrow; poor deluded beings plunging across the span of life on the Icarian wings of caprice."

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER.

WOODROW WILSON AND HIS WORK. By William E. Dodd. Garden City and New York; Doubleday, Page & Co. 1920.—XIV, 369 pp.

Biographies of presidential candidates and of presidents while living have long been a feature of American political literature. How often have they been ephemeral, replete with the spirit of propaganda, and devoid of genuine perspective or instruction! Not so with Professor Dodd's study of President Wilson. It is not designed as a campaign document or

as a piece of propaganda. It is rather an interpretation of recent American history, the unfolding of an epoch, through the biography of him who more than any other one individual has shaped the destiny of his country since 1912. The two factors, the impersonal and the personal, the dominating will of the leader and the underlying economic and political conditions, are excellently balanced; in fact the impression left on the reader is that President Wilson himself has not made history, but that the forces of history have worked themselves out through his instrumentality. Such a treatment of one still living is especially notable. With access to the President himself and members of his official family, how easy to have become eulogistic! Gleaning facts and deducting conclusions from contemporary sources, how tempting to become polemic! How difficult to see one's friends and neighbors impartially! But into none of these pitfalls has the author fallen. On the other hand he has written an impartial story of a great leader and his times, always a distinct achievement in biographical writing.

The two underlying themes in the earlier chapters of the volume are the economic and social transformation of the nation, with a background of sectionalism, which resulted in progressivism, and the development of Mr. Wilson's thought regarding national problems. The vast increase in industrial wealth and its unequal distribution, the resulting influence on political policies, the revolt of the South and the West in 1896, the rôle of Roosevelt who "undertook to ride two horses at the same time,"—these and other factors are admirably traced, and the narrative is supplemented by three excellent maps. Mr. Wilson's reaction to these conditions is viewed as a development from liberalism of the British type to radical American democracy, from the social ideals of "Bagehot and Burke to those of Abraham Lincoln." The turning point in this development of his thought was the well known fight at Princeton over educational reforms; the problem of the college was the same in spirit as that which existed beyond academic walls, and the approach to one determined the approach to the other.

The obstacles which the President faced in the matter of reform are noted and a survey is given of the principal achievements in the first administration under executive leadership. However the details and reactions of these measures are not elaborated at length; nor is the full rôle of the executive in bringing them to pass described; these matters remain for future biographers. More than half of the volume is devoted to foreign affairs. Here, except in the case of Mexico, emphasis is placed on events and their influence on the public rather than on the President's own thought concerning them; for example, the motives which led him to ask for a declaration of war against Germany are not elaborated; was the hope expressed by him that America's entrance into the maelstrom was for the purpose of ending all wars and building a new world order simply a piece of propaganda, or was he committed in advance to the ideal of a league of nations? On the other hand, the course of war politics culminating in the congressional elections of 1918 is admirably treated. The concluding chapters on the treaty negotiations seem almost "inspired." The war ended, we are told, suddenly, before the President's program for the future of world relations was worked out. The results of the elections of 1918 in this country and in England prevented carrying out at Paris the policy of "open covenants openly arrived at." The forces which time and again gave Foch and the European imperialists the upper hand at the council table are described. Yet always Wilson's method was appeal to reason rather than to force, and the use of force through withdrawing credit would have produced results worse even than the triumph of imperialism.

All historical writing is influenced by the convictions of the author. The view of Professor Dodd colors his interpretation of American history and of President Wilson. That view is that the development of industry since 1865 has been as dangerous to national character as was the slave system which existed before 1860. Consequently his treatment of President Wilson is entirely sympathetic, for in him he finds a relationship to the modern crisis potentially the same as the

relationship of Lincoln to the crisis of 1860. Whether this judgment will stand the test of time remains for the future to determine.

W. K. B.

WAR AND LOVE. By Richard Aldington. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1919, 94 pp.

THE LOVER'S ROSARY. By Brookes More. Boston: The Cornhill Co., 1918, 59 pp.

Mr. Aldington confesses in his foreword that his strictly imagistic poetry in *Images* has somehow failed to hit the mark with most readers, and adds that the present volume is, in intention at least, a book by a common soldier for common soldiers. The news that an imagist poet has turned from precious subtleties to addressing normal intellects should cause great joy among the Phillistines. The common man is coming into his own, as in the days of Homer and Bobby Burns. The poems dealing with war, Mr. Aldington affirms, "represent to some degree the often inarticulate feelings of the civilized man thrust suddenly into these extraordinary and hellish circumstances," and the poetry of love "expresses the soldier's mood." "Out of this turmoil and passion," he tells us in his "Proem," he hopes to gather

"something of repose,
Some intuition of the inalterable gods,
Some Attic gesture."

The poems on war do contain something of repose, but it is to be doubted that the common soldier, could he overcome his common distaste for free verse and polyphonic prose, would appreciate the references to King Eteocles, Goya, Despoina, Basilea, Potnia, Demeter, and maenads, or the making of *hokku* in the trenches. There seems to be just a remnant of the old preciousness. The poems of love contain many things, some of them a bit unusual for print, but not repose. As for the Attic gestures (which the common soldier would probably fail to understand, any way) they are confined to Attic allusions. Undoubtedly, however, Attic gest-

ures could be evoked by reading some of the love poems to Plato, who had queer ideas about the morality of poetry. Attic restraint would be more fitly referred to as the absence of gesture, but it would conspicuously improve some of the poems in the latter part of the book.

The poems of love are frankly licentious. Mr. Aldington's defense that they truly represent the soldier's feelings will hardly justify them. There are many true things that we commonly repress; it is an "Attic gesture" to do so—Aristotle, himself, suggests it. Moreover, while any one who has talked intimately with a few soldiers will grant the truth of Mr. Aldington's lustful reaction, any Y.M.C.A. secretary will testify, and quote soldier-poems to prove—that war also intensifies the emotion of real love in soldiers of another type. The same is true of the soldier's religious ideas; two diametrically opposite results are obtained, both undeniably true. In presenting one of them as representative, Mr. Aldington falls into the common fallacy of the realists.

Some of Mr. Aldington's shorter poems, for example, "April," "Lieder," "Genius Loci," and "Three Little Girls," seem too slight and trivial in their content to warrant expression. There are other poems, like "Vicarious," "Atonement," "Bondage," and "In the Trenches" that show an unmistakably genuine and poetic reaction of the civilized spirit from the senselessness and ineffectiveness of war. Some of the strongest lines in the volume are to be found in

"Have I spoken too much or not enough of love?

Who can tell?

But we who do not drug ourselves with lies

Know, with how deep a pathos, that we have

Only the warmth and beauty of this world

Before the blankness of the unending gloom.

Here for a little while we see the sun

And smell the grapevines on the terraced hills,

And sing and weep, fight, starve, feast, and love

Lips and soft breasts too sweet for innocence.

And in the little glow of mortal life—

Faint as one candle in a large cold room—

We know the clearest light is fed by love,

That when we kiss with life-blood on our lips

Then we are nearest to the dreamed-of gods."

The Lover's Rosary is not one of those books of verse about which reviewers rhapsodize. It is a series of fifty-nine sonnets, connected by an end rhyme device and supposed to be connected in thought, though the latter connection is sometimes allowed to lapse. The first thirty-two sonnets deal with the poet's love; the remainder deal mainly with the problem of future existence, raised by the death of the loved one. The fickleness and beauty of the loved one, together with the doubt of the lover and his conviction that love silences reason and is superior to all doubt, are presented through various images and constitute the main themes of the first group. The second group, using such symbols as the ascetic anchorite, the moth caught in the spider's web, a rainbow, and a lily, raises not too violently the questions of the justice of life and the possibility of a future existence, concluding that immortality is uncertain and that "this Lament" must be the poet's "living monument." The reviewer, with no desire to sneer, could wish that the poet had a surer basis for his immortality. The sonnets express real feeling, but the feeling is faint. One looks for some passion and poignancy in love sonnets, for some depth of feeling in an attack upon the eternal questions to which poets turn in the face of bereavement. There is nothing compelling about these sonnets, no inevitability of emotion or expression. Technique is a matter of unusual importance in so conventional a verse-form as the sonnet; it is therefore to be regarded as a fault that there are occasional lines either excessive or deficient in their quality and that the imagery employed is in most cases too obvious to be suggestive. The poet's emotion seems to be recollected more placidly and in a somewhat more subdued tranquillity than Wordsworth contemplated; nevertheless, to a reader tired of poetic heaven-storming, there is something genuine and moderately restful in it.

N. I. WHITE.

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1865-1902. By Richard L. Morton, Ph.D. Charlottesville, Va.: The University of Virginia Press, 1919,—199 pp.

This book, we understand from the editorial note, contains the results of studies made by a class led by Dr. Morton as

Phelps-Stokes Fellow in the University of Virginia during 1917-18. "Most of the friction between the races in the South," the author tells us in his preface, "has grown out of the work and teachings of political agitators." Accordingly he has devoted one hundred and twenty pages to the years 1865-1885, and thirty-six to the years 1886-1902, the first constituting the period of the negro's influence in Virginia politics, the latter leading to his virtual elimination. For the first period, the author has digested selected parts of previous monographs, has looked up some of their references and repeated them, sometimes re-arranging or quoting more freely and occasionally adding some contribution of his own. The book, therefore, is not original work but rather a synopsis to which a few original pages are added for the sake of topical completeness.

If the professional propriety of this method be granted, criticism must center upon the author's thesis (quoted above) and his supporting array of facts. That the negro usually followed a boss, that the boss was usually (though not always) wrong in his stand on public issues, and that the drawing of the color line usually followed,—all this, the reviewer thinks, is clearly established. One can not help wondering, however, whether the author means that there was no deeper reason for race friction. And one must regret that the author, if limited in the scope of his enquiry, did not turn his unquestioned ability to a description of the negro leaders and their methods, subjects about which little has been written and the materials for whose study life in files of newspapers remote from Richmond, and in the recollections of men who will soon be gone.

C. C. PEARSON.

Wake Forest, N. C.

JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, MOHAMMEDISM. (History of Religions, Volume II.) By George Foot Moore. (International Theological Library.) New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1919,—552 pp.

This is the second and major volume of Professor Moore's *History of Religions*; the first, which appeared in 1914, covered the religions of China, Japan, Egypt, Babylonia, As-

syria, India, Persia, Greece and Rome. The interval between the appearance of the volumes can be readily explained when we remember the disturbed condition of all forms of publication since 1914.

The uniqueness of Professor Moore's treatment of the history of religions is, as he points out, that one author undertakes to set forth a summary of the underlying historical features of all the great religious systems. While recognizing that such an attempt may cost something in the way of authority and scholarship, Professor Moore points out that it gains for the whole in unity of view, of conception and mode of presentation, affording also an opportunity for a valuable comparative study of the respective faiths. Thus the alternative method of having a number of scholars prepare monographs on individual phases of the subject and combining them in a volume is definitely challenged. For those who desire a handbook which interprets the whole field, rather than a collection of treatises, Professor Moore's method is greatly to be preferred.

The main section of the present volume is taken up with a history of Christianity. Perhaps the chief connecting link with Volume I is the author's thesis that the main philosophic ideas of Christianity are to be found in the later forms of Greek philosophy, especially Neoplatonism. It is therefore advisable to turn to the chapters on the religion of Greece in Volume I before reading the treatment of Christianity. In the thesis itself there is nothing particularly new, as it has been set forth by several other writers, and while it contains elements of truth it does not contain all the truth, nor can Neoplatonism be shown to have been a real forerunner of Christianity or to have possessed sufficient warmth to have generated the fulness of Christianity.

One might be disposed also to feel that the treatment of Christianity is a trifle impersonal. Of the Resurrection, for instance, the writer has only this to say:

"On the arrest of Jesus his disciples fled and made their escape to Galilee. Before long, however, they returned to Jerusalem. They believed that God had brought Jesus to life again and taken him up to heaven whence he would shortly

descend in power and glory. He was Himself the Son of man, of whose imminent coming to judgment he had spoken. Their faith that Jesus was the messiah was thus reestablished and their expectation took a new form. This faith was connected with visions of the risen Master" (p. 117).

The terms employed—"they believed" and visions"—obviously throw all the burden upon the disciples, and thereby the author excuses himself from giving a judgment upon the historic facts.

Yet in justice to the author, it must be said that he recognizes and states the claim of Christianity to be a "distinct and exclusive religion," as well as the fact that the Pauline conception of faith,—the most distinctive feature of his doctrine of salvation,—"has not antecedent or analogy in Judaism or among Jewish believers in Jesus, and none in the personal religious (mysteries) or philosophies of the time" (p. 127). Yet this mythical conception of faith, because of its unlikeness to the current ideas, "made little impression on early Christian thought."

In general Professor Moore's treatment of Christianity is thorough and discriminating. His judgments of present tendencies, especially the intense opposition of Roman Catholicism to Modernism in all its forms, are well balanced.

The work is well written and attractive in style and arrangement. The two volumes give in a fairly brief compass a good outline of the main historic facts of the world's great religious, and are well worth having.

JAMES CANNON, III.

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF CHARLES FORSTER SMITH. By his Colleagues. University of Wisconsin Studies in Languages and Literature; Number 3: Madison, 1919.

To Professor Smith, who has just completed twenty-five years of service at Madison and who is now proving the truth of Pliny's quoted *Satius est otiosum esse quam nihil agere*, whose literary enthusiasms run the entire gamut from Homer to the newest spark of latent talent dimly flashing in the current college magazine, whose contributions, with his "high science loves and loves of spidery lace," range from *Thucydides*

to *Reminiscences*, what more appropriate tribute could be paid than this volume of classical studies? It, too, runs the entire gamut from Professor Leonard's dedicatory elegiac, inspired by and worthy the inspiration of the "wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man," and President Birge's introductory note, candidly avowing and demonstrating that his "department of classics has never permitted science to obscure letters," down to Prof. Westermann's translation from "An Egyptian Farmer," which well nigh *out-gemelluses* Gemellus.

To have inspired such a volume is no mean achievement, and this should be some consolation to Professor Smith, even if his ascent of actual Olympus has been so long deferred by the "unspeakable Hun." The dedicatory poem is ample demonstration that wisdom is justified of her children; the book should be in the hands of every teacher of the classics, especially of Vergil. President Birge here and elsewhere arouses the hope that at Wisconsin the classics will not longer experience the chill *opacam Arcton* but will find their place in the sun, like his hot-house plants. As a clever transition to the other technical papers comes the informal introduction to the study of the "Heracles Myth in Euripides" by Professor Hendrickson, whose interest in the same dates back to Professor Smith's rendition of a first hand translation of Hippolytus, in which "by a magic, whether of understanding or feeling or voice" he brought his hearers to a sense of communion with the ancient bard. "Wherever you were the study of poetry raised its head and revived"—is no fulsome praise nor, if poetry is the truest gauge of the progress of civilization, as is still claimed, can higher tribute be given mortal man.

In this symposium Professor Laird's *symbola* is an effort to arrive at the sources of "Herodotus' Knowledge of Artabazus," and Professor Smiley's, a discussion of "Seneca and the Stoic Theory of Style." Lack of space forbids more than the mere mention also of Professor Fiske's contribution, "The Plain Style of the Scripionic Circle." Professor Anderson gives what seems to me a very satisfactory interpretation of Horace Ode 1, 7, 7, and puts the olive wreath upon the brow

of Pallas herself. Quite in keeping with the enthusiasm generated by Professor Smith for all things worth while, whether ancient or modern, is the article on the "Eternal City" by Grant Showerman, who finds in modern Italian speech—*matre pulchra filia pulchrior*—"the ocean roll of rhythm tho the Forum roar no longer," in "the study of the life and monuments of Rome a study of human culture," and in "Rome the epitome of western civilization." Miss Katherine Allen traces the references to Britain through Roman literature from the time of Julius Caesar to Hadrian.

Miss Annie M. Pittman, despite an introduction that has "an almost living desert sand" and a "tangible brightness," both as inscrutable as Pindar at his worst, has a charming study of this author, which is quite in the vein of the volume and its purpose. But then "nil est ab omni Parte beatum." We denominate Professor Slaughter, no less aptly than he denominates Lucretius, *justum et tenacem propositi virum*, upon the appearance here of his long expected appreciation of this poet of science, a fitting pendant to Dr. Osler's Eulogy on this neglected scientist.

Professor Westermann's translation of one of the Gemellus letters found in Tayum in 1898-99 has already been mentioned. A good picture is then presented of life on a farm in Egypt about the close of the first century A.D.

Lest the harmonious chorus of praising reviewers provoke *Nemesis*, we note some typographical lapses, like *praeceptio* (p. 59) and the fact that the copy presented for review has a duplicated heft and pp. 97 to 160 inclusive are lacking.

EDWARD KIMBROUGH TURNER.

Emory University.

RESCUE: A ROMANCE OF THE SHALLOWS. By Joseph Conrad.
New York and Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

In *An Outcast of the Islands* Mr. Conrad sets forth the germ of *The Rescue*, for in the second chapter of that book, published in 1896, appears this sentence: "After his [Lingard's] first—and successful—fight with the sea robbers, when he had rescued, as rumour had it, the yacht of some big wig from home, somewhere down Carimata way, his great

popularity began." In enlarging this incident into a full novel, the author has followed the method in which he has always been happiest—that of the reminiscence.

The Rescue has to do with the early career of Captain Tom Lingard, with whose later life we are already acquainted through *An Outcast of the Islands*. It follows the surge of the sea to the backwaters of the earth, which washes up from its inscrutable depths a derelict fate for one who could not reckon the ebb.

Captain Lingard, the same honest, stupid servant of the sea, with the same severity, and the same absurd faith in himself as in the former story, becomes the means by which a Malay prince is to regain his power. But almost at the outset of the affair, just as, all preparations finished, the action is about to commence, a yacht owned by Martin Travers, an Englishman of position and influence, is stranded upon the very spot selected for the struggle. In the country surrounding are the sea robbers. In the harbour is Lingard's brig *Lightning*. Between the two is the yacht, on board which are Mr. Travers, his wife, a Spanish gentleman, d'Alcacer, and a pampered crew. Lingard is immediately beset by the duty of rescuing the yachting party, on the one hand, and the duty he owes to Hassim, the Malay prince, on the other.

The story unfolds the difficulties of accomplishing the former duty because of the colossal misunderstanding of his position on the part of Travers, to begin with; the love of Lingard for Mrs. Travers, who alone realizes the predicament and who gives him her whole-hearted belief; and the inevitable result of these forces linked with the intrigue, the lawlessness, and the blind stupidity of subordinate characters. In the end the yacht sails away with all its party, leaving Lingard overwhelmed by the catastrophe which has stripped him of his reputation as an infallible keeper of promises, and all but stripped of his faith in himself.

The Rescue is redolent of the sea and the men who go down to it in ships. There is Mr. Conrad's love of vivid color, of stirring action that tries men's metal, but more than this there is the character of Mrs. Travers. Never before except in the case of Mrs. Gould in *Nostramo* has he given us a wo-

man not moiled into submissiveness by misfortune, a mere conscript of destiny. Mrs. Travers is none of this. She is alive with the breath of the primitive, although heavily venerated; she is elemental, sincere, and unafraid. In her Mr. Conrad has created his most convincing woman.

The structure of this novel is perhaps not so invisible as it should be for unconscious art; the effect to cause development is sometimes a trifle too palpable. But this and an occasional solecism are blemishes easily overlooked when balanced against the pictorial phrasings, the vivid background, and the delicate character delineation in this the latest Joseph Conrad novel.

GEORGE CARVER.

The University of Iowa.

PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN WOMEN. By Gamaliel Bradford. Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1919,—x, 276 pp.

The name Gamaliel Bradford has come to be synonymous with the highest art of word painting. His sympathetic pen has a way of bringing out all the light and shade, all the flame riot of color, the dark background, very dark if need be, and fusing these elements into a charming whole. His Portraits are as truly alive as the best of brush portraits.

Portraits of American Women as the author points out in the preface, might almost be called "Portraits of New England Women," seven of the eight characters being born in New England and even the eighth, Frances E. Willard, came of sturdy New England stock whose traditions enter into her western rearing. Through the whole series Mr. Bradford weaves against a background of stern local color, the struggle of the New England conscience being the dark curtain that serves to set out beauty of line and color. Beginning with that feminine patriot of large affairs, Abigail Adams, the book includes Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Louisa May Alcott, Frances Willard and Emily Dickinson. The essays are all delightful, whether they portray the "buzz existence" of Mrs. Stowe and Frances Willard or the "quiet self-contained self-filling life"

of Emily Dickinson. In the light of the present wave of feminism the volume is a distinct contribution to the story of the development of American womanhood. If these women achieved what they did when the weight of public opinion was against their chosen activities, what greater achievements should be expected of the women of the present and the future amid the more favorable environment of today?

May the intention of the author to follow up this volume with other portraits of women of other sections be early realized.

B.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, PUBLISHED QUARTERLY AT DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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D. W. NEWSOM, *Treasurer*.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of July, 1920.

(My commission expires September 27, 1921.)

E. B. Moss, *Notary Public*.

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| 11 Macbeth | 38 Hamlet | 68 Homer's Odyssey |
| 12 L'Allegro and Il Penseroso | 39 As You Like It | 69 Hymn on the Nativity |
| 13 Comus | 40 The Last of the Mohicans | 70 The Traveller |
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| 20 The Lady of the Lake | 47 Cranford | 77 The Oregon Trail |
| 21 Iyrlis of the King | 48 Poe's Poems | 78 The Yemassee |
| 22 Connecting Links for College English | 49 Franklin's Autobiography | 79 The Talisman |
| 23 Evangeline | 50 Twelfth Night | 80 Browning's Poems |
| 24 The Courtship of Miles Standish | 51 King Henry V | 81 Inland Voyage and Travels with a Donkey |
| 25 Hiawatha | 52 The Rape of the Lock | |
| 26 Snow-Bound | 53 Lorna Doone | |
| 27 Rip Van Winkle | 54 Lays of Ancient Rome | |
| | 55 Sesame and Lilies | |
| | 56 The Sketch Book | |
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The

South Atlantic Quarterly

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OCTOBER, 1920

CONTENTS

REVALUATION AND TAXATION IN NORTH CAROLINA	289
FRANCIS NASH	
THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION ON SOUTHERN RACE QUESTIONS	302
JOSIAH MORSE	
ATTILA IN HISTORY AND HEROIC STORY	311
ELIZABETH NITCHE	
THE LITERARY STATUS OF MARK TWAIN, 1877-1890	332
H. HOUSTON PECKHAM	
CARLYLE'S LIFE OF JOHN STERLING	341
STANLEY T. WILLIAMS	
THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA	350
MARY O. COWPER	
SOME THEATRICAL PROGRAMS IN PARIS	360
AARON SCHAFFER	
BOOK REVIEWS	365

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Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

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The American Cotton Association.....	Robert P. Brooks
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French Problems.....	Robert H. Schesley
"The Simple Cobbler of Agawam".....	Roy F. Dibble
Problems of Democracy.....	Clark S. Northup
Book Reviews.....	

JULY, 1920

Fighting Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina.....	Fronde Kennedy
Some Relations Between Soil, Climate and Civilization in the Southern Red Hills of Alabama.....	Oland M. Harper
Little Nations.....	James H. Dillard
The Case of Holland.....	J. F. Schellema
Organized Applause.....	Thornton S. Graves
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The
South Atlantic Quarterly

Revaluation and Taxation in North
Carolina

FRANCIS NASH

Assistant Attorney-General of North Carolina

In 1911 the General Assembly of North Carolina devised machinery to assess for taxation all property at its true value.* This machinery was only partially successful, largely because it provided for a county and so a local assessment. Much property was, however, put upon the tax list which had not been there before, and the values were appreciably increased. As a system, though, it was a distinct failure as the succeeding years showed. The people of the state were in 1914 given an opportunity to amend their constitution in such a way that the subjects of taxation might be classified and segregated to particular purposes. They were given an opportunity to reserve real estate for county and local purposes only. Far from availing themselves of the opportunity, they repudiated the whole scheme by very large majorities. There was thus a mandate from the people to the General Assembly to conform its revenue laws to the State Constitution as it then stood. That required the assessment of all property at its true value, and by an equal and uniform rule. Everyone knows that no property was assessed at anything near its true value, except solvent credits in the hands of a sensitively honest holder, and the same class of property in the hands of a fiduciary with a record made of his holding.

