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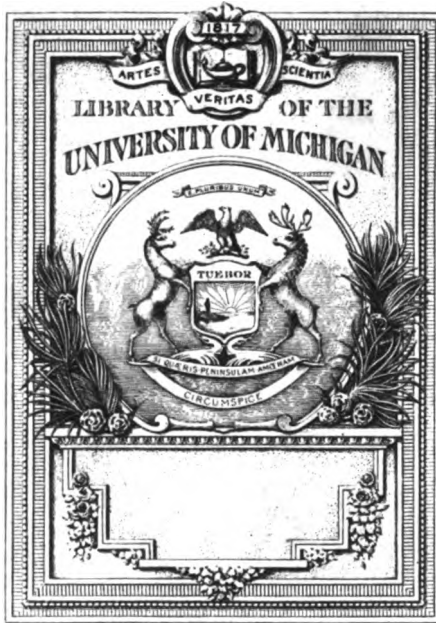
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VOL. IV No. 1

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OF THE

LAND GRANT ACT OF 1862

(The So-called Morrill Act)

AND

Some Account of its Author

JONATHAN B. TURNER

BY

EDMUND J. JAMES, Ph.D., LL.D.

President of the University of Illinois

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General

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URBANA, ILLINOIS

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**THE STATE OF ILLINOIS AND THE LAND GRANT ACT
OF 1862**

(THE SO-CALLED MORRILL ACT)

THESIS

It is proposed to prove in this paper that Jonathan B. Turner, at one time professor in Illinois College at Jacksonville, Illinois, was the real father of the so-called Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, and that he deserves the credit of having been the first to formulate clearly and definitely the plan of a national grant of land to each state in the Union for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, and of having inaugurated and continued to a successful issue the agitation that made possible the passage of the bill.

There is no desire to detract one iota from the credit due Mr. Morrill for his earnest, wise and persistent advocacy of the policy of Federal Aid to education. By his action on this subject he gained and deserved the name of statesman and his glory and reputation will wax with the passing years while that of many of his colleagues who were more prominent at the time will wane and pass away; because they did not recognize the really important things and he did. All honor to him for his early work and above all for his continued support of this policy once begun!

On the other hand, the credit for having first devised and formulated the original plan and of having worked up the public interest in the measure so that it could be passed belongs clearly to Professor Turner and should be accorded him.

The federal act, signed by Abraham Lincoln July 2, 1862, by which a grant was made to each state in the Union of thirty thousand acres of land for each senator and representative to which it was entitled in the federal congress for the purpose of promoting "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life," has turned out to be, in the course of time, the greatest endowment of higher education ever made at one time by the act of any legislature.

It marked the beginning of a comprehensive policy of federal endowment of higher education which has been continued by the enactment of several subsequent acts looking in the same direction, notably (1) the so-called Hatch act of March 2, 1887, which provided for a permanent appropriation to each state in the Union of fifteen thousand dollars per year for the purpose of establishing an agricultural experiment station in each state; further (2) the so-called Morrill College Aid act of August 30, 1890, providing for a permanent appropriation to each state in

the Union of fifteen thousand dollars per year, increased by one thousand dollars per year until it amounted to the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars per year, for the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, established under the act of 1862; further (3) the so-called Adams act of March 16, 1906, providing for a permanent appropriation to each state in the Union in the sum of five thousand dollars per annum and an annual increase of the amount of such appropriation thereafter for five years by an additional sum of two thousand dollars, after which the sum of thirty thousand dollars should be paid each year for the more complete endowment and maintenance of agricultural experiment stations; and finally (4) the so-called Nelson act of March 4, 1907, which provided for each state in the Union a sum of five thousand dollars per annum, increased each year for four years by an additional sum of five thousand dollars, and thereafter an annual sum of fifty thousand dollars, for the more complete endowment and maintenance of agricultural colleges established under the act of 1862.

Under the Nelson act, therefore, in a short time, fifty thousand dollars a year; and under the Adams act, thirty thousand dollars a year, will be added for each state in the Union to the proceeds of the Land Grant Act of 1862. Thus ere long the sum of eighty thousand dollars per year will be appropriated by the federal government to each state in the Union, in addition to the proceeds of the original land grant of 1862, for the endowment of these institutions which have been created in the different states.

According to the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the year ending June 30, 1909, educational institutions—sixty-eight in number—receiving the benefits of the acts of congress of July 2, 1862, August 30, 1890, and March 4, 1907, were in operation in all the states and territories except Alaska.

The total value of property held for the benefit of these institutions amounts to **\$113,291,998.00**

This is made up as follows:

| | | |
|----|--|----------------|
| I | Endowment funds and unsold lands granted for endowment.. | 46,283,779.00 |
| II | Material Equipment— | |
| | Farms and grounds | 13,219,199.00 |
| | Buildings | 38,290,129.00 |
| | Library | 4,129,840.00 |
| | Live Stock | 542,248.00 |
| | Apparatus, machinery, and miscellaneous equipment | 10,826,803.00 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 113,291,998.00 |

The total income exclusive of the funds received from the United States for agricultural experiment stations (\$1,169,780) was \$18,595,893.

The sources of this income with the amount for the year ending June 30, 1909, are as follows:

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Income from endowment granted by state..... | 98,353.00 |
| Appropriations for current expenses | 3,723,992.00 |
| Tax levy for current expenses | 2,559,995.00 |
| Appropriations for buildings or other special purposes | 3,488,767.00 |
| Tax levy for buildings or other special purposes | 715,171.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total State Aid | 10,586,278.00 |
| From land grant of 1862..... | 763,275 |
| From other grants | 161,791 |
| From additional endowment, acts of Aug. 30, 1890, and Mar. 4, 1907 | 1,750,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total federal aid | 2,675,066 |
| From other endowment funds | 783,719 |
| Tuition fees | 1,136,631 |
| Incidental fees | 1,023,336 |
| From miscellaneous sources | 2,390,863 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total Income | 18,595,893 |

The number of teachers in colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts was as follows:

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Men | 4,994 |
| Women | 624 |
| | 5,618 |

The enrollment for the year ending June 30, 1909, was

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Men | 54,444 |
| Women | 18,421 |
| | 72,865 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Total number of volumes in the libraries was..... | 2,397,812 |
| Total number of pamphlets | 555,247 |

The total number of acres of land granted to the states under the act of 1862 was 10,578,529 of which 1,026,847 acres are still unsold.

The number of students graduated in 1909 was

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Men | 4,625 |
| Women | 1,238 |
| | 5,861 |

The average age of whom was 22 years and 8 months.

An examination of the institutions which have received the benefit of the land grant act of 1862 and the various appropriations since will reveal the following interesting facts:

1. That a large number of the sixty-eight institutions receiving these funds, owe their existence directly to the land grant act, having been created upon the basis of this federal appropriation.

2. That in some cases the proceeds were given to existing institutions which had been already established by the states for the purpose of promoting the advance of agriculture and the mechanic arts. This was notably the case in Michigan, in which an agricultural college had been established in 1857.

3. That in other cases the proceeds were given to institutions already in existence, on condition that they should provide for the instruction in the new subjects. Some of these institutions

were state institutions, some were private. Thus in Massachusetts the money was given partly to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and partly to an institution created for the purpose of affording agricultural education at Amherst. In Connecticut the money was given in the first instance to Yale College, but was subsequently given to a special institution organized to take the benefits of this act. In some states the money was given to the state universities which had been already created by previous acts, notably in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In other states institutions were organized upon the basis of this act and they have grown to be great state universities, extending the scope of their instruction to all subjects usually embraced in the scheme of American state university instruction. This was the case in Illinois, and the University of Illinois has become the largest and richest and most comprehensive institution of those which owe their origin to this act of 1862.

Another interesting fact which is revealed by the study of the statistics regarding the land grant institutions is that this gift on the part of the federal government has stimulated enormously similar gifts on the part of the states, so that the state appropriations for current expenses (\$2,559,995.00) and for buildings or other special purposes (\$3,488,767) for the year 1909 amounted to more than eight times the value of the income from the proceeds of the original land grant of 1862 (\$763,275.00). If we compare the total income of all these institutions from all sources with the income direct and indirect from federal sources, the disproportion is still more striking. The federal grant for this purpose has clearly proved a great stimulus to the individual states and to private citizens in the work of giving toward the support of these institutions.

From present indications it would appear that the appropriations thus far made by the federal government are only the beginning of what will ultimately be made by the same branch of the government for the support of higher education throughout the territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. It is all an indication of how steadily the consciousness of the people has grown to the acceptance of the view that education is not

merely a local, nor merely a state, but that it is also a national matter; that its importance is fundamental and that the problems of education in this country will never be settled until the nation recognizes that education is a national function, as much as war, or the protection and furtherance of commerce, or the establishment of justice.

It is not too much to claim, then, that the federal land grant of 1862 marks the beginning of one of the most comprehensive, far-reaching, and one might almost say, grandiose, schemes for the endowment of higher education ever adopted by any civilized nation.

With the growth of these federal and state appropriations for the support of this great chain of institutions extending from Maine through California to Hawaii, and from the state of Washington through Florida to Porto Rico, and with the increasing size and importance of these institutions, it is natural that people should become interested in the history of this great movement, which has resulted almost over night in this great creation. The great German thinker Lessing says in one place that "That which you do not see growing, you may find after a time grown," and so this great undertaking for the purpose of promoting higher education has gone on from increase to increase, unconsciously in large part, without attracting general attention, without the knowledge of the average voter whose interests were certainly deeply concerned in this development.

We may well, therefore, look about and ask the question, who was responsible, primarily, for the inauguration of this great plan? Who were the leaders in the movement which has resulted in these marvelous results?

The first act, that of July 2, 1862, is commonly known as the Morrill Bill, among other reasons because Mr. Morrill, first representative and then senator from Vermont, was among the men of his time in Congress the one who interested himself most actively perhaps in the promotion of this bill during the years '57 to '62, though the law which was finally passed and signed by President Lincoln was introduced into the senate by Senator Wade of Ohio, and urged on from stage to stage by the combined

influence of Mr. Morrill, Mr. Wade, and other people interested in this great enterprise.

The bill first passed congress in 1859, was vetoed by President Buchanan, was passed again by a subsequent congress and signed by President Lincoln, July 2, 1862.

It is not of course easy to determine what particular person deserves the credit for the ultimate victory of a great cause in which many people were enlisted. In fact it is probably untrue that any one man ever succeeded in carrying through, himself, unaided, any great enterprise or undertaking; and particularly when a movement stretches over a whole century in its development one must be prepared to find many men in many different places, under many different circumstances, contributing their mite to the final result. This is certainly true of this great movement for federal endowment of higher education in the form of the creation of colleges for agriculture and the mechanic arts.

The legislature of Illinois, however, deserves the credit of being the first legislature to petition the congress of the United States to make a grant of federal lands to each state in the union for the purpose of developing in each state, institutions "for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers." Other legislatures asked congress for appropriations of land to establish institutions in the respective states applying for the appropriation. Thus the legislature of Michigan petitioned congress on April 2, 1850, for a donation of 350,000 acres of public lands for the establishment of an agricultural college in the state of Michigan. Other states recommended or petitioned congress to appropriate money from the treasury for the establishment of an agricultural bureau and for the establishment of a national institution similar to West Point and Annapolis for the teaching of agriculture. Massachusetts asked on April 20, 1852, for a grant of public lands in aid of a "national normal, agricultural college, which should be to the rural sciences what West Point Academy is to the military, for the purpose of educating teachers and professors for service in all the states of the republic."

The state senate of New York passed a resolution March 30, 1852, which was endorsed by the House of Representatives on April 17th of the same year, asking congress "to make grants of land to all the states for the purpose of education and for other useful public purposes." This indicated, of course, a mere desire to get for New York state its share of public lands and not any live interest in education in agriculture or the mechanic arts.

But there would have been little possibility, as one looks at it now, of ever getting the federal congress to appropriate at the outset, cash from the federal treasury for the endowment of state institutions. There was indeed considerable difficulty in getting congress to appropriate public lands within the individual states for the establishment of industrial institutions within these states, though this had been already done in some instances. Beginning in 1787, when that famous Ordinance declared that, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged" the states that were carved from the Northwest Territory set aside two or more townships of government land for the support of higher education. Other states formed west of the Mississippi followed their example. This, however, did not apply to the older states. In 1819, the senate passed a bill donating land to the state of Connecticut for a seminary of learning for the deaf and dumb. In 1827, congress donated lands to Kentucky for a seminary of learning for the deaf and dumb. In 1838 a township of land in Florida was granted to Dr. Henry Perrine to "promote the cultivation of tropical plants." In 1841, there was donated to each of the new states 500,000 acres of land. In 1846, congress donated to the state of Tennessee a million three hundred thousand (1,300,000) acres on the condition that the state would endow and establish a college at an expense of not less than forty thousand dollars.

The only probability, perhaps one might say the only possibility, of ever securing federal support for these higher institutions of learning within the states, lay first in a federal land grant as distinct from a federal appropriation in cash. Second, in a federal land grant to each state in the union, old as well as

new, as distinct from an appropriation of lands to the newer states within which public lands were still unsold. Third, a federal land grant to each state in the union for the promotion of education along "practical" lines as distinguished from other forms of education. This particular, definite proposition, therefore, of a federal land grant to each state in the union for the purpose of establishing a college of agriculture and the mechanic arts in each state was, as it seems now, in all probability, the only feasible proposition likely to accomplish the end in view. And this proposition was first recommended to congress by the legislature of Illinois, in resolutions approved February 8, 1853.¹

These resolutions read as follows:

"WHEREAS, the spirit and progress of this age and country demand the culture of the highest order of intellectual attainment in theoretic and industrial science; and

WHEREAS, it is impossible that our commerce and prosperity will continue to increase without calling into requisition all the elements of internal thrift arising from the labors of the farmer, the mechanic, and the manufacturer, by every fostering effort within the reach of the government; and

WHEREAS, a system of Industrial Universities, liberally endowed in each state of the union, co-operative with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, would develop a more liberal and practical education among the people, tend to more intellectualize the rising generation and eminently conduce to the virtue, intelligence and true glory of our common country; therefore be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their best exertions to procure the passage of a law of Congress donating to each state in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars, for the liberal endowment of a system of Industrial Universities, one in each state in the Union, to co-operate with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers; a liberal and varied education, adapted to the manifold wants of a practical and enterprising people, and a provision for such educational facilities being in manifest concurrence with the intimations of the popular will, it urgently demands the united efforts of our strength.

Resolved, That the Governor is hereby authorized to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the

¹Cp. Appendix C., page 95.

Executive and Legislature of each of our sister States, inviting them to co-operate with us in this meritorious enterprise.

(Sigs.)

JOHN REYNOLDS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
G. KOERNER,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved, February 8, 1853.

J. A. MATTESON.

A true copy: Attest,
ALEXANDER STARNE,
Secretary of State.

These resolutions, it is believed, were sent in accordance with the suggestion of the last clause of the same to the governor and legislature of every state in the union. They were sent to the federal congress and were presented in the Senate by the junior senator from Illinois, Hon. Jas. Shields, on March 20, 1854, and referred to the committee on public lands. (See p. 686, Congressional Globe. 1st. Sess. of 33d Congress).

They were presented on the same day in the House of Representatives by Elihu B. Washburn and ordered on motion of Mr. Washburn to lie on the table and be printed. (cp. p. 678 of the same volume of the Globe).

They were sent to all the leading newspapers in the United States and they attracted marked attention at the time, not only in the agricultural newspapers but in the current daily newspaper press of the day.

Thus the New York Tribune, the most widely circulated paper of the time throughout the nation as a whole, in an editorial written probably by Horace Greeley himself in the issue of February 26, 1853, speaks thus of these Illinois resolutions.

"It may now be ten years since a few poor and inconsiderate persons began to 'agitate' in favor of a more practical system of thorough education, whereby youth without distinction of sex should be trained for eminent usefulness in all the departments of industry. They demanded seminaries in which agriculture, the mechanic arts, the management of machinery, &c., should be thoroughly taught, based upon a knowledge of chemistry, geology, botany, hydraulics, &c., with a corresponding proficiency in all

that pertains to housewifery, and household manufactures for female pupils. These demands made very little immediate impression on the public mind. They were backed by no great names, and no imposing array of colonels, generals and honorables was ever presented in the reports of the agitators' meetings. In fact, these meetings, proffering no chances for making personal or party capital, and holding out no prospects of snug berths for cousins and younger brothers, have always been but thinly attended. The only class feeling a deep interest in them was that one which could least afford the time and expense involved in attendance on distant conventions. And the great majority of the journals have not, to this day, evinced a consciousness that any such movement had an existence."

"Still, the idea has slowly gained ground wherever a few faithful advocates were found to cherish it, and several small conventions of its friends have been held in this state, looking to the foundation of a 'People's College' and the project has elicited the marked approval of Gov. Hunt and Gov. Seymour. Two state conventions have in like manner been held in Illinois—the last some few weeks ago—and one result of these is the passage by the legislature of the state of the following joint resolutions:"

(Here follow the resolutions as printed above).

"Here is the principle contended for by the friends of practical education abundantly affirmed, with a plan for its immediate realization. And it is worthy of note that one of the most extensive of the Public Land (or new) states proposes a magnificent donation of Public Lands to each of the states, old as well as new, in furtherance of this idea. Whether that precise form of aid to the project is most judicious and likely to be effective, we will not here consider. Suffice it that the legislature of Illinois has taken a noble step forward, in a most liberal and patriotic spirit, for which its members will be heartily thanked by thousands throughout the union. We feel that this step has materially hastened the coming of Scientific and Practical Education for all who desire and are willing to work for it. It cannot come too soon."

The same editorial was printed in the semi-weekly Tribune of March 1, 1853.

These resolutions attracted the attention of other newspapers.²

Wherever these resolutions were discussed, in the press of the day, the credit for initiating this particular movement which inside of ten years was destined to be crowned with success, was given to the Illinois legislature.

The Governor of the state, at the time these resolutions were passed, was Joel A. Matteson. Governor French, the immediate predecessor of Matteson, had interested himself in the progress of the movement for agricultural and mechanical education which had been going on for more than fifty years in the United States and took an active part in securing the passage of these resolutions.

This movement had assumed a peculiar form in the state of Illinois immediately prior to the adoption of these resolutions, growing out of a dispute as to the disposition of certain state funds. The result was the final formulation of a policy suggested in these resolutions and the organization of a so-called Industrial League to present the idea and urge it upon the attention of the nation.

From an early period in its history, Illinois had had what was known as the college and seminary fund—the first was the proceeds from the sale of the state's public lands, the second was the accumulation from the grant of two townships in accordance with the enabling act of 1818—both being the direct result of the spirit of the Ordinance of 1787. This fund had increased in Illinois until it represented a respectable sum, say \$150,000.00 in money and about seventy-two sections of land, probably worth as much more, and by 1850 public attention was being strongly attracted to the probable disposition of this fund. Propositions to apply this fund to its original and proper purposes, i. e. the establishment by the state of a "State University or High Seminary of Learning" had been repeatedly made but had failed of adoption.³ Some of the friends of the private colleges in the

²Cp. Appendix C of this paper, p. 96.

³See letter from George Forquer in Sangamo Journal, July 12, 1832. Printed as Appendix B to this paper.

state, of which many had been founded in the twenty years preceding 1850, thought that this sum ought to be divided among the existing private colleges, as they had borne the brunt of the conflict and the toil and heat of the day during the struggle for the establishment of higher education in the state of Illinois. There was a strong sentiment in the state against any such use of those funds. For the purpose of heading off such a movement and of securing the application of these funds to the establishment of a state institution which should develop the education of the farmer and the mechanic in the same way as private institutions thus far established were promoting the education of the clergyman and the lawyer and the doctor, the farmers of the state by public notice at county fairs, and in the press were called to meet in convention in the village of Granville, Putnam County, on Tuesday, November 18, 1851. The attendance at this convention was large, and came from nearly all parts of the state, though the majority of the members probably came from the northern portion. The object of the Granville convention, as stated by one of the speakers, was to take into consideration such measures as might be deemed most expedient to further the interests of the agricultural community, and particularly to take steps toward the establishment of an agricultural university. The leading spirit of the meeting was evidently Professor Turner of Jacksonville, Illinois.⁴ Turner was elected vice-president of the Granville meeting, and appointed chairman of the committee on resolutions. He had prepared a plan for an industrial university which was approved by the meeting, and among other resolutions the convention adopted the following:

Resolved, That we take immediate steps for the establishment of a university in the state of Illinois expressly to meet those felt wants of each and all the industrial classes of our state."