* For a discussion of the movement for tax reform in North Carolina see Pearson's "Present Status of Tax Reform", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, October, 1919.

Every one knows that valuation of the tangible property of corporations, both private and public service, was greater in proportion than that of farm lands and farm stock. Every one knows that in bringing all taxable property up to a uniform plane of true value, that property which before was most under-valued, would now, under the new system, show the greatest percentage of increase. When, then, the re-valuation plans of Governor Bickett and the State Tax Commission took form in the Re-valuation Act of 1919, it was evident that there were two points at which its machinery might break down: first, how was the average citizen going to respond to this appeal to his conscience; and second, how was the machinery itself going to function in the face of the known tendency of all our public measures to gravitate into selfish, or partisan, politics.

It must be a cause of intense gratification to every one interested in the future of North Carolina to know that what some feared at one time was an impossibility has become an established fact; that the tax payers have in almost every instance responded candidly and honestly to this appeal to their conscience, and that the officials who had committed to their charge the administration of the law have administered it without fear or favor. Of course, something must be allowed to the psychology of the moment. The people had become accustomed to answering searching questions submitted to them in the form of questionnaires by the numerous war agencies of the federal government during the years immediately preceding Governor Bickett's questionnaire. Against this, however, must be set the traditional prejudice of our people against all forms of taxes. Twenty years ago one never met a man over sixty years of age, however enlightened and honest he may have been, who did not regard all taxes as essentially an evil, so to him that government was best which maintained taxes at the lowest possible level. This sentiment, this prejudice, consciously or unconsciously, still constitutes a very impelling motive for action among our elder statesmen, as well as among our elder tax payers. As a whole, then, the results of the revaluation of property give very impressive evidence of the moral soundness of our people.

REVALUATION AND TAXATION IN NORTH CAROLINA 291

The Tax Commission in its report pays this tribute to the people: "If the work has been well done, it is because the average citizen and tax payer of the State refused to be stampeded by appeals to his fears and selfish interests and gave his full coöperation to the extent that he furnished a full disclosure of his property and a fair estimate of its market value."

Said Governor Bickett in his message to the special session of the General Assembly which convened last August: "In the new machinery act the people were for the first time seriously asked to tell the truth, and they have responded to this appeal in noble fashion. . . . No such august array of witnesses has ever assembled, as appeared in the high inquest that has just been completed; for, in a diligent and devout search for the ultimate facts every property owner in the state was put upon the stand and solemnly sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The values fixed are the crystallization and sworn evidence of all the people. Taking the state as a whole, 75% of the assessments were made at substantially the values sworn to by the owners of the property; 20% were substantially increased, and 5% were decreased." These figures show that at least eighty per cent of the tax payers conscientiously tried to answer the questions fairly and honestly, without reservations or concealment.

The following figures showing in a large way the general results of revaluation are taken from the report of the State Tax Commission to the General Assembly.

"We present herewith comparative statement of total value of each of the several classes of property for the years 1919 and 1920:

	1920	1919	INCREASE
Real property	\$1,981,563,494	\$506,808,394	\$1,474,755,100
Personal property	803,371,108	426,062,907	377,208,201
Cotton mills	205,581,304	58,266,591	147,314,713
Woodworking and furn. fac.....	24,728,628	8,053,188	16,675,440
Knitting mills	19,972,015	7,102,454	12,869,561
Cotton oil and fertilizer plants..	5,961,462	2,357,209	3,604,253
Grain mills	1,745,105	711,187	933,918
Vehicle manufacturers	1,240,670	472,666	868,004
Banks	35,247,693	21,255,863	13,991,830

Tobacco companies (property) ..	93,787,174	39,543,007	54,244,167
Miscellaneous	9,302,788	3,303,095	5,999,693
Corporation excess	20,832,385	20,000,000	832,385
Power companies	56,484,094	8,331,112	48,152,982
Railroads	250,587,158	125,417,618	125,169,540

"In comparing the increase in personal property, as related to increase in real property, with the 1919 values on each, the explanation should be made that real property tax values have stood still since 1915, except for new structures, while the increase in quantity and value of personal property was listed up each year. The real values now fixed stand for four years, and based upon past experience we will expect the personal property to continue to increase during each of the four years.

"The same explanation applies to assessment of all corporations except railroads. They are all assessed annually, and the increase in value each year is assessed."

According to these figures the total value of taxable property for 1920 is \$3,510,405,078, while that for 1919 was \$1,227,685,291, making the increase \$2,282,719,787.

It is noticeable that the percentage of increase in the value of real estate is greater than that in the value of any other property except power companies. The Tax Commission gives one reason for this in the excerpt from their report given above. The last valuation was in 1915. I have suggested another heretofore in this article. Real estate, particularly farming lands, has heretofore been proportionately undervalued, so in getting at its true value there must necessarily be a proportionately greater increase. It must be remembered, too, that the relation between the increase in value of real property and that of personal property is materially affected by the exemption of three hundred dollars of the latter in the hands of each tax payer from liability for any tax at all. The larger proportionate increase in the value of real estate is a fact which has deflected the course of legislation at the special session more than any other single fact, and I shall return to it later.

When we come to examine the report of the Tax Commission to ascertain whether there are still inequalities between section and section, it is difficult to draw any accurate general conclusion. The topography of even adjoining counties may sometimes be so dif-

ferent as to justify material modifications in the value of the real estate of each. Take Brunswick and Bladen counties, for instance. The average value of land in 1920 in the first is \$10.90 per acre, while that of the second is \$19.24 per acre, while Robeson, just west of Bladen, including within its bounds many swamp areas, has its lands valued at \$76.23 per acre. Immediately west of Robeson comes Scotland, with a valuation of \$81.30 per acre. Immediately west of Scotland lies Richmond, which has a valuation of only \$28.63, and turning to Moore, a neighbor of Richmond, the valuation is still lower, \$19.93 per acre. No valuations are so low as those of the last two counties, except those of the extreme east and the extreme west, the seashore and the mountains. Let me take another group of counties with Wilson in the center. That county's 1920 valuation is \$113.17 an acre. North of it are Nash and Edgecombe. East, South and West of it are Pitt, Greene, Wayne and Johnston. The 1920 valuations are: Nash, \$67.82 per acre; Edgecombe, \$80.44 per acre; Pitt, \$87.54 per acre; Green, \$83.87 per acre; Wayne, \$81.37 per acre; and Johnston, \$65.38 per acre. It is a far cry from Wilson's \$113.17 to Brunswick's \$10.90, or Moore's \$19.93, or Chatham's \$23.09. The theory of the revaluation act is that values should be equalized in the counties by the county supervisor and appraiser, in districts by the district supervisor, and in the state at large by the Tax Commission. The process, itself, is an exceedingly difficult one, involving the consideration of many elements. If these officers approximated equality, that is all any fair minded man could ask. The Commission endeavored to arrange the ten tax districts in such way that all the counties in a particular district should have general like features, topography, soil, crops, etc. None of the ten districts is coincident with a congressional district. It is very easy to criticise the result of such attempted equalization after the work is complete, but it can, I think, be safely asserted that in no case is there any overvaluation, with the possible exception of the county of Wilson, and that the work has been conscientiously done in all instances.

The mere fact of this great increase in the taxable value of property presented to the special session of the General

Assembly which convened last August for consideration of the tax problem a serious question. The remainder of this paper will be taken up with the statement of how this and other problems were met and how they were solved.

In the first place, both Houses showed an admirable sensitiveness to the obligation imposed upon them by their pre-valuation promise that whatever the result of that process might be, the gross amount of taxes collected in 1920 should not exceed a ten per cent increase over those collected in 1919. They were indeed better than their promise, in that they refused to levy any state or pension tax on property at all. The rate levied in 1919 for these objects amounted to 15½ cents on the hundred dollars of property. They reduced the state school tax, last year 32 cents and 96 cents on the poll, to 13 cents and 39 cents on the poll. As a substitute for this omitted tax, they increased the organization and franchise taxes on corporations, and the franchise tax on railroads, express companies, telegraph companies, telephone companies, chair and sleeping car companies, and insurance, bond and investment companies.

Counties and municipalities were allowed the ten per cent increase only in the levy of taxes for 1920. With outstanding bond issues before the levy of taxes in 1919, they may levy for 1920 an amount not exceeding the ten per cent increase, and the fund arising therefrom must be devoted wholly to such bond purposes. With outstanding bonds issued since the 1919 levy of taxes, or hereafter issued in the year 1920, or any other year, taxes may be levied not subject to the ten per cent limitation. Special taxes authorized and voted since the levy of 1919 may be levied outside of the limitation, but at a rate which will produce an amount not more than ten per cent in excess of the amount which would have been produced by a levy at the rate voted by the people on the assessed valuation of property for the year 1919. Territory included in a town or a city since its tax levy of 1919 is not to affect the tax levy in the town or city. The governing authorities are first to ascertain what rate of taxes should be levied upon the original territory of the town in order to raise an amount ten per cent greater than the amount raised

in 1919, and then are to levy that tax upon all the territory of the town, both new and old.

Special school tax districts, with special taxes voted to run the schools beyond the constitutional term of six months, finding that the ten per cent limitation will prevent them from having a term in 1920-21 so long as that in 1919-20, may borrow from the state treasury amounts sufficient to run the term to the required period. A fund not exceeding \$300,000 is provided for this purpose. If the amount is not available from funds in the treasury, the State Treasury is given authority to borrow the same.

Acting in accordance with the suggestion of the Tax Commission, the General Assembly permits any person who deems himself aggrieved because his property is assessed at an excessive value, during the months of May or June to petition the Board of Commissioners of the county to relieve him of such excessive valuation, and the Board may relieve him upon a finding that the value is excessive, and fix the true value. This becomes the value of the property for taxation, upon approval of the finding of the Board of County Commissioners by the State Tax Commission. This review, however, can not be had before the year 1921. With this exception, the values as ascertained under the Revaluation Act are to continue in force for the next four years, 1920-1923 inclusive.

I have thus attempted to give in a condensed form the scheme of taxation devised by the special session to meet immediate contingencies. It is essentially temporary, and does not pretend to be more. The larger question will have to be dealt with by the General Assembly of 1921. The temporary character of this legislation, to a certain extent at any rate, disarms the criticism, a just one, perhaps, that adequate revenues have not been provided for the state. The special session, though, went further and in certain constitutional amendments, to be submitted for ratification to the people at the coming November election, have attempted to adapt our fundamental law to the changed conditions brought about by the revaluation.

The Constitution of 1868, Article V, section 1, as interpreted by the State Supreme Court, limited the combined state

and county taxes for ordinary governmental purposes to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents on the \$100.00 of property. As matters were, the state was taking the lion's share of this amount, 47 $\frac{3}{8}$ cents, leaving the counties only 19 cents. In practical operation this amount has not been sufficient in a number of instances. However, section 8 of the same article, as construed by the Court in connection with Article VII, section 7, permits a county to levy an additional tax for necessary expenses, with the approval of the legislature; if not for necessary expenses, with the approval, in addition to that of the legislature, of a majority of the qualified voters of the county. The constitutional amendment submitted by the special session declares that the combined state and county tax on property shall never exceed fifteen cents on the \$100.00 value of the same, and of this amount it assigns five cents to the state, leaving ten for the counties, and still allows counties to levy an additional tax for a special purpose, with the approval of the legislature. It further declares that this limitation shall not apply to taxes levied for the maintenance of the public schools of the state for the six months term required by the Constitution.

Perhaps at no time since the ratification of the Constitution of 1868 was there not one, at least, of the judges of the Supreme Court, who contended that that instrument put an absolute limit of two dollars upon the poll tax. The majority view, though, prevailed, and in nearly every local measure a poll tax was required to be levied in accordance with the constitutional equation of three to one. As a consequence, this tax in some instances was so great as to constitute it a discriminatory burden. The special session met this evil in a proposed constitutional amendment which puts an absolute limit of two dollars upon the poll tax, with permission to cities to levy a like tax not exceeding one dollar in amount. This amendment, too, does away with the old equation between the rate of property tax and the amount of the poll, and leaves it discretionary with the legislature and the governing authorities of the cities and towns as to whether such tax shall be levied or not.

The Constitution of 1868 authorized the Legislature to tax incomes, with the proviso that no income shall be taxed when the property from which the income is derived is taxed. As a productive tax, it is manifest this is largely dried up at its source. The amendment submitted strikes out this proviso,—limits the rate to six per cent, with exemptions of not less than \$2,000.00 to a married man with a wife living with him, and to a widow or widower, having minor child or children, and to all other persons not less than \$1,000.00. The legislature may allow other deductions (not including living expenses), so that only net incomes are taxed. In the omission of a wife with a husband living with her from the designation of those entitled to the \$2,000.00 exemption, may be found a rather curious commentary on the subconscious mental attitude of the legislature towards the woman question. She must come within the class, "all other persons," though she may have a husband as well as a lot of minor children dependent upon her, and she is entitled to an exemption of only one thousand dollars.

It is declared by competent authority that the income tax so defined and properly levied and administered will provide adequate revenue for the state without the levy of any other tax, except the franchise taxes on corporations, public service and other. This is probably true, certainly so, if these increased franchise taxes together with other sources of revenue will provide an adequate support for the state during the year 1920.

In submitting these amendments, three in number, the General Assembly declared that they shall be considered as one amendment for the purpose of voting upon them. In other words, the voter must take all or none of them.

The finance committees of the two Houses had agreed upon another modification of the revenue and taxation article of the Constitution, reported the same and it was adopted by the House, but in the Senate it was stricken out. It was this: "The General Assembly may tax, without exemption, the income of interest received or accrued from solvent credits, at a rate not exceeding twenty per cent, in lieu of all other taxes on such property." It has been amply dem-

onstrated that a lower rate of taxes on solvent credits discovers many thousands of dollars worth of this property, which have never been on tax lists before. The low rate of taxation under revaluation will no doubt have this effect. It is difficult to see what possible benefit the proposed amendment could have been to the owner of solvent credits. He could not be taxed more than six per cent on his income. If property values are to be maintained, the property tax is not apt to be more than ten per cent, which, if his rate of interest is six per cent, would be 60 cents on the \$100.00 of property. Before the tax payer would, under ordinary conditions, avail himself of this twenty per cent privilege, his income tax must be at the rate of six per cent, and his property tax ninety cents on the \$100.00. It was well that so complicated a provision should have been stricken out.

The special session also modified the Municipal Finance Act so that it would accord with the changed conditions arising from the revaluation of property. If the governing body of any municipality should find that the taxes levied therein for the year 1920, at the maximum rate fixed by law, will be insufficient for its needs, then the governing body may submit the question of a higher rate to the people at an election to be held in September, 1920. If a majority of the votes cast shall be in favor of the levy, it may be made, otherwise not. Counties and municipalities are also authorized to issue bonds to meet deficits arising from the insufficiency of their revenues in 1920 or any previous year to pay their necessary expenses. The bonds may be issued without the approval of the qualified voters, because the proceeds must be devoted wholly to the payment of debts incurred for necessary expenses. The statement of assessed valuation of property as required in the Municipal Finance Act is made to accord with the revaluation of 1920. Where the assessed valuation of 1920 does not exceed \$10,000,000.00, the net indebtedness cannot be more than seven per cent of this assessed valuation, and five per cent in other cases. No county can incur a bonded indebtedness greater than five per cent of the assessed valuation of property within that county, as ascertained by the last assessment. All bonds sold by any politi-

cal subdivision of the state, such as counties, townships, school districts, etc., shall be advertised in accordance with the provisions of the Municipal Finance Act. It is to be regretted that the special session intermingled these regulations of county finances in amendments to the Municipal Finance Act. That act previously has been expressly confined to cities, towns, and incorporated villages.

I have thus carefully gone over the completed work of the General Assembly at its recent special session in its attempt to deal with the results of the revaluation of property. Of course political and partisan motives may appear here and there in the story, but there are none personal or selfish. That there should be these political and partisan motives is a necessary condition of our public life—sometimes I think it is a salutary condition, this play and interplay of party schemes and motives and ambitions. They make both parties alive to their responsibility to the people. There has been, and will continue to be, an attempt to excite the animosity of farmers as a class to the authors of revaluation, because the increase in the value of real estate has been greater in proportion than that of any other class of property. But this is a necessary condition of the process of arriving at the true value of all property. As I have said before, real estate was appreciably undervalued in comparison with other property and has been so undervalued many years. I venture to say that there has been no fair or extended investigation of this fact within the last twenty-five years which has not demonstrated it to be true. Such investigations have been made and carefully made. For many years real estate has not borne its proportion of the burden of taxation. The intelligent, honest, and fair-minded farmer, when he realizes this, and sees further that the rate of taxation upon him has been very greatly decreased, and that everyone else is paying his equal and fair part of the taxes, will not permit the half truths of a self-seeking politician to affect his attitude towards this great question. The honest man must appreciate and approve an honest attempt to put our tax system upon an honest basis, though in the process there may be some temporary disarrangement of his preconceived ideas in regard to it. It goes

without saying that the system so far developed is not an ideal one; we have not yet attained that equality and uniformity contemplated by the Constitution. That will be the great question which will confront for its solution the General Assembly of 1921. We have, however, taken a long step in advance towards the attainment of this object. To draw near the goal of true and equalized value of all property for taxation is, in itself, a great accomplishment. 'Tis not so much the little inequalities which are apparent now, that should affect us, as the great promise of good which the scheme, if properly administrated, as it will be, will bring to every tax payer in the state. He will know more and more that though he bears the burden of taxation, his neighbor is bearing an equal share with him. To attempt at the Legislature of 1921, or any subsequent legislature, to do away with the great work of revaluation would be criminal folly. That is the foundation upon which we must build, with the goal of low and equal uniform taxation in sight. Personally, I am convinced that our whole system of corporate taxation must be revised and reconstructed before we can attain this goal. The special session did not have time to deal with this question. As I have said above, with the exception of the constitutional amendments submitted by it, its work was temporary, intended indeed only for the year 1920. So long as section 3 of Article V of the Constitution shall require the taxation by uniform rule of all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies, or otherwise, and, also, all real and personal property according to its true value in money, then the property of a corporation and its stock in the hands of each shareholder will be two separate and distinct units for taxation. When the statute, as it does, exempts the corporations from paying any state tax on its tangible property because its stockholders pay a state tax on the market value of their shares, and exempts the stockholders from paying any county or local tax on the value of his shares, because the corporation pays this county and local tax upon its tangible property, it very clearly does not apply the uniform rule of the Constitution. The increased organization and franchise taxes were a mere temporary ex-

pedient,—a shifting of the burden of the question from the shoulders of the special session to those of the coming regular session.

The ideal which we must diligently strive to attain in all our tax laws and their administration is this,—the collection of such a sum as to meet the requirements of a modern state, with the burden of its imposition distributed equally and uniformly upon and among all the tax payers, and then the wise and honest administration of this fund for the common good of all the people. When this ideal shall be even approximately attained, taxes will cease to be an imposition,—a burden,—and will become to tax payers an investment, yielding the largest and most satisfactory of dividends.

The University Commission on Southern Race Questions

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"Where is the ethical, psychological, anthropological, or economic monograph, the result of accredited, modern scientific methods, produced by a representative of the Southern white caste? Indeed, he could hardly approach such a study in the right spirit without violating the dogma which bars the path that alone can lead to scientific truth." Thus writes Professor George Elliott Howard of the University of Nebraska. This sterility in the humanistic sciences is due, he thinks, to the poison of race prejudice in the southern mind and heart.

The stricture is severe, and even if it were true, there is the probability of a plurality of causes for the alleged phenomenon, and not merely the one cause given by Professor Howard. In assigning only the one cause, he betrays in himself the very prejudice he sees so clearly in the South. In view of the mad riots in Chicago and Omaha no intelligent citizen of another section will maintain that race prejudice is the characteristic that distinguishes the people of the South from all other Americans. Rather will it be admitted that the chief reason that manifestations of the prejudice have been less frequent in some sections than in others has been the less frequent occasion or opportunity. When it comes to fundamentals, all of us are fearfully human, as Shakespeare once observed. But be that as it may, it was precisely for the purpose of approaching the study of the race problem in the right spirit, of substituting reason for passion, careful induction from research and observation for opinion and "the will to believe", that the University Commission on Southern Race Questions was organized at Nashville, Tenn., May 24, 1912.

The organizer was Dr. James H. Dillard, President of the Slater and Jeanes Boards, formerly Dean of Tulane

University. The second sentence in the Minutes of the Commission reads as follows: "Dr. Dillard presided and outlined his purpose in calling together representatives of eleven Southern State Universities, which was to foster a scientific approach to the study of the race question in the South. He stated that he had visited eleven State Universities, and had found in each a cordial response to the plan of establishing a University Commission on Race Relations, with the idea that such Commission should consult with leading men in both races, should endeavor to keep informed in regard to the relations existing between the races, and should aim especially to influence Southern college men to approach the subject with intelligent information and with sympathetic interest."

How well the Commission caught and responded to the spirit of Dr. Dillard may be noted from the following outline of the topics discussed at its second meeting. 1. What are the conditions? (a) Religious: Contributions, excessive denominationalism, lack of the practical in preaching, etc. (b) Educational: Self-help, northern contributions, public schools, etc. Are methods now employed the right ones? (c) Hygienic: Whole question of health and disease. (d) Economic: Land ownership, business enterprises, abuse of credit system, etc. Is the Negro advancing? Is he meeting with encouragement? Do the white people of the South really want the Negro to advance? (e) Civic: Common carriers, courts of justice, franchise, etc. What is the South's attitude toward lynching? Reaction upon Whites worse than effect upon Negroes. How may conditions be improved? 2. What is the attitude of the southern white people toward the Negro? Is it in the main friendly? Is the friendly feeling growing? How may we help to improve conditions in the best interests of both races? What may be hoped as to future conditions and relations?

Committees were appointed to study each of these groups of problems, and the results of the scholarly investigations made by the Committee on Civic Status of the Negro and the Committee on Economics are reported in the minutes of the

Commission, and here, at least, Professor Howard will find monographs "the result of accredited, modern scientific methods, produced by representatives of the Southern white caste," as he will also in the several Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, published by the universities of Virginia and Georgia.

The fourth meeting of the Commission was held in Washington, D. C., December 14-15, 1914. On the morning of the 15th President Wilson received the Commission, and addressed it as follows: "I am very glad to express my sincere interest in this work and sympathy with it. I think that men like yourselves can be trusted to see this great question at every angle. There isn't any question, it seems to me, into which more candor needs to be put, or more thorough human good feeling than this. I know myself, as a Southern man, how sincerely the heart of the South desires the good of the Negro and the advancement of his race on all sound and sensible lines, and everything than can be done in that direction is of the highest value. It is a matter of common understanding.

"There is a charming story told about Charles Lamb. The conversation in his little circle turned upon some man who was not present, and Lamb, who, you know, stuttered, said, 'I hate that fellow.' His friend said, 'Charles, I didn't know you knew him.' Lamb replied, 'I don't; I can't hate a fellow I know.'

"I think that is a very profound human fact. You cannot hate a man you know. And our object is to know the needs of the Negro and sympathetically help him in every way that is possible for his good and for our good. I can only bid you Godspeed in what is a very necessary and great undertaking."

At this meeting the Commission came to the conclusion that the outstanding need was to "transform the average white man's attitude toward the Negro" and that this could best be done through the college students. It was, therefore, determined that henceforth efforts should be made "to bring the students of the South to a realization of the need of studying race questions scientifically and sympathetically." Since then the Commission has centered its interests and efforts upon the college students. On January 5, 1916, it issued its first "Open

Letter to the College Men of the South." This dealt with lynching and something of the spirit and viewpoint of the Commission can again be gained from the following paragraphs taken from the letter:

"Lynching is a contagious social disease, and as such is of deep concern to every American citizen and to every lover of civilization. It is especially of concern to you, and you can do much to abolish it. Vice and crime know that their best, though unconscious and unwilling allies, are luke-warmness and timidity on the part of educated, 'good' citizens. Wrong is weaker than right, and must yield whenever right is persistent and determined.

"It is, of course, no argument in favor of lynching, nor can we derive any legitimate satisfaction from the fact, that it is not confined to any one section of our country and that the victims are not always black. One of the bad features of lynching is that it quickly becomes a habit, and, like all bad habits, deepens and widens rapidly. Formerly lynchings were mainly incited by rape and murder, but the habit has spread until now such outrages are committed for much less serious crimes. The wrong that it does to the wretched victims is almost as nothing compared with the injury it does to the lynchers themselves, to the community, and to society at large."

The second letter, issued Sept. 1, 1916, dealt with education, and on this subject the Commission said, among other things: "In its last analysis, education simply means bringing forth all the native capacities of the individual for the benefit both of himself and of society. It is axiomatic that a developed plant, animal, or man is more valuable to society than the undeveloped. It is likewise obvious that ignorance is the most fruitful source of human ills. Furthermore, it is as true in a social as in a physical sense that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The good results thus far obtained, as shown by the Negro's progress within recent years, prompt the Commission to urge the extension of his educational opportunities.

"The inadequate provision for the education of the Negro is more than an injustice to him; it is an injury to the white man. The South can not realize its destiny if one-third of its

population is undeveloped and inefficient. For our common welfare we must strive to cure disease wherever we find it, strengthen whatever is weak, and develop all that is undeveloped."

The third letter, issued August 31, 1917, deals with Negro Migration, which was then an acute problem. The concluding paragraph of this letter was:

"The South can not compete on a financial basis with other sections of the country for the labor of the Negro but the South can easily keep her Negroes against all allurements if she will give them a larger measure of those things that human beings hold dearer than material goods. Generosity begets gratitude, and gratitude grips and holds man more powerfully than hoops of steel. It is axiomatic that fair dealing, sympathy, patience, tolerance, and other human virtues benefit those who exercise them even more than the beneficiaries of them. It pays to be just and kind, both spiritually and materially. Surely the South has nothing to lose and much to gain by adopting an attitude like that indicated above."

The last letter, issued April 26, 1919, deals with the New Reconstruction. Under this head the Commission says:

"The world-wide reconstruction that is following in the wake of the war will necessarily affect the South in a peculiar way. Nearly 300,000 Negroes have been called into the military service of the country; many thousands more have been drawn from peaceful pursuits into industries born of the war; and several hundred thousands have shifted from the South to the industrial districts of the North. The demobilization of the army and the transition of industry from a war to a peace basis are creating many problems which can be solved only by the efforts of both races. The Negro in adapting himself to the new conditions should have the wise sympathy and generous coöperation of his white neighbors. It and a wider degree of coöperation between the best elements is to the interest of these, as well as of the Negro himself, that readjustment should proceed with the least possible difficulty and delay.

"We believe that this readjustment may be effectively aid-

ed by a more general appreciation of the Negro's value as a member of the community. Lack of sympathy and understanding between two groups of people frequently causes one group to regard the shortcomings of a few individuals of the other as characteristic of all that group. This is a natural tendency but it is neither rational nor just, and it has proved, we believe, one of the great obstacles to the development of more satisfactory racial relations in this country. . . . At this time we would appeal especially for a large measure of thoughtfulness and consideration, for the control of careless habits of speech which give needless offense, and for the practice of just relations. To seek by all practicable means to cultivate a more tolerant spirit, a more generous sympathy, and a wider degree of coöperation between the best elements of both races, to emphasize the best rather than the worst features of interracial relations, to secure greater publicity for those whose views are based on reason rather than prejudice—these, we believe, are essential parts of the reconstruction programme by which it is hoped to bring into the world a new era of peace and democracy. Because college men are rightly expected to be moulders of opinion, the commission earnestly appeals to them to contribute of their talents and energy in bringing this programme to its consummation."

These letters were carried by the Associated Press and were the subjects of much favorable and laudatory editorial comment on the part of leading white and colored newspapers and magazines. Thus, the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* observed: "If there had been doubt as to the wisdom of this Commission and its practicability at its opening session, it was all dispelled in the more recent sessions, which showed that the Commission had not only a firm grip upon the task in hand, but has won for itself profound respect and consideration throughout the country.

"The Commission has set upon a very serious and practical task, that of creating a healthy public sentiment on the race question. One of the biggest benefits being derived from the work of the Commission is the stimulation of the thought of the younger generation of white men of the South in an effort to get them to place the race question on a basis

of common humanity, and in this there has been the most sanguine success. . . . The Commission served the public most effectively in breaking the ice in the approach and in the study of the Negro question. It is frank to say that there was a time when Southern white men thought they could not afford to deal with this question in anything like a scientific, sympathetic, and just way, but the University Commission has given dignity and standing to the study of the race question. It has lifted the whole question out of the realm of objectionable into the realm of the scientific, practical, and patriotic. . . . We hail with genuine delight the work of this Commission. It is patriotic, practical, progressive, potential, and prophetic."

The concluding paragraph of a two-column article on the Commission by Horace Bumstead in the *Boston Herald and Journal* reads: "It seems impossible to overestimate the significance of this new approach to the race problem. As never before, the white college youth of the South are being trained by their professors to get at the facts of the situation accurately and deal with them wisely and justly. In a few years, when these boys become leaders of thought and action in their several communities, most beneficent results should be expected."

Perhaps the finest compliment ever paid the Commission was that of Isaac Fisher, the brilliant editor of the *Fisk University News*. Describing a conference the Commission held with the members of the Fisk faculty, Fisher writes: "The chairman of the Commission made it clear that he wanted the *truth*, and made emphatic the desire of the Commission that the colored men to speak should hold nothing back on the ground that proper measures could not be taken so long as the two groups are not frank with each other.

"A faculty group sat there, looking into the faces of the men of the Commission and wondering how far they meant for the speakers to go in responding to the insistent demand for 'frankness.' All recognized that so far as the stage setting was concerned, the Commission was making 'a scientific approach' to the study of the race question; for the

dogged determination to have the truth about any question is, in essence, the scientific approach to the question at issue.

"But many soldiers have marched resolutely up the hill of battle only to turn immediately and march down again, with equal resolution. Would the Commission maintain its scientific attitude? Could it, would it look bald, naked, disagreeable facts in the face with the steadfastness with which the eagle gazes upon the brightness of the sun? In plain words, having asked colored men and women to speak the truth about what they felt about the race question, would this body of Southern white men quail before that truth and say to the speakers, as did Festus to the eloquent Paul: 'Thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad.'

"I might just as well say here that there were some who gazed into the faces of the Commission, and, remembering that frankness on the race question has not always been counted a virtue, were seriously wrestling with the problem and wondering how far the colored speakers should go. That this is true, was proven by one speaker who told how greatly encouraged she was to have witnessed an occasion in which colored people as well as white people were permitted to say what they wanted to say on the race problems of the South. *But the Commission, under most trying circumstances, held their ground and maintained the scientific attitude.* They had asked for the truth, and, please God, they sat like grim stoics of old and listened to that truth to the last full measure.

"If the eyes of any member of that Commission ever fall upon these lines, I hope that as they read these words they will be assured that the writer knew what a trial it was for the members to sit patiently while colored spokesmen laid bare the heart of a race; and that his sympathy was just as keen for the Commission-hearers as for those whose cause was being pleaded. He comes of a race whose kindness of heart has been one of its most lovable traits."

The Commission has held similar conferences with the faculties of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, and with groups of representative Negroes in some of the larger cities in the South. Always it has been ready and eager to listen and learn, being painfully conscious of the immensity and

difficulty of the subject; not for one moment has it had the "I-know-all-about-the-Negro, raised-with-him," attitude of mind.

More and more the Commission has come to feel that its highest function is to serve as interpreter of the Negro to the whites through the college students. If the two races are to live together in harmony and mutual helpfulness they must know and understand each other. To fulfil its function, however, the Commission realizes that it must have the implicit confidence of the Negro, and itself be so free from bias and predilection that it will be able to report accurately its observations. It is too much, of course, for any human group to hope to eliminate completely the personal and social equations in dealing with a race problem, and particularly the Negro problem. But to the extent that the Commission has succeeded in doing this, it has justified its existence and the hopes of its organizer and all true lovers of their kind, North and South. Not so much what the Commission has actually done, as what it hoped to do, and the spirit in which it has gone about its work, are its greatest assets.

Attila in History and Heroic Story

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During the first years of the Great War, there appeared a Belgian post-card, representing German soldiers on guard over a pathetic group of women and children. The card bore an inscription printed in three languages:

“Werk der Hunnen Ellende en Hongersnood
L'Oeuvre d'Attila Misere et Famine
Work of Huns Misery and Starvation.”

Within the last few years the figure of Attila at the head of his Hunnish hordes, always typical of barbaric cruelty, has been brought afresh into prominence. His thirst for *Weltmacht*, his cruelty and his remorselessness, furnished a parallel with the characteristics of the last Emperor of Germany that he who ran might read. Edward Hutton, in his *Attila and the Huns*, was among the first to draw an elaborate comparison between the Germans and those barbarians who overran Gaul and Italy nearly fifteen centuries ago. And since the beginning of the war there has perhaps been no synonym for the Germans more frequently on the lips of soldier and civilian than that descriptive term, “the Huns.” Yet there has been no sudden revival of an interest in the Hunnish chief; the name of Attila has never faded from men’s minds. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, Thomas Hodgkin compared him to Napoleon. His name gave the title to a tragedy by Corneille, an opera by Verdi, an epic poem by Herbert, and numerous other poems, plays, and treatises, Italian, French, and German. A line of history, legend, and saga stretches from the time of Priscus, his contemporary, to the present year.

Perhaps no other barbarian made such an impression on the Roman, especially the ecclesiastical, mind. In spite of the fact that he never attacked Rome as did Alaric, the tales of his depredations in Gaul and in northern Italy, and of his proud and insolent treatment of both emperors, inspired the Roman world with a terror hardly commensurate with his

real powers. In the Latin traditions he became known as the special minister of God's vengeance on a sinful world, the "Scourge of God," the "grandson of Nimrod, nurtured in Engedi, by the grace of God King of the Huns, Goths, Danes, and Medes, the terror of the world." When the Magyars embraced Christianity, their clergy found for them a suitable ancestry in a supposed descent from Attila, *flagellum Dei*; and from the eleventh century to the fifteenth, the chroniclers of the Hungarians busied themselves in writing fantastic tales of Attila's adventures, based neither on history nor on tradition, pure figments of their own imagination. Another Attila grew up in Austria and appeared in the poems which gathered around the Nibelungs; still another developed in Scandinavian territory, and became the Atli, "a fierce man and grim," of the Eddic lays and the *Völsungasaga*.

It was natural that the figure of Attila, the most impressive and striking of his day, should have proved attractive to the writers of Germanic heroic story. There is no one prose saga or epic poem devoted to Attila, but we hear of him in the tales which embody the story of the Nibelungs or the adventure of Dietrick von Bern. To the legend of Siegfried his presence added not only picturesqueness but an historic background which increased the versimilitude of the tale.

The outlines of the Siegfried story are well known through the *Ring des Nibelungen* of Richard Wagner, who has given us a version based chiefly on Scandinavian sources. Siegfried and the dragon, Brunnhilde, the Valkyrie, and Kriemhild, the wife of Siegfried, are familiar figures on the operatic stage. But with the murder of Siegfried at the hands of his wife's brothers, and the heroic death of Brunnhilde, Wagner closes the story. His sources, however, carry it much farther. After some time has elapsed, Siegfried's widow is persuaded to marry again, and her second husband is none other than Attila, king of the Huns. The main events of this second part of the story are the visit of Siegfried's murderers to the court of their sister and her husband, and their death there in a quarrel which arises between them and the Huns. This is the bare outline of the legend which forms the basis of three principal versions, in Scandinavian, High German, and

Low German. But in these versions names, motives, atmosphere, and even events are so different that there is correspondence between them only in the main points.

And in the conception of the character of Attila, as his saga travelled throughout Europe, there came many alterations. His nature changes from that of a mild, kindly king to that of a cruel, greedy, and vengeful tyrant. His actual personality was altered and overlaid with embroidery of various designs and colors; but before going on to consider in detail the different threads of this embroidery, it may be well to look for a moment at the original pattern. Who was the historic Attila? What were his origin, his achievements, his character?

We have no actual knowledge of the Huns before their first inroad into Europe in 376 A.D. Deguignes, in his *Histoire des Huns*, advances the interesting, but not generally accepted theory that the Huns were identical with the Hiong-nu, a tribe of central Asia, whose attacks caused the Chinese emperor, Che-Hwang-te, in 258 B.C., to complete the Great Wall of China. Jordanes, a sixth century historian, tells us that the witches driven out by the Gothic king Filimir, and certain unclean spirits whom they met in their subsequent wanderings, became the parents of a "savage race, who dwelt at first in the swamps, a stunted, foul, and puny tribe, scarcely human and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech." This race lived in Maeotis, hunting and plundering, till they were led across the Maeotic swamp by a dove sent, according to tradition, by evil spirits. Under their King Balamber they conquered far and wide, overcoming as much by the horror of their appearance as by their military prowess.

Ammianus Marcellinus gives a graphic description of the Huns, whom he localizes as "living beyond the Sea of Azov on the borders of the Frozen Ocean." They were savage beyond all parallel, strong and large though short-legged, with their faces scarred by deep incisions made in boyhood; they were uncivilized, living on roots and half-raw meat and dwelling in the open air, and were expert horsemen. Treacherous and inconstant, they were without respect for religion

or superstition, and were irascible and immoderately covetous of gold, a characteristic which the Attila of history and saga inherited in full measure.

At their first inroad into Europe in 376, they came into conflict with the Ostrogoths under their king Ermanaric. Finally they came into direct contact with the Roman Empire, and emboldened by their success in driving back the barbarians, they treated both emperors with unparalleled insolence. In 433 Attila succeeded his uncle on the throne. At first he ruled jointly with his brother Bleda, but he soon charged him with treason, had him assassinated, and took the full power into his own hands. He surpassed even his uncle in the insolence of his demands, but Theodosius, who was a "peace-at-any-price" emperor, and Valentinian submitted without a struggle.

When Attila finally decided to make a direct attack on the Eastern Empire, however, he found that Marcian had succeeded Theodosius and was prepared to defy him. He therefore turned to the west, and having formed an alliance with the Vandals, he crossed the Rhine at Coblenz and marched upon Orleans. The siege of this city was raised by the arrival of the Roman legions, who pursued the retreating Huns and finally overtook them at Chalons. There Attila was defeated, but he escaped across the Rhine and hid in the forests of Germany.

In the winter of 451-452, he returned, determined to attack directly the seat of the Empire. Terror-stricken at his approach, the Romans sent their pope, Leo the Great, to intercept him. Leo met him near Mantua, and in some way persuaded him to retreat and evacuate the entire Empire. Attila is reported to have said that he saw in the sky above the Pope's head the figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, a vision which caused him to yield.

Whatever the real causes of Attila's retreat, Italy was saved. But inasmuch as he considered pillage and devastation as the real objects of war, the Hun returned home as a conqueror and was welcomed with a great feast and much rejoicing. He celebrated by taking another wife. Jordanes tells the story of his last marriage and death. "Shortly before

he died, as the historian Priscus relates, he took in marriage a very beautiful girl named Ildiko, after countless other wives, as was the custom of his race. He had given himself up to excessive joy at his wedding, and as he lay on his back, heavy with wine and sleep, a rush of superfluous blood, which would have ordinarily flowed from his nose, streamed in deadly course down his throat and killed him . . . Thus did drunkenness put a disgraceful end to a king renowned in war. On the following day, when a great part of the morning was spent, the royal attendants suspected some ill, and, after a great uproar, broke in the doors. There they found Attila dead from an effusion of blood, without any wound, and the girl with downcast face weeping behind her veil." The bride was naturally suspected, and even in Comes Marcellinus, a contemporary of Jordanes, we find the statement, "Attila was killed in the night by a knife in the hand of a woman. Some say, however, that he died of a hemorrhage." It was not long before both historians and writers of saga reported that Ildiko killed Attila in vengeance for the death of her brothers. For in 437, as Prosper Aquitanus relates in his Chronicle, Gundacarius, king of the Burgundians, fell in battle with the Huns, and all his family and people were wiped out. Attila was not in this battle, but the slaughter of the Burgundians at the hands of the Huns furnished a plausible motive for his death.

Attila's people mourned his death after their fashion and gave him a splendid burial. Around his body as it lay in state rode the best horsemen of the Huns, singing a funeral dirge which celebrated his marvelous deeds. After giving way to grief and revelry in turn, they buried him secretly at night, binding his coffin with gold, silver, and iron, "gold and silver because he received the honors of both Empires, iron because he subdued the nations." They buried much rich plunder with him, and then, to avoid the possibility of theft, slew those who had done the work.

Of Attila's personal appearance we have no contemporary record. But Jordanes, writing in the sixth century, is probably indebted for the details in his picture of the king and his surroundings to Priscus the Sophist, who, acting as Secretary

to one of the Roman embassies, spent some days at Attila's court, somewhere in the center of Hungary. He tells us that "he was proud in gait and darted his glances here and there, showing from his very movements the power of his body. He was short, broad-chested, with a large head and small eyes, a scanty beard sprinkled with white, a flat nose, and a swarthy complexion which showed his origin." The expression of his face seems to have been uniformly grave and saturnine. He alone of all the company at a feast given in honor of the Roman ambassador failed even to smile at the antics of his dwarf. His countenance relaxed into tenderness only at the sight of his youngest son, Ernak, who was the darling of his father's heart, and received many caresses. He was temperate in eating and drinking, preferring only meat, although he served his guests with sumptuous and luxurious repasts. He was simple in his tastes and used only wooden dishes and cups, although those offered to his guests were of gold. And his dress was equally simple, "adorned with nothing except cleanliness." Neither his sword, nor the lacings of his boots, nor his horse's reins, were ornamented with gold or precious stones or other articles of value, though this was a Scythian custom. But his surroundings were more elegant than his personal attire. His palace, though only of wood, was large and spacious. The walls were made of beautifully polished planks, and the building was surmounted by towers. The apartments of Kerka, his chief wife at the time of Priscus' visit, were luxuriously fitted up with soft cushions and floor coverings, and the prime minister had a Roman bath built of stone from Pannonia.

Of his character Jordanes and Priscus have much to say, both directly and in telling anecdotes about him. "He was a lover of war," says the former, "but restrained his own hand; he was very powerful in counsel, gracious to suppliants, kindly to those who had once been received under his protection . . . He was a subtle man, and always fought with diplomacy before he waged war." In a letter to the Visigothic Theodoric, Valentinian wrote: "He seeks no pretexts for battle, but thinks whatever he does is legitimate. He measures his territory by the length of his reach, and satisfies his pride

by license; he despises right and law, and shows himself an enemy to everything." He was proud and arrogant, quick-tempered and covetous, boastful and ambitious, shrewd and crafty and cruel. "The impression left upon us by what history records of him," says Hodgkin, "is that of a gigantic bully, holding in his hands powers unequalled in the world for ravage and spoliation, by the mere threat of loosing which he extorts from trembling Caesars every concession which his insatiable avarice or his almost superhuman pride requires, and by the same terror compelling Ostrogoths and Gepidae, and other Germanic races far nobler than his own, to assist in drawing his triumphal chariot."

His superstition, as well as his self-confidence, is shown by his dependence on the power of the sword of Mars. Jordanes says: "And though his temper was such that he always had great self-confidence, yet his assurance was increased by finding the sword of Mars, always esteemed sacred among the kings of the Scythians. The historian Priscus says it was discovered under the following circumstances: 'When a certain shepherd beheld one heifer of his flock limping and could find no cause for this wound, he anxiously followed the trail of the blood and at length came to a sword it had unwittingly trampled while nibbling the grass. He dug it up and took it straight to Attila. He rejoiced at this gift, and being ambitious, thought that he had been appointed ruler of the whole world, and through the sword of Mars supremacy in all wars was assured to him.'" *Gott* was his ally.

After the death of Attila, his numerous sons with much quarreling divided the kingdom among themselves. Finally the Goths revolted, and in 454 on the banks of the Nedao defeated the Huns. There were some later attempts to reconquer the Goths, but they were all failures, and the descendants of Ermanaric's brother soon drove the Huns "so ingloriously from their own land, that those who remained have been in dread of the arms of the Goths from that time down to the present day."

The man who was responsible for this final repulse of the Huns was Walamer, brother of Theodemer. On the day

on which the news of the battle of Nedao was brought to Theodemer, so the story goes, a son was born to him. This son was Theodoric the Great, famous in saga as Thidrek or Dietrich von Bern. About him grew up a large body of stories, in which, with utter disregard for chronological accuracy, he was represented as living at the court of Attila, who died before he was born, and he had fled thence for protection because of the cruelty of his uncle Ermanaric, king of Rome, who lived fully a century before him!

This great mass of story is gathered into one prose narrative which attempts a chronological arrangement of the material. This is the *Thidrekssaga*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Wilkinasaga*, written in Norway about 1250, but based on Low German material. It contains the fullest account of the fortunes of Attila, being the only one of the versions which tells of the events of his life before his marriage with Siegfried's widow.

According to this version, Attila was the son of the king of Frisland. When he was twelve years old, he was appointed an officer in his father's army, and he made many expeditions into the territory of Melias, king of the Huns. When Melias died, Attila called an assembly of the people, explained to them that the Hunnish throne was his by right of conquest, and had himself crowned king.

This young man, a Hun not by birth, but by adoption, was a person of great decision and force of character. From his earliest youth he was distinguished for strength and bravery, and, like the historic Attila, for his skill in horsemanship. He had a "liberal mind, endowed with the gifts of wisdom," and was capable of determination and persistence. He often displayed royal kindness and generosity toward the many knights who gathered at his court, and, in short, seems to have had but one vice, an inordinate greed for the possessions of others.

Shortly after his accession to the throne of the Huns, Attila determined to marry Erka, the daughter of his enemy, Osantrix. On the rather difficult mission of asking for her hand he sent the youth Osid, who, according to Germanic custom, was being brought up at his uncle's court. Osantrix

received the ambassador with kindness and honor, but firmly refused the proposal in view of the hostile relations between himself and Attila. Osid returned to his uncle with nothing but reports of the beauty of Erka and her sister Berta. But Attila was not discouraged. He next sent the Margrave Rudolph, with equipment and retinue of the greatest magnificence, and with threats of war if Osantrix did not comply. But Osantrix was not to be forced into any such alliance. He loaded the royal emissary with gifts, but refused to consider the king of the Huns as his son-in-law. Thereupon Attila carried out his threats, collected an army, and made war upon him, but was worsted in the encounter and forced to return home. But if Erka was not to be won by force, she was to be won by craft. Rudolph in disguise went to the court of Osantrix, gained access to Erka, and revealed to her and her sister his true name and the purpose of his visit. Finally he persuaded the maidens to flee with him. But the father discovered their escape, pursued and overtook them. A battle ensued in which Osantrix was victorious, until Attila arrived with reinforcements. Then the tide turned, Osantrix was compelled to flee, and Attila went home with his bride. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and at the same time Rudolph was married to Berta. This Erka is the Kerka of history. She was an excellent and generous queen, much beloved by the people, and seems to have had great influence with her husband. At her death she was greatly lamented by all the Huns. Upon her deathbed she urged Attila to marry again, but warned him to beware of any alliance with the Niflungs, the house of Aldrian.

The *Thidrekssaga* gives very little direct description of Attila's palace or surroundings. The picture of his court is given in chance phrases here and there about the magnificence of his marriage, with its sumptuous feast "according to the ancestral custom of the country," the enormous wealth which Attila gained after taking the Hunnish throne, the splendor of the equipment of his ambassadors. There is one detailed description of the elaborate feast given by Attila to the Niflungs, which corresponds closely to the account of a similar feast in honor of the Roman ambassador which is recorded

by Priscus, save that Attila in his character of a genial and not a saturnine monarch, seems to have entered heartily into the revelry, which lasted far into the night.