Copies of these resolutions were sent to all the papers and state officers.

⁴Turner, Jonathan Baldwin, educator, lecturer, farmer; b. Templeton; Mass., 1805; studied at Salem Academy and Yale College; Professor in Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., from 1833 to 1848; died January 10, 1898.

Turner's plan calls first for a National Institute of Science for the promotion of the practical education of the industrial classes, which, in his view, at that time had already been met by the Smithsonian Institute recently founded in Washington. The plan also calls for a university for the industrial classes in each state in the union, which idea was still to be realized.

This plan of Turner's for an industrial university was printed and distributed widely throughout the country. It was reprinted in part or in whole by many newspapers. It was reproduced in the Report of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture for the year 1851 and in the United States Patent Office Report for the same year. It was printed again and again in the reports of various farmers' conventions and noticed with approval in the New York Tribune of September 4, 1852, which printed large portions of it. It was also approved in the New York Horticulturist, published at Rochester, New York, July 1852, edited by Downey, one of the most influential agricultural teachers in the country. It was called to the attention of the National Agricultural Association which met in Washington, D. C., in June, 1852, by Richard Yates, representative from Illinois.⁵ It is stated in one of the pamphlets published in 1853 by the Industrial League that the Philadelphia North American gave editorial approval to Turner's plan in an article entitled, Education and Agriculture.⁶ In the Southern Cultivator, published at Augusta, Georgia, Dr. Lee gave a review of Turner's proposition. Turner's plan was printed in full in the Prairie Farmer, Vol. 12, 1852, p. 68-74, which also contained an editorial on the general subject. The plan was reproduced in the Buffalo Patriot for 1852, without giving credit, however, for its authorship.

The proceedings of the convention of November 18, 1851, held at Granville, were printed in the January number of the Prairie Farmer, for 1852, p. 2, and following. The Granville Convention authorized a committee to call another convention in Springfield during the next session of the legislature. This convention was held in the state capitol, Springfield, Illinois,

⁵Cp. Eugene Davenport's History of Collegiate Education in Agriculture, p. 10.

⁶Cp. Reprint of pamphlet. Appendix C of this paper, p. 102.

June 8, 1852. As this was a mass meeting called by general notice, the advocates and representatives of some of the existing private colleges appeared at the meeting and presented their views upon the subject of the application of the seminary fund. It is stated in the report of the proceedings that a controversy arose between the members of the industrial convention and the advocates and representatives of some few of the old classical and theological colleges, who were admitted by courtesy to participate in the debates of the convention, which consumed most of the time of the convention.

The somewhat acrimonious discussion which took place in this convention, according to the newspaper comment of the day, seemed rather to sidetrack the movement for securing unanimous state support for Turner's idea of a state university. But after all, vigorous resolutions were passed urging that the college and seminary fund of the state be applied not to strengthen private institutions, but to build up a state institution for the benefit of the industrial classes. The report of the Granville convention of farmers had been noticed in the annual message of Augustus C. French, the governor of the state, as something worthy of the consideration of the legislature. The resolutions presented at this second convention, June 8, 1852, in the form of a memorial to the legislature, contained among other things the following interesting paragraph:

"We desire that some beginning should be made as soon as our statesmen may deem prudent so to do, to realize the high and noble ends for the people of the state proposed in each and all of the documents above alluded to, and if possible on a sufficiently extensive scale to honorably justify a successful appeal to congress in conjunction with eminent citizens and statesmen in other states who have expressed their readiness to co-operate with us for *an appropriation of public lands for each state in the union for the appropriate endowment of universities for the liberal education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits in each state in the union.*"

So far as the writer knows this is the first definite formulation of the plan which was subsequently realized in the land grant

act of July 2, 1862, made by any public body or by individual citizens. It was accompanied by a brief argument attempting to show that the state might properly and successfully conduct educational institutions.

This second convention, held at Springfield, authorized the calling of a third state convention to meet in Chicago, Wednesday, November 24, 1852. "Friends of practical industrial education" were asked to meet. The call was printed in various Illinois newspapers and a call signed by John Kennicott, president of the Springfield convention, was published in the October issue of the *Prairie Farmer* for 1852, p. 455. This convention attracted considerable attention in the state at large, and especially in the northern portion of the state, and an announcement of the meeting and some report of its proceedings are contained in the daily newspapers of the time.

At this convention much important business was transacted and many things were discussed by representatives from different portions of the state. Among other things it was decided to organize "The Industrial League of the State of Illinois," which was empowered to raise a fund to be applied to forwarding the objects of the convention.

One of these objects was to memorialize congress for the purpose of obtaining "*a grant of public land to establish and endow industrial institutions in each and every state in the union.*"

The plan for an industrial university submitted by Professor Turner to the Granville convention was taken up again and discussed section by section and the general principles of the plan were approved. It was resolved to memorialize the legislature for the application of the college and seminary funds to the purpose of industrial education. Professor Turner was appointed chairman of a committee to prepare an address to the people of the state on the subject of industrial education and the establishment of an industrial institution. It was also decided to hold a fourth convention in the city of Springfield during the session of the legislature.

The fourth convention of the farmers of the state of Illinois and other friends of practical and industrial education met in

Springfield on the fourth of January, 1853. It is stated that the greatest harmony and good feeling prevailed among all the members and delegates, and the representative and executive officers of the people in the legislature, many of whom, from all parts of the state, took the deepest interest in the subject and "made noble and eloquent speeches at their evening session in the senate chamber in its behalf."

A final plan for the establishment of the Industrial League was submitted and approved, and a charter was obtained from the state on February 10, 1853. At this convention it was stated that the plan proposed in the Springfield convention, held June 8, 1852, endorsed by the Chicago convention, held November 24, 1852, to memorialize congress "*for the purpose of obtaining a grant of public lands to establish and endow industrial institutions in each and every state in the union,*" had been carried out and that a petition had been sent to congress to that effect, by a committee of which Governor French was chairman, in accordance with the request of the Chicago convention.

The fourth convention held in Springfield on the fourth of January, 1853, adopted a series of resolutions containing an argument on their behalf, of which one reads as follows:

"We would therefore respectfully petition the honorable senate and house of representatives of the state of Illinois that they present a united memorial to the congress now assembled at Washington to appropriate to each state in the union an amount of public lands not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars (\$500,000) for the liberal endowment of a system of industrial universities, one in each state in the union, to co-operate with each other and with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers, in their various pursuits, developing to the fullest and most perfect extent the resources of our soils and our arts, the virtue and intelligence of our people, and the true glory of our common country."

It will be recognized that this language was practically incorporated in the resolutions adopted by the Illinois legislature, printed above.

It will be seen that the final formulation of this whole movement in a definite proposition to memorialize and urge congress to make a grant of public lands to each state in the union for the purpose of organizing an industrial university in each state in the union, was the direct and immediate outcome of this farmers' movement in the state of Illinois. Once started it was pushed forward with energy and vigor, so that, beginning with the farmers' convention in Granville on November 18, 1851, there were held within the next year and a half four conventions, to which the farmers and all other people interested in practical and industrial education were invited. Two of these were held in Springfield and one in Chicago, and the result was this positive action on the part of the Illinois legislature and the committing of a great state to this policy.

There seems, then, to be little doubt that Illinois was the first state to commit itself formally through the action of the legislature to the advocacy of this measure,⁷ and that the farmers of Illinois, under the leadership of Jonathan B. Turner of Jacksonville, were the first to formulate this plan at Springfield, June 8, 1852, in the definite shape in which in all essential particulars it was finally accepted a decade later and found legal expression in the land grant act of July 2, 1862.

The farmers were not content with merely holding these conventions. They filled the agricultural press and the daily and weekly newspapers with accounts of their desires and as far as they could with discussions of the definite proposition. They sent copies of the reports of these conventions to the newspapers, not only in Illinois, but throughout the country, and succeeded in winning for their project widespread attention throughout all sections of the United States.

The Industrial League for the organization of which provision was made, as noted above, at the Chicago Convention, and which received a definite Charter from the state of Illinois February 10, 1853, was organized for the express purpose of making propaganda for the whole idea of industrial and practical educa-

⁷Other states followed later.

tion in the first place, and in the second place for the definite plan of establishing in each state in the union an industrial university based upon a federal land grant to each state in the union.

The Industrial League, immediately after the granting of its charter in 1853, issued at Jacksonville, Illinois, a pamphlet containing the proceedings of the Farmers' Conventions at Granville, Springfield and Chicago.⁸ It was edited by Jonathan B. Turner, chairman of the committee, who had also been elected principal director of the Industrial League.

This pamphlet contains also some quotations from the newspaper press of the country, commenting upon the plan of the Granville convention; also Professor Turner's plan for an industrial university. The statement is here made among the purposes of the League that it should circulate and present to the legislature and to congress petitions urging the adoption of this plan for a university and the liberal endowment thereof by public lands and by state funds in each state in the union.

This purpose Professor Turner pushed as far as he had the time and strength and funds for the next ten years.

It is reasonable to suppose that he had reached by letter or by pamphlet every person of any prominence who he thought might be interested in this undertaking, and the references in the current literature of the time show that beyond a doubt he had succeeded in giving unusually wide publicity to the plan. He even succeeded in determining the very language of the bill which was finally introduced into congress on December 14, 1857, and after being passed by congress and vetoed by President Buchanan, was again passed by congress and approved by Abraham Lincoln, on July 2, 1862.

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the language of the act of 1862, "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life," should tally so closely with the language used in the various documents put forth by Professor Turner, notably: the resolutions of the fourth convention at Springfield, "for the

⁸Reprinted as Appendix C to this paper, see p. 45.

more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers in their various pursuits;" the language of the resolution adopted by the second convention held at Springfield June 8, 1852, "for the liberal education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits in each state in the union," or the language of the petition to congress printed in the pamphlet above referred to as a model for every agricultural society and every mechanics' institute and every state and every neighborhood to adopt and forward to congress, where it speaks of "an industrial university for the liberal education of the industrial classes, in their several pursuits and professions in life," this last being almost exactly the language of the act as finally adopted.

There is evidence that great effort was put forth to interest agricultural societies, state legislatures and public bodies of various kinds, and individuals of all classes in this project.

There is also evidence that Justin S. Morrill was selected by Turner and other friends of the measure to introduce the bill because he was from an older state which had not thus far benefited by the land grant of the Federal Government.⁹ And that in this way he for the first time became connected with this bill.

When Hon. Justin S. Morrill entered congress on the first Monday in December, 1855, the project of a federal land grant for each state in the union for the purpose of endowing institutions for the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes, as will be seen from the above statements, had been urged upon the attention of congress and upon every other legislature in the union nearly three years before by the legislature of Illinois. It had been definitely urged upon congress in a private memorial and upon the attention of the country in resolutions of publicly called conventions for over three years. It had been discussed and commented upon in the press of the country, among others in such widely spread papers as the New York Tribune, nearly three years before. The three and four years had grown to five and seven before Mr. Morrill actually introduced

⁹Cp. Eugene Davenport's History of Collegiate Education in Agriculture, p. 10. See p. 35 of this monograph.

into the lower house on December 14, 1857, the first bill for such a grant of lands.

Mr. Morrill in a memorandum found among his papers states that he had formed the idea of obtaining a land grant for the foundation of colleges as early as 1856.

Professor Wm. H. Brewer of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University in speaking of the origin of the Land Grant of 1862, says, "I have no doubt whatever that it originated with Mr. Morrill in 1857 with his first bill of that year, which was passed but was vetoed by President Buchanan." He continues, "I heard Mr. Morrill say, soon after the bill of 1862 was passed, that he was impelled to introduce this bill by two considerations,—first, the loud demand for more scientific instruction in the colleges; which the colleges would not give on the ground that they could not afford to; for of the 300 colleges then existing in the United States there was a scant dozen that gave any more than elementary chemistry; while the arts and industries demanded more.

"Then, again, he said he saw so much of the abundant public lands of the United States being rapidly given away to railroads, etc., that he thought it very desirable that a portion of the proceeds from such lands be directed in some way to the good of the whole people. It was then practically largely being given to local corporations, railroads, etc., in a sense private. He felt that a need in the country everywhere, was scientific instruction in the colleges and instruction in the arts and industries, or sciences to be applied in those industries, and that the best way to utilize for the whole country some of this land, then so rapidly passing away, was to devote some of it to the cause of higher education in science."

The above record shows that Professor Brewer was mistaken.

Information somewhat more definite is given by a memorandum by Senator Morrill himself which his son, James S. Morrill, has kindly made available. This memorandum is as follows:

"I remember," he says, "to have broached the subject to Hon. Wm. Hubbard, the former member of congress from the 2d district, Vermont, and he observed that such a measure would all be very well, but that I could not expect it to pass."

"Where I obtained the first hint of such a measure I am wholly unable to say.¹⁰ Such institutions had already been established in other countries and were supported by their governments, but they were confined exclusively to agriculture, and this for our people with all their industrial aptitudes and ingenious inventions appeared to me unnecessarily limited. If the purpose was not suggested by the well-known facts of the existence of Agricultural Schools in Europe, it was supported by this fact and especially by constant reflections upon the following points, viz.:

"First, that the public lands of most value were being rapidly dissipated by donations to merely local and private objects, where one state alone might be benefited at the expense of the property of the Union.

"Second, that the very cheapness of our public lands, and the facility of purchase and transfer, tended to a system of bad farming, strip and waste of soil, by encouraging short occupancy and a speedy search for new homes, entailing upon the first and older settlements a rapid deterioration of the soil, which would not be likely to be arrested except by more thorough and scientific knowledge of agriculture, and by a higher education of those who were devoted to its pursuit.

"Third, being myself the son of a hard-handed blacksmith, the most truly honest man I ever knew, who felt his own deprivation of schools, I could not overlook mechanics in any measure intended to aid the industrial classes in the procurement of an education that might exalt their usefulness.

"Fourth, that most of the existing collegiate institutions and their feeders, were based upon the classic plan of teaching those only destined to pursue the so-called learned professions, leaving farmers and mechanics and all those who must win their bread by labor to the hap-hazard of being self-taught or not scientifically taught at all, and restricting the number of those who might be supposed to be qualified to fill places of high consideration in

¹⁰The above account shows clearly enough where Mr. Morrill got not only the first hint but the entire plan carefully and fully elaborated.

private or public employments to the limited number of the graduates of literary institutions. The thoroughly educated, being most sure to educate their sons, appeared to be perpetuating a monopoly of education inconsistent with the welfare and complete prosperity of American institutions.

"Fifth, that it was apparent, while some localities were possessed of abundant instrumentalities for education, both common and higher, many of the states were deficient and likely so to remain unless aided by the common fund of the proceeds of the public lands, which were held for this purpose more than any other."

These are excellent ideas and exceedingly well stated but Mr. Morrill evidently forgot that he owed the whole idea of establishing such a series of institutions for the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in each state in the union, upon the basis of a federal land grant, to the foresight, energy and persistence of the Illinois farmers and their spokesman, Professor Jonathan B. Turner, working through the legislature of Illinois and through the congress of the United States, through the press of the country, and through the agricultural and other associations.

The plan for an industrial university presented by Jonathan B. Turner is so well thought out and so ably presented that it is worth while reading even at this late day, in spite of what thoughtful educated men may regard as a narrow and extreme view of education in general, though it is probably true that Professor Turner went to extremes because of the difficulty of gaining the public ear in any other way. The address may be not inaptly looked upon as a prophecy which has not yet been fulfilled, although things are working in that direction.¹¹

That Mr. Morrill obtained his ideas of a Federal Land Grant to each state in the Union from other parties and not from himself is further proven by the fact that the bill he first introduced into congress relating to agricultural education was based on an entirely different principle.

¹¹See Appendix C to this paper containing a reprint of the first pamphlet issued by the Illinois Industrial League.

On February 28, 1856, three months after he entered congress for the first time, Mr. Morrill introduced a resolution that "the committee on agriculture be requested to enquire into the expediency of establishing one or more national agricultural schools upon the basis of the naval and military schools, in order that one scholar from each congressional district and two from each state at large may receive a scientific and practical education at the public expense." The resolution was objected to and not received. (p. 530 Congressional Globe, 1st. Sess., 34th Congress).

Nothing more was heard from Mr. Morrill on this subject during that session. In the meantime petitions for a land grant to each state in the Union for this purpose kept coming in.¹²

Finally on December 14, 1857, more than two years after he entered congress for the first time (December 4, 1855), and more than three years after the Illinois resolutions had been presented to the Senate and the House and more than four years after they

¹²The following petition presented to congress in March, 1858, shows the manner in which the farmers of Illinois continued to push this matter upon the attention of congress and the country through many years.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
HANCOCK COUNTY,
FEB. 25, 1858.

We the undersigned citizens of the State of Illinois would respectfully petition your honorable body for a grant of Congress lands to each State in the Union, to endow an industrial University for the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits and professions in life. Said grant be not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars for each State, and to be held in trust for the above uses, accompanied by such conditions and restrictions in terms of the grant, as shall in the wisdom of Congress, be needful in order to secure this trust forever to the uses aforesaid, and to prevent as far as practicable in all coming time the possibility of such trusts being diverted from their proper object, or made subservient to any social, partisan, or sectarian end, inconsistent with the appropriate use of such trust.

I. W. LINCOLN
J. W. TAYLOR
G. W. COLE
OLIVER WITTING
I. A. EWING

W. L. JUDSON
THOS. HUNTER
T. B. WALLACE
JOHN C. EWING
ROBERT E. EWING

The above are all members of the Flower Farmers Club. Samuel Jacob Wallace, Secretary.

had been generally noticed and discussed in the daily and agricultural press throughout the country, Mr. Morrill introduced a bill for a land grant to each state and territory in the Union for the benefit of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

In discussing this bill on April 20, 1858, Mr. Morrill himself says: "There has been no measure for years which has received so much attention in the various parts of the country as the one now under consideration so far as the fact can be proved by petitions which have been received here from the various states, north and south, from state sessions, from county sessions and from memorials." (Congressional Globe, 35th Congress, p 1692).

There is further evidence found in a letter by Jonathan B. Turner to Hon. John P. Reynolds of Jacksonville, Illinois, dated November 28, 1865, (Printed in Transactions of Illinois State Agricultural Society, Vol. V).

In this he states that after the Illinois Legislature had passed the resolutions of 1853 they, i. e. Turner and his associates, decided to direct their whole force toward moving Congress to appropriate the grants, by private correspondence with leading and influential men of all parties and in all parts of the union, both North and South. They received letters of encouragement from all quarters.

During this interval Mr. Morrill first presented the bill to Congress known as the Morrill Bill. Turner and his co-workers had already forwarded to him all their documents and papers and continued to give him all the aid and encouragement that they could. He managed the cause most admirably.

It is hardly necessary to seek further evidence for the justification of the claim that to Jonathan B. Turner, the Illinois professor and farmer, belongs the credit of having first formulated clearly the plan of a national grant of land to each state in the union for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, and of having inaugurated the agitation that made possible the passage of the so-called Morrill Act.

To his memory should be raised a monument in each of the 68 institutions which have grown out of his effort or whose power and usefulness have been increased by these appropriations!

APPENDIX A
LETTER FROM SENATOR MORRILL

APPENDIX A.

Dr. Eugene Davenport, Dean of the College of Agriculture in the University of Illinois, in an address on the history of collegiate education in agriculture, delivered at the 28th annual meeting of the Society for the promotion of Agricultural Science, 1907, gives some interesting data corroborative of the general thesis of this paper, namely that Professor Turner deserves the credit of being the real father of the Morrill acts.