Many chapters in the *Thidrekssaga* are occupied with an account of the knights and princes from many lands who had gathered at Attila's court. Chief among those who fought his battles was Theodoric or Thidrek, the hero of the saga. Upon the death of his father he had ascended the throne of Verona or Bern, and had formed an alliance with Attila. When Thidrek's uncle, Ermenric, "king of Rome," drove him out of Bern, Attila had regarded his former treaty with the uncle as "a scrap of paper," and had offered the nephew a refuge at his court.

Another member of Attila's court was Ermenric's young kinsman, Walther, who eloped with Hildegund, a Greek hostage. There is no historical basis for this story save that we hear in general of captive children reared at Attila's court, and of fair ladies stolen thence. But the saga was evidently a well-known and popular one. There are references to it in the *Nibelungenlied*, but these point, not to the version in the *Thidrekssaga*, but to the form of the story given in the Latin epic *Waltharius*, the work of a monk of St. Gall of the tenth century. Though differing in many details, this version also represents Attila as a very gracious king, who showed great kindness toward Waltharius and Hildegund, and gave orders that they be brought up as if they were his own children.

Had Attila obeyed his wife's dying injunction, he might have fared better. For some time after the loss of the gentle Erka, says the *Thidrekssaga*, he lived alone. But when he heard of the death of Sigurd, who had served at one time under Thidrek's banner, and of the beauty and noble character of his widow Grimhild, he forgot or disregarded Erka's warning against an alliance with the Niflungs or Aldriani, and determined to marry her. He sent his former matrimonial ambassador, Osid, who this time was more successful. He was kindly received by Gunnar, Gernoz, Gissler, and Hogni, the sons of Aldrian; and Grimhild, their sister, though with some reluctance, consented to marry Attila. Osid returned

to fetch the bridegroom, and the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. Many presents were bestowed upon Attila, among them Sigurd's horse, Grani. The newly-married couple returned home, but the alliance was not a happy one, for we are told that Grimhild never ceased to weep each day for Sigurd.

After seven years of mourning, Grimhild determined upon revenge for the death of Sigurd. She urged Attila to invite her brothers to a ceremonial feast. Knowing his avaricious nature, she told him of the hoard of treasure which had been Sigurd's and which her brothers now possessed, and Attila readily consented to welcome them. To the letters of invitation, Grimhild added that Attila was now growing so old that the cares of the kingdom weighed heavily upon him, and in view of the fact that his son was too young to reign, he wished Gunnar and his brethren to take the royal duties from his shoulders. The message was received with various feelings. Hogni feared Grimhild's vengeful spirit; the queen-mother had foreboding dreams, and urged her sons not to go; but Gunnar, confident of gaining the kingdom of the Huns before his return, decided to accept the invitation.

After various adventures they arrived at Susat, Attila's capital, which has been identified with the modern Soest in Westphalia. Grimhild welcomed them with affectionate greetings; Attila had prepared a great feast for the strangers, and everyone seemed kindly-disposed toward them. But the next day Thidrek, knowing the queen's intentions, warned Hogni, telling him that she had never ceased to weep for Sigurd.

Grimhild needed some champion to avenge her wrongs upon her brothers, and she appealed first, but without success, to Thidrek, then to Blodlin, Attila's brother. When he refused because he feared Attila's anger, she appealed to her husband himself, urging upon him the possibility of gaining possession of the Niflung land and hoard. But in spite of this powerful incentive, Attila refused to violate the laws of hospitality. The day wore on, with growing hostility and suspicion on both sides, Attila rather aimlessly endeavoring to avoid a break. That night another feast was given, and just before

it Grimhild succeeded in bribing a retainer to start a fight between the Huns and the Niflungs in the servant's hall. She then laid her plans for the beginning of the quarrel among the princes. Calling her little son to her, she bade him go and strike Hogni in the face. This he did with all his childish strength, whereupon Hogni cut off his head and threw it in Grimhild's lap.

With this provocation even Attila could no longer refrain from calling his men to arms. Standing on a raised place he directed his followers to the attack. The battle continued for two days, with the exhibition of much bravery on both sides, although on the second day Attila did not appear. Gunnar was taken prisoner and thrown into a snake-tower where he met his death. Blodlin, Gernoz, and Gissler were slain, one after the other. With great cruelty Grimhild tested the death of her two brothers by plunging a burning brand down their throats. Thidrek, who had at first withdrawn from the fray, reported this barbarity to Attila, at which the monarch admitted that his wife was instigated by the furies and deserved death, and told Thidrek that it would have been a good deed to have killed her seven years before. Thidrek, taking him at his word, slew Grimhild. Hogni too was mortally wounded, and died after giving to his mistress the keys of the cave in which the hoard was concealed, with the injunction that she keep them for their unborn son. Of all the heroes, only Attila, Thidrek, and Hildebrand, one of Thidrek's men, were left alive. One thousand Niflungs fell and four hundred Huns and Amelungs. "And thus," comments the saga-writer, "was Erka's prophecy fulfilled. There are many old songs about it, and the hall named after the Niflungs still stands there."

After this catastrophe, the forlorn old king of the Huns lived a solitary and uneventful life. When Aldrian, the son of Hogni, grew up, he told Attila that he could show him the Niflung hoard if he would go with him alone. So Attila, with whom avarice was still the dominant motive, rode away with him, in spite of the protests of his attendants. Aldrian brought his companion to the cave of which his mother had given him the keys, and displayed the treasure, at which the

king gazed with greedy delight. But as he stood thus absorbed, Aldrian slipped out of the cave, locked the three doors after him, and with a final taunt departed. With what emotions Attila accepted the situation the author leaves his readers to imagine, except that he records the monarch's realization that Aldrian was thus avenging his father and all the Niflungs. After three days Aldrian returned. Attila, still able to speak, though exhausted by hunger and thirst, promised Aldrian all the hoard and much treasure beside if he would release him. But Aldrian refused, and in answer to a plea for food and drink, replied, "You wanted the treasure before; now you are its sole possessor. You may drink gold and silver, for which you have thirsted so long." And heaping stones against the doors to make escape impossible, he went back to the Niflung land, leaving the great king of the Huns to die a miserable death,—a death different from that of the historic Attila, but no more glorious.

Such is the Low German version of the story of Attila. There are a number of High German lays which treat chiefly of Dietrich von Bern, and incidentally of the great Etzel, as Attila is called in the High German poems, at whose court he stayed when in exile. Chief among these are *Dietrichs Flucht* and the *Ravennaschlacht*, which were based on older epics, and were put into their present form about the end of the thirteenth century by an Austrian minstrel, Heinrich der Vogler. The first of these, as the name implies, tells of Dietrich's gracious reception at the court of Etzel, and the second of the events connected with the battle of Ravenna. In these poems Attila is a great and powerful king, surrounded by many knights and warriors, in whom he inspires the feelings of reverence and loyalty. In *Etzels Hofhaltung* is a picture of his court as a refuge for distressed maidens, one of whom comes there to seek a champion against a dreadful monster.

But the greatest Middle High German epic in which Attila appears is the *Nibelungenlied*, which was composed in Austria, then part of Germany, about 1200. It says nothing of Attila's career before his marriage with Kriemhild, the name used in this version for the Grimhild of the Low German. It merely bears testimony to the noble character of Helche, the

Erka of the *Thidrekssaga*, and to the grief over her death felt by husband and subjects alike. The first mention of Etzel's name is in the Twentieth Adventure: "It was in the days when Queen Helche died, and King Etzel wooed for another woman, that his friends commended to him a proud widow in the land of Burgundy that hight Queen Kriemhild."* Etzel, though doubtful whether a Christian princess would wed a heathen prince, sent one of his nobles to woo her for him. The story here is much the same as in the *Thidrekssaga*. Kriemhild refused at first, saying that she never could love another man, but finally yielded when the messenger promised her that all her wrongs would be avenged.

After seven years the Burgundians were invited to Etzel-burc. The narrative of the adventures on the journey, the reception by the king and queen, the starting of the fight, the slaying of the heroes, is in the main similar to that in the *Thidrekssaga*, although there are variations in detail, and there is no account here of the death of Attila. The chief difference lies in the attitude and character of Etzel. Attila in the *Thidrekssaga* was motivated in his invitation to his brothers-in-law by a desire to get possession of the hoard, but Etzel in the *Nibelungenlied* had no purpose save the friendly one of welcoming his wife's kinsmen and giving her pleasure. Attila knew of his wife's plan, though he was powerless to interfere; but "none had told Etzel how it stood, else he had hindered what afterward befell."

Hodgkin calls Etzel a "genially vapid" king, and so he is for the most part. Gentle, mild, retiring, and weak, he steps into the background of the story to make way for his queen, who has degenerated into a fiend incarnate. He stands by and watches the general slaughter, wringing his hands and weeping; and "the sound of his lamentation was as a lion's roar." Yet the poet endeavors to rescue him from absolute nonentity. The king is greatly beloved by his knights, and his hospitality and noble and generous treatment of them are exceptional. The man who bears to Kriemhild Etzel's offer of marriage, says to her, "One of the best men that

* Translated by Margaret Armour. London, 1897.

ever ruled a king's land with honor, or wore a crown, hath sent hither to sue for thy love." At times during the fight he asserts his kingly dignity and authority. When the Burgundian minstrel, Volker, kills a man in the tournament, Etzel interposes to save him from the vengeance of the Huns, saying, "Ye would have me fail in honor toward these knights! If ye had slain this minstrel, I tell you I would have hanged you all." When Hagen insulted him, "the king was angry and would gladly have fallen on Hagen but that honor forbade him." And when Volker and Hagen taunt him with cowardice, Etzel grasps his shield and will stop for no warnings, but has to be dragged back by his shield-thong; for he is brave, "the which is rare enow among great princes today."

Etzel's insistence upon honor shows that not only the influence of Christianity but the ideals and customs of chivalry had made a marked impression upon this poem, and affected both the portrayal of character and the description of the court life. Etzel and his surroundings bear little resemblance to those of historic record and have no close relationship to the half-civilized king of the *Thidrekssaga* and his throng of loyal knights. Instead of a barbaric ruler whose chief aims are conquest and the gratification of his avarice and ambition, we find a gentle, courtly monarch, a pagan to be sure, but possessed of many Christian virtues, and most friendly to the Christians who live in amity with the heathen at his court. And indeed he is almost a Christian, for Kriemhild is told that Etzel has been christened and has turned again, and perhaps will be won back to God if she marries him. The Christian and chivalric influences are more marked on the early events of the story than on those more primitively barbaric scenes that take place in Etzel's palace. But even there, especially in the portrayal of Etzel's character, the detailed descriptions of clothing, the introduction of the tournament, and the general air of elaborate ceremony that pervades the whole story, we find their traces.

Most picturesque of all the accounts, and nearest in spirit to history, is that of the Icelandic version. This is preserved in certain lays of the *Poetic Edda*, composed between 850 and 1150, and also in the *Völsungasaga*, a connected prose

narrative, dating from about 1260. In many of the lays there are mere references to the circumstances connected with the marriage of Atli and Gudrum, as the Hun and his bride are here named, and the story is on the whole fragmentary and disjointed. The events as related in the *Völsungasaga* are fairly well connected, and agree in general with those in the Eddic poems, for the prose saga was evidently founded on some of the lays which have survived as well as on others that are lost.

The main outlines of the story, the marriage of Gudrun and Atli, the invitation to Gudrun's brothers and their death at Atli's court, are the same as in the southern version. But motives, characters, atmosphere, and outcome are very different. While the present form of the story in the Eddic lays is considerably earlier than that in either the *Thidrekssaga* or the *Nibelungenlied*, all the evidence points to the fact that the Sigurd story originated on the continent, near the Rhine. It was taken up by the Scandinavians, according to the speculations of some scholars, as early as the eighth century. They added to it many features peculiar to themselves, and dropped certain portions, processes which resulted in a not very consistent whole. The inconsistencies, however, do not affect the Attila saga as much as they do the earlier part, save that the connection between it and the Burgundian saga is rather loose, the revenge motive being dropped, and the desire for gold playing an important part. A notable shift, due to different social conditions, is found in the fact that here the feeling which influences the acts of Attila's queen is devotion to her kin, while in the southern version it is devotion to her dead husband.

In this northern version, which we may learn by following in the main the *Völsungasaga*, with corrections and additions from the Eddic poems, Atli is the brother of Brynhild, a relationship which is a purely Scandinavian addition to the story. In one of the earlier chapters of the *Völsungasaga* is given what is, curiously enough, the only description in saga of the personal appearance of Attila: "Atli was a fierce man and grim, great and black to look on, yet noble of mien

withal."* The promise of this description is fulfilled in the course of the story. This "fierce man and grim" delights in battle and slaughter. He is responsible for the death of some of his brothers, a circumstance which probably echoes the tradition that the historic Attila assassinated his brother Bleda. And there are references to old hostility between the houses of Gudrun and Atli before their marriage. Gunnar and his brothers slew Atli's uncle, and Gudrun charged Atli with the murder of her mother. This ancient feud laid the foundation for the final struggle in Atli's palace.

After Sigurd's death, Gudrun stayed for a time at the court of King Alf of Denmark. Thither came her brothers, seeking to atone to her for their murder of her husband. By means of a drink of forgetfulness old wrongs were wiped out and friendly relations insured, and Gudrun was finally persuaded, though much against her will, to marry Atli. She was taken to Atli's palace, journeying "four days a-riding, and other four a-shipboard, and yet four more again by land and road, till they came to a certain high-built hall." There a great feast was made, and the marriage was celebrated, "but never did her heart laugh on him, and little sweet and kind was their life together." Atli's attitude is clearly expressed in his words to Gudrun some years after their wedding: "I made a hard match—it cannot be gainsaid—thou woeful woman. I have little comfort from thee. I have never had rest since thou camest into my hands."

Yet Atli's character may have been partially responsible for this trouble. For he resembled quite closely his historical prototype in many ways: in his pride, his barbarous cruelty and bloodthirstiness, his hot temper, his treacherous conduct, and his greed for gold. The Atli of the *Völsungasaga* forms the strongest possible contrast with the Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied*, and resembles the Attila of the *Thidrekssaga* mainly in his avarice.

It was greed for gold which furnished the motive for the events following his marriage. Gudrun had completely forgotten all the wrongs she had suffered at the hands of her

* Translated by Magnusson and Morris, London, 1888.

brothers. But Atli thought of the hoard which had been Sigurd's, and decided upon a plan to get possession of it. He sent a messenger to invite Gunnar and Hogni to a feast. And in spite of foreboding dreams which appeared to their wives, and a warning sent by Gudrun, Gunnar and Hogni, allured by Atli's promises of the Hunnish kingdom at his death, set out for Atli's palace.

When they arrived at the burg of Atli, they found the gates closed. Hogni forced his way in and met Atli and his men at the door of the hall, or, as the story is told in one of the lays, inside the hall. Atli immediately demanded that they reveal to him the place where the hoard was hidden and give him possession of it. Gunnar and Hogni straightway refused and a battle ensued. There was no delay here, no ceremonious reception and lavish feast, no pretense of friendship; they came to blows at once. Gudrun, hearing the struggle, ran out, and finding vain all efforts to stop the combat, "does on her mail-coat and takes to her a sword, and fights by her brethren, and goes as far forward as the bravest of man-folk." And she "smote Atli's brother, . . . she shaped her stroke so that she smote off his foot, and struck the other so that he never rose again, sending him to hell." After much fierce fighting, all Gunnar's men fell. He and Hogni were taken prisoners, and soon met cruel deaths. Hogni's heart was cut out of his living body, and Gunnar was cast into a "worm-close," where he was stung to death by a snake, which was really Atli's witch-mother. Yet to the end they kept safe from Atli the secret of the place where the hoard was hidden. So was fulfilled the prophecy of Gudrun, who said of Atli,

This king shall bid Gunnar
Be stung to his bane,
And shall cut the heart
From out of Hogni.

In this version of the story, Gudrun was the champion of her kindred against her husband, and after the death of her brothers her strongest desire was for vengeance on Atli. But to gain her end she soon gave up all outward signs of

enmity and "made herself sweet of speech," suggesting that they hold a funeral feast for the dead on both sides. At the feast her revenge began, and her reply when Atli asked for his two young sons revealed the nature of that beginning. "Thou hast lost thy sons," she said, "and their heads are become beakers on the board here, and thou thyself hast drunken the blood of them blended with wine."

After this unnatural deed her next step was to plot with Hogni's son the death of her husband. One night they entered his chamber and stabbed him as he lay asleep. In the words of one of the Eddic lays,

Atli unaware
 Was a-weary with drink;
 No weapon had he,
 No heeding of Gudrun . . .
 To the bed with the sword-point
 Blood gave she to drink,
 With a hand fain of death,
 And she let the dogs loose:
 Then in from the hall-door—
 Up waked the house-carls—
 Hot brands she cast,
 Got revenge for her brethren.

But before she set fire to the hall, Atli awoke and discovered who it was who had stabbed him. And so, in the huge funeral-pyre of his own flaming palace, "Atli the king and all his folk ended their life-days." But Gudrun cast herself into the sea, and finally came to the land of King Jonakr, whom she married.

There are a few other references in saga to Attila and the Huns, but they are comparatively unimportant. The *Hervarar-saga* and the verse lay of Hloth and Angantyr record the great ten-days battle at Dunheath between the Goths and the Huns, the latter being under the leadership, however, of Humli, not Atli. And there are two brief references in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Widsith*.

Of little value in any attempt to reconstruct the story are the Danish and Faroe ballads. But they are of interest in showing how the material spread and ran out. The Faroe *Song of Hogni* tells how Hogni, son of Hogni, locked both

Grimhild and Attila in the cave with the hoard and let them starve to death. The three Danish ballads dealing with *Grimild's Revenge* tell of the coming of Gunther, Hogen, and their companions to the Whensish land, and of Grimild's death in the cave. Attila, however, does not appear in this story, nor in a similar account given in the Haven Chronicle. In the person of the hero of *Sir Loumor, or the Vengeance of Blood*, we recognize Attila, though his name is changed. The promise of the title is fulfilled in the ballad, for it is a gruesome and bloody tale, surpassing even the Eddic poems in this respect and lacking their epic dignity. Sir Loumor, a cruel and bloodthirsty knight, married against her wishes the fair Signild, whose father he had murdered. After eight years her seven brothers were invited to visit them, and Sir Loumor killed them all and offered his wife a goblet filled with their blood. After another eight years she had her revenge, and slew her husband's brothers and sisters. Then, having first offered him a goblet filled with their blood, she killed him in his bed. This has an obvious connection with the Scandinavian version of the death of Attila, to whom his wife gave the blood of their sons to drink before she executed vengeance for the murder of her kindred, by slaying him as he lay asleep. And here, too, both of these northern versions find their closest connecting link with history in their similarity to the tradition of Ildiko, the last wife of the historic Attila.

The growth of the Attila saga and its connection with that of the Burgundians can be at least conjectured. The evidence goes to show that the events of the year 451 probably gave rise to a cycle of songs about the exploits of the great king of the Huns. We have preserved for us in Jordanes' account the substance of the song which was sung at his funeral, and doubtless there were many others which had for their themes the prowess and glory of the "terror of the world." The popularity of the Siegfried story, which originated among the ranks and was spreading to England and Scandinavia, as well as into Austria and Bavaria, naturally led to the combination with the saga of another great hero. And the combination probably took place somewhat in this manner: When

the blame of Attila's sudden death came to be laid upon his young bride Ildiko or Hildiko, a motive for her crime was sought and found in revenge for the murder of her kinsmen by Attila. Some writers say that it was the death of her father that she was avenging, a version echoed in part by the Danish ballad of Sir Loumor; but as the story of the annihilation of the Burgundians by the Huns came to be associated with Attila, there came a change in the saga, making the bride the sister of the Burgundian kings. Thus Hildiko became identified with Kriemhild, the wife of Siegfried, because of the similarity of their names and the confusion due to the common Germanic habit of using the abbreviation "Hild." So the two stories were united, and the open-air battle with the Burgundians was transferred to the hall of Attila, for in Germanic story the "fight in the hall" is almost an essential episode.

The differences in the character of Attila are sufficiently easy to understand if we consider the places in which the various versions of the story grew up. In the memory of the Thuringians, the Ostrogoths, and the other tribes which fought under his banner, Attila would naturally remain the wise, kindly, hospitable monarch, the patron of knights like Dietrich von Bern, the refuge of all exiled heroes, truly the "little father," as his name implies. And so he is pictured in the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Thidrekssaga*. But to the Franks and the Burgundians, from whom the story spread to Scandinavia, he would always appear the grim, covetous, terrible tyrant. And so in the northern versions he is the cruel Atli, the "tempestuous, raging one," a name which is applied as a title even to the war-god, Thor. Even so to the future writer in Germany or Austria, Wilhelm II will be the gracious monarch, grieved, like Etzel, at a war for which he was not responsible, a martyr, locked by his enemies in a cave to die. To writers of the Allied nations, he will be, like Atli, the treacherous instigator of an unprovoked attack, an ambitious tyrant meeting a just death at the hand of one whose kindred he had murdered, amid the flaming ruins of his own house.

The Literary Status of Mark Twain, 1877-1890

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In the realm of pure literature perhaps the most representative American author of the eighties was Mark Twain. This is an amazingly bold statement, for during the halcyon eighties the field of American literature was by no means barren. That decade boasted such celebrities as Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman, Howells, and Harte. But Whittier had long ago sung his fiery song of Abolition and had ceased to have a message of great consequence. Holmes, a charming writer of society verse and occasional poems, a cultivated satirist, and a producer of thoughtful novels with a medical flavor, bore about as vital a relation to the great American masses as a dinner at the University Club bears to a rush-hour lunch at Childs'. Lowell, distinguished and venerable diplomat, had turned largely from the creative to the critical, from "Bigelow" to a scholarly consideration of the Elizabethan dramatics. Whitman was, paradoxically enough, the singer of the proletariat and the exclusive property of the high-brow. Howells was a youngish man, just coming into his own. Harte was the delineator of a very limited group, the rough characters of the far western mining-camps. Mark Twain, on the other hand, was the one big interpreter of the broad Mississippi Valley. And if one reflects upon the truth of the old saying that Kankakee and Ottumwa are more typically American than New York and Philadelphia, one is likely to agree that the Mississippi Valley was, thirty or forty years ago, *the* representative American section.

Even the most superficial glance at Mark Twain as he was in the eighties reveals the fact that he was a tremendously popular writer. Mr. John Macy is probably not exaggerating when he declares: "Mark Twain was the most successful man of letters of his time."¹ Beyond the shadow of a doubt,

¹ Macy, *Spirit of Amer. Lit.*, p. 249.

he was one of the most successful. This fact may be established in a variety of ways.

Take, for instance, the sales of his books. As international copyright did not exist until 1891, it is rather difficult to get accurate data on the sales of books prior to that year. Nevertheless, I have succeeded in assembling a few significant facts. Mark Twain's biographer, Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine, is authority for the statement that *Huckleberry Finn*, which was published late in 1884, reached a sale of fifty thousand copies within a few weeks.² *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) was "well received."³ *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) was "a successful book," especially abroad.⁴ And Mark Twain's British publishers, Chatto & Windus, are said to have paid him nearly \$40,000 for the sale of his books in England.⁵ Meanwhile several pirated editions, of which no definite figures are obtainable, were appearing both in Great Britain and in Canada.⁶

In this connection, we must not lose sight of the fact that in the late seventies and throughout the eighties, Mark Twain's works were being translated into the leading Continental European languages. In Germany, for example, there appeared the edition of M. Busch (Leipzig, 1877);⁷ and in France the translations of Paul Largiliere (1883) and W. L. Hughes (1884-6).⁸

Another evidence of Mark Twain's popularity in the eighties is to be found in the numerous and generally favorable reviews appearing in the periodicals of the time. Space forbids consideration of many of these. We may, however, pause long enough to note that when *Tom Sawyer* first appeared, the late William Dean Howells gave it a two-column notice in the *Atlantic Monthly*, hailing it as "a wonderful story of the boy-mind," and pronouncing it "very dramatically wrought."⁹ Other notably favorable reviews of

² Paine, *Mark Twain*, II, 793.