He mentions certain letters found among Turner's correspondence and now in the possession of Turner's daughter, Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel, of Jacksonville, Illinois. One was written by Richard Yates, member of the federal house of representatives from Illinois, dated June, 1852, in which he acknowledges the receipt of Turner's plan and states that he had presented it to the National Agricultural Association, then in session in the city of Washington. This and its publication in the Patent Office Report, of course, gave Turner's plan wide publicity immediately among all the people especially interested in the progress of agricultural education. Another and still more significant letter is from Lyman Trumbull, senator from Illinois, dated October, 1857, evidently written in answer to a suggestion from Turner that Trumbull should introduce the bill. He endorsed Turner's plan but advised that it be presented to congress by a member from one of the old states, "as congress has given so much toward educational interests in the new states that they are in no frame of mind to do more, not even for Turner's plan, which embraces all the states, new and old." On the 14th of the following December Mr. Morrill of Vermont introduced for the first time the bill which had been urged by Illinois so persistently for more than five years. The above indisputable facts lend strong support to the truth of Mrs. Carriel's statement that she had often heard her father say that Mr. Morrill had been selected by him and his associates to present the bill and that the reason Mr. Morrill had been selected to present the bill was because he was much interested in agriculture and because he was from an old state.

All this affords ample proof that Mr. Morrill must have forgotten the history of the early days when in November, 1894,

he stated, "I do not happen now to know Professor Turner, though I do remember when my bills were before congress a western professor came to see me and heartily espoused the idea. It may have been Professor Turner. It is so long since, I have forgotten his name, as I saw a large number of professors, some who favored my idea and some who did not."

A letter from Mr. Morrill in the possession of Mrs. Carriel and found among Turner's correspondence, proves beyond a doubt the more or less intimate acquaintance of Mr. Morrill with Turner's work. It reads as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DECEMBER 30, 1861.

DEAR SIR:

I am delighted to find your fire, by the letter of the 15th inst., had not all burned out. I presume I recognize Professor Turner, an old pioneer in the cause of agricultural education.

I have only to say that amid the fire and smoke and embers I have faith that I shall get my bill into a law at this session.

I thank you for your continued interest, and am

Very sincerely yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

J. B. TURNER, ESQ.,
Jacksonville, Ill.

APPENDIX B
EXTRACT FROM FORQUER'S LETTER

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE VOTERS OF SANGAMO COUNTY,
DATED SPRINGFIELD, JUNE 23, 1832,
BY GEORGE FORQUER.

FROM SANGAMO JOURNAL, JULY 12, 1832.

"In all governments where the counsels of an enlightened patriotism have been heard, and allowed to have more weight than the senseless clamor of faction and party strife, the general dissemination of knowledge has always been considered an object of paramount importance. Reposing as our free republican institutions do, and relying for their durability upon the virtue and intellectual energies of our people, nowhere should the statesman more sedulously aim at this object, than in our own country. Education being the only means by which this end can be fully attained, it is our duty therefore, to take every step in our power to dispense its benefits to the rising generation. As to what these steps should be, there is doubtless great diversity of opinion, and which will render it very difficult to introduce any coercive system of common schools. This diversity is the natural result of the different opinions which we have brought here with us from almost every point of the compass. If any acceptable plan could, however, be presented, by which every neighborhood would have a school kept in it constantly, it would have my hearty support. But I must confess that, until our country becomes more densely populated, and less difference of opinion prevails on this subject, I doubt the practicability of preparing any coercive system of common schools which would be sustained by the people. The munificent intention of the government in granting to the inhabitants of every township section sixteen, for the support of schools,

has been very unequally fulfilled, owing to the unequal value of those lands. In some townships they have been found to be worth some thousands of dollars, whilst in others they are not worth the taxes. This has placed some neighborhoods in an enviable condition as to schools, and which was surely never intended to have been the operation of a liberality meant alike for the benefit of all the people; and as other new states have been allowed to select elsewhere for the benefit of the townships, other sections of land in lieu of the 16th, wherever it has been found not to be good, there can be little doubt that a respectful request by the legislature, backed by our delegation in Congress, would procure for Illinois the same advantages. This once accomplished, every township would be supplied with an important aid for the support of schools, which well husbanded, and with the spirit of patriotism, and the discharge of parental duty, will do much, until we can do more, to promote the cause of education.

The time has arrived, however, when it has become our duty to apply the means granted to us by the general government, for the support of a State University, or Seminary of learning; and as those means were derived in virtue of a constitutional compact, we have now become adequate to effect the object for which they were granted, every member of the Legislature owes it, as well to his obligation to support the constitution as to a faithful discharge of his duty to the present inhabitants of the State, to see that the beneficent intention of the government is not disappointed. I have endeavored to ascertain the exact amount of means at the disposal of the next Legislature for this object, but have not succeeded in doing so as accurately as I could have wished. The following, however, will be found to be not far from the amount. According to compact with the United States, 72 sections of land were granted to this State to be appropriated solely for the use of a Seminary of Learning: also three-fifths of five per cent upon the amount of public land in the state after January 1, 1819, is secured to the State for the encouraging of learning; one-sixth of which, it is provided, "shall be exclusively bestowed upon a College or University."

The amount of funds received from this source up to June 1, 1831, is **\$32,237.81**

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Amount received from sales of Seminary land in pursuance of the acts of the legislature of the 12th and 17th January, 1829, is..... | 20,108.00 |
| Amount of interest which will be due from the State on this sum in 1833 | 4,800.00 |
| Twenty-six thousand and eighty acres of Seminary land yet to be disposed of, which at \$1.25 an acre will bring | 32,600.00 |
| In 1830, the public lands sold in this State amounted to \$395,678.34; 3-5ths of five per cent of which amounts to | 11,889.00 |
| And supposing the sales from the 1st June, 1831, to the 1st of June, 1832, to have been equal to the year 1830, we may add..... | 11,889.00 |
| Continue the same calculation forward to June 1st, 1833..... | 11,889.00 |

The whole amount of disposable means on the 1st June, 1833, is.....\$112,523.00

Here, then, we have an increasing fund, already amply sufficient to found and endow an Institution which would give character to the whole state, and be quite equal to our wants for many years to come. Its commencement and speedy completion cannot, therefore, any longer be delayed, unless we are guilty of an abandonment of legislative duty, and of great and manifest injustice to the present inhabitants of the state.—A great portion of whom have suffered all the trials and tribulations incident to pioneer life, and on this account have strong claims to be allowed, now whilst they can, to participate in the benefits of the liberality of the government. The character which such an Institution would give the state abroad—the promotion of the cause of education, and the advancement of the arts and sciences at home—paramount considerations as they are, will not be the only advantages which will result from its early establishment. If eligibly located, it would be the means of rapidly converting some one of our villages into a populous and wealthy city, thereby adding greatly to the value of property, and to the wealth of the country. The following calculation will show its value to the county and town in which it may be located.

My plan to provide salaries for the professors and establish the Institution, is this: Take \$80,000.00 of the fund, and place it

at interest at 6 per cent, and it will yield, per annum, \$4,800.00. Suppose the sales of land after 1st June, 1833, to be about the same of the year 1830, and the 1-6th of the 3 per cent fund, would be per annum

| | |
|--|------------|
| | 1,981.00 |
| | \$6,781.00 |

This sum, with the addition of a moderate price for tickets of admission from students, would provide salaries which would command professors of the highest order of talents. This would leave of the fund \$32,523. This sum I would expend next year in building and furnishing a suitable edifice for the Seminary to be kept in. This edifice might be so planned that it could be added to, with the increase of our future wants and means. To suppose that such an institution would command at least one hundred students, is surely not an overestimate. Each of these, at a very low estimate for boarding, washing, Hatters, Shoemakers, Tailors and Merchants bills, &c., would leave at least \$150.00 per annum at the place wherever it may be located.

RECAPITULATION.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Expend next year in building and furnishing the house | \$32,522 |
| One hundred students leaving in the town per annum \$150 each | 15,000 |
| The salaries of the several Professors, which would be necessarily expended in the place, for the support of their families, could not be less than | 8,000 |
| Amount of cash annually expended in the town by the students and professors | \$23,000 |

This expenditure would be made for the benefit of all classes. It would employ the mechanic, the boarding-house keeper, and buy the farmers' produce to keep those it employed. Its various and multiplied benefits upon the laboring and industrious class of citizens, in both town and country, would soon be seen, in the constant and profitable employment the one would receive, and the ready market the other would find at home for the produce of his farm. Let the mechanics of Springfield, and the farmers of the county of Sangamo, who know how much the town has improved in the last two years, and what a market it has been to the farmer,

and how little actual cash has been expended in it to produce the result, calculate if they can, what would be the effect upon the town and county, of an annual expenditure in the town, of the sums I have mentioned. This, however, is the most narrow view that can be taken of the advantages which such an institution would confer upon our town and county.—The capital and population which it would attract to both, and thereby promote business and improvements of every kind, and increase the general value of property, would be a still greater cause of general prosperity to both.—Alluring an object as this institution would be to the delegation of every county, yet each knows that all cannot have it; and as it must be located somewhere, each member will be bound to locate it where it can be so supported, that the greatest good may result to the whole state from its establishment. The central position and healthy character of Springfield, and the fertility of the soil, and numerous population of our county—where students can be healthy and living cheap, all point to it as the spot for the State Seminary. At all events it is an object of so much importance, that the citizens of Sangamo, who are above the influence of petty feuds, and are more solicitous about promoting the public good, than they are about the mere election of some particular individuals over some other individuals, will not lose sight of the great influence which the location of this institution among them would have upon the future destinies of our county.

APPENDIX C
THE TURNER PAMPHLET

PLEASE READ AND CIRCULATE.

INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITIES

FOR THE PEOPLE.

Published in Compliance with Resolutions of

THE CHICAGO AND SPRINGFIELD CONVENTIONS.

AND UNDER THE

INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE

OF ILLINOIS.

By J. B. TURNER,
Chairman of the Committee.

JACKSONVILLE:

Printed at the Morgan Journal Book and Job Office.

1853.

PREFACE

The reasons for proffering this pamphlet to the public will be found in the proceedings of the *Industrial Conventions* held at Chicago in 1852, and in Springfield, 1853. But while the author has endeavored to comply with the general wish expressed by these conventions, and the Directors of the *Illinois Industrial League*, it should not be inferred that any friends of those conventions or of the League are responsible for the particular statements or sentiments herein expressed. In all these incidental matters, the author alone is responsible, as it was found impracticable before publication to secure even a revision by the committee, which, had it been possible, was greatly to be desired.

It will also, be readily seen that it is no part of the design of this work, to notice the many and great improvements and excellencies in our existing systems of education, but rather to call attention to their remaining defects and urge these as a reason for immediate effort and action in the direction indicated.

For a plan of action the reader will please refer to the close of the pamphlet.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The progress which the people of the United States, and especially of our own State, are continually making on the great subject of education, must be gratifying to every patriotic and philanthropic mind.

This progress relates to the ENDS, INSTRUMENTALITIES, and MODES of all mental and moral culture, and is most apparent in the condition of our best Common Schools—at once the pride and hope of our country.

The END of all education should be the development of a TRUE MANHOOD, or the natural, proportionate and healthful culture and growth of all the powers and faculties of the human being—physical, mental, moral and social; and any system which attempts the exclusive, or even inordinate culture of any one class of these faculties, will fail of its end—it will make mushrooms and monks, rather than manhood and men. For similar reasons, any system of education adapted to the exclusive or unequal and inordinate culture of any one class or profession in the State, is defective: it generates clans and castes, and breaks in upon that natural order, equality and harmony which God has ordained. It will create a concentration of intellectual power in the educated head of the body politic—cold, crafty, selfish and treacherous, which will sooner or later corrupt its heart—will exhaust and overlabor and overtask its weak, uncultured and undeveloped, subordinate powers and organs, and produce a bedlam rather than a kingdom on earth—a despotism either of the tyrant, the church or the mob, or of all these combined; not a government.

And this effect will inevitably follow, as sure as God lives and reigns, even though a nation write its soil and sea over with parchment, declarations and manifestoes, and rend air and sky with clamorous shouts of "Equality, Liberty and Fraternity." "Be not deceived: God is not mocked." "That which a man soweth, shall he also reap."

In former times not very remote from our own day, mere learning—book knowledge—scholasticism, was considered the great end of education, and all such systems of culture direct the

mind too much towards books, and too little towards facts. The pupil is taught to think of letters and words rather than of things and events—to remember on what part of the book page he saw the form of words, better than he knows on what part of the world's page, the events took place, if at all. All the way along, from a—b, ab, and long a in hate, and a seven years' war at spelling up through spelling books, grammars and dictionaries, English, Latin and Greek, till he at last took his diploma, it was one everlasting agonism at verbiage, as though God, angels and men—the sky above and the earth beneath, were all moonshine; and spelling, grammar, talk—the prime properties of man's utterance facile and precise—were the only realities in the universe. A real, grammar school-boy of such schools, can brave no other idea than that God made the world out of the nine parts of speech, and in English, at least, spelled it all wrong. And so throughout the whole course, books, books, books, form the great staple and instruments and ends of culture; and the living voice, speaking of living facts and presenting living realities to the mind of the pupil, but a very small part of it. By such methods the mind is trained to undue deference to the authority of the book, with little capacity to look after the fact—and men's opinions and usages, instead of God's laws and ordinances govern the world: and generally in those communities where this mere book learning is most dominant, the minds of men are most depressed and enslaved to tyrant custom. For example—compare Germany and England, and New England and Illinois. It engenders an undue deference to mere learned authority, a spirit of effeminate timidity, and pedantic servility, rather than one of true wisdom, true freedom, and true manhood, such as has shone in the prophets, apostles and martyrs of every age.

It does not produce *mind*, but mere *learning*,—not *intellect* but scholarship—not thinkers, but plausible and sophistical debaters; SCHOOLMEN, (as of old,) who can prove either side of any proposition, but not real men who can discharge the *hard side* of every single duty.

A proper remedy for such a state of things, wherever it may be found, would, of course, consist in drawing our resources of

culture, less from books and the laws of verbiage, and more from facts and the laws of God. Less from nature distorted into abstractions, propositions, prisms and triangles, as seen in ordinary books, and more from nature, as it comes all radiant and instinct with life, beauty and glory from the Hand Divine. What a monstrosity was that which some years since took little boys and girls, not even seven years old, out of God's clear sunshine, away from the birds and breezes, the flowers and the trees, and set them, for six hours in the day, bolt upright on a wooden bench, to look at big letters and triangles made of cotton rags and lampblack!!—and all this, only to educate them!!!

Well, this absurdity has passed away; and all others similar to it are fast departing.

But the great instrumentalities of education are—the FAMILY, the SCHOOL, the CHURCH and the STATE; and in order to the best results, it is indispensable that order, virtue, wisdom and freedom should direct, pervade, enlighten and control each and all these several departments of human culture with a simultaneous energy and power. The apostasy, or corruption, or perversion of any one of these is sufficient to cripple and distort, if not to utterly annihilate all the good that can be educed from the other three. The vanity, selfishness, pride and vice of the household—the pedantry and folly of the school—the bigotry and superstition of the church, or the tyranny and corruption of the State, are, each one of them, adequate to pervert or destroy, in a single generation, all the real good of the other three, if, indeed, the phenomena of the existence of such vices in either quarter, does not show a previous latent corruption in all departments alike. Hence, a watchful care over all these interests alike, is as indispensable to the proper education of our youth, as it is to their after security in life.

But in the narrow and pedantic view of the subject, schools of literature and science are usually considered the great, if not the sole instruments of education; and sometimes, in accordance with this view, the brain or the mind, the mere intellectual powers of man, are the only powers really sought to be educated. Wherever this fatal delusion prevails, the necessary result must be a

monstrosity, not a manhood; a monk, rather than a man; and it will be found, at last, to give the world pedants and pettifoggers for priests and teachers, rowdies and robbers for rulers, and only old vices under new names, for all the abandoned and discarded virtues of their forefathers.

This pedantic and shallow view of the subject of education, also leads to another most fatal error in the minds of both the old and the young. Instead of regarding education as the great life-long process—the great life-business of every human being here on earth, it limits it to the quarter days of the school-room, and calls even the most corrupt, effeminate, useless and senseless of men, educated, if, forsooth, they have overmastered a certain quantum of a prescribed course of mere book-learning, though turned loose upon the world without either the capacity to take care of themselves or the disposition to leave the best interests of their fellows untouched.¹

¹Josiah Holbrook, in the "National Era," of June 16th, states, that "in one State's prison of our Union are twelve graduates of colleges—a greater proportion to the whole number of convicts in one prison, than the entire number of college graduates in our country to the whole population. Everybody knows," says he, "that the most depraved beings in our country are among those upon whom most is expended for their education; and that thieves, midnight assassins and incendiaries have come from our schools by hundreds and thousands."

If this is true, and other prisons show similar statistics, the whole number of graduates of colleges in all the prisons, must exceed the relative proportion furnished to the same honors by the industrial classes, many hundred per cent.

Does not this denote something wrong in our schemes for the mere culture of the tongue and the brain? But suppose all who have been under the regimen of the drill, but never graduated, were reported, the ratio would be even more frightfully swollen, and we would find that no class of persons disgorge so great an annual percent into our prisons and almshouses and the drunkard's ignoble grave, as those who have attempted to seek a liberal education, while under our more rational and practical common school system, in which practical knowledge is sought in connection with domestic duties and industrial pursuits, the facts are exactly the reverse. Has a tree that bears such fruit, true christianity, or heathen mythology at its roots? Is practical duty, or pedantic display, its life and its aim? The fearful loss of life which these systems of monkish and distorted culture annually produce, is well known to all. But the annals of the crimes and criminals it has generated, is a chapter in our history not yet fully developed.

Mr. Bramwell, an English writer and traveler, is reported to affirm that the universities of Great Britain have contributed more to the pride, aristocracy, vice

A young boy or girl, under this idea, obtains a smattering of language, literature and science, perhaps, in the schools, and then, forsooth, as it is very pertinently and significantly said, "he has finished his education." It is, but too often, strictly true;—it is finished; and all true manhood has, also, been crucified in the process. It is all ended with him, and you have before you your plausible sophist, your accomplished idler, or your educated hireling—another relentless donkey to hold back the great car of social and moral progress, and bray at every new idea that dawns upon the world for the good of man and the glory of God.

But motion—progress—is the law of matter and of mind; and all civilization, all true christianity, all true education and all true manhood, are nothing else but one everlasting progress in true knowledge, wisdom and virtue.

It is obvious that the instruction of the schoolroom should be constantly based upon this idea. That it should aim to put every pupil in such a position that his whole life afterward may be but one continuous, natural and easy progress from one stage of mental and moral development and power to another. Nature's order and God's law, when observed, is, that the child should become the youth, the youth the man, the man the angel; and so, onward and upward forever—ever developing—ever progressing, but never finished. A true process of education, therefore, can never stop; it can never be either remitted or finished; and all systems of scholastic learning constructed on that idea, are monkish, preposterous, delusive and false; and just so far forth, a curse instead of a blessing to mankind, ever begetting a spirit of pedantic idleness, frivolity and the supercilious pride of a conceited monk or an Indian Brahman, instead of that brave, generous and steadfast heroism that should characterize the true man.

It is self-evident that in order to reach this end, and to avoid these antagonistic evils, our systems of public instruction should

and debauchery of the empire, and furnished more sots and penitentiary criminals, in proportion to their numbers, than any other class of English society.

Did the schools of the Carpenter and fishermen of Galilee, or even those of Socrates and Plato exhibit such results?

Will not the patrons and defenders of those systems of education answer?

all have due reference to the varied employments of men in after life; so that each class may be placed in a position which shall enable them to develop a LITERATURE OF THEIR OWN, and acquire a mental as well as moral discipline, in connection with their own occupations, interests and pursuits. In other words, the effort should be to make each man an intelligent, thinking man, in his own profession in life, rather than out of it; to teach him, first, to understand his own business rather than other people's. Then he will be better able to govern and take care of himself, and need less expenditure from the State and the church in controlling and taking care of him.

This principle has, in theory, become fully recognized, and applied with more or less perfection to some four or five varied pursuits of men, and obviously, ought to be applied in the same way and on the same principle to them all.

The divines, the lawyers, the physicians, the teachers, and the military men of our country, each and all, have their specific schools, libraries, apparatus and universities, for the application of all known forms of knowledge to their several professions in life. Hence the surprising intelligence and power which these classes now exhibit, since the founding of universities and schools for their special uses, compared with that manifested by the same classes in the times of the monks, barons, quacks, *schoolmen* and crusaders of the middle ages. Hence the eloquence and power of our pulpits, and our courts and senates—the efficiency of our medical and military skill.