³ Paine, *Mark Twain*, II, 711.

⁴ Paine, *Mark Twain*, II, 745 *et seq.*

⁵ *Critic*, X, 158.

⁶ *Nation*, XCI, 260.

⁷ Meyers, *Konversations-Lexikon*, IV, 189.

⁸ *Dictionnaire International*, I, 643.

⁹ *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXVII, 621.

Mark Twain's books of this period are to be found in the *Nation*,¹⁰ the *Critic*,¹¹ the *Athenaeum*,¹² and the *Academy*.¹³

Meanwhile, of course, there were some derogatory notices. For instance, a writer in the *Critic* for 1882 expresses his disapproval thus: "Such a wild extravaganza as *The Stolen White Elephant* . . . seems, from our point of view, to have small excuse for being, although we can, by an effort of imagination, conceive of minds so constituted as to enjoy it."¹⁴ In a similar connection, Mr. Paine makes the following observation: "'The Yankee in King Arthur's Court' not only offended the English nation, but much of it offended the better taste of Mark Twain's own countrymen."¹⁵ And we of the present generation are both astonished and amused when we read this excerpt from the generally sane *Springfield Republican* of March 28, 1885: "The Concord public library committee deserves well of the public by their action in banishing Mark Twain's new book, 'Huckleberry Finn,' on the ground that it is trashy and vicious. It is time that this influential pseudonym should cease to carry into homes and libraries unworthy productions. Mr. Clemens is a genuine and powerful humorist, . . . but . . . he has no reliable sense of propriety . . . They ('Tom Sawyer' and 'Huckleberry Finn') are no better in tone than the dime novels which flood the blood-and-thunder reading population. Mr. Clemens has made them smarter, . . . and his literary skill is, of course, superior; but their moral level is low, and their perusal cannot be anything less than harmful."¹⁶

The above notices, however, except as regards *The Yankee*, are far from typical of the best or most influential critical opinion of the eighties.

Another evidence of Mark Twain's popularity during or about the decade which we are considering is to be found in the size and enthusiasm of the audiences at his lectures and public readings. Specific citations would require more time

¹⁰ *Nation*, XXXV, 119; XXXVII, 192.

¹¹ *Critic*, VI, 155; XVI, 90.

¹² *Athenaeum*, No. 2901, p. 694.

¹³ *Academy*, XXIV, 58.

¹⁴ *Critic*, II, 163.

¹⁵ Paine, II, 891.

¹⁶ Quoted by *Critic*, VI, 155.

and space than I have at my disposal, but a study of Mr. Paine's index is indeed illuminating. Let me cite one incident: the home-coming banquet tendered General Grant at the Palmer House, Chicago, in November, 1879, immediately after the distinguished soldier's return from his world-tour. At this banquet, which was one of the biggest and most significant in the history of the metropolis of the West, there were some six hundred guests. Mark Twain acted as toast-master. When he arose to speak there was a "tornado" of applause.¹⁷

As a final evidence of Mark Twain's popularity, I mention his distinguished friends and patrons. Not only was he on intimate terms with several Presidents of the United States: he was courted by European royalty as well. The Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, received him with great cordiality;¹⁸ and Mr. William Hohenzollern, erstwhile German Emperor, once entertained him at dinner.¹⁹

How shall we account for the striking popularity of this simple, rather plebeian Westerner, who had neither inherited wealth, nor official position, nor academic honors? What were the particular forces which drew him into the limelight in the late seventies and the eighties?

In an attempt to answer these questions let us first consider for a moment his earlier career. Mark Twain—or, to use his real name, Samuel Langhorne Clemens—was born in 1835 in a sleepy Missouri village. Being of a venturesome nature, he had led a roving life, "roughing it" in the far West, knocking about Europe, and serving by turns as Confederate recruit, Mississippi River pilot, miner, journalist, lecturer, and professional humorist. His first literary work of note was *The Jumping Frog* (1867). Concerning this Mr. Paine says: "Papers printed and reprinted it, and it was translated into foreign tongues."²⁰ A much more conspicuous success was *Innocents Abroad* (1869), whose sales amounted in three years to almost one hundred thousand copies; and this in spite of the fact that the book sold for not less than \$3.50 a

¹⁷ Paine, II, 656.

¹⁸ Paine, II, 951.

¹⁹ Paine, II, 951.

²⁰ Twain, *Letters*, I, 7.

copy!²¹ Mark Twain's one other notable book prior to the late seventies was *The Gilded Age* (1873), whose immortal Colonel Sellers, "a colossal comic creation," at once delighted the public.²² It will thus be seen that long before the seventies began to wane, Mark Twain had an enviable reputation on which to build later successes.

A second reason for his prestige was hinted at in my opening paragraph; namely, that he was the representative writer of a large and thoroughly typical section of the country.

Before we consider either Clemens or his native section, however, let us pause to take an inventory of the eighties. This decade, as historians now generally agree, was one of singular happiness, contentment, and prosperity. The Civil War was over, and many of its animosities which had endured through the early and middle seventies were rapidly dying out. No panic disturbed the equanimity of the American people. Prices were low and wages relatively high. The telephone, the trolley, the phonograph, and numerous other inventions and improvements were adding to the comfort, convenience, and charm of life. It was clearly an age of humanism, an age when people had every reason to be interested in this world and its delights. An era of depression is likely to produce moralists like Milton and Bunyan, or cynics like Dryden and Pope. A period of exuberance, on the other hand, like the spacious Elizabethan times, will call forth a great humanist like Shakspere. The eighties in America were decidedly more Elizabethan than Jacobean or Cromwellian. This decade, therefore, demanded a writer who was intensely enthusiastic about human life; and, to be specific, human life in a section of the country upon which all eyes would most naturally be focused.

Now what shall we say of the Mississippi Valley as it was in the next to the last decade of the nineteenth century? In the great industrial centers of the East, the progress of invention was rapidly stimulating the growth of monopoly.

²¹ Twain, *Letters*, I, 10.

²² Macy, pp. 257-8.

Monopoly, in turn, was driving many small farmers and tradesmen out of positions—causing many a young man to heed Horace Greeley's advice and go West. Figures speak more convincingly than mere general statements. Between 1880 and 1890, the West Central states—Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas—gained nearly fifty per cent in population, whereas the gain for the United States as a whole was slightly less than twenty-five per cent.²³ Typical Mississippi-Missouri Valley towns like Kansas City, Omaha, Des Moines, and St. Joseph were doubling, tripling, or quadrupling in population.²⁴ Doubtless more than one *blasé* Easterner was saying to some other *blasé* Easterner: "Let us read about that wonderful land beyond the Appalachians, across the Father of Waters—that land where you and I may be next year."

And who was the one man capable of depicting that land and its people most vividly, accurately, and charmingly? None other than Mark Twain! It was he who could draw the Mississippi with the correctness of a Baedeker, yet with the color and animation of a Balzac. It was he who could give with all their Western flavor the ha'nted house, the mysterious cave, the grave-yard (not *church*-yard) a mile and a half from town, the abortive attempt at body-snatching, the rough spirit of avenging crime without invoking law, the "speechifying" of Senator Benton, the noisy revival-meeting with its inevitable back-slidings, the sleepy grocery-boys with their tilted splint-bottomed chairs and piles of whittlings, the lordly river-pilots who could swear so impressively and so magnificently, the strange democracy of the whole social system. It was he who could make one hear the dull chug, the hoarse whistle, and the chiming bell of the river-boat, and know that they belonged to a craft on the Mississippi. It was he who could individualize and immortalize such familiar southwestern types as Injun Joe, Nigger Jim, and Finn the town drunkard.

Nor was Mark Twain a mere artist. He was a philosopher who could satirize most tellingly the foibles of his age, his

²³ *Abstract of Census*, pp. 22-24.

²⁴ *Encycl. Brit.*, XV. 662; XX. 98; XIII. 98; XXIV. 19.

country, and his native valley. Witness this keen and caustic indictment of the nineteenth-century, American, Western, rural spirit of irreverence: "A solemn hush fell upon the church, which was only broken by the tittering and whispering of the choir in the gallery. The choir always tittered and whispered all through service. There was once a church choir that was not ill-bred, but I have forgotten where it was, now. It was a great many years ago, and I can scarcely remember anything about it, but I think it was in some foreign country."²⁵ And note this castigation of American and frontier laxity of law-enforcement: "This funeral stopped the further growth of one thing—the petition to the governor for Injun Joe's pardon. The petition had been largely signed; many tearful and eloquent meetings had been held, and a committee of sappy women been appointed to go in deep mourning and wail around the governor, and implore him to be a merciful ass and trample his duty under foot. Injun Joe was believed to have killed five citizens of the village, but what of that? If he had been Satan himself there would have been plenty of weaklings ready to scribble their names to a pardon-petition, and drip a tear on it from their permanently impaired and leaky water-works."²⁶

I have said that Mark Twain must have owed much of his prestige to the vivid realism with which he depicted the life of his day and section. But his settings were not always either domestic or contemporary. For example, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) has, of course, a British and mediaeval background. Yet the Mark Twain who wrote so convincingly about life on the Mississippi is just as truly manifest in this romantic travesty on Malory and Tennyson as in the more realistic *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. I think Clemens might better have entitled his romance *A Westerner in King Arthur's Court*, for his stinging satire against all forms of aristocracy and feudalism belongs to the frontier or the near-frontier more than to the Atlantic seaboard. Here again, indeed, we observe an out-

²⁵ Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, p. 48.

²⁶ Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, p. 297.

cropping of the breezy Westernism of the eighties. We may summarize this spirit in the apt words of Mr. Macy: "Mark Twain hated the lords of the earth."²⁷

In seeking to ascertain the cause of Mark Twain's great vogue in the eighties, I have not mentioned one element which many would place in the forefront: namely, his humor. My reason for slighting this is a feeling that as time goes on, his humor is considered relatively less and less important. In this connection, I am strongly impressed by the following statement by Howells: "All fashions change, and nothing more wholly and quickly than the fashion of fun . . . Mark Twain would pass with the conditions that made him intelligible, if he were not an artist of uncommon power as well as a humorist."²⁸ Certainly, however, Mark Twain's witticisms were intelligible to the people of the eighties; and these people, living in a well-fed, optimistic age, were in a mood for laughter—much the same mood as that which, three centuries earlier, possessed the original applauders of Dogberry, Falstaff, and Ralph Royster Doyster.

One characteristic of S. L. Clemens, the man, which must have won thousands of readers for Mark Twain, the author, was his lively interest in public men and public affairs. I have already mentioned his acting as toast-master at the big Grant banquet in 1879. In this connection, we may note also his presiding at a Hayes rally at Hartford during the campaign of 1876, his electioneering for Garfield in 1880, and his bolting Blaine and becoming a Mugwump in 1884.²⁹ More striking, however, than any of these facts is the following charming little incident related by Mr. Paine. It appears that during Cleveland's first administration there arose rumors that Frank Mason, American consul-general at Frankfort and one of the most competent men in our diplomatic service, was to be recalled for political reasons. Clemens and his friends felt that Mason's recall would be a grave injustice, both to Mason and to the country. Clemens therefore wrote a letter to Baby Ruth Cleveland, setting forth the truth of

²⁷ Macy, p. 263.

²⁸ Howells, *My Mark Twain*, p. 143.

²⁹ Paine, II, 582, 694, 779.

the situation and begging her to use her influence with her father to prevent Mason's recall. In this case Cleveland proved to have as good a sense of humor and justice as Mark Twain; for the latter soon received a reply from little Miss Cleveland (per "G. C."), thanking him for his letter and assuring him that Mason would be retained.³⁰ Surely a great many American people of the eighties must have been deeply and favorably impressed with the fact that Clemens had the welfare of his country very much at heart.

It has been said that there are three classes of writers: those of high rank with a small audience; those of low rank with a large audience; and those of high rank with a large audience. In the first class we put such writers as Ibsen, George Meredith, and Henry James; in the second class, such writers as E. P. Roe, Mary J. Holmes, and Harold Bell Wright; and in the third class, such writers as Shakespeare, Dickens, and Tennyson. Mark Twain, so far as the eighties at least were concerned, belonged in the third class.

³⁰ Paine, II, 863.

Carlyle's Life of John Sterling

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To know the Victorians through their formal *opera* is merely to have scraped an acquaintance. Their friendship is for those who know them more casually and so more intimately. The letter, the diary, the unprinted manuscript are the *cartes d'entrée* to their firesides. But more useful than these,—more useful because you may take them down from your own shelves—are a few books so nearly forgotten as to be regarded, if not as literary curiosities, at least as Victorian heresies. Yet these books were thrown off by their creators in the stir of eager conviction. Their philosophies are frequently free from the numbing prudence, so often begotten of expected official publication. Occasionally they attack fiercely, without reserve, those of the opposite wing of thought. And always there are silhouettes, whimsically just, of Victorians who were different when we were introduced to them formally. In form such books are apt to be atrocious; in their sincerity they are sure to be delightful. The unrivalled example of them all is *Yeast, A Novel*, by Charles Kingsley. But the beginner, knocking for the first time at the Victorian back-door, should open Carlyle's *Life of John Sterling*. It is the primer of the Victorian novice.

When Carlyle called his biography "a poor tatter of a thing" he was thinking, quite probably, of its intellectual incoherence. All the ferment of fragmentary and eccentric beliefs is stamped upon the book. As if he peered into a beryl-stone the reader sees in imagination the prophets of the age. Newman is at Littlemore, and the shop-window posters bear index fingers pointing towards Rome. Carlyle characterizes Christianity as "Hebrew old clothes." At the hest of his "dearest master" Maurice Kingsley is preaching the doctrines of the *Kingdom of Christ*. Against Newman's "frankly impossible solution" Matthew Arnold places his resigned faith in a "Not-Ourselves that makes for Righteousness." And Clough at Oxford, certainly the spokesman for

many young Englishmen of his day, describes himself as "a straw in the draught of a chimney." All this within a few years,—as Kingsley said, yeast! No one sensed these vagaries of belief more keenly than Carlyle; no one denounced them more frankly. And in the *Life of John Sterling* the puissant voice was not yet over-strained. There is no bitterness in the book, rather sweetness of spirit. And in it is reflected the England that Henry Adams understood,—the England of eccentricities.

The pure lightning of Carlyle illumines this England. Or, rather it illumines the life of one fine spirit, John Sterling, living in this England. The cross-currents of thought beat upon Sterling and, from one point of view, overwhelm him. The persuasive power of Carlyle's narrative depends primarily upon the truthfulness of what he says of Sterling. The reader may check the facts for himself, either in the *Life of Sterling* by Archdeacon Hare, or in other attesting data. An additional source of strength lies in the sympathy with which Carlyle tells his story. The tale of the tanneries of Meudon in the *French Revolution*, the anecdote of the shoes in the *Essay on Samuel Johnson*, and a myriad other incidents have revealed Carlyle's understanding of men. But in this life of his friend this power is accentuated, personal. Carlyle makes us understand Sterling's experience. And because of this we begin to understand a little more clearly the complex life of his era. John Sterling really lived, and his history is told by Thomas Carlyle. There are other books which are helpful prefaces for the beginner, but these are truthful records, uninspired, such as the *Diary of Caroline Fox*, or, like Kingsley's *Yeast*, they are fiction. But the *Life of John Sterling* is the story of a real man related by a man of genius.

But a more personal reason for knowing the Victorians first through the *Life of John Sterling* is that the book admits the reader at once to intimacy with a literary class to which he has been properly but distantly presented by their dignified and, sometimes, boring books. I have a friend who insists upon knowing, whenever possible, authors before their books. He must chat with Mr. Masefield ere he will read

a line of him; he will not see *Justice* until some club corner has yielded up Mr. Galsworthy. Such an ideal invites disillusionment, but may be mildly realized by reading the *Life of John Sterling*. We may dine with Carlyle's friends or walk London town with them. A period of time may elapse before we read the theological writings of Mr. Frederick Denison Maurice, but if we see him with Sterling in the *Athenaeum* adventure, or at Sterling's death-bed we are likely to think of him justly and with some admiration. It is interesting, too, to see Sterling and John Stuart Mill together in the Sistine Chapel. Seldom has the portrait-painting hand limned more vividly. You see "Good Little Frank" Edgeworth, in Carlyle's sketch, "a short neat man; of sleek, square, colourless face (resembling the portraits of his father), with small blue eyes in which twinkled curiously a joyless smile; his voice was croaky and shrill, with a touch of shrewish obstinacy in it, and perhaps of sarcasm withal. A composed, dogmatic, speculative, exact, and not melodious man." Here, too, is Francis Newman, "then and still an ardently inquiring soul, of fine university and other attainments, of sharp-cutting restlessly advancing intellect, and the mildest pious enthusiasm." And there are glimpses of others: Richard Trench, then far from *Words* and the Archbishopric of Dublin; Jacky Kemble; Baconian Spedding; Apollo-like George Venables, destined to break Thackeray's nose, and to become George Warrington in *Pendennis*; Keatsian Milnes, too. Truly, we have broken Victorian privacy.

The works of Sterling some have talked of, but few have read. Carlyle cannot persuade us to take him seriously as a man of letters. Indeed, he scarcely tries. Sterling's books are found on remote shelves of outrageously large libraries. Alphabetically, chronologically, or in order of merit, the seasoned reader consumes them only late in life. There is pleasure in dipping into them, for they are the expression of a winning personality. But no more: through Carlyle and through Carlyle alone shall we remember Sterling. In the *Onyx Ring*, which *Blackwood's* brought out in 1838, Carlyle himself is a protagonist. Edmonston, the hero, passing weary of his own personality, assumes, by means of a magic ring,

those of his friends. Archdeacon Hare, under a fragile disguise, is his first new identity. Dull satiety creeps in; he no longer cares to be even Archdeacon Hare. Another personality, of a hermit, is clearly an effigy of Carlyle. He denounces political parties; he decries happiness; he is described as "the most marked and original figure . . . in modern England." Edmonston finally makes a decision frequently arrived at in life: it is more interesting to work out one's own disagreeable destiny than the pleasanter fates of one's friends. He puts his old cloak about him; Edmonston becomes Edmonston and marries his first love.

Arthur Coningsby, the youthful novel of 1833, and the *Essays and Talcs*, published by Parker in 1848, are even less convincing. To accept any judgment of Carlyle's concerning poetry, even Sterling's, is surprising. The assertion that Shakespeare should have stuck to prose persuades nearly everyone that Carlyle never left childhood aesthetically. But his criticisms of Sterling's verse are just. Of *Strafford*, the tragedy dedicated to Emerson, Carlyle writes: "Before going to Italy he had sent me the manuscript; . . . willing to hear the worst that could be said of his poetic enterprise. I had to afflict him again, the good brave soul, with the deliberate report that I could *not* accept this Drama as his Picture of the Life of *Strafford*, or as any *Picture* of that strange Fact." Still there are in *Strafford* noble passages. *The Election*, too, Sterling's comic poem, is readable. *The Sexton's Daughter* is a rare bit of fustian. The poem is Wordsworthian and is itself ample proof that the founder of the Lake School was, for the Victorians certainly, inimitable. The burden is of Henry, the school-teacher, in love with the daughter of the Sexton. This person, true to the traditions of cruel fathers, tries to lure Henry into the profession of grave-digging. He has the pardonable illusion that it is more lucrative than teaching. In the biography Carlyle bolsters up the poem with some rather noisy rhetoric. It is said, however, that when he finished reading the poem for the first time he snarled: "Goody-goody!" Poor Sterling! He failed in literature as in so many other ventures.

Yet Sterling's literary futility is incidental. To know as much as this of Sterling's life is to know his friends well. And to know his friends well is to know many Victorian belletrists. Vignettes of Englishmen, great and otherwise, of 1840; chat of amazing literary enterprises; talk of *The Atheneum*, of *Sartor Resartus*,—of the making of many Victorian books there is no end! The very spirit of the time is in the book.

For even the thumb-nail sketches of the age seem those of an apprentice beside the single superb portrait of Coleridge. In many ways Coleridge was to Victorian thought almost a first cause. Its woof is woven of the threads of his philosophy. At one time all young Englishmen were thinking in terms of Coleridge. Growths from his seminal mind were everywhere. Coleridge moonshine had become an intellectual fashion. Such a turn of thought as the Broad Church Movement owed its existence, in part, to Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. But Coleridge affected his contemporaries less by his writing than by speech. Those who would know Coleridge must turn from his unfinished books to the records of his conversation,—those strange fantasies of wisdom. *Viva voce* portraits, in the case of Coleridge, are precious. Emerson describes Coleridge's regret that Doctor Channing had been a Unitarian. It was, he said, "an unspeakable misfortune." The metaphysician then read furiously from a book execrating all Unitarians. "I am a Unitarian," Emerson mildly interrupted. "Yes, I suppose so," replied the other, and continued his anathemas. Engravings of him exist by Scott, Southey, Hazlitt, DeQuincey, and Woodsworth. Charles Lamb was under the spell of his voice as the memorable apostrophe attests: "Come back into memory . . . Samuel Taylor Coleridge—Logician, Metaphysician, Bard!—How have I seen the casual passer through the Cloisters stand still, entranced with admiration, to hear thee unfold, in thy deep and sweet intonations, the mysteries of Jamblichus, or Plotinus (for even in those years thou waxedst not pale at such philosophic draughts), or reciting Homer in his Greek, or Pindar—while the walls of the old Grey Friars reëchoed to the accents of the *inspired charity-boy!*"

But of all portraits Carlyle's is the most personal, the most suggestive, easily the greatest in literature. This chapter alone makes the *Life of John Sterling* an admirable portal to Victorian literature. Sir George Trevelyan, speaking of the literary conservatism of his uncle in his *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, says: "Little as he was aware of it, it was no slight privation, for one who had keenly tasted the exquisite trifling of Plato . . . [not to taste] the description of Coleridge's talk in *The Life of John Sterling*." That the real Coleridge looks out from Carlyle's picture is apparent from Coleridge's own memorials of his life. A letter to Mr. Poole, written in 1797, depicting his dreamy boyhood, is like the opening scene of the drama whose final act Carlyle describes: "Coleridge sat on the brow of Highgate Hill, in those years, looking down on London and its smoke-tumult, like a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle; attracting towards him the thoughts of innumerable brave souls engaged there . . . He had, especially among young inquiring men, a higher than literary, a kind of prophetic or magician character . . . A sublime man who, alone in those dark days had saved his crown of spiritual manhood."

"Coleridge moonshine," Carlyle thought, unsettled Sterling and other young Englishmen in their attitude towards the church. They had a healthy intolerance of its Shibboleths, but the mage was forever exhorting them: *Esto perpetua!* Sterling wavered. On the threshold he shrank before the "black dragoon in every parish, on good pay and rations, horse meat and man's meat." The "black dragoon" was the smug country parson, equipped with pony carriage for wife and children, who buried himself in the trivia of theological controversy. This lie Sterling would not live. His was the odd quest, not of orthodoxy, but of Truth. Instead of entering the Church he played restlessly with original and even dangerous turns of thought. With Carlyle he drank deeply of speculative German philosophy. He never became what Hare made him out, "a pale, sickly shadow in a torn surplice," for he loved what belonged to manhood, and he possessed the intellectual and moral courage to face doubt. But despite this he did the characteristic thing of the age: at last he took

orders. He did this under the discipline of events grave and saddening. It was a very natural and not unbeautiful thing that Sterling in the time of his distress returned to the faith of his fathers. "When they are at their wits end they call upon Him." Sterling remained in the fold exactly eight months. Was ill health, as given out, the reason for Sterling's defection? Unquestionably the taking of orders was an aberration. The real Sterling could never be a Churchman. He was rather the representative of his generation, both in the uncertainty of his faith and in his final repudiation of the English Church. Sterling left the Church with his belief in Christianity shattered; his love for it remained the same. Carlyle makes Sterling's experience vivid, he also leaves no doubt that this tragedy was enacted daily. His whole book protests that the Church of England of that day could not satisfy the needs of thoughtful young men.