It is true that the laws of God are everywhere, and to all persons and classes, the same; and that all science is based upon these uniform laws; but it is equally true that their application to the pursuits of life, and the consequent natural discipline and development of mind is infinitely various.

No man, in his senses, imagines if all our divines had been trained at West Point, all our lawyers, physicians and generals at Mount Holyoke or Andover or Princeton, that there would have been either the same energy of effort and success, or the same discipline of mind in these professions that now exist. Skill, and a proper knowledge of the laws of projectiles—the chainshot and

the bombshell will hardly make a divine; and adroitness with the dishcloth or with the frolics of the fathers, would scarcely have achieved the conquest of the empire of the Montezumas.

So far forth as discipline of mind is concerned, all know that the greater part of it is procured in all these professions, not at their several schools, however excellent and appropriate in themselves, but by the continued habits of reading, thought and reflection, **IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR SEVERAL PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS IN AFTER LIFE**; and if not so acquired, it is never, in fact, acquired at all.

The young graduate from all these schools, alike, is generally pronounced green, raw, undisciplined and sophomorical, and shows himself to be so. But his university or his school has done one thing for him of immense value and importance, and only one; it has neither duly informed, nor disciplined his mind, as it sometimes pretended; but **IT HAS SHOWN HIM HOW THAT MIND CAN BE DISCIPLINED, IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS OF HIS AFTER LIFE**, if he will attend to it: but if not, it cannot be. This is the most that universities or schools of any sort can, as a general rule, do for any man; they give him a start in that course, which, in after life he is to pursue. To this end, the peculiar literature appropriate to each of these professions, is quite as important as the universities and schools which created it: for as a general rule, men will not read and reflect on subjects totally disconnected with their daily duties and interests, so as to derive that needful discipline of mind, from other pursuits, which nature teaches should be derived from their own. —Some few minds, it is true, in all professions, have an appetency for universal knowledge, just as some men seem to have skill in universal art, but the great majority of men obtain all the real discipline and development of mind which they ever do obtain, in immediate connection with their own individual pursuits and duties in life, and not outside of these.

The sun which they see, is only the one which lightens their own world; and from this, alone, the light of life must come to them, if it come at all; all beyond is, to them, starlight, and must remain so till they quit their present sphere of action and duty.

Now, our industrial classes, although much more numerous than all the others combined, are, to a vast extent, to say the least, alone, of all others, left entirely without the indispensable means of applying this same knowledge or science to their several pursuits, to teach them, also, how to read, observe and think, and act so as to derive this same needful and wholesome mental discipline from their pursuits in life, which the professional and military classes are taught to derive from theirs. Of course, they are also equally destitute of the needful literature for such ends, and must, of necessity, remain so, till universities are endowed for creating it in the same way it has been created for others. They are all, in this country now, so far as appropriate educational and scientific privileges are concerned, where the professional and military classes, themselves, were, in the days of the monks and schoolmen, with no appropriate schools, apparatus, or teachers, or literature suited to the proper application of knowledge to their several pursuits and callings.

Is it said that farmers and mechanics do not and will not read?

Give them a literature and an education then, suited to their actual wants, and see if it does not reform and improve them in this respect, as it has done their brethren in the professional classes. As a matter of fact, all know they now have no such practical, congenial literature to read; and still, as a general rule they read more, and know more about the proper pursuits of the professional classes, than those classes do about theirs, in proportion to the opportunities they have.

Suppose you should supply the libraries of the divine and the lawyer with practical treatises on the raising of crops, the resuscitation and improvement of soils, and the management of stock, or the navigation of the polar seas, instead of books treating of the peculiar nature and duties of his own profession, does any man suppose that these professions would exhibit the same love of reading and study, or attain the same mental discipline which they now do? The idea is absurd.

Give a divine or a lawyer a book on agriculture, and how soon it is thrown aside! And is it surprising that the farmer and

mechanic treats other books on the same principle, and in the same way, for the same reason? But how greedily they devour, in all our periodicals and pamphlets the few scraps that directly pertain to their own interests, and how soon new implements of life and power start up from their practical and creative minds out of every new idea in philosophy that dawns upon the race and claims its place in the crystal palaces, and its reward at the industrial fairs of the world? And are such minds on this great continent to be longer left, by the million, without a single university or school of any sort, adapted to the peculiar wants of their craft, while the whole energies of the republic are taxed to the utmost to furnish universities, colleges and schools adapted to the wants of the professional and military classes, who constitute not the one-hundredth part of the population, and represent not the thousandth part of the vital interests of any civilized and well ordered community?

Are these pursuits, then, beneath the dignity of rational and accountable man? God, himself, made the first Adam a gardener or farmer, and kept him so till he fell from his high estate. The second Adam, sent to repair the ruin of this fall, he made a poor mechanic called "the son of a carpenter;" who chose all his personal followers from the same humble class. Deity has pronounced his opinion on the dignity and value of these pursuits, by the repeated acts of the wisdom and grace, as well as by the inflexible laws of his providence compelling industrial labor as the only means of preserving health of body, vigor, purity of mind and even life itself.

Where did Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, and Cincinnatus, the most illustrious of the Romans—Washington, the father of America, and Franklin, and Sherman, and Kossuth, and Downing, and Hugh Miller, and a whole host of worthies, too numerous to mention, get their education? They derived it from their connexion with the practical pursuits of life, where all other men got theirs, so far as it has proved of any practical use to themselves or the world.

What we want from schools is, to teach men, more dull of apprehension, to derive their mental and moral strength, from

their own pursuits, whatever they are, in the same way, and on the same principles, and to gather from other sources as much more as they find time to achieve. We wish to teach them to read books, only that they may the better read and understand the great volume of nature, ever open before them.

Can, then, no schools and no literature, suited to the peculiar wants of the industrial classes, be created by the application of science to their pursuits? Has God so made the world, that peculiar schools, peculiar applications of science, and a peculiar resultant literature, are found indispensable to the highest success in the art of killing men, in all states, while nothing of the kind can be based on the infinitely multifarious arts and processes of feeding, clothing and housing them? Are there no sufficient materials of knowledge, and of the highest mental and moral discipline in immediate connexion with these pursuits? This is to suppose that God has condemned the vast majority of mankind to live in circumstances in which the best and highest development of their noblest facilities is a sheer impossibility, unless they turn aside from those spheres of duty to which his Providence has evidently consigned them. Such an assumption is as pedantic and shallow as it is wicked and blasphemous. For what, but for this very end of intellectual discipline and development, has God bound the daily labors of all these sons of toil in the shop and on the farm, in close and incessant contact with all the mighty mysteries of his own creative wisdom, as displayed in heaven above, and on earth beneath, and in the waters and soils that are under the earth? Why are there more recondite and profound principles of pure mathematics immediately connected with the sailing of a ship, or the moulding and driving of a plow, or an axe, or a jack-plane, than with all three of the, so-called, learned professions together, if it be not intended that those engaged in these pursuits should derive mental culture as well as bodily sustenance and strength from these instruments of their art and their toil? Why has God linked the light, the dew drop, the clouds, the sunshine and the storm, and concentrated the mighty powers of the earth, the ocean and the sky, directed by that unknown and mysterious force which rolls the spheres, and arms

the thunder-cloud—why are all these mystic and potent influences connected with the growing of every plant, and the opening of every flower, the motion of every engine and every implement, if he did not intend that each son and daughter of Adam's race should learn through the handicraft of their daily toil, to look through nature up to nature's God, trace his deep designs, and derive their daily mental and moral culture, as well as their daily food, from that toil that is ever encircled and circumscribed on all hands, by the unfathomed energies of his wisdom and power? No foundation for the development and culture of a high order of science and literature, and the noblest capacities of mind, heart and soul, in connexion with the daily employments of the industrial classes! How came such a heathenish and apostate idea ever to get abroad in the world? Was God mistaken when he first placed Adam in the garden, instead of the academy? Or when he sentenced him to toil for his future salvation, instead of giving him over to abstract contemplation? When he made his Son a carpenter instead of a rabbi? Or when he made man a man instead of a monk? No: God's ways are ever, ways of wisdom and truth; but Satan has, in all ages, continued to put darkness for light—sophistry and cant, for knowledge and truth—cunning and verbiage, for wisdom and virtue—tyranny and outrage, for government and law—and to fill the world with brute muscles and bones, in one class—luxurious, insolent and useless nerves and brains, in another class, without either bodies or souls, and to call the process by which the result, in the latter case, is reached, education. And from the possibility of such an education as this, God has, in his mercy, hitherto sheltered his defenseless poor. And if such hot-bed processes are, alone, to be dignified with the name of education, then, it is clearly impossible that the laboring classes should ever be educated; God has interdicted it. Or, even if no other system of education is ever to be devised, or attempted, except that alone which is most fit for the professional and military man, it is equally clear that this cannot be made available to any considerable portion of the industrial classes.

But the idea has got abroad in the world, that some practical, liberal system of education for the industrial classes, suited at once to their circumstances and their wants, can be devised, and this idea is not likely soon to be stopped; it seems to work beneath the surface of human thought with the energy of a volcanic fire, and we think it will soon burst forth, into an out-birth to purify what is good, and overwhelm and annihilate whatever there may be that is evil in our present educational ideas and processes.

In order to excite a proper interest in this department of education, the public are already aware that several conventions have been held in this State.

The first convention was held at Granville, Putnam County, November 18th, 1851.

The report of the convention was, in due time, published by the committee and presented to the public. It has since been reprinted, and commented upon in nearly all the leading agricultural and horticultural journals of the several States, and especially those of the North and West. It was also copied into the patent office reports at Washington, and has received the favorable regard of nearly all the leading minds in the agricultural and mechanical classes, and their associations and institutes throughout the Union. While great numbers of addresses, resolutions, reports, and newspapers and periodical articles—all aiming to elucidate the same general idea, have been presented to the public, in all parts of the Union, showing that this is the great felt want of the mind and heart of the nation.

This report was as follows:

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FARMERS' CONVENTION AT GRANVILLE
HELD NOVEMBER 18, 1851.

In accordance with previous notices, a convention of farmers was held at Granville, Putnam County, on Tuesday the 18th day of November, 1851. The attendance was quite large, and from various parts of the State.

The convention organized by appointing Hon. Oaks Turner, of Hennepin, Chairman pro tem., and Mr. M. Osman, of Ottawa, Secretary pro tem.

Mr. Ralph Ware moved that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to nominate permanent officers for the convention; which was agreed to; whereupon the chair appointed Messrs. Ralph Ware, John Hise and Sidney Pulsifer said committee.

The committee, after a few minutes absence, returned and reported the following persons as permanent officers of the convention:

Hon. Oaks Turner, President.

Hon. Wm. Reddick, of Ottawa, and Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Vice-Presidents.

Mr. M. Osman, Recording Secretary.

Mr. Ralph Ware, of Granville, Corresponding Secretary.

On motion the report was adopted and the committee discharged.

The President then stated that he was not fully advised as to the real objects of the convention, and suggested some one better qualified should make them known.

Mr. Ware then stated that, according to the call, they had met to take into consideration such measures as might be deemed most expedient to further the interests of the agricultural community, and particularly to take steps towards the establishment of an Agricultural University.

On motion of Mr. Greble, a committee of three was appointed to report business upon which the convention should act. The committee consisted of Mr. John Greble, Prof. J. B. Turner, and Mr. Lewis Weston.

During the absence of this committee, short addresses were delivered by Messrs. Hise, Greble, Ware and others.

The committee returned and stated that they would not be fully prepared to report before evening; and suggested that the afternoon be devoted to a general discussion of such subjects, pertaining to agriculture, as might present themselves.

A lively discussion was then commenced on various subjects, in which Powell, of Mt. Palatine, Butler, of Spoon River, Greble, of Putnam County, Weston, of LaSalle County, Gilmer, of Granville, Reddick, of Ottawa, and others participated.

After which the convention adjourned until half past six o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention was called to order by the chairman.

Prof. Turner, as chairman of the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions for the future action of the convention:

Resolved, That we greatly rejoice in the degree of perfection to which our various institutions, for the education of our brethren engaged in professional, scientific, and literary pursuits, have already attained, and in the mental and moral elevation which those institutions have given them, and their consequent preparation and capacity for the great duties in the spheres of life in which they are engaged; and that we will aid in all ways consistent, for the still greater perfection of such institutions.

Resolved, That as the representatives of the industrial classes, including all cultivators of the soil, artisans, mechanics and merchants, we desire the same privileges and advantages for ourselves, our fellows and our posterity, in each of the several pursuits and callings, as our professional brethren enjoy in theirs; and we admit that it is our own fault that we do not also enjoy them.

Resolved, That, in our opinion, the institutions originally and primarily designed to meet the wants of the professional classes as such, cannot, in the nature of things, meet ours, no more than the institutions we desire to establish for ourselves could meet theirs. Therefore,

Resolved, That we take immediate measures for the establishment of a University, in the State of Illinois, expressly to meet those felt wants of each and all the industrial classes of our State; that we recommend the foundation of high schools, lyceums, institutes, &c., in each of our counties, on similar principles, so soon as they may find it practicable so to do.

Resolved, That in our opinion such institutions can never impede, but must greatly promote, the best interests of all those existing institutions.

After reading the above resolutions, Prof. Turner proceeded, in an able and interesting manner, to unfold his plan for the establishment and maintenance of the Industrial University.

The convention then adjourned till 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, Nov. 19.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion, the resolutions were again taken up and read, and, after some deliberation, severally adopted.

Mr. Hise offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we approve of the general plan for an Illinois State University for the Industrial Classes, presented by Prof. J. B. Turner, and request him to furnish the outlines of his plan, presented to this Convention, to the Committee of Publication, for publication in the *Prairie Farmer*, and all other papers in this State which will publish the same; and that one thousand copies be published in pamphlet form for gratuitous distribution.

Resolved, That W. A. Pennell, M. Osman, L. L. Bullock and Ralph Ware, be a Committee of Publication.

Resolved, That the Committee on Publication forward to each editor in every county in the State a copy of the publications of this convention, with a request that they should republish the same; and, also, send a copy to our Governor, Senators and Representatives and State Officers, and to all others who may be interested in the same.

Resolved, That each member of this convention do all in his power to promote the circulation and reading of the above publications, and through this and other means, to secure, as far as practicable, speakers to lecture on the subject in each of the counties in the State.

Resolved, That Messrs. J. B. Turner and Marcus Morton, of Morgan County; James McConnell, Elijah Iles, and David L. Gregg, of Sangamon Co.; John Davis, of Decatur; John Woods, of Quincy; John Hise, of LaSalle Co.; Aaron Shaw, of Lawrence Co.; John Dougherty, of Union Co.; L. S. Pennington, of Whiteside Co.; W. J. Phelps, of Elm Wood, Peoria Co.; and Dr. Ames, of Winnebago Co., be a Central Committee to call a State Convention, to meet at Springfield at an early hour of the next session of the Legislature, or at such other time and place as they and the friends of the cause may deem most expedient.

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly solicit the Governor of this State to enumerate in the call for an extra session of the Legislature, should one be held before the next regular session, the objects of this convention in the establishment of an Industrial University, as business to be acted upon by that body at that time.

Resolved, That a memorial and petitions be prepared and furnished by the publishing Committee for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature upon this subject.

During the discussion of these resolutions the Convention adjourned till 1 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Hise's resolutions were again taken up and severally passed.

Mr. Loffin introduced the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That we earnestly solicit the people of this State to meet in their primary assemblies and discuss the objects of this convention as shall be made known by our published proceedings, and join with us in asking the Legislature to grant to the people of this State, the fund which belongs to them, to aid them in establishing an institute for the industrial classes of this State, instead of dividing that fund among the different colleges, now in the State, as contemplated by those institutions.

In compliance with a request made by Mr. Thomas Ware, and others, Prof. Turner gave a short history of a number of experiments he had made in reference to the blight upon fruit trees.

The Convention then adjourned sine die.

OAKS TURNER, Pres't.

M. OSMAN, Sec'y.

PLAN FOR AN INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY FOR THE
STATE OF ILLINOIS.

To the Committee of Publication of the Granville Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—I have endeavored to prepare an outline of my views of an Industrial University for the State of Illinois, as perfectly as the short time allowed me, and my own feeble health would permit. Notwithstanding my total inability to do justice to the subject, I trust you may find it useful in directing the mind of the people of this State to the most important interest ever proposed for their consideration, and in eliciting from them an early and intelligent expression of their views and wishes in regard to it.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, most respectfully yours,

J. B. TURNER.

Jacksonville, November, 1851.

All civilized society is, necessarily, divided into two distinct co-operative, not antagonistic, classes:—a small class, whose proper business it is to teach the true principles of religion, law, medicine, science, art, and literature; and a much larger class, who are engaged in some form of labor in agriculture, commerce, and the arts. For the sake of convenience, we will designate the former the **PROFESSIONAL**, and the latter the **INDUSTRIAL** class; not implying that each may not be equally industrious; the one in their intellectual, the other in their industrial pursuits. Probably, in no case would society ever need more than five men out of one hundred in the professional class, leaving ninety-five in every hundred in the industrial; and, so long as so many of our teachers and public men are taken from the industrial class, as there are at present, and probably will be for generations to come, we do not really need over one professional man for every hundred, leaving ninety-nine for the industrial class.

The vast difference, in the practical means, of an **APPROPRIATE LIBERAL EDUCATION**, suited to their wants and their destiny, which these two classes enjoy, and ever have enjoyed the world over, must have arrested the attention of every thinking man. True, the same general abstract science exists in the world for both classes alike; but the means of bringing this abstract truth into effectual contact with the daily business and pursuits of the one class does exist, while in the other case it does not exist, and never can till it is new created.

The one class have schools, seminaries, colleges, universities, apparatus, professors, and multitudinous appliances for educating and training them for months and years, for the peculiar profession which is to be the business of their life; and they have already created, each class for its own use, a vast and voluminous literature, that would well nigh sink a whole navy of ships.

But where are the universities, the apparatus, the professors and the literature, specifically adapted to any one of the industrial classes? Echo answers, where? In other words, society has become, long since, wise enough to know that its **TEACHERS** need to be educated; but it has not yet become wise enough to know

that its WORKERS need education just as much. In these remarks I have not forgotten that our common schools are equally adapted and applied to all classes; but reading, writing, &c., are, properly, no more education than gathering seed is agriculture, or cutting ship-timber navigation. They are the mere rudiments, as they are called, or means, the mere instrument of an after education, and if not so used they are, and can be, of little more use to the professor than an axe in the garret or a ship rotting upon the stocks.

Nor am I unmindful of the efforts of the monarchs and aristocrats of the old world in founding schools for the "fifteenth cousins" of their order, in hopes of training them into a sort of *genteel farmers*, or rather *overseers* of farmers; nor yet, of the several "back fires" (as the Prairie Farmer significantly designates them) set by some of our older professional institutions, to keep the rising and blazing thought of the industrial masses from burning too furiously. They have hauled a canoe alongside of their huge professional steamships and invited all the farmers and mechanics of the State to jump on board and sail with them; but the difficulty is, they will not embark. But we thank them even for this pains and courtesy. It shows that their hearts are yearning toward us, notwithstanding the ludicrous awkwardness of their first endeavors to save us.

But an answer to two simple questions will perhaps sufficiently indicate our ideas of the whole subject, though that answer, on the present occasion, must necessarily be confined to a bare outline. The first question, then, is this:

I. WHAT DO THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES WANT?

II. HOW CAN THAT WANT BE SUPPLIED?

The first question may be answered in few words. They want, and they ought to have, the same facilities for understanding the true philosophy—the science and the art of their several pursuits, (their life-business), and of efficiently applying existing knowledge thereto and widening its domain, which the professional classes have long enjoyed in their pursuits.—Their first labor is therefore, to supply a vacuum from fountains already full, and bring the living waters of knowledge within

their own reach. Their second is, to help fill the fountains with still greater supplies. They desire to depress no institution, no class whatever; they only wish to elevate themselves and their pursuits to a position in society to which all men acknowledge they are justly entitled, and to which they also desire to see them aspire.

II. HOW THEN CAN THAT WANT BE SUPPLIED?

In answering this question, I shall endeavor to present, with all possible frankness and clearness, the outline of impressions and convictions that have been gradually deepening in my own mind, for the past twenty years, and let them pass for whatever the true friends of the cause may think them worth.