From Sterling's vagaries the Victorian recruit learns much, and from the relation of them he comprehends more clearly the elusive faith of Thomas Carlyle. That "inarticulate" belief is best set forth by Froude, but Carlyle's incidental confessions are more personal and often more enlightening. The sneers at the "old Hebrew clothes" of Christianity; the declaration that 'it is as sure as mathematics that such things never happened;' and the puzzling assurance of Carlyle to his mother that basically his and her beliefs were identical,—all such are increments of real constructive value. And the *Life of Sterling* teems with frank comments upon Carlyle's own religion.

Sometimes, indeed, the biography seems merely a medium for Carlyle's own opinions. The reader is never allowed to forget who is speaking, one Thomas Carlyle, prophet of the nineteenth century. He often resembles an orchestra leader attempting a too difficult symphony. And occasionally he seems to leap upon the stage, baton in hand! Accordingly all judgments of Sterling have a strong Carlylean bias. Carlyle's dislike of his friends' "japannish" classicality was born of his own distaste for the classics. Among the Greeks he himself cared only for Homer. Far better, he asserted, the bold Scandinavian mythology. Here, in the *Life of John Sterling*

behold the whimsical preferences of "the Goth of literature": the aversion to Keats and Byron; the horror of Horace; and the admiration for such antitheses as Sterne and Richter.

It is as if Carlyle's personality had cast over Sterling's life a gigantic shadow, thus rendering the book unique among biographies. Sterling is engulfed by a kindred but mightier spirit. You feel an unequal marriage of true minds. Sterling stands out, but largely for the reason that he is described by "the devouring eye and the portrait-painting hand." After all is said, the most extraordinary aspect of the *Life of John Sterling* is that, in concluding, one thinks not of the biographee but of the biographer. Boswell, Hallam, Tennyson, William Michael Rossetti are lost in the hierophants they worship, but John Sterling is swallowed up in Thomas Carlyle. Everyone knows the biographies of men of genius written by men of talent. The *Life of John Sterling* is a biography of a man of talent written by a man of genius.

This genius will make us remember Sterling. Because of Carlyle the student of Victorian literature may understand the "weariness and sicknesses, fightings and despondings" of this Victorian. "Here, visible to myself, for some while, was a brilliant human presence, distinguishable, honourable and lovable amid the dim common populations; among the million little beautiful, once more a beautiful human soul: whom I, among others, recognized and lovingly walked with, while the years and hours were." Sterling's gift for friendships was prodigious, and has helped him to put on, in some degree, immortality. He was capable of a lasting intimacy with a man three thousand miles away whom he had never seen. Carlyle introduced Sterling to Emerson by letter; their letters attest the warmth of their friendship. But the vital friendship of Sterling's life was with Carlyle himself.

Just after the appearance in *Frazer's* of that shocking parable, *Sartor Resartus*, with its Teutonic syntax and its snow-rose-bloom-maidens, Mill brought the two together. Sterling's subsequent review of *Sartor* recommended it to many bewildered readers, and gave it fame among Carlyle's contemporaries. The secret of the friendship which persisted until Sterling's death may be guessed. Sterling was not a

“hero.” But Carlyle found in their life attitudes a basic agreement, and the stimulus, too, of something else. Our best friends are those who understand us, yet supply, also, a spiritual need. What struck Carlyle with wonder was Sterling’s optimism. As the friendship deepened it became a complement of his own sad nature. For Carlyle, though he spoke much of hope, was seldom hopeful. And Sterling cheered him.

This sunniness, indeed, was Sterling’s glory. To poverty, to disease, to the spiritual maladies of the age,—and to these he was keenly susceptible,—he opposed a rare and resolute courage. Besieged by trouble he writes Emerson: “But after all regrets, Life is good,—to see the face of Truth, and enjoy the beauty of tears and smiles, and know one’s self a man, . . . All this is a blessing that may console us for all wants, and *that* sickness and sorrow, and, one may trust, Death, cannot take away.” Death came apace, but on the verge Sterling sent a brave word to America: “I fear nothing,” he wrote to Emerson, “and I hope much.” At the very last, a letter, a strangely beautiful memorial of his affection for Carlyle:

“My Dear Carlyle,—For the first time for many months it seems possible to send you a few words; merely, however, for Remembrance and Farewell. On higher matters there is nothing to say. I tread the common road into the great darkness, without any thought of fear, and with very much of hope. Certainty indeed I have none. With regard to You and Me I cannot begin to write; having nothing for it but to keep shut the lid of those secrets with all the iron weights that are in my power. Towards me it is still more true than towards England that no man has been and done like you. Heaven bless you! If I can lend a hand when THERE, that will not be wanting. It is all very strange, but not one hundredth part so sad as it seems to the standers-by.

JOHN STERLING.”

The Education of Women in Latin-America

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The rapid progress of education of women in Latin-America has been blocked, not only by the general indifference or actual opposition which have manifested themselves to some extent in all countries, but also by a complication of two other factors, the Spaniard's Moorish attitude toward women and the ever-present discrimination against the lowly born of either sex. The general feeling towards women has been that those of the lower classes should work and be taught nothing that would make them protest at being held as beasts of burden, and that those of the upper class should be kept from all contact with the world. Popular education has not been considered desirable. The Church, which had control of all training for many centuries, was content with teaching the rudiments of the faith, except in the case of a favored few. The owners of large plantations and all others who profit by the forced labor of the Indians and half-breeds, men and women, still seriously object to schooling being forced on their peons.

One learns by reading the school laws of Latin-America that universal primary education has been compulsory for many years, but, unfortunately, these laws were written as the ideal of the central governments. The vision of the few, not the demand of the many, has been the inspiration of all efforts to give schools to all classes. The Indians, who compose so large a part of the population of most of the Spanish American countries, and the Creoles of the rural districts, have for the most part not been reached by the schools at all.

Mexico, in 1821, passed good laws requiring all children to attend school, but the poverty of the people, the lack of teachers, and the dense ignorance of the masses made enforcement of the laws impossible. Even on the upper classes they had so little effect that in 1842 Madame Calderon could say: "Generally speaking, the Mexican Señoras and Señoritas

write, read and play a little. When I say they read, I mean they know how to read; when I say they write, I do not mean they can always spell; and when I say they play, I do not assert that they have generally a knowledge of music. If we compare their education with that of girls of England, or in the United States, it is not a comparison but a contrast. . . . Then as to schools, there are none that deserve the name, and no governesses. . . . When very young, they occasionally attend the schools, where the boys and girls learn to read in common, or any other accomplishment that the old women can teach them; but at twelve they are already considered too old to attend these promiscuous assemblages, and masters are got for drawing and music to finish their education. . . . It frequently happens that the least well-informed girls are the children of the cleverest men, who, keeping to the customs of their forefathers, are content if they confess regularly, attend church constantly, and can embroider and sing a little."¹ But the Government kept on with its efforts for general education, and in 1887 when Mrs. Gooch published her *Face to Face with the Mexicans*, she could say: "Industrial and normal schools and colleges are now in successful operation at many central points. In these girls receive not only a practical education, but also instruction in the various branches of art by highly qualified masters. . . . During my sojourn at the capital, one young señorita graduated in dentistry. She began at once assisting her father, who was a dentist, in his office, the fact being announced in all the leading newspapers." This account makes it clear that economic pressure was already forcing the middle class girls out from their seclusion.

In spite of the troubles of the Mexican government, there has been a constant progress in providing funds and trained teachers—the two essentials for good schools. Supervision and aid from the central government has been beneficial, though not always gladly received by the provinces, some of which have strong "state's rights" theories, and welcome

¹"Life in Mexico": Madame Calderon de la Barca. Published in London, 1843. Madame Calderon was the wife of a British diplomat and had exceptional opportunities for studying the life of the upper class in Mexico.

no compulsory education law or practice. Where there are schools, girls are given the same training as boys, with domestic arts in addition. There are a few good trade schools for girls, and some night schools for working women. The Normal Schools are the most vital part of the educational efforts of the state, and many sons and daughters of the poor receive state aid during their attendance. The Normals are usually patronized by the very poor, partly because the sons of the rich expect to enter a more lucrative calling than that of teaching and the daughters do not prepare for any profession or trade, and partly because the Catholic Church opposes all secular schools and only the very ambitious young people without any social standing to lose, will risk its censure. Mexico has no colleges of the modern type. The new University of Mexico, established in 1910, includes the schools of law, medicine, engineering, architecture, a national preparatory school of college grade, and a graduate school. In 1912 there were three women enrolled in the graduate school. The great prejudice against coeducation will deter all but the strongest characters from an effort to enter the University. In general, it may be said that in Mexico class and race determine the probability or even possibility of educational privileges. Girls of the upper class have a "finishing school" training or even less; girls of the middle class may study for a profession or a trade, and an ever increasing number are doing this; girls of the peon class have very little opportunity, if any, to learn to read and write, for, even in peace times, school buildings, teachers and incentives to study are lacking.

In South America Argentina has led in education for many years, due chiefly to the start given by Sarmiento, the "School-master President," who established a school for girls in 1836, when he was a teacher. In 1842 he started a normal school, and afterwards went first to Europe and then to the United States to study educational methods. He was made Minister of Public Instruction of Argentina, then, after representing his country in the United States for a short time, he was elected president in 1868. He immediately called some American women to form a model normal school

at Parana, and so prepared for the training of at least a small corps of teachers who could go through the country to train others. But in spite of the law that "primary education is free and compulsory," the last available statistics state that only about half the children of school age are even enrolled.

The secondary schools for girls, called "liceos," teach all the subjects given in the boys' "colegios," and music and domestic arts. Some boys' schools admit girls, but there is so much feeling against this that but few girls attend them. The opening of professional and trade schools to girls has been appreciated to an astonishing degree. There are two types of such schools; in one, the trades feature is emphasized; in the other, a complete course in household arts is given. The trades usually taught are dressmaking, millinery, and tailoring. When the student has mastered a trade, she is given a certificate of competency. The manual training schools have a fixed curriculum requiring three years for graduation. Girls must have the rudiments of a primary education and be fourteen years old to enter them. Commercial arithmetic, elements of bookkeeping, and typewriting are taught usually in these schools, but owing to the fear of possible competition with men, courses as thorough as boys get are not allowed. Poor families would be greatly benefited if their daughters would attend these schools and so learn to raise their standard of living, but the great majority of pupils come from the artisan class and that of the small shopkeeper. An unusually praiseworthy school is "La Escuela Normal de Lenguas Vivas." Here girls are given both primary and secondary education, and are taught, and taught to teach, a foreign language. They learn to speak, read, and write a language, and study the history and customs of the people whose mother tongue they are to teach. The regular normal schools are attended almost entirely by women, so of course the public school teachers are usually women. In 1914 there were 21,961 women to 6,505 men. The small pay and, doubtless, the scarcity of openings for women in other fields are the causes for this condition.

When the University of La Plata was founded in 1906, it was open to women, and the older Universities then allowed women to matriculate regularly. Women are in a large majority in the pedagogical departments of the Universities of La Plata and of Buenos Aires, and are found in large numbers in the schools of medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry.

In Chile the earliest efforts of the state were concentrated on secondary schools, to which girls were not admitted. The Government finally saw that primary education for both sexes is essential for prosperity and progress, and it subsidized both public and private schools. Coeducation is usual in the primary schools, but not in the secondary. At the Chilean Educational Congress in December, 1902, Señora Maria Espindola de Munoz, principal of a girls' school, complained that the discussions on secondary education had to be held in two sections because the courses for girls were so inferior to those for boys. Chile claims to have the oldest normal school of college grade in South America, the Instituto Pedagógico, founded in 1889. At first the presence of women was not thought of, but when high-schools for girls increased and teachers for them were necessary, a few women at a time, under protests and with restrictions, were admitted. Now the women have absolute equality and outnumber the men three to one. The "Instituto" is a "university school of education," and has a curriculum divided into seven distinct sections. Women are admitted to the national university, and are found chiefly in the schools of pharmacy, dentistry, and midwifery, and in the nurses' training school. The National School of Music and Arts has a larger attendance of women than of men. This institution is of great benefit to the middle class, as girls are trained to be good musicians or actresses. The normal and the industrial schools are the types that are being stressed most in Chile. The Government expends annually \$200,000 on the industrial schools for girls. Women in general are still terribly ignorant and the consequences are superstition, crime, and an appalling rate of infant mortality. Government recognition of cause and effect and the increasing effort to educate the girls and supply night schools, adult schools, and lectures for women, are hav-

ing a slow but very clear effect on the country. Economic conditions must change in order to allow girls to get the "common-school" education, for in 1911 only a little more than one per cent of the girls who entered school at all reached the sixth grade, and only two per cent reached the fifth.

Uruguay has a very small proportion of Indians in its population and has been able to make rapid strides in its efforts towards popular education. Coeducation is the custom in primary schools, and girls are given courses in domestic science and in gymnastics. In the provinces poorly trained teachers have been the rule, but the Government is so concerned that it has sent a number of women teachers to the United States to study primary methods and manual training. Some educators are awake to the necessity of educating women of all classes if the moral and physical standard of the race is to be improved, as was shown by the almost dramatic paper of Eduardo Monteverde, Professor in the National University of Montevideo, on "Finalidad Esencial de la Educacion de la Mujer," given at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress.

Bolivia has a most difficult educational problem as its population is three-fourths Indian or mixed. President Montes sent a Commission to Europe to study educational systems, and as a result of this visit a Normal School was founded at Sucre in 1910 and Dr. G. Rouma was called from the Normal at Brussels to be its head. Dr. Rouma believed in coeducation, and against great opposition he allowed women to enter the new school. After two years' trial, the Government officially adopted coeducation in the Normal. Dr. Rouma wrote of the great eagerness of the women teachers of the country for training in a paper in *L'Ecole Moderne*. (Nov. 1913.) He said: "In order to convey some idea of the difficulties attending the journey of these groups of young women to the Normal School, it should be explained that in December, the time of the journey, the roads are partially destroyed by the rains, and, consequently, these young women had to travel for five days on the backs of mules across the Cordilleras sleeping at night in Indian cabins and traveling during the day under the hot sun across desolate country.

What matter? They sang as they traveled, encouraging each other, strong and courageous." In a report given at the Pan-American Congress referred to above, the present Director of the Normal, Emilio Jacobs, affirmed the complete success of coeducation. La Paz has a commercial school for girls distinctly lower in grade than that provided for boys; only a primary education is required for entrance, and only a two year course is given.

There are several unusually interesting schools in Brazil, though the country as a whole is appallingly backward. The "Lyceo de Artes e Oficios" at Rio de Janeiro does not teach trades but aims rather "to make workmen intelligent in general and more skillful and artistic in their work." For architecture and the fine arts the institution offers a complete training, both scientific and practical. Many girls and women attend the day classes. The Commercial School at Sao Paulo and one in Rio de Janeiro are coeducational, as is also the Normal at the latter city. In Brazil, especially, this is remarkable. Trade schools for girls are being established rapidly. It is interesting to note that the first kindergarten in Brazil, if not in all South America, was opened in 1882 in connection with the "Eschola America" in Sao Paulo, by Miss Phoebe Thomas, a self supporting missionary. A number of Brazilian girls were trained here to become kindergartners, and Miss Marcia Brown, a teacher in this school, was appointed by the government as head of the kindergarten in the Normal when it was opened.

All the books about Peru lay special emphasis on the "womanliness," "graciousness," and "piety" of the women, especially in Lima. Unfortunately, little can be said about their education. The laws say that primary education is "free and obligatory," but little has been done to make the law effective. The Indian and half-breed women are for the most part hopelessly ignorant and degraded. Not their "womanliness," but their ability to work is all that is considered about them. In communities where schools have been established, and where on account of scarcity of funds, coeducation is supposed to be the rule, the prejudice of the people keeps the girls at home. Only a few of the larger cities make

any provision for girls above the primary grade. But there are organizations of women in Lima to promote the education of women. One such group, with financial aid from the government, maintains "El Centro Social," which offers commercial courses only. A striking fact is that married women occasionally take courses to be able to help their husbands in business. A society called "Evolucion Femenina" was founded in 1914 "to encourage the formation of public high schools (colegios) for girls, the dissemination of practical knowledge about the care of children, domestic science and industrial work suitable for women, the development of the idea that all honest labor is dignified and honorable, and to secure civil equality before the law for women, and the right to manage their own personal fortunes and property, even though married." This society has established a school for the little girls who work all week in commercial establishments or sell papers or lottery tickets on the street, with sessions only on Sunday.

The Central American states have the same handicaps that the other Latin-American countries have, increased by frequent revolutions and a greater proportion of Indians and negroes in some parts. Costa Rica was acknowledged as the leader in education when, at the Central American Conference held in San Salvador in 1910, it was decided to establish a pedagogic institute for all Central America in this state. All of the countries have normal schools for both sexes, and all plan to send, or are sending, women as well as men to the United States to be trained as teachers. Domestic science and trades are taught in many schools for girls. In Costa Rica, the girls' high school does not give as many courses as are given to the boys, and girls are allowed to continue their studies in the boys' liceo. The practice is reported to be satisfactory.

Most of the self-supporting educated women of the Latin-American countries are teachers, but there are successful doctors, lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, and scientists. Some run a business of their own, and there are many bookkeepers and stenographers. Except in the best schools of Argentina, teachers are poorly paid and are looked down upon socially.

Women are especially prominent in philanthropic work in Argentina and Uruguay. The "National Council for Women" of Argentina and a similar organization in Uruguay promote research and reading. Dr. Paulina Luisi, a physician, is also the editor of a "Accion Femina," and is the chairman of the committee on Equal Moral Standards and Traffic in Women of the Council of Women in Uruguay. Dr. Alicia Moreau of Buenos Aires was prominent at the International Conference of Women Physicians, held in New York City last October.

Professor Brandon in his study of South American Universities makes a comparison of the motives of the women of South and of North America in seeking a college education. He states²: "In the United States, it is in the college of liberal arts that the enrollment has grown prodigiously during the last generation. The motive on the part of the majority is a desire for a higher general education, without reference to its application to any particular vocation. In Latin-America, on the other hand, it is the vocational departments that women have invaded. They study to be teachers, physicians, pharmacists or dentists. If they were seeking a general literary education they would enroll in the faculty of social or political sciences, which offers more cultural studies than any other department of the university, but this is precisely where none are found. . . . It was not from a desire to share men's education that women came to the university. Certain vocations were open to them through social and economic evolution and they resorted to the university, since it was the only institution that afforded the opportunities of sufficient preparation."

As economic pressure and not desire for culture alone has been the motive for an education above the primary grade, it is easily seen why the upper-class maidens, those of the "old families," are still content with a training of music and manners, while the middle class girls are making and taking opportunities to get the best possible useful education. As

² Latin-American Universities and Special Schools; By Edgar Ewing Brandon, Vice-President of Miami University. Bulletin No. 30, 1912, United States Bureau of Education.

the great criticism on the college work of women in the United States has been that it fits them for nothing, it may be that there is something to be learned from the emphasis in particular placed on professional training by the Latin-American women.

Señora Carmen Torres Calderon de Pinnillos summed up the handicaps of women in educational fields most clearly in a paper given at the Women's Auxiliary Conference of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, in 1915-'16. She stated that women of the higher classes have no practical outlook, as they are surrounded by a "triple wall of caste, sex and religion." An occasional one may attend an institution of higher learning, but "being satisfied to shine in the salons of society, and being aristocratic through birth and in sentiment, she feels and shows a contempt for her sister who makes of her knowledge a profession, entering the ranks of a modern movement." The woman of the middle class, compelled by economic problems, "attends schools and universities with the exclusive object of attaining a degree and thus emancipate herself from the need of accepting support from the men of her family." She must put aside social prejudice and the opposition of the Church to enter a business or professional field. Women of the lowest class are only beasts of burden.

As long as the Catholic Church holds the unquestioning loyalty of the majority of the women, as long as the whole peon class is in semi-slavery, as long as society holds the most extreme form of theory that "woman's place is the home," the great majority of Latin-American women must remain without education, or move up a thorny and tempestuous path.

Some Theatrical Programs in Paris

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It is not in the "ensemble" alone, or even chiefly, that the character of a race or a nation may be studied. Many of the tiniest details, when observed apart, shed distinct rays of light which serve to illuminate the whole, so that nothing may remain concealed from view. Thus, Franza Boas, in his extremely sympathetic study of the mind of primitive man, very correctly asserts that we may be wrong in deeming the primitive man inferior to ourselves because he lacks many, or all, of the conventions to which we subscribe, inasmuch as these very conventions may seem to him to be the mark of inferiority in us. At any rate, there is scarcely a more fascinating study than that of the *bizarreries* of character that distinguish one group of people from another.

From this point of view, then, it may be neither uninteresting nor totally fruitless to examine, more or less hastily, the nature of the programmes that delight the patrons of the great national theatres of Paris. We may be able to draw some conclusions with regard to the "esprit gaulois" that so intrigues the American, and we may, perhaps, even arrive at an understanding of the reasons why the American can, only in rare instances, acquire this genius of the Gallic race.

Turning first to the Théâtre National de l'Opéra, let us consider a few—three, to be precise—of the programmes that are always well received. We listen to an enchanting performance of Gounod's "Romeo et Juliette," and we are regaled, in the interval between the fourth and fifth acts—acts replete with that heavy and saccharine pathos of which French opera is so full—with a "divertissement" portraying the courtship and marriage of a pair of rustic young lovers. This ballet is a veritable foam of nothingness; one could hardly conceive of anything lighter; and this is placed immediately before the sombre scene in the vault of the Capulets which brings to so tragic a termination Shakespeare's unrivalled apotheosis of first love. And, what is more, the bal-

let, exquisitely danced, to be sure, but, none the less, painfully out of place, is as vigorously applauded as is the opera itself. We advance one step in the scale, and find ourselves attending a performance of Saint-Saëns' "Samson et Dalila," admirably "mise en scene" and adequately sung. We enjoy the opera to the full—after all is said and done, Saint-Saëns is one of the great composers of our day—but the generous management is not content. In order to send us home perfectly satisfied, it treats us to another Saint-Saëns work, the Henry VIII ballet, which is as far from being good music as is "Samson et Dalila" from being poor music. But the successive dances—a well-known Spanish dance, in particular—are much to the taste of the audience, which has managed to forget, with incredible rapidity, any deeper thoughts which the sombre biblical tragedy may have inspired. But if this coupling of the two Saint Saëns works is not a pandering to the likings of all classes, what shall we say of the following combination? A "Salome," the libretto of which follows closely the text of Oscar Wilde's perverse tragedy, gives its composer, one A. Marriotte, the opportunity to revel, to his heart's content, in an orgy of impressionist music, in which there is scarcely a passage of more than ten or fifteen successive bars. Of a truth, such an opera is fatiguing; but, instead of sending its audience home to digest a little more fully, and at its leisure, the cacophonies of present-day music, the "administration" causes the curtain to rise on Delibes' "Coppelia," a two-act ballet which, despite the fact that it contains some fascinating airs, is almost overwhelmingly insipid. If the audience must be relieved of the gloom that has been cast upon it by the horrifying kiss bestowed by Salome upon the lips of the severed head of the Baptist, could not something more appropriate have been chosen? But what more appropriate than a series of empty melodies that send the audience into flights of ecstasy!