And I answer, first, negatively, that this want cannot be supplied by any of the existing institutions for the professional classes, nor by any incidental appendage attached to them as a mere secondary department.

These institutions were designed and adapted to meet the wants of the professional classes, as such—especially the clerical order; and they are no more suited to the real wants of the industrial class than the institution we propose for them, would be suited to the professional class.

Their whole spirit and aim is, or should be, literary and intellectual—not practical and industrial; to make men of books and ready speech—not men of work, and industrial, silent thought. But, the very best classical scholars are often the very worst practical reasoners; and that they should be made workers is contrary to the nature of things—the fixed laws of God. The whole interest, business, and destiny for life of the two classes, run in opposite lines; and that the same course of study should be equally well adapted to both, is as utterly impossible as that the same pursuits and habits should equally concern and benefit both classes.

The industrial classes know and feel this, and therefore they do not, and will not, patronize these institutions, only so far forth as they desire to make professional men for public use. As a general fact, their own multitudes do, and *will forever*, stand aloof from them; and, while they desire to foster and cherish

them for their own appropriate uses, they know that they do not, and cannot, fill the sphere of their own urgent industrial wants. They need a similar system of *liberal education* for their own class, and adapted to their own pursuits; to create for them an INDUSTRIAL LITERATURE, adapted to their professional wants, to raise up for them *teachers* and *lecturers*, for subordinate institutes, and to elevate them, their pursuits, and their posterity to that relative position in human society for which God designed them.

The whole history of education, both in Protestant and Catholic countries, shows that we must begin with the higher institutions, or we can never succeed with the lower; for the plain reason, that neither knowledge nor water will run up hill. No people ever had, or ever can have, any system of common schools and lower seminaries worth anything, until they first founded their higher institutions and fountains of knowledge from which they could draw supplies of teachers, &c., for the lower. We would begin, therefore, where all experience and common sense show that we must begin, if we would effect anything worthy of an effort.

In this view of the case, the first thing wanted in this process, is a NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, to operate as the great central luminary of the national mind, from which all minor institutions should derive light and heat, and toward which they should, also, reflect back their own. This primary want is already, I trust, supplied by the Smithsonian Institute, endowed by James Smithson, and incorporated by the U. S. Congress, at Washington, D. C.

To co-operate with this noble Institute, and enable the Industrial classes to realize its benefits in practical life, we need a *University for the Industrial Classes* in each of the States, with their consequent subordinate institutes, lyceums, and high schools, in each of the counties and towns.

The objects of these institutes should be to apply existing knowledge directly and efficiently to all practical pursuits and professions in life, and to extend the boundaries of our present knowledge in all possible practical directions.

PLAN FOR THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

There should be connected with such an institution, in this State, a sufficient quantity of land of variable soil and aspect, for all its needful annual experiments and processes in the great interests of Agriculture and Horticulture.

Buildings of appropriate size and construction for all ordinary and special uses; a complete philosophical, chemical, anatomical, and industrial apparatus; a general cabinet, embracing everything that relates to, illustrates, or facilitates any one of the industrial arts; especially all sorts of animals, birds, reptiles, insects, trees, shrubs, and plants found in this State and adjacent States.

Instruction should be constantly given in the anatomy and physiology, the nature, instincts and habits of all animals, insects, trees and plants; their laws of propagation, primogeniture, growth and decay, disease and health, life and death; on the nature, composition, adaptation, and regeneration of soils; on the nature, strength, durability, preservation, perfection, composition, cost, use, and manufacture of all materials of art and trade; on political, financial, domestic, and, manual economy, (or the saving of labor of the hand), in all industrial processes; on the true principles of national, constitutional, and civil law; and the true theory and art of governing and controlling, or directing the labor of men in the State, the family, shop, and farm; on the laws of vicinage, or the laws of courtesy and comity between neighbors, as such, and on the principles of health and disease in the human subject, so far at least as is needful for household safety; on the laws of trade and commerce, ethical, conventional, and practical; on bookkeeping and accounts; and in short, in all those studies and sciences, of whatever sort, which tend to throw light upon any art or employment, which any student may desire to master, or upon any duty he may be called to perform; or which may tend to secure his moral, civil, social and industrial perfection, as a man.

No species of knowledge should be excluded, practical or theoretical; unless, indeed, those specimens of "organized ignorance" found in the creeds of party politicians, and sectarian

ecclesiastics should be mistaken by some for a species of knowledge.

Whether a distinct classical department should be added or not, would depend on expediency. It might be deemed best to leave that department to existing colleges as their more appropriate work, and to form some practical and economical connection with them for that purpose; or it might be best to attach a classical department in due time to the institution itself.

To facilitate the increase and practical application and diffusion of knowledge, the professors should conduct, each in his own department, a continued series of *annual experiments*.

For example, let twenty or more acres of each variety of grain, (each acre accurately measured), be annually sown, with some practical variation on each acre, as regards the quality and preparation of the soil, the kind and quantity of seed, the time and mode of sowing or planting, the time and modes and processes of cultivation and harvesting, and an accurate account kept of all costs, labor, &c., and of the final results. Let analogous experiments be tried on all the varied products of the farm, the fruit yard, the nursery and the garden; on all modes of crossing, rearing and fattening domestic animals, under various degrees of warmth and of light, with and without shelter; on green, dry, raw, ground, and cooked food, cold and warm; on the nature, causes, and cure of their various diseases, both of those on the premises and of those brought in from abroad, and advice given, and annual reports made on those and all similar topics. Let the professors of physiology and entomology be ever abroad at the proper seasons, with the needful apparatus for seeing all things visible and invisible, and scrutinizing the latent causes of all those blights, blasts, rots, rusts and mildews which so often destroy the choicest products of industry, and thereby impair the health, wealth and comfort of millions of our fellow men. Let the professor of chemistry carefully analyze the various soils and products of the State, retain specimens, give instruction, and report on their various qualities, adaptations, and deficiencies.

Let similar experiments be made in all other interests of agriculture and mechanic or chemical art, mining, merchandise and transportation by water and by land, and daily practical and experimental instruction given to each student in attendance in his own chosen sphere of research or labor in life. Especially let the comparative merits of all labor saving tools, instruments, machines, engines and processes, be thoroughly and practically tested and explained, so that their benefits might be at once enjoyed, or the expense of their cost avoided by the unskillful and unwary.

It is believed by many intelligent men, that from one-third to one-half the annual products of this State are annually lost by ignorance on the above topics. And it can scarcely be doubted that in a few years the entire cost of the whole Institution would be annually saved to the State in the above interests alone, aside from all its other benefits, intellectual, moral, social, and pecuniary.

The APPARATUS required for such a work is obvious. There should be grounds devoted to a botanical and common garden, to orchards and fruit yards, to appropriate lawns and promenades, in which the beautiful art of landscape gardening could be appropriately applied and illustrated, to all varieties of pasture, meadow, and tillage needful for the successful prosecution of the needful annual experiments. And on these grounds should be collected and exhibited a sample of every variety of domestic animal, and of every tree, plant, and vegetable that can minister to the health, wealth, or taste and comfort of the people of the State; their nature, habits, merits, production, improvement, culture, diseases, and accidents thoroughly scrutinized, tested, and made known to the students and to the people of the State.

There should, also, be erected a sufficient number of buildings and out-buildings for all the purposes above indicated, and a REPOSITORY, in which all the ordinary tools and implements of the institution should be kept, and models of all other useful implements and machines from time to time collected, and tested as they are proffered to public use. At first it would be for the interest of inventors and vendors to make such deposits. But,

should similar institutions be adopted in other States, the general government ought to create in each State a general patent office, attached to the Universities, similar to the existing deposits at Washington, thus rendering this department of mechanical art and skill more accessible to the great mass of the people of the Union.

I should have said, also, that a suitable industrial library should be at once procured, did not all the world know such a thing to be impossible, and that one of the first and most important duties of the professors of such institutions will be to begin to create, at this late hour, a proper practical literature, and series of text books for the industrial classes.

As regards the PROFESSORS, they should, of course, not only be men of the most eminent, practical ability in their several departments, but their connexion with the institution should be rendered so fixed and stable, as to enable them to carry through such designs as they may form, or all the peculiar benefits of the system would be lost.

Instruction, by lectures and otherwise, should be given mostly in the colder months of the year; leaving the professors to prosecute their investigations, and the students their necessary labor, either at home or on the premises, during the warmer months.

The institution should be open to all classes of students above a fixed age, and for any length of time, whether three months or seven years, and each taught in those particular branches of art which he wishes to pursue, and to any extent, more or less. And all should pay their tuition and board bills, in whole or in part, either in money or necessary work on the premises—regard being had to the ability of each.

Among those who labor, medals and testimonials of merit should be given to those who perform their tasks with most promptitude, energy, care and skill; and all who prove indolent or ungovernable, excluded at first from all part in labor, and speedily, if not thoroughly reformed, from the institution itself; and here again let the law of nature instead of the law of rakes and dandies be regarded, and the true impression ever made on

the mind of all around, that work ALONE IS HONORABLE, and indolence certain disgrace if not ruin.

At some convenient season of the year, the Commencement, or ANNUAL FAIR of the University, should be holden through a succession of days. On this occasion the doors of the institution, with all its treasures of art and resources of knowledge, should be thrown open to all classes, and as many other objects of agricultural or mechanical skill, gathered from the whole state, as possible, and presented by the people for inspection and premium on the best of each kind; judgment being rendered, in all cases, by a committee wholly disconnected with the institution. On this occasion, all the professors, and as many of the pupils as are sufficiently advanced, should be constantly engaged in lecturing and explaining the divers objects and interests of their departments. In short, this occasion should be made the great annual GALA-DAY of the Institution, and of all the industrial classes, and all other classes in the State, for the exhibition of their products and their skill and for the vigorous and powerful diffusion of practical knowledge in their ranks, and a more intense enthusiasm in its extension and pursuit.

As matters now are, the world has never adopted any efficient means for the application and diffusion of even the practical knowledge which does exist. True, we have fairly got the primer, the spelling book, and the newspaper abroad in the world, and we think that we have done wonders; and so, comparatively, we have. But if this is a wonder, there are still not only wonders, but, to most minds, inconceivable miracles, from new and unknown worlds of light, soon to break forth upon the industrial mind of the world.

Here, then, is a general, though very incomplete, outline of what such an institution should endeavor to become. Let the reader contemplate it as it will appear when generations have perfected it, in all its magnificence and glory; in its means of good to man, to *all men of all classes*: in its power to evolve and diffuse practical knowledge and skill, true taste, love of industry, and sound morality—not only through its apparatus, experiments, instructions, and annual lectures and reports, but through its

thousands of graduates, in every pursuit of life, teaching and lecturing in all our towns and villages; and then let him seriously ask himself, is not such an object worthy of at least an effort, and worthy of a state which God himself, in the very act of creation, designed to be the first agricultural and commercial state on the face of the globe?

Who should set the world so glorious an example of educating their sons worthily of their heritage, their duty, and their destiny, if not the people of such a state? In our country we have no aristocracy, with the inalienable wealth of ages and constant leisure and means to perform all manner of useful experiments for their own amusement; but we must create our nobility for this purpose, as we elect our rulers, from our own ranks, to aid and serve, not to domineer over and control us. And this done, we will not only beat England, but beat the world in yachts, and locks, and reapers, but in all else that contributes to the well being and true glory of man.

I maintain that, if every farmer's and mechanic's son in this state could now visit such an institution but for a single day in the year, it would do him more good in arousing and directing the dormant energies of mind, than all the cost incurred, and far more good than many a six months of professed study of things he will never need and never want to know.

As things now are, our best farmers and mechanics, by their own native force of mind, by the slow process of individual experience, come to know, at forty, what they might have been taught in six months at twenty; while a still greater number of the less fortunate or less gifted, stumble on through life, almost as ignorant of every true principle of their art as when they begun. A man of real skill is amazed at the slovenly ignorance and waste he everywhere discovers, on all parts of their premises; and still more to hear them boast of their ignorance of all "bookfarming," and maintain that "their children can do as well as they have done;" and it certainly would be a great pity if they could not.

The patrons of our University would be found in the former, not in the latter class. The man whose highest conception of earthly bliss is a log hut, in an uninclosed yard, where pigs of two

species are allowed equal rights, unless the four-legged tribe chance to get the upper hand, will be found no patron of Industrial Universities. Why should he be? He knows it all already.

There is another class of untaught farmers who devote all their capital and hired labor to the culture, on a large scale, of some single product, which always pays well when so produced on a fresh soil, even in the most unskillful hands. Now such men often increase rapidly in wealth, but it is not by their skill in agriculture, for they have none; their skill consists in the management of capital and labor, and, deprive them of these, and confine them to the varied culture of a small farm, and they would starve in five years, where a true farmer would amass a small fortune. This class are, however, generally, the last friends of education, though many a looker-on will cite them as instances of the uselessness of acquired skill in farming, whereas they should cite them only as a sample of the resistless power of capital even in comparatively unskillful hands.

Such institutions are the only possible remedy for a caste education, legislation and literature. If any one class provide for their own liberal education, in the state, as they should do, while another class neglect this, it is as inevitable as the law of gravitation, that they should form a ruling caste or class by themselves, and wield their power more or less for their own exclusive interests and the interests of their friends.

If the industrial were the only educated class in the state, the caste power in their hands would be as much stronger than it now is, as their numbers are greater. But now industrial education has been wholly neglected, and the various industrial classes left still ignorant of matters of the greatest moment pertaining to their vital interests, while the professions have been studied till trifles and fooleries have been magnified into matters of immense importance, and tornadoes of windy words and barrels of innocent ink shed over them in vain.

This, too, is the inevitable result of trying to crowd all liberal, practical education into one narrow sphere of human life. It crowds their ranks with men totally unfit by nature for professional service. Many of these, under a more congenial culture,

might have become, instead of the starving scavengers of a learned profession, the honored members of an industrial one. Their love of knowledge was indeed amiable and highly commendable; but the necessity which drove them from their natural sphere in life, in order to obtain it, is truly deplorable.

But such a system of general education as we now propose, would (in ways too numerous now to mention) tend to increase the respectability, power, numbers, and resources of the true professional class.

Nor are the advantages of the mental and moral discipline of the student to be overlooked; indeed, I should have set down as most important of all, had I not been distinctly aware that such an opinion is a most deadly heresy; and I tremble at the thought of being arraigned before the tribunal of all the monks and ecclesiastics of the old world, and no small number of their progeny in the new.

It is deemed highly important that all in the professional classes should become writers and talkers; hence they are so incessantly drilled in all the forms of language, dead and living, though it has become quite doubtful whether, even in their case such a course is most beneficial, except in the single case, of the professors of literature and theology, with whom these languages form the foundation of their professions and the indispensable instruments of their future life.

No inconsiderable share, however, of the mental discipline that is attributed to this peculiar course of study, arises from daily intercourse, for years, with minds of the first order in their teachers and comrades, and would be produced under any other course, if the parties had remained harmoniously together. On the other hand, a classical teacher, who has no original, spontaneous power of thought, and knows nothing but Latin and Greek, however perfectly, is enough to stultify a whole generation of boys and make them all pedantic fools like himself. The idea of infusing mind, or creating, or even materially increasing it by the daily inculcation of unintelligible words—all this awful wringing to get blood out of a turnip—will, at any rate, never succeed except in the hands of the eminently wise

and prudent, who have had long experience in the process; the plain, blunt sense of the unsophisticated will never realize cost in the operation. There are, moreover, probably, few men who do not already talk more, in proportion to what they really know, than they ought to. This chronic diarrhoea of exhortation, which the social atmosphere of the age tends to engender, tends far less to public health than many suppose. The history of the Quakers shows, that more sound sense, a purer morality, and a more elevated practical piety can exist, and does exist, entirely without it, than is commonly found with it.

At all events, we find, as society becomes less conservative and pedantic, and more truly and practically enlightened, a growing tendency of all other classes, except the literary and clerical, to omit this supposed linguistic discipline, and apply themselves directly to the more immediate duties of their calling; and, aside from some little inconvenience at first in being outside of caste, that they do not succeed quite as well in advancing their own interests in life and the true interests of society, there is no sufficient proof.

Indeed I think the exclusive and extravagant claims set up for ancient lore, as a means of disciplining the reasoning powers, simply ridiculous, when examined in the light of those ancient worthies who produced that literature, or the modern ones who have been most devoted to its pursuit in this country and in Europe. If it produces infallible practical reasoners, we have a great many thousand infallible antagonistic truths, and ten thousand conflicting paths of right, interest, duty and salvation.—If any man will just be at the trouble to open his eyes and ears, he can perceive at a glance how much this evasive discipline really does and has done for the reasoning faculty of man, and how much for the power of sophistical cant, and stereotyped nonsense; so that if obvious facts, instead of verbose declamation, are to have any weight in the case, I am willing to join issue with the opposers of the proposed scheme, even on the bare ground of its superior adaptation to develop the mental power of its pupils.

The most natural and effectual mental discipline possible for any man, arises from setting him to earnest and constant thought about the things he daily does, sees, and handles, and all their connected relations and interests. The final object to be attained, with the industrial class, is to make them **THINKING LABORERS**; while of the professional class we should desire to make **LABORIOUS THINKERS**: the production of goods to feed and adorn the body being the final end of one class of pursuits, and the production of thought to do the same for the mind, the end of the other.—But neither mind nor body can feed on the offals of preceding generations. And this constantly recurring necessity of reproduction, leaves an equally honorable, though somewhat different, career of labor and duty open to both; and, it is readily admitted, should and must vary their modes of education and preparation accordingly.

It may do for the man of books to plunge at once amid the catacombs of buried nations and languages, to soar to Greece, or Rome, or Nova-Zembla, Kamtschatka, and the fixed stars, before he knows how to plant his own beans, or harness his own horse, or can tell whether the functions of his own body are performed by a heart, stomach, and lungs, or with a gizzard and gills.

But for the man of work thus to bolt away at once from himself and all his pursuits in after life, contravenes the plainest principles of nature and common sense. No wonder such educators have ever deemed the liberal culture of the industrial classes an impossibility; for they have never tried nor even conceived of any other way of educating them except that by which they are rendered totally unfit for their several callings in after life.—How absurd would it seem to set a clergyman to plowing and studying the depredations of blights, insects, the growing of crops, &c., &c., in order to give him habits of thought and mental discipline for the pulpit; yet, this is not half as ridiculous, in reality, as the reverse absurdity of attempting to educate the man of work in unknown tongues, abstract problems and theories, and metaphysical figments and quibbles.

Some, doubtless, will regard the themes of such a course of education as too sensuous and gross to lie at the basis of a pure and elevated mental culture. But the themes themselves cover all possible knowledge and all modes and phases of science, abstract, mixed and practical. In short, the field embraces all that God has made, and all that human art has done, and if the created Universe of God and the highest art of man are too gross for our refined uses, it is a pity the "morning stars and the sons of God" did not find it out as soon as the blunder was made. But, in my opinion, these topics are of quite as much consequence to the well-being of man and the healthful development of mind, as the concoction of the final nostrum in medicine or the ultimate figment in theology and law, conjectures about the galaxy or the Greek accent; unless, indeed, the pedantic professional trifles of one man in a thousand are of more consequence than the daily vital interests of all the rest of mankind.

But can such an institution be created and endowed? Doubtless it can be done, and done at once, if the industrial classes so decide. The fund given to this state by the general government, expressly for this purpose, is amply sufficient, without a dollar from any other source; and it is a mean, if not an illegal perversion of this fund, to use it for any other purpose. It was given to the people, the whole people of this state—not for a class, a party, or sect, or conglomeration of sects; not for common schools, or family schools, or classical schools; but for "An University," or seminary of a high order, in which should of course be taught all those things which every class of the citizens most desire to learn—their own duty and business for life. This, and this alone, is an University in the true, original sense of the term. And if an Institution which teaches all that is needful only for the three professions of law, divinity, and medicine, is, therefore, an University, surely one that teaches all that is needful for all the varied professions of human life, is far more deserving of the name and the endowments of an University.