If we turn now to the Théâtre-Français, we find here the same incongruous conjunction of plays to fill out the matinée or the soirée (the French are more than lavish with their aesthetic possessions). "Doubleheaders," to use a term that the American national game has made part of the lan-

guage, are the order of the day; and, as we shall in a moment see, the management does not even shy at "triple-headers." After laughing uproariously at Molière's "Le Médecin malgré lui," we are exposed to the unbroken series of horrors that is Sophocles' masterpiece, "Oedipos Tyrannos" (in a French adaptation, of course, which does some justice to the original). Having laved our souls in the vigorous poetry of the "chef-d'oeuvre" of the French theatre, Corneille's "Le Cid," we are subjected, perhaps as a sort of after-douche, to Scribe's ingeniously humorous "La Bataille des dames." The two plays require four hours and a quarter for presentation, and we leave the Palais-Royal utterly exhausted, both mentally and physically. Surely, "Le Cid" alone would have sufficed for the afternoon—the performance need not to have begun at one-thirty and certainly should not have been dragged out until five-forty-five—or, if not, something shorter and more fitting might have been coupled with it. To be sure, happier combinations are often effected; Molière's "Tartuffe" and "Les Précieuses ridicules" one evening truly comprise a "dish for the gods." And if the combination of Molière's "Les Femmes savantes" and Regnard's "Légataire universel" also wearies by its amplitude, the good humor in which the two delicious comedies keep us more than recompenses.

But what real motive actuates the management of the Théâtre National de l'Odéon to present in one evening Corneille's "Horace" and Racine's "Les Plaideurs," two pieces that are as far apart as the poles—the one pure Cornelian tragedy, with its clash of the will and the passions, the other burlesque in the most approved seventeenth-century style? Has the psychology of Parisian audiences any thing to do with this? And, finally, to come back to the Comédie-Française, just what is the explanation of a programme such as the following: Alfred de Musset's "La Nuit d'Octobre," which gives an actor and an actress the opportunity to declaim with that mouthing of verses which sends the patrons of the Théâtre-Français into such raptures; Théodore de Banville's "Gringoire," a delightful comedy of the reign of Louis XI, flawlessly produced; and Molière's "Les Fourberies

de Scapin," perhaps that master-comedian's last word in the "genre" of the uproarious farce?

It is unnecessary to multiply examples; those which have been cited will more than suffice. We can now ask ourselves whether we are justified in drawing any conclusions as to Parisian characterology from this phenomenon of theatrical programmes. And, if we are so justified, as we may assume ourselves to be for the sake of the interest attached to such a study, what conclusions are we to draw?

Without falling back upon such added bits of evidence as the fact that Paris teems with churches and cafés, with museums and cabarets, with priests and street-walkers, we may sum up our conclusion in the single statement that the character of the Parisian is a meeting of extremes. The Parisian is extremely artistic—all soul—and extremely physical—all body. And he is this at all times, laying himself bare, as it were, to alternate waves of the aesthetic and the corporeal. Thus it is that he can, one moment, shed tears over the tragic fate of a Britannicus and the next succumb to almost hysterical fits of laughter at the pranks of some Arlequin or Mascarille. The Parisian, thus, is emotional; unhappily, he seems incapable of sustained flights of emotionality. As a consequence, the character of the Parisian, at least as it reveals itself to the outer world, is marred by its superficiality. The "boulevardier's" love of the fine arts and the satisfaction he obtains from a repast that abounds in delicacies or from smart clothes, his piety and his frivolity, his bodily indulgence and his intellectual flights—especially as manifested in his pointed, scintillating conversion—all take their root in this one characteristic. And it is more than unfortunate that this is so. For if the Parisian were capable of greater concentration, if he did not find such huge delight in lounging when he might profitably be doing something better, the French nation, with its innate love of the beautiful, would undoubtedly occupy today the position of hegemony which was hers during the days of her Grand Monarque. France should now know that, to her sorrow, to be gifted with a sense of the fine and to lack the sense of system and efforts, does not make for advancement in

a world in which, much to the disadvantage of all that is fine, the reverse order holds good.

Here, then, is a miniature appraisal of the "esprit gaulois." The stranger, swept from his feet by the bubbling gaiety, the "sans-gêne," that constitutes one side of this nature, often attempts to imitate it, and fails dismally. Unable to reconcile within himself the extremes that make up the character of the Parisian, he ends by knowing and copying only one side. In most instances, this side is the one that is perceived from the boulevards and in the companionship of denizens of Paris of more than doubtful professions; and this is not to the advantage of the good opinion the French really deserve in the eyes of the world. It is only he who, diving beneath the surface froth (sometimes muck) of French life, discovers the true Paris—Paris with its strong and ancient traditions of the classic and the lofty in all the nobler phases of existence—he alone may properly esteem and pay due homage to the "esprit gaulois."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS. By Julia Collier Harris. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1918,—x, 620 pp.

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS. By Robert L. Wiggins. Nashville, Tenn.: Smith and Lamar, 1918,—447 pp.

To have caught the heart and imagination of the childhood of the world with stories that have in them all the charm of ancient fairy lore and the presence in them of something intimately familiar and modern, to have preserved with a singular fidelity to fact the myths and legends of a race which never kept a record, to have made to live certain phases of a vanished civilization of a great section with an understanding and a sympathy that belong to real genius, and to have revealed the great common truth of human nature, the laughter and the tears of it,—to have done all this is to make the author of *Uncle Remus* and of *Stories of Middle Georgia Life* worthy of a high place in the history of American literature and of a biography that will help to a definite appreciation of the man and his work.

And in Mrs. Julia Collier Harris' *Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris* we have such a biography. Being written by one of the family, so to speak, it is just the kind of account we need for an understanding of the personality of Harris, the quality of his genius, the sources that nourished it, how and where he got his material and the uses he made of it, his human relationships, the man himself. In fact, no other kind of biography of Joel Chandler Harris would have been quite satisfying. For, in spite of a temperamental shyness that caused him to run into hiding from anything like the glare of publicity and to reveal himself as he really was only in the intimate circle of friendship or under the protecting shelter of the family roof-tree, he did, however, establish between himself and his readers a strangely close and familiar comradeship. They somehow felt that they knew the gentle, whimsical, quaintly wise personality behind what they were reading. And the volume before us, in a very engaging way, not so

much introduces us to a stranger as it makes us even better acquainted with an old friend whom we have long known and loved.

But the student of American Letters will be specially interested in the presentation of the steps by which a freckled-faced, mischievous Georgia boy, limited by birth and by apparently unpromising surroundings, developed and literally trained himself for the great business of authorship until he became one of the outstanding leaders in what amounts to a revival of American literature. The small conventional schooling he had as a boy, his apprenticeship in the printing office of a country newspaper, the exceptionally large library of its owner and the boy's browsing in it, the manifold activities and the life of a middle Georgia plantation that gave him the material which should make him one day the historian of his people, both black and white, the coming of the war, his training in newspaper work in Macon, New Orleans, Monroe, Savannah, and finally with the *Constitution* in Atlanta in the late seventies when the paragraphist with a state-wide reputation becomes the creator of *Uncle Remus, His songs and his sayings* with a nation-wide reputation that made him in a true sense a household name,—such is the record of the growth in noteworthy achievement of a rare American genius, a genius as native and original as that of Mark Twain, for example, or of any other. This development is brought out with great definiteness and clearness in Mrs. Harris' volume, and with sympathy and selective insight and skill.

A reading of it therefore will bring one to understand not only the winning charm of Harris' personality as it pervades everything he wrote, but also that impression of reality that is inescapable to any lover of *Uncle Remus* and all else he wrote. He absorbed his material at first hand, painting the prospect literally from his own door and using himself only as a medium for recording and interpreting. This is why his folks, white and black, their action, talk, their ways, seem consistently themselves and so genuinely alive that we feel as if we have known them in very flesh. He did not have to trouble himself by any sort of artificial invention but simply told what he knew and what was middle Georgia life, racy of the

soil and rich in the qualities of our common human nature. Did not he himself say to an interviewer,—“All I did was to write out and put into print the stories I had heard all my life”?

It should be said, finally, aside from the merely literary interest of this volume, that it is a real contribution to American biography. It is essentially what may be called a human interest story because the hero of it is quaintly and attractively human from the beginning to the end. To read it is like living with Harris himself, like getting behind his characteristic shyness and knowing him as little children, his family at the Wren's Nest, his newspaper associates, and James Whitcomb Riley and Mark Twain knew him. Into this charmed circle his daughter-in-law's *Life and Letters* admits one, and the result is that we have been with a singularly wholesome human being, wise in the sweet, and tender, and abiding things of experience, whose life-story as here told is among the fine and noble things of American literature.

Dr. Wiggins' study is a scholarly effort toward an understanding of Harris' literary development in relation to the facts of his life, and will prove an excellent companion book to Mrs. Harris' *Life and Letters*. Dr. Wiggins has evidently spared no pains to get at the facts of Harris' life, and the result is that we feel that we have a reasonably solid basis of proved knowledge to build on if we should make a study of Harris' genius for ourselves.

In particular, we learn from Dr. Wiggins' book that Joel Chandler Harris was far from being that “accidental” author which in his usual modest way, he was wont to declare himself to be. His rather sudden leap into fame and appreciation with the *Uncle Remus Songs and Sayings* may have seemed an unexpected happening, but there was long and steady training in his craft behind it and an absorption of material both from books and from life that made authorship inevitable, if not intentional. Of course, this is not to say that Joel Chandler Harris deliberately planned to get himself ready for a literary career, but it does mean that, given his genius, he did prepare himself for an adequate expression of it and his achievement in the realm of letters was no mere accident. Even before he

went to the printing office at Turnwold Plantation, as a thirteen-year-old lad he was writing poems and sketches of a quality that any average thirteen-year-old boy could not have written. Then in the printing office he was clearly very much more than an ordinary apprentice learning to set type or run a hand press. He was a voracious reader, a keen and kindly observer of life, and was constantly practicing a variety of forms of writing under the critical eye of his employer and with the best models always before him.

The result was that when the close of the war sent him forth from Turnwold, he went not merely as a printer but as a man who had improved a native gift toward writing by careful and constant expression in it as an art. He was therefore ready for the special quality of editorial work which, with its humor, its insight, its native flavor of Georgia soil, and its genial revelation of Georgia life, passed easily from the editorial paragraph into the sketch, the story, the novel. As one follows Mr. Wiggins in his study of this phase of Harris' career all that he wrote seems the perfectly natural result of a process of preparation,—a result that strikes one with no sense of surprise, however surprised the author of *Uncle Remus* himself may have been at his success. For even to the end of his day, in the words of Mr. Walter Page, after an interview with him, it is certainly true that "Joe Harris never appreciated Joel Chandler Harris." But the fact is that Joe Harris developed into Joel Chandler Harris through the normal process of training and preparation by which anyone must grow into a mastery of any art, and Mr. Wiggins' study is a worthy contribution to our appreciation of Joel Chandler Harris from this standpoint.

H. N. SNYDER.

Wofford College.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE. By Herbert Langford Warren, A. M., Late Fellow of the American Institute of Architects and Dean of the Faculty of Architecture of Harvard University. Illustrated from Documents and Original Drawings. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.—xiv, 357 pp.

"In this work of Langford Warren, left in manuscript at his death, is presented in enduring form the essence of his

vital teaching of the history and principles of architecture," says Professor Fiske Kimball, who edited the volume and wrote the introduction. "The manuscript," he continues, "which ended with the opening words of the final portion, 'The Parthenon', has been completed with the aid of the author's own notes and of notes on his class lectures." The author was a distinguished teacher of architecture at Harvard University, with an abounding enthusiasm for his subject and a great love for, and appreciation of, beauty in all the arts. His special field of study was the historical development of architecture, and there was good reason for the hope that he might produce a comprehensive history on a large scale. But at his death in 1917 he had written only the first volume of his contemplated work, at least, the greater part of the volume. The book traces the development of architecture in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, and in Greece to its culmination in the Athens of Pericles. The editor justifies its title, "The Foundations of Classical Architecture", on the ground that it is a study not only of the formative periods of the art but of its abiding principles.

Egypt used the column and lintel as a structural form, as Greece did later, because of the presence of stone in the country; but the lack of it in Mesopotamia led to the invention of the arch of brick, in place of the lintel of stone, for spanning great spaces. Greek architecture was developed in contact with that of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Its beginnings are seen in the Mycenaean age. The great hall of the king's house at Tiryns, for example, contains in its arrangement the germ out of which the temple of the god subsequently grew.

The part of the book devoted to Greece of the historical period is subdivided into the following chapters: "The Temple," "Greek Mouldings," "The Doric Order," "Origin of the Doric Style," "Periods of the Doric Style," "The Doric Temples of the Archaic Period," "The Doric Temples of the Period of Full Development," "The Ionic Style and the Ionic Order," and "The Culmination in Attica." The author argues against Vitruvius' theory of the wooden origin of the Doric order, and maintains with Koldewey that the Doric column is essentially a

for Zeus Polieus. But in spite of obvious the book is bound to inspire the reader with a love n of Greek architecture.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

OF HENRY JAMES. Selected and Edited by Percy Lub-
York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.—2 vols. xxxi, 434.

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stone form. The Ionic column and entablature, on the other hand, were originally an imitation in stone of forms of wood decorated with metal. The Doric order drew more of its early inspiration from Egypt, the Ionic grew to perfection chiefly under oriental influences and the rich luxuriance of Asia Minor. In Attica the two orders met, mutually modified each other, and fused, according to Professor Warren, to form a single style, the Attic.

The great value of the book lies in the interest and enthusiasm that it creates in the subject. The analysis of the Doric order shows the author's great admiration for its beauty, a beauty all the more striking because of the simplicity of the structural principles involved. His praise of the Doric capital of the best period, and especially of the profile of the echinus, is unbounded. As he sets forth the unity of the whole order and the harmonious relationship of all the parts, the fitness and appropriateness of even the minutest structural detail, and makes clear what is expressed by the design as a whole and by each member of it, he arouses in the reader an enthusiasm akin to his own for the beauty, the delicacy, and the refinement of Greek architecture. This reaches its climax when he comes to the Parthenon, "the fullest expression of Greek genius in design."

While the author does not follow the practice, current among scholars, of appending footnotes and references to sources and authorities—there are but sixteen footnotes in all—he has nevertheless given in readable form a clear statement of the facts. The book is attractive in appearance, and well illustrated for the most part, but by a strange preference the editor has in a half dozen cases substituted copies of paintings and drawings by the author's brother, Mr. Harold B. Warren, for exact photographic reproductions of ancient remains. Some mistakes occur: e. g., the part of the throne room opposite the throne in the palace of Knossos is not a light-area (p.121) but a tank, perhaps for fish; not all of the beehive tombs have side chambers, as the author implies (p. 138); Vitruvius' statement that the height of the Doric column is six times its thickness at its base, is wrongly quoted on page 188; and Zeus Policus (p.

243 is an error for Zeus Polieus. But in spite of obvious shortcomings the book is bound to inspire the reader with a love and admiration of Greek architecture.

CHARLES W. PEPLER.

THE LETTERS OF HENRY JAMES. Selected and Edited by Percy Lubbock. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.—2 vols. xxxi, 434, xi, 511 pp.

Of certain selected letters of George Meredith, Henry James declared: "What lacerates me perhaps most of all is the meanness and pooriness of editing—the absence of any attempt to project the Image (of character, temper, quantity and quality of mind, general size and sort of personality) that such a subject cries aloud for; to the shame of our purblind criticism." His ideal, thus expressed, of the excellence to be sought in collected publication of a great man's correspondence, is brilliantly achieved in his own *Letters* as edited by Mr. Percy Lubbock. Here the individuality of the prime "international" novelist is represented, fully and fairly, as it might not have been in any mere memoir or even in conscious autobiography.

At the same time that the letters, ranging in date from 1869 to 1915, show his character in its general development from ambitious, slightly snobbish youth to sure and strong old age, they reveal the intensifying, through the years, of the one quality that was responsible for the peculiar distinction of his style. This trait, which he displayed when, in quoting from a letter of his elder brother concerning the assassination of President Lincoln, he unhesitatingly emended "poor old Abe" to read "poor old Abraham," was a quite Puritan insistence upon the utmost detail of essential rightness, as he saw it, even though it were, as in this case, at the expense of surface truth. His American Protestant conscience, rejecting its traditional grist of problems in religion and ethics, ground unceasingly upon aesthetic questions, questions of style, of finely shaded discriminations between synonyms, of complete and unmistakable expressions of exquisitely complicated groups of small ideas. Not keen emotion nor sour discomfort could halt the pulverizing millstones of his thinking. It is significant that

from a sickbed he could write: "Also I am touched by, and appreciative of, your solicitude. (You see I still cling to syntax or style, or whatever it is.")

These letters of Henry James, carefully chosen and arranged as they are for the purpose of displaying the personality of their author, have a secondary interest for their allusions to contemporaries. They picture not only the man himself, at the center of the composition, but in reasonable perspective, his background and surroundings, his times,—our and our fathers' times,—as he realizes them. It is entertaining to read of Ruskin in 1869, what one may have fearfully suspected, that "in face, in manner, in talk, in mind, he is weakness pure and simple." One rejoices in the frank opinions that James expressed in his letters to such widely separated correspondents as Robert Louis Stevenson and H. G. Wells. Especially cheering is his neat critical summary, written in 1893, of "the good little Thomas Hardy's" *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*: "The pretence of 'sexuality' is only equalled by the absence of it, and the abomination of the language by the author's reputation for style." Nor is one greatly astonished to learn, remembering the contrasting cultural affiliations of the two men (that Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 seemed to Henry James "the mere monstrous embodiment of unprecedented resounding Noise." The expatriate stylist is not always easy to sympathize with; he rubs the American eagle's neck-feathers the wrong way. But sometimes, almost in spite of himself, as it would seem, he wrote such simply admirable sentences as these of April, 1915: "As for the President, he is really looking up. I feel as if it kind of made everything else do so!"

It may be, after all, that this reflecting of the civilization in the mist of which they were written is not the minor but the major value of the books before us. For here, perhaps more usefully than in his works of fiction, James achieved his ambition "to leave a multitude of pictures of my time."

ROBERT CALVIN WHITFORD.

Knox College.

WITH THE WITS: SHELBURNE ESSAYS, TENTH SERIES. By Paul Elmer More. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1919, pp. 312.

Paul Elmer More has a high seriousness in both his style and thought that places him beyond the trim smartness of the casual commonplaces of the easy reviewer. He treats his own subjects with a dignified courtesy and a grave consideration that demand respectful treatment in turn. Whatever depraved inclination one may sometimes indulge to "make points" against an ordinary book when it appears, there is no inclination, nor is there much opportunity, to crack phrases on a volume of Shelburne Essays. One may differ, but he must differ respectfully—and at great risk of finding himself in the wrong.

With the Wits is typical of the other volumes of Shelburne Essays in that it consists of essays written at various times for separate publication in magazine or review. The atmosphere of pleasant easiness of the introduction continues throughout the book in occasional personal expressions and reminiscences that sometimes, as in the essay on "Decadent Wit," is somewhat more suggestive of cultivated conversation than of the tone of elevated, lucent seriousness that characterizes Mr. More's style and is to be found to best advantage, perhaps, in his book on Plato. It is not that this note is missing in the present volume; it would be hard to cite a finer example of Mr. More's steadfast regard for the serious truths of human nature than the conclusion of the essay on Halifax.

There is not the same completeness and continuity about the book as there would have been had the essays been written originally as parts of a book on the tradition of wit in English literature rather than as occasional reviews for *The Nation*. Chesterfield, Walpole and Sterne, who might otherwise have found a place in the company, had been treated in earlier volumes, and the wits of the *Tattler* and the *Spectator* are not discussed. The presence of the latter in particular would have greatly enriched the volume by showing wit in an aspect not otherwise represented, the wit of amiable social reform. Other forms of wit are well represented. The wit of animal spirits somewhat tainted with moral decay is shown in Beaumont and Fletcher, the wit of a sound, if slightly cynical

worldly wisdom in Halifax, and that of complacent cynicism and moral carelessness in Mrs. Aphra Behn and her contemporaries. We find also the *sæva indignatio*, social and personal, of Swift and Pope, the reckless and purposeless wit of Wharton, and the wit of moral and physical weakness that flourishes with the nineteenth century decadents. This survey, perhaps, is straining after more unity of idea than the book actually comprises; Mr. More is not restricting himself to the development and changes in the idea of wit, but is dealing primarily with the wits themselves. In the essay on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu is shown vividly the penalty that brilliant lady paid for association with the wits; the essay on Berkeley is chiefly of importance in pointing out the significance of his doctrine of immateriality; and that on Gray's letters penetrates behind the reticence of the scholar to discover ennui as a significant element of Gray's character. The essay on Beaumont and Flecher is one of the best of Mr. More's essays, and that on Decadent Wit, with which the volume closes, comes very opportunely for a generation still too much given, in the opinion of Mr. More and other competent observers, to valuing the elements which make for moral and intellectual decay in literature and national life.

Mr. More (although he has fully explained and justified his position on this point in the preface to *The Drift of Romanticism*) is sometimes accused of undervaluing the incidental beauties of literature in order to emphasize its ethical qualities. It would require a captious critic to apply this complaint to *With the Wits*. The old insistence upon questioning the ultimate trend of an author's thought is still, happily, implicit in all his judgment, but the "incidental beauties" of Beaumont and Fletcher, the *fin de siècle* decadents, and even Mrs. Behn are fairly and adequately treated. Nor are scholarship and judgment as dry in these essays as in those of a merely academic writer. Mr. More often reads, naturally and almost casually, the intense human drama behind all records of facts. In the accounts of the desolation of the Queen Anne wits in 1714 and the unequal struggle of Mary Wortley Montagu with Pope, literature is vitalized in a way not commonly encountered with modern scholars and critics.

In several passages Mr. More's calm common sense cor-

rects the sentimental whitewashing that has been applied to some of his subjects. The Restoration dramatists were not what Charles Lamb whimsically suggested they were—they were what the average intelligent reader has always taken them to be; Mrs. Behn was more sinning than sinned against, and not the bluestocking that Mr. More ironically calls her in his title.

With Swift, however, I think Mr. More's natural reaction against sentimentalizing biographers carries him too far. Swift as "the great and clean and typical humanitarian" of the biographer under review is of course too strong a dose for any one who has read the *Tale of a Tub* or all of *Gulliver's Travels*, yet Thackeray's Swift, "always alone—alone and gnashing in the darkness," and Mr. More's Swift, with his "perfect philosophy of hatred," are likewise unsatisfying answers to the great riddle of personality which Mr. More himself confesses is only intensified by reading the six volumes of Swift's correspondence. There is certainly enough evidence to throw some doubt on Swift's well-known declaration, "I hate and detest that animal called man." The rest of the sentence—"though I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth"—introduces a caveat against sweeping condemnation, for complete misanthropy would be irreconcilable with this love of individuals. It is legitimate to explain Swift's remarkable capacity for friendship as an inconsistency, but this simply admits that the misanthropy is tinged with considerable humanity. How considerably tinged it was may be seen in the letters written him by his friends. The tributes to Swift's benevolence to be found in the utterances of Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Addison, Bolingbroke, Parnell and Berkeley make rather impressive reading. Swift's own testimony might be used in his defense as well as against him. "I tell you after all, that I do not hate mankind: it is *vous autres* who hate them, because you would have them reasonable animals and are angry for being disappointed," he wrote Pope in 1725. And when Swift writes of himself as one who

" . . . gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad;
And showed by one satiric touch
No nation needed them so much,"

he seems to me to be merely another practical philanthropist, belittling his own benevolence in a way natural to any intellect of mordant tendencies. This is worth little as merely personal opinion, but it finds some slight support in words of Swift's friends indicative of a suspicion on their part that his cynicism was sometimes a cloak. Bolingbroke writes in 1725, "If you despised the world as much as you pretended, and perhaps believed, you would not be so angry with it." Pope writes in 1714, "It is almost ingratitude to thank you, *considering your temper,*" and fears Swift will consider gratitudes impertinent. In 1736 Pope in writing to Lord Orrery in praise of Swift's humanity and charity, which he says are equal to his wit and *require as good and true a taste to be equally valued.*" Is it straining the meaning of the expression I have italicized to suggest that, after all, Swift's attitude toward humanity may have resembled that toward Arbuthnot, who loved him as "one who would vindicate me behind my back and tell my faults to my face"?