But in whose hands shall the guardianship and oversight of this fund be placed, in order to make it of any real use for

such a purpose? I answer, without hesitation and without fear, that this whole interest should, from the first, be placed directly in the hands of the people, and the whole people, without any mediators or advisers, legislative or ecclesiastical, save only their own appointed agents, and their own jurors and courts of justice, to which, of course, all alike must submit. It was given to the people, and is the property of the people, not of legislators, parties, or sects, and they ought to have the whole control of it, so far as is possible consistently with a due security of the funds and needful stability of plans of action and instruction. This control I believe they will be found abundantly able to exercise; and more than this no well informed man would desire.

The reasons for placing it at once and forever beyond all legislative and ecclesiastical control, are obvious to all. For if under the former, it will continually exist as the mere tool of the dominant party, and the object of jealous fear and hatred of their opponents; or else it will become the mere foot ball of all parties, to be kicked hither and thither as the party interests and passion of the hour may dictate. We well know how many millions of money have been worse than thrown away by placing professed seminaries of learning under the influence of party passion, through legislative control. And it is surely a matter of devout gratitude that our legislators have had wisdom enough to see and feel this difficulty, and that they have been led, from various causes, to hold this fund free from all commitment to the present hour, when the people begin to be convinced that they need it, and can safely control it; and no legislator but an aristocrat or a demagogue would desire to see it in other hands.

The same difficulty occurs as regards sects.—Let the institution be managed ever so well by any one party or sect, it is still certain their opponents will stand aloof from it, if not oppose and malign it for that very reason. Hence, all will see at once, that the greatest possible care should be taken to free it from, not only the reality, but even from the *suspicion* of any such influence.—Should the party in power, when the charter may be granted, appoint a majority of the board of trustees from the

parties in the minority, it would show a proper spirit, and be in all coming time, an example of true magnanimity, which their opponents could not fail to respect and to imitate, and which the people at large would highly approve. A victorious hero can afford to be generous as well as brave—none worthy of a triumph can afford to be otherwise. In all future appointments, also, the candidates should be elected with such an evident regard to merit, and disregard of all political and sectarian relations, as to ever carry the conviction that the equal good of the whole alone is sought. There can be no great difficulty in accomplishing all this, if it is well known in the outset that the people will keep their eye closely upon that man, whoever he may be, who by any bargaining for votes, or any direct or indirect local, sinister, or selfish action or influence, or any evasion or postponement, or by any desire to tamper and amend, merely to show himself off to advantage, shall in any way embarrass or endanger this greatest of all interests ever committed to a free state—the interest of properly and worthily educating all the sons of her soil. Let the people set on such a man, if the miscreant wretch lives, for all future time, a mark as much blacker than the mark set on Cain, as midnight is darker than noon-day. This is a question, above all others, that a man who is a man, will desire to meet openly and frankly, like a man. Will our legislators do it? I, for one, believe they will. I shall not believe the contrary till it is proved; and I will even suggest, in general, a mode by which the great end may be safely gained. Let others, however, suggest a better one, and I will cheerfully accord with it.

Let the Governor of the State nominate a board of trust for the funds of the Institution. Let this board consist of five of the most able and discreet men in the State, and let at least four of them be taken from each of the extreme corners of the State, so remote from all proximity to the possible location of the Institution, both in person and in property, as to be free from all suspicion of partiality. Let the Senate confirm such nomination. Let this board be sworn to locate the Institution from a regard to the interests and convenience of the people of the whole

State. And when they have so done that let them be empowered to elect twelve new members of their own body, with perpetual power of filling their own vacancies, each choice requiring a vote of two-thirds of the whole body, and upon any failure to elect at the appointed annual meeting, the Governor of the State to fill the vacancy for one year, if requested by any member of the board so to do. Let any member of the board who shall be absent from any part of its annual meetings, thereby forfeit his seat, unless detained by sickness, certified at the time, and the board on that occasion fill the vacancy, either by his re-election, or by the choice of some other man. Let the funds then, by the same act, pass into the hands of the trustees so organized, as a perpetual trust, they giving proper bonds for the same, to be used for the endowment and erection of an Industrial University for the State of Illinois.

This board, so constituted, would be, and ought to be, responsible to no legislature, sect, or party, but directly to the people themselves—to each and every citizen, in the courts of law and justice, so that, should any trustee of the institution neglect, abuse, or pervert his trust to any selfish, local, political, or sectarian end, or show himself incompetent for its exercise, every other member of the board and every citizen at large should have the right of impeaching him before the proper court, and, if guilty, the court should discharge him and order his place to be filled by a more suitable man. Due care should be taken, of course, to guard against malicious prosecutions.

Doubtless objections can be urged against this plan, and all others that can be proposed. Most of them may be at once anticipated, but there is not space enough to notice them here. Some, for example, cherish an ardent and praiseworthy desire for the perfection of our common schools, and desire still longer to use that fund for that purpose. But no one imagines that it can long be kept for that use, and if it could, I think it plain that the lower schools of all sorts would be far more benefitted by it here than in any other place it could be put.

Others may feel a little alarm, when, for the first time in the history of the world, they see the millions throwing them-

selves aloof from all political and ecclesiastical control, and attempting to devise a system of liberal education for themselves: but on mature reflection we trust they will approve the plan: or if they are too old to change, their children will.

I shall enter into no special pleas in favor of this plan of disposing of our State fund. I am so situated in life that it cannot possibly do me any personal good; save only in the just pride of seeing the interests of my brethren of the industrial class cared for and promoted, as in such an age and such a state they ought to be. If they want the benefit of such an institution they can have it. If they do not want it, I have not another word to say. In their own will, alone, lies their own destiny, and that of their children.

Respectfully submitted,

J. B. TURNER.

SPRINGFIELD CONVENTION.

The SECOND CONVENTION was held at Springfield, June 8, 1852. A controversy there arose between the members of the Industrial Convention, and the advocates and representatives of some few of the old classical and theological colleges, who were admitted by courtesy to participate in the debates of the convention, which consumed most of the time of the convention, and but little, if any, impression for good, was made upon the public mind.

These colleges desired to be made, themselves, the instruments through which the funds of the State should be applied to the education of the industrial classes. This, the representatives of these classes have at all times, in all their conventions, unanimously and steadfastly opposed.

At that meeting, however, the following memorial was presented to the Legislature:

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL CONVENTION.

Memorial of the Industrial Convention to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois.

The Convention of the friends of the Industrial University, proposed to the consideration of the people of Illinois, by the Granville convention, whose report is alluded to in the message of the Governor of the State, beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Senators and Representatives of the people, the following memorial:

But three general modes have been publicly proposed for the use of the College and Seminary funds of the State.

I. The *perpetual continuance* of their use for common school purposes, is not seriously expected by any one, but only their temporary use as a loan for this noble object.

II. The equal distribution of their proceeds among the ten or twelve colleges in charge of the various religious denominations of the State, either now in existence or soon to arise and claim their share in these funds, and the equally just claim of Medical and other Institutions for their share, it is thought by your memorialists, would produce too great a division to

render these funds of much practical value either to these Institutions or to the people of the State. Nor do they consider that it would make any practical difference, in this regard, whether the funds were paid directly by the State over to the Trustees of these Institutions, or disbursed indirectly through a new board of overseers or Regents to be called the University of Illinois. The plan of attempting to elect by State authority, some smaller number of these institutions to enjoy the benefit of the funds, on the one hand, to the exclusion of others, or attempting to endow them all so as to fit them for the great practical uses of the industrial classes of the State, we trust your honorable bodies will see at once to be still more impracticable and absurd, if not radically unequal and unjust in a free State like ours.

III. Your memorialists therefore desire not the dispersion by any mode, either direct or indirect, of these funds; but their continued preservation and concentration for the equal use of all classes of our citizens, and especially to meet the pressing necessities of the great industrial classes and interests of the State, in accordance with the principles suggested in the message of his Excellency the Governor of the State, to your honorable bodies; and also in the recent message of Governor Hunt of New York, to the legislature of that State, and sanctioned by the approval of many of the wisest and most patriotic statesmen in this and other States.

The report of the Granville Convention of farmers, herewith submitted and alluded to, as above noticed in the message of our Chief Magistrate, may be considered as *one* and as *only* one, of the various modes in which this desirable end may be reached, and is alluded to in this connexion as being the only published document of any convention on this subject, and as a general illustration of what your petitioners would desire, when the wisdom of the Senators and Representatives of the people shall have duly modified and perfected the general plan proposed, so as to fit it to the present resources and necessities of the State.

We desire that some beginning should be made, as soon as our statesmen may deem prudent so to do, to realize the high and noble ends for the people of the State, proposed in each and

all of the documents above alluded to. And if possible on a sufficiently extensive scale, to honorably justify a successful appeal to congress, in conjunction with eminent citizens and statesmen in other States, who have expressed their readiness to co-operate with us, for an appropriation of public lands for each State in the Union for the appropriate endowment of Universities for the liberal education of the Industrial Classes in their several pursuits in each State in the Union.

And in this rich, and at least prospectively, powerful State, acting in co-operation with the vast energies and resources of this mighty confederation of united republics, even very small beginnings properly directed, may at no very remote day result in consequences more wonderful and beneficent than the most daring mind would now venture to predict or even conceive.

In the appropriation of those funds your memorialists would especially desire that a department for normal school teaching, to thoroughly qualify teachers for county and district schools, and an appropriate provision for the practical education of the destitute orphans of the State, should not be forgotten.

We think that the object at which we aim must so readily commend itself to the good sense and patriotism, both of our people, rulers and statesmen, when once fully and clearly understood, that we refrain from all argument in its favor.

We ask only that *one* institution for the numerous Industrial Classes, the teachers and orphans of this State, and of each State, should be endowed on the same general principles, and to the same relative extent as some *one* of the numerous Institutions now existing in each State for the more especial benefit of the comparatively very limited classes in the three learned professions. If this is deemed immoderate or even impracticable we will thankfully accept even less.

As to the objection that States cannot properly manage literary institutions, all history shows that States in this country, and in Europe, which have attempted to manage them by proper methods, constituting a vast majority of the whole, have fully succeeded in their aim. While the few around us which have attempted to endow and organize them on *wrong* principles—con-

demned by all experience, have of course failed. Nor can a State charter and originate Railroads or manage any other interest, except by proper methods and through proper agents. And a people or a State that cannot learn in time, to manage properly and efficiently all these interests, and especially the great interests of self-education, is obviously unfit for self-government, which we are not willing as yet to admit in reference to any State in the Union and least of all our own.

With these sentiments deeply impressed on our hearts, and on the hearts of many of our more enlightened fellow citizens, your memorialists will never cease to pray your honorable bodies for that effective aid which you alone can grant.

Respectfully submitted,

By order of the Committee of the Convention,

J. B. TURNER, *Chairman.*

The THIRD CONVENTION was held at Chicago, Nov. 24, 1852.

At this convention much important business was transacted, and many interesting views suggested, and speeches thereon, made and reported.

Among other things, it was resolved to organize "THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS," which has since been chartered by our Legislature, empowered to raise a fund, by subscription from the members, of ten cents each, per annum, and by voluntary contributions, to be applied to the forwarding of the objects of the convention, and promoting the interests of the industrial classes.

1st. "By disseminating information both written and printed on this subject."

2d. "By keeping up a concert of action among the friends of the industrial classes."

3d. "By the employment of lecturers, to address citizens in all parts of the state." "Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville was appointed principal Director."

"John Gage, of Lake county, Bronson Murray of La Salle co., Dr. L. S. Pennington, of Whiteside co., J. T. Little, of Fulton co., and Wm. A. Pennell, of Putnam co., Associate Directors.

It was also "resolved, that this Convention memorialize Congress for the purpose of obtaining a grant of public lands to establish and endow Industrial Institutions in each and every State in the Union."

"The plan for an Industrial University, submitted by Prof. Turner to the Granville Convention," (reprinted above,) "was then called for, and a motion passed to discuss its principles by sections; whereupon, after thus reading and discussing of its various sections, the general principles of the plan were approved."

It was also "voted unanimously, that a department for the education of common-school teachers be considered an essential feature of the plan."

"Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Wm. Gooding, of Lockport, and Dr. John A. Kennicott, of Northfield, were appointed a committee to report a plan to the next convention, and to memorialize the Legislature for the application of the college and seminary funds to this object, in accordance with the acts and ordinances of Congress, &c."

"J. B. Turner, L. S. Bullock and Ira L. Peck, were also appointed a committee to prepare an address to the citizens of this State, on the subject of Industrial Education, and the establishment of an Industrial Institution.

The FOURTH CONVENTION was holden at Springfield on the 8th of January, 1853.

At this meeting, also, a great many items of a miscellaneous character were brought before the Convention, and discussed and decided upon; in almost every case by a unanimous vote.

The greatest harmony and good feeling prevailed among all the members and delegates, and the representatives and executive officers of the people, in the Legislature; many of whom, from all parts of the State, took the deepest interest in the subject, and made noble and eloquent speeches at their evening session, in the Senate chamber in its behalf. It was

Resolved, That inasmuch as any detailed plan of public instruction can only be decided and acted upon by the Trustees, Directors or other officers of the desired institution, when created, it is not expedient to attempt to fix upon any

such details in any preliminary conventions of the people; and that the committee appointed to report on that subject, be discharged from further duty.

The duties and terms of office of the League, were, also, prescribed by this convention.

After the adjournment of the convention, the following memorial was written, at the request of the committee, by the author and signed by the President of the convention and presented to the legislature in accordance with a resolution passed by the convention:

MEMORIAL

OF THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois:

We would respectfully represent: That we are members of the industrial classes of this state, actively and personally engaged in agricultural and mechanical pursuits. We are daily made to feel our own practical ignorance, and the misapplication of toil and labor, and the enormous waste of products, means, materials, and resources that result from it. We are aware that all this evil to ourselves and our country, results from a want of knowledge of those principles and laws of nature that underlie our various professions, and of the proper means of a practical application of existing knowledge to those pursuits. We rejoice to know that our brethren in the several learned professions have to a good degree availed themselves of these advantages, and have for years enjoyed their benefit. They have universities and colleges, with apparatus, libraries voluminous and vast, able and learned professors and teachers, constantly discovering new facts, and applying all known principles and truths directly to the practical uses of their several professions and pursuits. This is as it should be. But we have neither universities, colleges, books, libraries, apparatus, or teachers, adapted or designed to concentrate and apply even all existing knowledge to our pursuits, much less have we the means of efficiently exploring and

examining the vast practical unknown that daily lies all around us, spreading darkness and ruin upon our best laid plans, blighting our hopes, diminishing our resources, and working inevitable evil and loss to ourselves, to our families and to our country. Some think one-half—no intelligent man thinks that less than one-third or one-fourth of the entire labor and products of our state, are made an annual sacrifice to this needless ignorance and waste. Knowledge alone, here, is power, and our relief is as clearly obvious as our wants. We need the same thorough and practical application of knowledge to our pursuits, that the learned professions enjoy in theirs, through their universities and their literature, schools and libraries that have grown out of them. For even though knowledge may exist, it is perfectly powerless until properly applied, and we have not the means of applying it. What sort of generals and soldiers would all our national science (and art) make if we had no military academies to take that knowledge and apply it directly and specifically to military life?

Are our classic universities, our law, medicine, and divinity schools adapted to make good generals and warriors? Just as well as they are to make farmers and mechanics, and no better.—Is the defence, then, of our resources of more actual consequence than their production? Why then should the state care for the one, and neglect the other?

According to recent publication only 1 in 260 of the population of our own state are engaged in professional life, and not one in 200 in the Union generally. A great proportion even of these never enjoyed the advantages of our classical and professional schools. But there are in the United States 225 principal universities, colleges and seminaries, schools, &c., devoted to the interest of the professional classes, besides many smaller ones, while there is not a single one, with liberal endowments, designed for the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes. No West Point as yet beams upon the horizon of their hope; true, as yet, our boundless national resources keep us, like the children of Japhet emigrating from the Ark, from the miserable degradation and want of older empires; but the resources themselves

lie all undeveloped in some directions, wasted and misapplied in others, and rapidly vanishing away as centuries roll onward, under the ignorance or unskillfulness that directs them. We, the members of the industrial classes are still compelled to work empirically and blindly, without needful books, schools or means, by the slow process of that individual experience that lives and dies with the man. Our professional brethren, through their universities, schools, teachers, and libraries, combine and concentrate the practical experience of ages in each man's life. We need the same.

In monarchial Europe, through their polytechnic and agricultural schools, some successful effort has been made, in some departments and classes, to meet this great want of the age.

But in our democratic country, though entirely industrial and practical in all its aims and ends, no such effort has been efficiently made. We have in our own State no such institution, and no practical combination of resources and means, that can ever produce one worthy of the end. We have not even a "Normal School" for the education of our teachers, nor half a supply of efficient teachers even for our own common schools; and never can have without more attention to the indispensable means for their production. Hence, our common schools are, and must continue to be, to a great extent, inefficient and languishing, if not absolute nuisances on our soil, as in some cases they now are. But the common school interest is the great hope of our country; and we only desire to render it efficient and useful, in the only way it can be done; by rearing up for it competent and efficient teachers, in the normal department of our industrial universities. Knowing that knowledge, like light and water, runs downward, not upward, through human society, we would begin with the suns and fountains, and not with the candles and puddles, and pour the light and water of life down through every avenue of darkness below, and not begin with the darkness and drought, and attempt to evolve and force it upward. No state ever did or ever will succeed by this latter process. The teacher is the first man sought, and the life and light of the whole thing, from the university downward.

To this end, concentration is the first indispensable step. Leaving all our common school funds untouched; as they now are, the proposed distribution of our university fund, amounting to about \$150,000, will illustrate this point. The annual interest of this, at 6 per cent, is about \$9,000. If this should be divided among our ten or fifteen colleges, it would give them only from \$600 to \$900 each, per annum. Divided among our hundred counties, it would give \$90 to each county, for a high school or any other purpose. Divided as it now is among the million of our people, it gives 9 mills, or less than one cent to each person. Concentrated upon an industrial university, it would furnish an annual corps of skillful teachers and lecturers, through its normal school, to go through all our towns and counties, create, establish and instruct lyceums, high schools and common schools, of all sorts, and through its agricultural and mechanical departments, concentrating and diffusing the benefits of practical knowledge and experience over all our employments and pursuits, our farms and shops. Here as elsewhere, the sun must exist before the diamonds and dewdrops can shine. The mountain heights must send down their rills and their torrents, gathered from their own flood and the boundless resources of the ocean and the sky, before the desert can blossom as the rose. Money, however much or little, concentrated in logs, clapboards and brick, enclosing a herd of listless, uneasy, and mischievous children, cannot make a common school. The living teacher must be there—living not dead; for dead teachers only make dead scholars the more dead. Nor can grammar, language, metaphysics, or abstract science, however accurate, voluminous and vast, ever diffuse new life and new energy into our industrial pursuits. There, practical apparatus, the thorough and accurate needful experiments, as well the living and practical teachers are needed, in order to begin the great work. This is necessarily expensive, quite beyond even the anticipated resources of our existing institutions. Hence again, we need concentration, and not a miserable useless and utterly wasteful diffusion of our resources and means.

Throughout our State, and throughout the whole civilized world, in all ages, where there has been most neglect of univer-

sities and high seminaries, and most reliance placed by the people in the miserable pittance doled out to them by the state, like so many paupers, for the support of common schools, precisely there the common school will be found, for the inevitable reasons above indicated, most inefficient, weak and worthless, if not positive nuisances to society, and, whenever the reverse is found, the reverse influences of life, light, animation and hope beam forth from the schools at once.

We repeat it, the common school is our great end, our last hope and final joy. But we would reach and reanimate it under the guidance of practical common sense, as all experience shows it must be done, as it only can be done, and we would reach the vital, practical interests of our industrial pursuits, by precisely the same means, and on precisely the same well known and thoroughly tried plans and principles. We seek no novelties. We desire no new principles. We only wish to apply, to the great interest of the common school and the industrial classes, precisely the same principles of mental discipline and thorough scientific practical instruction, in all their pursuits and interests, which are now applied to the professional and military classes.

The effect this must have in disciplining, elevating and refining the minds and morals of our people, increasing their wealth and their power at home, and their respect abroad, developing not only the resources of their minds, but their soil and treasures of mineral, and perfecting all their material products and arts, cannot but be seen by every intelligent mind.

No other enterprise so richly deserves, and so urgently demands the united effort of our national strength.

We would, therefore, respectfully petition the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, that they present a united memorial to the Congress now assembled at Washington to appropriate to each State in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars, for the liberal endowment of a system of industrial universities; one in each state in the Union, to co-operate with each other and with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial

classes and their teachers, in their various pursuits, for the production of knowledge and literature needful in those pursuits, and developing to the fullest and most perfect extent the resources of our soil and our arts, the virtue and intelligence of our people, and the true glory of our common country.

We would further petition that the executive and legislature of our sister States, be invited to co-operate with us in this enterprise, and that a copy of the memorial of this legislature be forwarded by the governor to the governors and Senates of the several States.

We would also petition that the University fund of this State, if not at once applied to these practical uses, be allowed to remain where it now is, and its interest applied to present uses, until such time as the people shall be prepared to direct it to some more efficient use.

By order of the convention.

BRONSON MURRAY, *President.*

A similar memorial was submitted to the convention by the committee consisting of his Excellency, Gov. French, Hon. David L. Gregg and Dr. L. S. Pennington, appointed by the Chicago Convention and accepted and forwarded to Congress, as ordered by that Convention.

These memorials were presented to the Senate and Representatives of Illinois then in session, and the merits of the plan fully discussed by able and eloquent advocates, and the following resolutions were unanimously passed by both houses and received the approbation of the executive.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, Relative to the Establishment of Industrial Universities, and for the Encouragement of Practical and General Education among the People—Unanimously Adopted.

WHEREAS, The spirit and progress of this age and country demand the culture of the highest order of intellectual attainment in theoretic and industrial science: *And whereas*, it is impossible that our commerce and prosperity will continue to increase without calling into requisition all the elements of internal thrift arising from the labors of the farmer, the mechanic, and the manufacturer, by every

fostering effort within the reach of the government: *And whereas*, a system of Industrial Universities, liberally endowed in each State of the Union, co-operative with each other, and the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, would develop a more liberal and practical education among the people, tend the more to intellectualize the rising generation, and eminently, conduce to the virtue, intelligence and true glory of our common country, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their best exertions to procure the passage of a law of Congress donating to each State in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than *five hundred thousand dollars*, for the liberal endowment of a system of Industrial Universities, one in each State in the Union, to co-operate with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers; a liberal and varied education adapted to the manifold want of a practical and enterprising people, and a provision for such educational facilities, being in manifest concurrence with the intimations of the popular will, it urgently demands the united efforts of our national strength.

Resolved, That the Governor is hereby authorized to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Executive and Legislature of each of our sister States, inviting them to co-operate with us in this meritorious enterprise.

JOHN REYNOLDS,

Speaker of the House of Representatives

G. KOERNER,

Speaker of the Senate.

J. A. MATTESON.

Approved, February 8, 1853.

A true copy: Attest,

ALEXANDER STARNE, *Sec'y of State.*

We give the following as a sample of the sentiments of the press, at home and abroad upon the above resolutions:

“EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE.”—The New York Tribune of Feb. 26th, has the following remarks, subjoined to the joint resolutions passed by our General Assembly, relative to the establishment of Industrial Universities, and for the encouragement of practical and general education among the people:

“Here is the principle contended for by the friends of practical education abundantly confirmed, with a plan for its immediate realization. And it is worthy of note, that one of the most extensive of public land (or new) States proposes a magnificent

donation of public lands to each of the States, in furtherance of the idea. Whether that precise form of aid to the project is most judicious and likely to be effective, we will not here consider. Suffice it that the legislature of Illinois has taken a noble step forward, in a most liberal and patriotic spirit, for which its members will be heartily thanked by thousands throughout the Union. We feel that this step has materially hastened the coming of scientific and practical education for all who desire and are willing to work for it. It cannot come too soon. *Ill. Jour.*"

The "Central Illinois Times," a newspaper published at Bloomington, gives utterance to the following, affixed to the resolutions respecting the establishment of Industrial Universities:

"The above is undoubtedly of more interest and importance to the people of this State, than any measure which came before the legislature during the late session. It contains a wholesome principle of prosperity and advancement, which will, if fully carried out, tend to elevate and improve the condition of the honest hard working farmer. We have always held that the first object of government is to afford protection to the working classes, for in them lies the strength and glory of the nation. Without protection they will become weak, inactive and careless, with it they are encouraged at every step, and reap reward abundantly to satisfy every want.

The resolutions meet our approbation fully, and we hope that other States, and Congress, may well consider the matter, and finally mould it into a law."

It may not be improper here to give a few extracts, showing how the enterprise is regarded by the public press, and by able and influential divines and statesmen in other States. The testimonials on hand are very numerous, but space here can be spared for only a very few extracts, as specimens of the whole.

It will be needless to remark upon the sentiments of the press at home, or in the West, generally, as that is sufficiently well known to all.

Says Governor Hunt, in his message to the New York legislature.

"Much interest has been manifested for some years past in favor of creating an institution for the advancement of agricul-

tural science and of knowledge in the mechanic arts. The views in favor of this measure expressed in my last annual communication remain unchanged. My impressions are still favorable to the plan of combining in one college two distinct departments for instruction in agricultural and mechanical science; I would respectfully recommend that a sufficient portion of the proceeds of the next sale of lands for taxes be appropriated to the erection of an institution which shall stand as a lasting memorial of our munificence, and contribute to the diffusion of intelligence among the producing classes, during all future time."

Similar sentiments expressed by our own late Chief Magistrate, Governor French, will be remembered by all.

Says the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, before the Berkshire Agricultural Society, Mass.:

"For want of knowledge, millions of dollars are now, annually lost by the commonwealth, by the misapplication of capital and labor in industry. On these points we want a system of experiments directed by scientific knowledge. Are they not important to our farmers? Neither the agricultural papers, periodicals or societies, or any other agents now in operation, are deemed sufficient for all that is desirable.

We plead that the means and advantages of a professional education should be placed within the reach of our farmers.

This would not only be one of the most important steps ever taken by the commonwealth for its permanent advancement and prosperity, but would add another wreath to her renown for the protection of our industry and the elevation of her Sons.

Said Rev. Mr. Hitchcock, president of Amherst College,—while advocating the endowments of such institutions before the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, 1851:

"I have been a lecturer on chemistry for twenty years. I have tried a great many experiments, in that time, but I do not know of any experiments so delicate or so difficult as the farmer is trying every week. The experiments of the laboratory are not to be compared to them. You have a half dozen sciences which are concerned in the operation of a farm. There is to be a delicate balancing of all these, as every farmer knows. To sup-

pose that a man is going to be able, without any knowledge of these sciences to make improvements in agriculture by haphazard experiments, is, it seems to me, absurd.

He spoke of the 350 similar schools of which he gave some account on his return from Europe, mostly of recent origin, and says:

“This subject has made such rapid progress in Europe, within a few years, that I was perfectly amazed to find the facts develop themselves as they did, one after another. I do not believe there is a class of students of any kind, in our country, who would be able to answer one-tenth of the questions which those young men answered very readily,” (that is in the European agricultural schools),—“and going out, as they do, to take charge of other schools, they will accomplish much for the benefit of their country, as well as by their example in applying their principles for other farmers. The people must do this thing—if the people are not ready to force government to help them, it will do no good. *It must be a weighty concern*; and individuals,—one would suppose, would sink under it.”

Such are the suggestions of one of our most able and experienced scientific teachers, who has, probably, taken more pains to investigate the subject practically, especially during his tour in Europe, than any other man in the country.

At this meeting, after a most thorough discussion of the subject by eminent scientific and practical men present, the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture “resolved that a thorough systematic course of education, is as necessary to prepare the cultivator of the soil for pre-eminence in his calling, as to secure excellence in any of the schools of science or art:—that for want of such an education, millions of dollars, and a vast amount of time, and energy are annually lost to the commonwealth, and that the yeomanry have a right to claim from the government the same fostering care, which is extended to other great interests of the community.”

In the memorial to the legislature of Massachusetts, the memorialists say: “Your memorialists are not aware, that it is any more easy to get a thorough knowledge of husbandry by

individual exertion and private study, than it is to acquire, in that way, a competent knowledge of law, medicine or divinity, and your memorialists know of no way by which that knowledge can be attained, but by a regular course of instruction."

This memorial is signed by some of the most eminent scholars and civilians of Massachusetts. Among them appear the names of the Honorable MARSHALL P. WILDER, Honorable EDWARD EVERETT, Honorable HENRY W. CUSHMAN, and JOHN W. LINCOLN, &c.

Do these gentlemen know anything about scholarship, education, practical life and social want, or are they also mere visionary enthusiasts, seeking to turn the world upside down?

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.—We find the following in the proceedings of the Legislature of Massachusetts. The proposition of Mr. Pomeroy was received with marked satisfaction, and was read and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Pomeroy, of Southampton, on leave given, introduced the following:

RESOLVES CONCERNING AGRICULTURE.

WHEREAS, In view of the increased attention devoted to theoretical and practical agriculture, Massachusetts earnestly desires that there be increased facilities afforded for acquiring a more complete and liberal agricultural education, and

WHEREAS, This and every other State in the Union is largely interested in efforts to develop our agricultural resources to an extent worthy of a nation of farmers, therefore

Resolved, That Massachusetts deems it expedient and just that Congress appropriate a portion of our public lands to establish and endow a *National Normal Agricultural College*, which shall be to the rural sciences, what West Point Academy is to the military, for the purpose of educating teachers and professors for service in all the States of the Republic.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by his Excellency, the Governor, to our Senators and Representatives at Washington, with the request that the subject be brought before the two houses of Congress.

A convention on the subject of a practical national system of university education, was held at Albany, also, Jan. 26, 1853. This convention was numerously attended by the great and illustrious luminaries of the State, the church and colleges of the North and East. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to report a plan.

Among these appear the names of the venerable President Wayland, of Brown University, Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, Washington Irving, Gov. Hunt and Senator Dix of New York, President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, Professors Webster, Dewey, Henry, Bache, Mitchell, of Cincinnati; Pierce of Cambridge, &c.

Rev. Dr. Kennedy spoke of "the want that had long been felt for institutions *different from those already established.*"

Professor C. S. Henry said, "the welfare of our country was in a great degree dependent upon what should be done in regard to the proposed university." Rev. Ray Palmer said, "there was lack of opportunity for scientific men to perfect themselves in their various pursuits, 'and desired that this want should be supplied to all parts of the country.'"

Rev. Dr. Wykoff said, "the first desideratum to the establishment of the institution was a conviction of its importance. When the souls of men are fired up, the money will not be wanting. He believed that the proper spirit was abroad—a feeling that would redound to the honor and benefit of the people, and that the work would be done. The enterprise was one for the masses. It would open the path of knowledge for all the youth in the land, and from the common school to the highest university, he would like to see our educational institutions thrown freely open to all."

Prof. Henry said, "he would bid the enterprise God speed! He deprecated the idea of attempting to establish a university *at a moderate outlay.* One fitted for the wants of this country, should throw open its lecture rooms freely, to all who should wish to avail themselves of their advantages. It should be the complete development of the principle which lies at the foundation of our common schools."

Rev. President Wayland said, "such an establishment in New York would be an example, which, he believed, would be followed in other States. A university with a thousand students would abundantly sustain itself; and he thought the needed expenses would not be so great as some gentlemen anticipated."

Again—do these gentlemen know anything about the practical subject of education in this country?

Said the lamented Downing, in the last number of the *Horticulturist* he ever edited, "The leaven for the necessity for education among the Industrial Classes, begins to work, we are happy to perceive, in many parts of the country. At a Farmers' Convention in Illinois, our correspondent, Prof. Turner, of that State, submitted a plan for such an educational institution, which has since been published in pamphlet form.

We think the importance of the subject a sufficient apology for allowing the Professor to be heard by a large audience.

It is not often that the weak points of an ordinary collegiate education are so clearly exposed, and the necessity of working-men's universities so plainly demonstrated." He then republishes the plan. See *Horticulturist*, July 1852, p. 306.

Said the editor of the *N. York Tribune*, in the editorial pre-facing his republication of the same plan, "the great idea of a higher or thorough education for the sons and daughters of farmers, mechanics and laborers, is everywhere forcing itself on the public attention. Our race needs instruction and discipline to qualify them for working, as well as for thinking and talking. They need something more than the hireling picks up at hap-hazard in the course of his daily toils.

For want of this knowledge in every department of rural industry, millions of dollars are annually wasted.

Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, in behalf of a convention at Granville, has put forth a plan of an industrial university, which sets forth the pressing and common need, so forcibly, that we copy the larger portion of it." (*N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 4, '52.

An editorial in the *North American*, (the oldest paper in Philadelphia), on education and agriculture, said to be written by Judge Conrad, says: "We have been gratified by the perusal of an address delivered by Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Ills., before a convention of farmers held in that State, in support of the establishment of a university, in which agriculture and the sciences shall be made a special branch of study. His suggestions are urged with zeal and ability, and his arguments are convincing, as to the need and importance of such institutions. There is no subject more worthy of the highest effort of the

human intellect, nor one which has been, till recently, so culpably disregarded, if not condemned.

To secure the diffusion and practical application of agricultural science, it seems necessary that it should be interwoven with general education, and its acquisition made an object of early pride and animated ambition.

Were this result attained by such institutions, as are suggested by Prof. Turner, the consequences would be not only an early application of science to agriculture, but valuable additions to the stock of knowledge, induced by stimulated enquiry and experiments.

It cannot be doubted that with the advance of agricultural science we should witness an almost *incredible increase of production*. The condition of the farmer would be improved to opulence, and the increased means would be attended with enlarged ability and leisure, that encourage devotion to the pursuits and tastes that elevate and refine the intellect and character.

The triumph of a republic can only be successfully achieved and permanently enjoyed by a people, the mass of whom, are an enlightened yeomanry, the proprietors of the land they till, TOO INDEPENDENT TO BE BOUGHT, TOO ENLIGHTENED TO BE CHEATED, AND TOO POWERFUL TO BE CRUSHED.

The proposition of Prof. Turner, seems to be entitled to peculiar and favorable consideration, and it is urged with a force of argument and eloquence that cannot fail to secure it. His address displays a full acquaintance with the subject, and his views are practical as well as profound, and are conveyed with elevation of style and earnestness of purpose. It is impossible to read his remarks without realizing the importance of connecting agriculture, as a special subject with the course of American study. It is desirable as a corrective of the delusion, that induces so general a rush into what are termed—not from any pecuniary promise—the liberal professions. Agriculture cultivated to its highest capacity, demands a mind as large and well stored as the liberal professions, and is at least equal to any human pursuit in intellectual and moral elevation. Liberally taught, it would become an object of ambition to those youths who now yearly

swell the unhappy hosts that over-crowd the professions. By making agriculture a liberal pursuit; by connecting it with science, (as it is already associated with all that is most beautiful in literature); by elevating and refining it, it would be rendered a noble amusement to the luxurious—a noble distinction to the earnest and ambitious. This has already been done to some extent; it remains that a system of education should render it general.”

Says Dr. Lee, the able and talented editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, the leading monthly periodical of the Southern planing interest, published at Augusta, Georgia, in reply to a letter enquiring for some practical agricultural school for the sons of the planters, which letter he says, he publishes as a “fair sample of scores of similar letters received every month:” “There is not a good agricultural school in the United States. The truth is, the American people have yet to commence the study of agriculture as the combination of many sciences. Agriculture is the most profound and extensive profession that the progress of society and the accumulation of knowledge have developed. This is why the popular mind is so long in grasping it. Whether we consider the solid earth under our feet, the invisible atmosphere which we breathe, the wonderful growth and decay of all plants and animals, or the light, the heat, the cold, or the electricity of heaven, we contemplate but the elements of rural science. The careful investigation of the laws that govern all ponderable and imponderable agents, is the first step in the young farmer’s education. To facilitate his studies, he needs, as he pre-eminently deserves, a more comprehensive school than this country now affords. We notice a plan for an industrial university, &c., by Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Ills. This subject is beginning to take a strong hold upon the minds of the people, and we are glad to see gentlemen of the talents and influence of Prof. Turner, lending a helping hand to put a ball in motion, which, ultimately, will sweep down all opposition. This plan of Prof. Turner, is full of valuable practical suggestions, and the memorial which accompanies it, or a similar one, should be forced upon the

attention of the General Government, and of every state in the Union."

But these extracts must suffice to show both the interest taken in the general subject abroad, and also, in that particular aspect it has assumed in this state, as presented in the report of the first convention held at Granville.

Does any one now doubt that we are encouraged to go forward? With what unexpected and almost fearful velocity, the darkness has sped away before the light in one short year! The interest of mechanics and mechanical institutes and associations in this matter, is no less intelligent, marked and decisive, than that of their agricultural brethren, though they have fewer organs and advocates. Why should we halt in our career? What have we to fear? We and our cause, are at this moment stronger than all the legislatures, and congresses, and colleges on the continent, even if they were all pitted against us. But the great majority of them are most warmly and efficiently for us. They are our ablest and most valued advocates and friends. There may be "old fogies" among them: so there are among us: these fossil remains of a prior formation always will exist everywhere. It is well they do; for without them we should never be able to demonstrate the floods of darkness and prejudice that have, in past ages, deluged the human mind. In this case, there are no more of these old conservatives, now extant, than will be really needed by our new universities as cabinet specimens of a monkish age just gone by. They will serve as a connecting link between the mummies of the catacombs, and the whirling, buzzing, living, lightning world of our own time. Some few of these philosophical owls affect to be greatly distressed lest a war of classes and professions should be provoked in this effort, because, forsooth, we are obliged to speak distinctly and decidedly of the peculiar wants, duties and rights of the different classes of society. Now the history of the whole world shows there never was and never could be such a war of classes incited by any means whatever, in any State or community, unless there was ample and justifiable reason for it; and whenever such reasons may exist, the sooner such a war comes, the better, if the unjust causes are not

at once removed. Do these alarmists, then, pretend that any such causes exist in this country, connected with the scheme of industrial and professional education? We do not believe it; such an assumption is a slander upon the institutions of the country, as well as the men in it. So far from it, no other single subject could be named, to which the whole heart of all the freemen of this Republic, of all classes and professions, would so spontaneously and unequivocally respond. Let those who always take a step in advance, as though the whole continent were paved with rotten eggs, tread as carefully as they please: but let those who are men, advance like men, with fearless step, as if on the green, solid earth, amid brave and generous freemen like themselves.

That such a measure should in any possible respect injure and retard any other institution or interest of any value to mankind, is, clearly impossible: but that it should necessarily increase the means and instruments, and exalt the utility and power of good in all such institutions and interests, is equally evident, and is seen and felt by all the best minds in all classes in the nation.

That there are always great and eminent dangers attending their incorporation, all thinking men well know. If consigned to corruption, imbecility and folly in any of the several States, (as some similar institutions, doubtless have been), the money expended in the endowment will be, of course, perverted, or lost. But is this necessary? Is there not wisdom enough, and patriotism enough in Congress and in the several States combined, to preclude the probability, if not the possibility of any such perversion or abuse? Or, if errors should occur, and loss and damage in some cases ensue, would not experience, and the example of other States correct the evil, and, ultimately, each free State learn to control, wisely, the means indispensable to its own education, development and welfare? If not, then, they are obviously not yet fit for self government, which, necessarily, implies self education.

In the grant of lands, Congress has the right, and doubtless, ought to prescribe some uniform, wise and patriotic conditions

to the grant, which should, as far as possible, place it, in all coming time, beyond the reach of all partisan, local and sinister passions, interests and impulses, and leave it only in the hands of the "sober, second thought," of the people of the several States, through the proper Courts and Commissioners, or regents appointed for the purpose, and well qualified for the trust.

It appears, from the report of President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, to the Massachusetts Legislature, that there are, in Europe, 352 such institutions; many of which he visited, and all of which exert a powerful and salutary influence, by the diffusion of intelligence, and by the improvement of these time honored arts. In France there are 75 under government patronage. To one of these she made appropriations, in 1849, of half a million dollars. Another has already graduated 600 well educated agriculturalists, who immediately found honorable and lucrative situations at the head of their professions. Monarchical Russia has 68 of these schools, some of which are of a high order, and superior to those in other lands! Cannot each of our confederated republics afford one such institution?

The Hon. M. P. Wilder, in the same address quoted above, estimates the annual loss of the single State of Massachusetts in the one product of her cereal grains, for want of the knowledge and skill which such institutions alone can impart, at two millions of dollars.