It would be absurd to attempt here to elucidate a character that baffled poor Hester Vanhomrigh and all subsequent critics; the foregoing excursus merely seeks to question the adequacy of Mr. More's perfect philosophy of hatred. To differ with Mr. More on a question of human values is presumptuous, but if one does venture to differ, the respect which Mr. More receives as one of the greatest American critics, constitutes an obligation to cite support somewhat fully.

N. I. WHITE.

ECONOMIC STATESMANSHIP. By J. Ellis Barker. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920—(second edition), 624 pp.

This series of papers, prepared during and since the War, seeks under various guises to show that the British Empire can best pay off its war debt "by increasing production to the utmost and by developing with the greatest energy the boundless resources" with which it is endowed. In practical recommendation, it is urged that England should Americanize her industries. By skillful appeal to official figures of the two countries it is demonstrated that American production per worker is three times as great as British production per

worker. This, it is alleged, is due to the employment of three times as much horse power per operative in America as in England, and between two and three times as much capital.

Mr. Barker's passion for production is a familiar after-war advocacy, conspicuous in England following Napoleon's defeat, seen in this country as a consequence of the Revolution, evident in the South fifteen years after the Civil War, and not unremarked in the United States at present. In the mind of the writer, the program must contemplate abandonment of England's free trade policy, the result, he thinks, of prejudice and politics rather than of economic sense, and must address itself to the accomplishment of industrial peace. So he wants to see business men directing government departments in the place of inept party leaders, and he hopes that the distinctive labor movement, whether comprised in Marxian philosophy or based upon militant trade unionism, will disappear, and this in the face of larger scale production and greater concentration of capitalist control. Mr. Barker's is really as much a National System of political economy as that of Friedrich List; it is strange to find England declared, so outspokenly, industrially behind America and Germany, which once were referred to her example.

It is characteristic, perhaps, that such an apostle of production should be more concerned for the size of the national dividend than for its division between capital and labor. Nothing in the book suggests a reapportionment; it is believed that trebled production will mean trebled wages and also trebled return to investment. The British laborer is told that he must abandon his policy of "going slow" to "make work." If he does, he may wear silk shirts and smoke cigars like his American brother. Such a sop, certainly, will not satisfy the matured understanding of the organized British worker. Miss Bondfield and Mr. Shaw, as representatives of English labor, in their visit to this country made it very clear that shorter hours, higher pay and better conditions, necessary in themselves, are only a part of the present demand. Labor wants to share in the common life and culture, not to be thought for but to think; not to stand always as a separate interest, but to be a factor in the general community. Mr. Barker really

knows this well enough, and so sternly discountenances socialism.

In the chapters on "Labour Unrest: Its Causes and Its Permanent Cure" the difficulties seem to be quickly comprehensible and the remedies delightfully pat. Perhaps it had best be concluded that the author means well, and let criticism rest there. Not often today are so many threadbare arguments for the competitive system collected and gravely unpacked before the reader; there is not the least embarrassment that originality gives way before mere dull insistence. It is blandly assumed that socialism means the impoverishment of the rich and the inauguration of a stagnating bureaucracy; it is queerly stated that socialism contemplates the destruction of capital; the legend of the self made-man, with many illustrations drawn from American experience, is rehearsed with no appreciation of the fact that while some who become rich were born poor, most of the poor have stayed poor, and with no proof of inferior ability; the kindly individualism of Lincoln is not so much relished as the allegation of Roosevelt that socialism would mean the destruction of the family and the annihilation of civilization itself! And yet economic processes must not go uncontrolled to the extent of disallowing government interference through a protective tariff, and the British business man, convicted by the author of industrial sluggishness, is to displace the political leader.

The permanent cure for labor unrest, in Mr. Barker's judgment, is profit sharing—a profit sharing in which the dominant interest of the individual capitalist does not suffer, in which efficiency of the worker is more aimed at than justice to him, and through which it shall be contrived to make labor believe that, in Mr. Lloyd George's words in another connection, it is swinging a sledge at an open door.

BROADUS MITCHELL.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: A STUDY IN DEMOCRACY. By Nesta H. Webster. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, (no date)—xv, 519 pp.

If the conclusions of Mrs. Webster's book prove to be thoroughly substantiated by the evidence, her volume is one of

great importance, giving an entirely new insight into the causes and progress of the French Revolution. The view long ago formulated by Carlyle, that the Revolution was a spontaneous popular outbreak against rulers who had abused their trust, has of course been called in question and more or less discredited before this. Still, students were hardly prepared for Mrs. Webster's announcement that the Revolution was not a popular outburst at all, but the result of a tangle of criminal conspiracies, domestic and foreign. Mrs. Webster does not deny that the French people were misgoverned, but she holds that the nation was on a direct road to all proper reform through the wisdom and benevolence of Louis XVI himself, when thrown from its course by these iniquitous plots.

The intrigues which she holds responsible are thus characterized (p.34) :

"I. The intrigue of the Orléanistes to change the dynasty of France.

"II. The intrigue of the Subversives to destroy all religion and all government.

"III. The intrigue of Prussia to break the Franco-Austrian alliance.

"IV. The intrigue of the British revolutionaries to overthrow the governments both of France and England."

Intrigues III and IV may be briefly dismissed. Mrs. Webster shows—what most history students know—that the Revolution had sympathizers in England, and that Priestly, Price, Lord Stanhope, and others condoned the French excesses and would no doubt have liked to bring the Revolution across the Channel. She also shows that the Prince of Wales (afterward George IV) probably exchanged disloyal ideas with his boon companion, the Duc d'Orléans. But that the revolutionary group in England exerted any real influence on events in France she has no proof at all. That Prussia desired to weaken the French monarchy and destroy the French alliance with Austria; that Frederick the Great and Frederick William II after him had agents at work in Paris with those ends in view; and that the Prussians rejoiced as French affairs went from bad to worse—these facts are sufficiently substantiated; but that Prussian agents played any really important part in fomenting the Revolution is not established by the evidence.

Far more important is Intrigue II—the anti-governmental and anti-religious propaganda of various secret societies such as the Illuminati and the spurious Free Masons. There seems no reason to doubt the affiliation of the Club Breton, later known as the Club des Jacobins, with these international societies, and if the Illuminati society molded the opinions of the Jacobins, then no one can deny its vital influence upon the Revolution, particularly in its later stages. And since the Order of the Illuminati was founded by Dr. "Spartacus" Weishaupt of Bavaria, Mrs. Webster may with some slight show of justice label the Revolution to this extent "made in Germany."

It is, however, the Orleanist conspiracy which plays the largest part in Mrs. Webster's book and which does most to upset existing ideas. The Duc d'Orléans, if Mrs. Webster's views are correct, instead of being a despicable minor character, ready indeed to commit any crime for his own advancement, becomes literally the Mephistopheles of the early Revolution. In his design of supplanting his cousin on the throne, he or his agents, of whom there appear to have been an unlimited number with unlimited gold to spend, obstructed the work of moderate reform in the Assembly, created an artificial famine to provoke the people against the court, forced or bought into service the mob that stormed the Bastille, circulated the rumors that produced the great "fear" in the provinces, launched the Paris underworld on the march to Versailles, made one attempt after another to assassinate the royal family, and in short employed every imaginable variety of deceit, trickery, bribery, and force in order to arouse the passions of the mob, destroy or discredit the reigning dynasty, and bring about the establishment of an Orleans dynasty with absolute powers on the throne of France.

It is this conspiracy which occupies at once the most startling and the most controversial position in Mrs. Webster's book. In support of it she marshals an imposing array of contemporary evidence; yet her case is weakened by the fact that most of the evidence for the Orleanist plot is supplied by Prudhomme, a renegade revolutionist, and by Montjoie, of whom the author herself says that "owing to his violent ani-

mosity towards the Orleanistes his accusations against them should not be accepted unless confirmed by other contemporary evidence." In this, as in other cases, the author appears too indiscriminating in her use of authorities, and while a final verdict must be left to some one better acquainted with Revolutionary sources than the present reviewer, it may be said here that Mrs. Webster's conclusions should be taken *cum grano salis*.

It is only in a negative sense that the book is what the sub-title calls it—"a study in democracy." I agree with another reviewer that it would be more accurately called a study in conspiracies. Perfectly plain, however, is the connection between this sub-title and the author's principal thesis, namely, that democracy should not be held accountable for the excesses of the Revolution, because democracy had nothing to do with them—they were the work of the various groups of conspirators. The innocence in this regard of the great mass of the French people is not hard to establish, but the only proof Mrs. Webster advances of the *competence* of the democracy to enforce its will is her ascription of the end of the Terror after Robespierre's death to the force of an aroused public opinion.

While perhaps not to be accepted as a whole, it cannot be denied that the volume throws valuable light on some phases of the Revolution and serves as a wholesome corrective to widely existing conceptions of that great cataclysm. One interesting hypothesis that seems fairly well substantiated explains the Terror as a deliberate design of Robespierre and his doctrinaire associates to reduce the population of the country by one-half or more, to a figure more suitable for the perfect state that precious idealist was attempting to build. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that the book is interesting throughout and often vivid and picturesque.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

U. S. Naval Academy.

COLLEGE TEACHING. Studies in Methods of Teaching in the College. Edited by Paul Klapper, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Education, The College of the City of New York, with an Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler, LL. D., President of Columbia University. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1920—xvi, 583 pp.

This book is developed from the implied axiom that American college teaching is in a bad way. A further implication is that one cause for the badness is the dearth of literature on college pedagogy. Professor Klapper saw the need for pioneer work. He saw also certain obstacles in the path, perceiving for example "that there exists among college professors an active hostility to the study of pedagogy." Nevertheless he had the courage to undertake the editing of a volume which "aims to make the college teacher effective."

The scheme of the work is neat and systematic. The general subject is divided into thirty parts, each of which is discussed by an appropriate authority. To insure profitable treatment of each collegiate branch of learning, from Biology to "Business Education," the editor provided a general outline which each author was to follow in the preparation of his authoritative essay, and for the most part the professors followed the outline rather closely. The result is that in the body of the book there are a score of interesting chapters upon the principal college subjects of study.

Here the youth who aspires to be an instructor in English composition may get good advice from Professor Canby of Yale, and the future teacher of Latin may receive equally practical counsel from Professor Prentice of Princeton. But the teacher of "Public Speaking" or "Oral English" will look in vain for a discussion of his problems. Possibly it would have been worth while to include a chapter about this matter. On the other hand, two of the four chapters on "Vocational Subjects" seem distinctly out of place in a book that has for its theme pedagogical problems of the college rather than those of the university or the technical school. If the branches of engineering deserve treatment in the present volume, surely there is no reason for excluding household science, agriculture, and library science. Even on this score, however, little excuse for adverse criticism exists. Our wish is only that the

work before us might have been several large volumes instead of one. It presents a preliminary glimpse of a field which ought to be gone over inch by inch.

The essays in the series are all stimulating, calculated to set teachers to thinking about the methods and aims of their work. Any college pedagogue will find it profitable to read the chapter concerning his own subject and then to read the three introductory chapters of general discussion. In particular, he will discover several new and powerful ideas in the essay called "Professional Training for College Teaching." There President Mezes of the College of the City of New York argues that teachers for colleges and teachers for graduate schools ought to be trained in quite different ways. He proposes that the old Ph. D. be reserved, in general, for research scholars and special investigators, and that a new degree, perhaps "Docendi Doctor", be bestowed as the evidence of three post-graduate years spent in learning to be a college teacher. This is but one of many constructive suggestions which promise to make *College Teaching* a useful force for the advancement of the profession of being a professor.

ROBERT C. WHITEFORD.

Knox College.

A HISTORY OF THE ATLANTIC COAST LINE RAILROAD. By Howard Douglas Dozier. (Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize Essays, xxix.) Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920—xi, 197 pp.

American railroad history is not merely a story of romance or of economic achievement; it is inextricably linked with political and sectional development, local and national. The time has not come when all phases of the railroad as a factor in American life can be properly estimated; it should be brought appreciably nearer by studies of the evolution of the greater railroad systems of the country, such as Mr. Dozier has made of the Atlantic Coast Line.

More than one-half of the volume is devoted to the period prior to 1860, when the parent stems of the Coast Line in Virginia and the Carolinas were organized. The economic conditions along the tide water region which created the de-

mand for railroads, the rivalries and jealousies of the more important companies, the difficulties over joint rates, and the financial problems of the companies are clearly set forth, especially with respect to the Virginia and North Carolina roads. The experience of certain of the roads during the Civil War is also well treated. Far under proportion for its importance is the treatment of conditions after the War, notably the reorganization and extensions which form the immediate background of the Coast Line system; for example, the organization of the Plant System in Florida is not adequately described and the absence of any interpretation of the work of Henry B. Plant and Henry Walters leaves out of account the human element in the situation. The last two chapters sketch the process of consolidation into the Atlantic Coast Line system. There is also a short "summary and conclusion." The bibliography does not distinguish between sources and authorities and a number of works under the latter classification are not mentioned.

W. K. B.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM HAYES TO MCKINLEY, 1877-1896. By James Ford Rhodes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919—xiii, 484 pp.

Mr. Rhodes' seven volumes on the *History of the United States from the Compromise, of 1850*, which end with the close of reconstruction, rank as one of the few monumental works on American history. In contrast the present volume does not meet the high standard of its predecessors. The period treated, twenty years, is covered in about the number of pages given to four or five years in the preceding volumes. Compression and omission are therefore natural. There is also less variety of sources cited, although available materials have increased, even multiplied. The reliance on collaborators is also far greater than in the previous work, nine of the twenty chapters being based on briefs prepared by Mr. Matteson and Mr. Bourne. The greatest defect, however, is the lack of a perspective. The new forces which were shaping a new era in the destiny of the nation are not portrayed; such matters as combination and trusts, the labor movement, the

agrarian discontent and machine politics are not treated except incidentally, as they appear as factors in the general stream of national politics. In brief, the period from 1877 to 1896 was not an aftermath of reconstruction; it was the foundation period for the domestic questions, political and economic, of today, and as such it should have been treated.

Yet, spite of these limitations, the volume has a distinct value. It is properly the retrospect of a contemporary, of a man of sanity, judgment and charity. Mr. Rhodes' impressions, his description of conditions and events as he knew them, his view of well known characters are well worth having, and he who in the future writes the history of the United States during the years from 1877 to 1896 will undoubtedly be influenced by many of Mr. Rhodes' estimates and conclusions.

W. K. B.

POEMS. By Edwin Curran. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1919—55 pp.
MONOGRAPHS. By William Frederick Allen. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 68 pp.

PICTURE-SHOW. By Siegfried Sassoon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 36 pp.

The bulk of Mr. Curran's poems deal with nature, patriotic subjects, and what his publishers call the "future generations" themes. The bulk is not very impressive, nor are the themes very various. Mr. Curran seems to have a pretty, if slightly sentimental, appreciation of the beauty of flowers. In *The Hills* he shows a somewhat impressive sympathy with the more permanent feature of nature. His feeling for nature merges with the patriotic and future generation motives in such poems as *To Future Generations* and *The Dead Soldier*, in which there is a sort of pantheistic mingling of the dead with the recurring aspects of nature. This feeling is given a rather striking reverse twist in

THE CLOD

I picked up the clod
"You may yet be a man," I said. "Dream on,
Are you not glad? Do you not tremble?"
But dully it looked at me.
I could swear I heard a sigh of relief.
There was no ecstasy, no joy,
"I have been a man," the clod said.

The war poems and other patriotic poems presumably inspired by the war hardly rise above the respectable mediocrity of numerous similar poems recently published. The Scylla and Charybdis of war poems are sentimentality and brutal violence. The impressive war poem is one in which powerful feeling is held in restraint. Mr. Curran lacks the restraint because the feeling is hardly powerful enough to require it; with his reiterated "Poor France, poor France" in *After the Marne*, and his habitual reference to soldiers as "chevaliers," and his somewhat over-worked association of warlike subjects with flowers, he falls into a mild sentimentalism which is hardly redeemed by the better qualities of *The Dead Airman* and certain stanzas of *Officers Diary*. Shakespeare was everything, as we know from summing up the critics, but it is doubtful, if even he was as sentimental as Mr. Curran makes him in *Shakespeare*, with his early morning excursions to pluck violets and daffodils from the ancient hillsides.

Ireland finds another voice for her wrongs in *The Shamrock*, which is not notably impressive. A reader of many such poems—and there are many—will exclaim, "Poor Ireland," and if, on reflection, this comment sounds ambiguous, the fault may be justly ascribed to the characteristic duplicity of the English language.

In spite of metrical lapses, some of which are evidently due to typographical errors, there is rhythmical adequacy and a measure of lyric grace in some of the poems, notably *Autumn in Wartime and First Frost*.

Mr. Allen's *Monographs* recalls Coleridge's remarks about Tennyson's early poetry, that here was a young man who had begun to write poetry without knowing what rhythm was. If one makes subtle and felicitous rhythm the test of poetry, he cannot rank Mr. Allen's poetry very high. Nor does Mr. Allen cover up the inadequacy of his rhythm by any skillful use of tone-color, as Coleridge, a little later, would certainly have admitted that Tennyson did. The lines are sometimes a little jagged, not by reason of false quantities, but from failure to secure smooth word sequence by the proper manipulation of vowel and consonant. This lack of smoothness is increased by a too frequent indulgence in exclamatory style

and extraordinary, sometimes even uncouth, word usage. B'neath, integral, henpen (noun), déspite, eterne (noun), grandeured, trig-nanced, the thus-and-so, are all used more or less awkwardly. Sensuous or imaginative beauty is hardly to be claimed for these poems. There are some striking lines, such as "the day slinks out like a gray old cat and curls in the wet depths of the sky" describing a gray day, and

"with feathered oars
On stilly seas I've seen thee,"

addressed to Death. There are, on the other hand, lines where the meaning is obscure or difficult in the fashion made familiar by Browning, with whom, incidentally, Mr. Allen seems to have several other points of distant kinship. But, as the poet himself says in *Good Thought*,

"If good wine's worth drinking
Then good thought's worth thinking—
Or better no thought at all!

and Mr. Allen's poems *have* thought—of a superior quality, too.

Any old-fashioned reader who likes for a poem to have an intellectual nexus sufficiently definite to stand analysis and stimulate orderly reflection will read these poems with respect. There is no over-done strenuousness, no inviting of the soul to loaf. There is no ultra modern wandering, through sensuous or bizarre suggestion, to the edge of some fog of thought into which the reader plunges alone, to return dizzy with vague impressions which are inchoately poetic and which convince him that the poet, who had probably wandered off on a different excursion similarly vague, is an excellent cicerone for the emotions. Mr. Allen deals with religion, patriotism, death, the modern city, the modern philosophy of life, in a mood compounded of thoughtful reflection, religious faith, and restrained idealism. He seems to think, unaccountably, that the new age, in constructing a modern set of eternal verities, has acted hastily. In *Simplicity* he prays, "soul sick of war," for the old simplicity of thought and faith upon which

we have "reasoned" ourselves into the "chaos of a doubtful skill." *These Days*, quoted below, will serve to exemplify both the vigor of his opinions and the stylistic trails already mentioned.

THESE DAYS

We're nerves these days!
 No head, no heart, no soul—mere nerves!
 We shriek in angles, sneer in curves—
 We writhe in Pandemonium maze.
 We each are blood of the Gummidge tribe.
 We croak like frogs in a stagnant pool.
 We may be gods, but we ape the fool—
 We stick out tongues; we mouth and gibe
 Like children o'er some toffee-bit;
 And yet, God knows, there's work to do!
 But, chip on shoulder, wild hullabaloo—
 And nineteen ways of splitting spit!
 We wage on beer and nicotine—
 We seize each by his front and throat.
 God, force on us thy creosote—
 Pray rub our souls with Nature's green!
 Or else we perish, Bander-Log-
 Unfit to walk thy kindly meads!
 By Christ's eternal Heart that bleeds
 To watch us grovel, each a dog
 Chained to his vomit—give us *heads*
 Cool as the snows, give tempered *hearts!*
 Look—selfish greed bestrides our marts
 And hog with satyr boldly weds!
 God save our nations, lest array
 Our souls lost on Thy Judgment Day!

One of the outstanding qualities of Siegfried Sassoon's poems is compression. The tendency of modern poetry is toward brevity—so much the magazine has accomplished—but one sees many brief poems nowadays that are still over extended. The brevity of most of the poems in this volume is that of real compression. Another outstanding trait is the combined strength and beauty of some of the lines. *The Slumber Song*, beginning,

Sleep; and my song shall build about your bed
 A paradise of dimness. You shall feel
 The folding of tired wings; and peace will dwell
 Throned in your silence;

and the following *Ancient History*, a sonnet of somewhat unusual rhyming scheme, show poetic competence certainly above that of the great mass of poems printed every year :

Adam, a brown old vulture in the rain,
 Shivered below his wind-whipped olive trees;
 Huddling sharp chin on scarred and scraggy knees,
 He moaned and mumbled to his darkening brain;
 "He was the grandest of them all—was Cain!
 A lion laired in the hills, that none could tire
 Swift as a stag; a stallion of the plain,
 Hungry and fierce with deeds of huge desire."

The inevitable war poems in the volume hardly add to its quality, unless the exquisite *Elegy to Robert Ross* is due to the War. They voice vividly enough the realistic horror of modern war, but there still lingers in odd corners a quaint prejudice, shared by the present reviewer, against such expressions as "shot Horribly through the guts," "talking big and boozing in a bar," and "the rats; and the stench of corpses rotting," as the proper stuff of poetry. Thomas Rhymer should be living at this hour to repent his abhorrence of the handkerchief episode in *Othello*. "There's much debate in many a school," remarks Carolyn Wells, in a mood of sapient criticism,

"Twixt what is balderdash and what art,—
 I have one simple little rule:
 Whatever makes me sick is not art."

Yet, while some of these war poems are not art in the opinion of the present reviewer, he should certainly not be inclined to condemn the whole book on that account—there are too many poems in it that do show art of a rather unusual quality. Among these should be mentioned, in addition to those already cited, *Sporting Acquaintances* and *Ancient History*, both in a vein of excellent ironic humor; also *Butterflies and Vision*, which has a restrained beauty of thought and expression.

N. I. WHITE.

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Let your pipe tell you Velvet's good story in its own best way.

Lightly by the pipe Tobacco Co.

It pays to put underwear money into **"HANES"**

—bigger value,
longer wear and
greater comfort!



ELASTIC KNOT
UNDERWEAR

FOR years "Hanes" winter underwear for men has proven itself to be the *national standard*. Its popularity extends from coast-to-coast! It wins on merit! Your confidence in every "Hanes" garment can never be misplaced. "Hanes" guarantee proves that!

"Hanes" underwear is made in heavy and medium winter weight union suits and heavy weight shirts and drawers. The medium weight union suit, new this year and illustrated in this advertisement, is exceptional value. It is made of full combed yarn, is silk trimmed and carries a yellow Hanes label.

"Hanes" Union Suits for boys

duplicate the men's Union Suits in important features with added *flexibility*. They stand the stiffest wear and the hardest wash. Sizes 20 to 34, covering ages from 2 to 16 years. Two to four year old sizes have drop seat. Inspect these remarkable "Hanes" garments at your dealer's. If he cannot supply you, write us.

P. H. HANES KNITTING CO.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

New York Office: 366 Broadway

Next Summer—You'll want to wear Hanes Nainsook Union Suits!



Read Hanes Guarantee:

"We guarantee Hanes Underwear absolutely—every thread, stitch and button. We guarantee to return your money or give you a new garment if any seam breaks."



To be fashionable a cigarette need not be expensive. In fact, at most exclusive clubs and smart hotels the preference is for a relatively inexpensive cigarette—Fatima.

Of course, it is only logical that Fatima should appeal to the dis-

criminating smoker, for, not only does Fatima's "just-enough-Turkish" blend lack the oily heaviness of the expensive, straight Turkish cigarette, but it retains, at the same time, a smoothness and richness not to be found in any other Turkish blend cigarette.

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

FATIMA

CIGARETTES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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