This would give to the Union, at the same rate, on this single product, an annual loss of, at least, sixty millions of dollars.

A gentleman who has great practical experience, in the line of stock, dairy, &c., in Massachusetts, reports the loss through the same ignorance and unskillfulness in these interests of Massachusetts, alone, at 15 millions of dollars.

(See Patent Office Reports, 1851, page 28).

This would give to the thirty States, if Massachusetts be taken as an average, an annual loss of 450 millions of dollars, in another single department.

In other departments of agriculture, and in all our buildings, improvements and use of mechanical skill and labor, it is no better, and in many respects, even worse, as every intelligent man

will admit. Surely, then, if these things are so, is it true that "for lack of knowledge the people perish," as well in their temporal as their eternal interests. Both are governed by the same law and are bound to the same fate, like the bodies and souls of men.

PROPOSED PLAN OF ACTION

Let every Agricultural Society and every Mechanics' Institute, every State and every neighborhood, at once procure Resolves of their corporations, or the signatures of their friends, and forward to Congress the following petition or one of similar form, and adopt suitable petitions for and from their State Legislatures, and forward to the Chief Executor of the League a copy of the same.

The _____ Would respectfully petition your honorable body for a grant of Congress Lands to each State in the Union to endow therein an Industrial University for the liberal and practical education of the Industrial classes in their several pursuits and professions in life. Said grant to be not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars to each State, and to be held in trust for the above uses, accompanied by such conditions and restrictions in the terms of the grant, as shall in the wisdom of Congress, be needful in order to secure this trust forever to the uses aforesaid, and to prevent as far as practicable in all coming time the possibility of such trusts being diverted from their proper object, or made subservient to any local, partisan, or sectarian end inconsistent with the appropriate use of such trust.

MEMORIAL

To the Honorable the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois:

The undersigned, citizens of this State, regarding with admiration the facilities which the civilized world at present affords for the liberal education of the members of the learned and military professions, and justly appreciating the benefits which they have derived therefrom in their pursuits in life, desire the same

blessing for ourselves, and our children, and for each and all the members of the industrial classes of this State. We, therefore, would humbly pray your honorable bodies so to dispose of the Fund given by the General Government to this State for the advancement of learning, that a State University may be endowed with ample means for the liberal and practical education of all classes in society, each in their own several pursuits in life; and that these funds may be immediately committed to a Board of Trustees for this purpose in general accordance with a plan of the Convention already approved by large numbers of our most intelligent and patriotic citizens.

DESIGN

OF THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS

OFFICERS

PRINCIPAL DIRECTOR,

J. B. TURNER, *Jacksonville*

ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS,

JOHN GAGE, *Lake Co.*

BRONSON MURRAY, *LaSalle Co.*

L. S. PENNINGTON, *Whiteside Co.*

J. T. LITTLE, *Fulton Co.*

WM. A. PENNEL, *Putnam County.*

I. There are now in the hands of the State of Illinois, \$150,000 in money, and about seventy-two sections of land selected at an early period, and probably worth as much more.

II. The land and money, was donated by the General Government, to this State, as a trust fund, apart from and independent of the Common School Fund.

III. With this fund the State is required by Congress to establish a STATE UNIVERSITY or High Seminary of learning.

IV. The members of this industrial league are such, and such only, of the inhabitants of the State of Illinois, as desire that when this State Seminary is established, it shall be upon the following rational and impartial principles:

V. It shall be designed to furnish to the great Industrial classes of the State, our Farmers, Merchants and Mechanics, each in their own sphere, the same thorough, liberal, and practical education in those various sciences underlying their several pursuits, and in all processes, principles, and arts connected therewith, as our colleges and professional schools now afford to their students of Theology, Medicine, Law, and the art of War; and shall be provided with all needful apparatus, lands, grounds, gardens, animals, drawings, models, instruments and engines, for the proper elucidation of the same—as other schools are provided with their necessary apparatus.

To combine the friends of this interest, THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS was incorporated by the Legislature, February, 1853.

1st. With a capital of \$20,000, to be raised by members, fees and donations;

2d. With a Board of one chief Director and five associates; whose office it shall be

3d. To print and distribute books, pamphlets, and papers, explaining the advantages and necessity of this system of education.

4th. To employ lecturers to visit all parts of the State for the same purpose, and to appoint agents for making collections, &c.

5th. To circulate, and present, to the Legislature and to Congress, petitions, urging the adoption of this plan for a University and the liberal endowment thereof by Congress lands and by State funds in each State in the Union.

6th. To receive from each member ten cents admission, and ten cents annual subscription, with fee for diploma and such voluntary donations as may be contributed.

7th. The funds so collected to be applied to the payment of lecturers, agents, and officers, (other than Associate Directors, who shall receive no compensation for services), to the payment of printing and such incidental expenses as shall be approved by the Board: and on the establishment of a University as herein

contemplated, any surplus funds in the treasury to be paid over to the treasury of such University.

8th. Members of the Industrial League, who desire it, may withdraw from their membership upon giving notice to any agent of the Board, provided their dues are all paid, including those for the year in which they withdraw.

9th. The year of the League commences with the first day of each January.

(The undersigned hereby enter their names as members of the "Industrial League of Illinois," from the date set opposite their names.)

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THE CORPS OF INSTRUCTION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
BETWEEN
MAY 1, 1909, AND MAY 1, 1910

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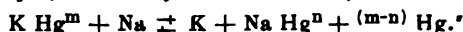
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FRAGMENT RA.58 C. OF KONONGS SKUGGSJA
From an Old Norwegian Parchment Codex of the XIIIth Century,
with Heliotype Copy and a Study of the Paleography
and the Language

BY

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Assistant Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literature
The University of Illinois

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FOREWORD

For permission to have *RA 58 C* and other fragments in the Government Archives at Christiania photographed for the University of Illinois, I wish to express to the officials of the Archives my sincere thanks. I wish to thank in particular Mr. Chr. Brinkman, Keeper of the Archives, for his ever ready courtesy during my work there in July, 1910.

G. T. F.

February 26, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION

The leaves of parchment herewith reproduced and published for the first time are preserved in the Government Archives at Christiania, where they are entered in Undset's *Katalog over Haandskrifter i det norske Rigsarkiv* as *Cod. 58 C*. In Undset's description they are designated as a fragment composed of two parts, "(a), two attached leaves of one form, an intervening leaf having been lost, and (b), two attached leaves of one form, an intervening leaf having been lost. At the bottom of (b) three or four lines have been cut away". The leaves were found in 1867 in the Swedish Government Archives and presented to C. R. Unger, then connected with the Norwegian Government Archives, and by the latter deposited in the Norwegian Archives in 1886. The original letter from Klemming to Unger is dated Stockholm, April 15, 1867, and reads as follows:

"Jag anser mig böra underrätta Dem om ett litet fynd af 4 pergament blad ur en gammal Norsk bok, skrifven på 1200-talet äller början af 1300 i stor quart med 2 spalter på sidan; utmärkt ståtlig stil, synes vara ett geografiskt colloquium familiare mellan far och son (pater ad f. filius ad patreo). Ett stycke handlar om Irland." [Here Klemming cites three lines beginning *Pat er oc mælt um Irland*, and continues]: "De fyra bladen finnas i Riksarkivet bland löstagna pergament omslag. Finner De värdt att göra något i anledning häraf såsom begära dem till låns eller skänk, hvilket jag tycker vare skäliligast, så skrif eller låt skrifva till Riksarkivaren eller statsrådet Carlson, men näm'n (i förra fallet åtminstone) inte mitt namn, ty jag är ingen persona grata hos honom. Lef väl! vännen. Hasteligen ex archivo Regni, G. E. Klemming".

As we see from Klemming's letter, the leaves had been used in the binding of other books. He dates the leaves as early as 1200 and does not seem to have recognised the precise nature of their contents. Following Klemming's suggestion, Unger wrote to Stockholm and the leaves were forwarded to him at Christiania. Unger recognized in them fragments from a codex of the *Speculum Regale*, and some time later he made a transcription of them. The fragment together with Klemming's letter and the transcription was then, on June 23d, 1886, deposited by Unger in the Norwegian Government Archives. Unger was inclined to believe the leaves to be originally of the same codex as *Cod. reg. 235 g, 4to* in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which is a fragment of one leaf of some

codex of the *Speculum Regale*. To this point we shall return below.

All other texts and fragments of the *Speculum Regale* or *Konongs Skuggsja*, as the principal Ms. *AM. 243 B, fol.* designates itself, have been printed, the earliest edition being one prepared by Halfdan Einarsen and published at Sorö, Denmark, in 1768. This edition was accompanied by a Latin and a Danish translation¹, appearing in a quarto volume of 885 pages. Next there appeared the Christiania edition of 1848 bearing the title: *Konge-Speilet*, edited by R. Keyser, P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger, 8 vo., pp XXI+205. This edition has facsimilies of *AM. 243 fol. 2* and *RA. 58 A*. Both of these editions aim to reproduce the Icelandic text, the latter normalising the Norwegian forms, according to the later Icelandic Mss. In all there are some twenty Mss. of the work, which have come down to us in complete or fragmentary form, for the most part preserved in the Arnamagnean collection in Copenhagen. This is significant testimony to the extent to which Norwegian and Icelandic scholars in the XIIIth century and later were attracted to this wonderful storehouse of the learning and the culture of the time. Containing a wealth of information—historical, legal, literary and cultural in general—it is one of the principal treasures that have come down to us from Old Norse times.

In 1880 Oscar Brenner conceived the happy idea of preparing a new edition which should give a true picture of the characteristics, paleographic, orthographic and otherwise, of the principal Ms. and existing Norwegian fragments.² Of these fragments there are published two, designated by Brenner as *N* and *R*, the former being *RA. 58 A*, and the latter the Copenhagen fragment referred to above, *Cod. reg 235 g. 4to*. The former is from a parchment codex in large quarto from the middle of the XIIIth century. See below §21. In the preparation of his edition, Brenner aimed to make use of all known fragments for the purpose of controlling and supplementing the text of the principal manuscript. Also the archetype of the Icelandic recension, *AM. 243 A. fol.* and the Icelandic fragments were consulted. The existence of our

¹The title reads: *Kongs-Skugg-sio. utlögð a Daunsku og Latinu.*

²See, however, review of Brenner's work by Eugen Mogk in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XIV. 102-106.

fragment, *RA. 58 C.*, however, escaped Brenner's notice. A study of the language of the principal Ms. and the Norwegian fragments, which Brenner planned to undertake, was, it seems, later given up; and unfortunately we have not yet received from any one else an exhaustive study of the language of this important group of texts. The definitive edition of the whole, which Brenner also promised, has not yet appeared.

Brenner discovered that the *Konongs Skuggsja* has been handed down in two slightly varying forms, which he designated *A* and *B*. In *A* the passages about Iceland and Greenland follow those about Ireland, while in *B* those treating of Ireland come between the other two. *58 C* agrees with the Norwegian redaction in exhibiting the latter order of treatment. The text preserved on our first leaf corresponds to that printed in Brenner's edition, page 34, line 10 from the bottom, to line 19 on page 36, there printed from Ms. *B* and an Icelandic paper Ms. of the XVIIth century. Our Leaf 2 corresponds to Brenner's page 41, line 28 to page 43, line 21, all found in *B*. Our Leaf 3 corresponds to page 51, line 17 to and including part of line 34, further page 52, lines 3-18 and 21 to line 1 on the next page, and finally page 53, lines 5-21. Leaf 4 corresponds to page 57, line 28, to page 58, line 10; page 58, lines 12-29 and line 32 to line 12, p. 59, and finally page 59, lines 14-28. It will thus be seen that the mutilated parts of Leaf 3 have contained the equivalent of two lines and a half of text in each column. By comparing the amount of material in a line in the edition with that of a line in the Ms. we find that the uncut page of manuscript originally had twenty-eight lines in each column on Leaf 3. The material lost at the bottom of column one of Leaf 4 corresponds to a trifle over two lines of printed text. Three lines of text have therefore been cut away here, so that originally the column had twenty-seven lines. The lost portion at the bottom of the first column on the back of Leaf 4 is represented by printed text to the extent of a line and one word,—hence two lines are cut away, so that this column originally had twenty-six lines, as also column two evidently.³

³A slight variation of content is, however, to be taken into consideration; thus the words *oc gnoghan* (8. r. 1) do not occur in *B* (ed. page 59, l. 14).

I. REMARKS ON THE FRAGMENTS.

Leaf 1. On the front page the type is often indistinct, in some places completely worn away. There are four blackened spots, due to contact with some moist surface, completely effacing portions of the upper and lower parts of the page. There are twenty-seven lines of text in each column on the front page, but only twenty-five lines on the back. The spacing is not uniform; compare, e. g., that between the top lines, and the noticeably smaller one between lines three and four, eight to nine and elsewhere. Lines seven to twelve in the left and line ten in the right column slant somewhat in an upward direction; this has, however, been corrected in the following line. There are two initials on the front page, the one in red, a plain but rather unusual type of *N* with two diagonal lines, which meet in the center, thus leaving the top as well as the base open, the other a *D* in green ink, with a cross bar which divides within the letter and forms two loops; the left side is ornamented with various curves and flourishes in red. Above the chapter, which begins in line eighteen there has been inserted by a later hand the abbreviated superscription: *pater ad filio* and similarly over the following chapter: *filius ad patreo*.

The back of the leaf is better preserved. The writing here seems to have been more carefully executed; the lines are uniformly straight and rather evenly spaced with the exception of the last lines in the left column, which appear slightly crowded.

Leaf 2. The front page of the leaf is well preserved and the text clear. There is a rent through lines seven and eight of the second column destroying the letters *ðr* in *staðr* and *ðs* and part of the *æ* in *hauuðsæte*. To the left of this in line seven of the opposite column there appears a cut which was present in the parchment before it was used, as evidenced by the position of the words on either side of it on the two pages. The pages are neatly written, the lines are not so evenly formed, however, as on page two of Leaf 1 but more like those of page one. The two leaves are, nevertheless, clearly by the same hand. The right page is somewhat blackened from exposure and the letters blurred in places. There

is later numbering in the right margin. Each column has twenty-six lines of text.

Leaf 3. The leaf is written in a clean and regular script; the letters are smaller and slenderer than they are in the first two leaves. Originally the leaf probably had twenty-eight lines in the column, but the bottom of the leaf has been cut away, leaving twenty-four lines in each column. A blackened line, effacing much of the text and extending along the whole length of the second column and over the corresponding part of Leaf 4, has destroyed much of the text. On the front page appear green capitals with opposite ornamentation in red. The initial *Ð* is of the same general type as that of Leaf 1 but it is smaller and the ornamentation differs. There are two initial *E*'s of varying type, one of the *C*-type with inner ornamentation, the other with a vertical stave and three horizontal bars on the right and lateral ornamentation of the same kind as that which characterizes the initial *Ð* on the front page of the leaf.

Leaf 4. Like Leaf 3 the lower portion of this leaf also has been cut away. There probably were twenty-seven lines in the column originally; the preserved part has twenty-four lines in each column on the front page, and the first column on the back; the second has twenty-three. The script is in many of its features strikingly different from that of the other two fragments; see below under paleography. The initial *Ð* occurs twice, once with external ornamentation on the left as in the preceding instances, though the form of the letter differs somewhat, and once as a plain but enlarged *Ð* of the usual type employed in the text.

Marginal Addenda. a), right opposite lines 4-5 of column 1, front page of leaf 1 appears in a handwriting of about 1575: *vand sō óll*. b), right opposite lines 18-20 of column two (*tæmprat saman hitti oc kuldi* etc.) appears in the same handwriting as a): *Irlandt nackne bode vint [er] oc somer*. c), opposite lines 10-11 on the back of the first leaf and between the columns appears in a somewhat older handwriting than a) and b): *Logebadt*, a reference to logheehag in line twelve of the second column. d), in the inner margin of the back of the second leaf running across the direction of the written text appear the numbers 193, 193, 27, 29 and 46. e), opposite line fourteen of left column, front page of the third

leaf appear the words *huide falcke*, a reference to Ual er þar oc mikil oc margr etc. The handwriting is the same as that of a) and b). f), opposite line seven of first column of the fourth leaf and referring to the rubric in the text: *fili ad patreo*—, and written before the upper ornamentation of the large initial appears in the handwriting of the text itself but in smaller letters the word *fili* (=filius).

In Undset's catalog of manuscripts in the Norwegian Government Archives, Leaves 1 and 2 are designated as (a), and leaves two and three as (b). As will be made clear below, the third leaf cannot possibly have been written by the same hand as leaf four. It will therefore be more convenient to give Leaf 2 a separate designation, and I shall in the following discussion refer to the three fragments as Hand or Fragment I, II, and III respectively.

II. ABBREVIATIONS.

Abbreviations are employed to a considerable extent in I, there being in all eighty-nine, i. e. an average of twenty-two per page. In II they are used much more sparingly; there are here only twenty-two on the two pages. Hand III seems to avoid abbreviations, except in the case of the conjunction *oc* which is represented by its symbol eight times. Only one other occurrence of an abbreviated word is found in the fragment. I shall first discuss those of I. The abbreviations are by symbol or by letter and may be classified as follows:

- 1), The sign τ for *oc* occurs forty-seven times. The stave usually slants somewhat to the left as before *undarleger*, 3, l. 21, but may also be almost vertical, as 4, l. 9.*
- 2), The nasal stroke which ordinarily has the form — appears as follows:
 - a), for final *n* thirteen times, *hann*, 3, r. 8; 4, r. 18; 4, r. 26, *menn*, 1, r. 25; 3, r. 3; 4, r. 1; *iamnan*, 3, l. 10; *vatn*, 1, l. 12 and 2, r. 25; *staðrenn*, 3, r. 12; *þeðan*, 4, l. 12; *hinn*, 4, l. 25, and *ænn*, 3, l. 25.

*The figures refer to page, right or left column, and line.

- b), for final *m* three times: *um*, 1, r. 22; *minum*, 1, l. 16; *bessom*, 3, l. 12.
- c), for medial nasal four times: *henne*, 1, l. 22; *Irland*, 2, l. 20; *minning*, 1, l. 23; *mannum*, 4, r. 19; and *lande*, 6, l. 12. In the last the stroke is joined to the *l* at the left.
- d). For the nasal following and the sound complex preceding the *æ* in *kyckvænde*, 2, l. 8.
- e). Written across the main stave of *k* representing the nasal sound complex of *konongr* twice; both examples are on page three at the bottom of column two.
- f). For the omitted *a* of *þat* fourteen times, the sign being joined to the stave of the *þ*: 2, l. 5; 2, l. 6; 2, l. 16 etc. The nasal stroke takes the form of a somewhat longer horizontal, without the loop, in five occurrences in the right column of page two. In 2, r. 25, this stroke is written over the *at* of *vatn* designating the omission of the final *n* of *vatn*.
- 3) The sign 7, standing for an omitted nasal, is used once: *kristni*, 4, r. 12.
- 4). The sign 3 standing for an omitted *r*, or *r* and vowel, appears twice: over *marger*, 3, l. 18 and over *vera*, 3, r. 20.
5. Abbreviation by the letter *i* is found twice; it designates the omission of the rest of the sound complex of which the *i* is a part, in *firir*, 1, l. 13, and *patricius*, 4, r. 11.

The Abbreviations of the Second Hand.

- 1). The sign for the conjunction *oc* occurs five times.
- 2). The nasal stroke used as above with *þt*, designating the omission of the *a* of *þat* eleven times, in five of which the line does not have the loop. Further the same sign is used once with *b* of *biscup* designating the omission of *-is-*, 5, r. 3. It is used as above, for final *n* of *menn* twice, 5, r. lines five and twelve, for the medial *n* of *lande*, 6, l. 12, and for the omitted *n* after *ei* in *grönleindingar*, 6, l. 19.
- 3). The sign 3, representing an omitted *r*, is used once: *hvert*, 5, l. 21, being here written above the following letter, not over the preceding one or above the place of the omitted letter.

The Abbreviations of the Third Hand.

- 1). The sign for the conjunction *oc* occurs eight times. The form

of this sign differs considerably from that of the other hands. Both of its staves are curved and it is further modified by a cross-bar; see 8, l. 2 and elsewhere. What seems to be a variant of this sign occurs once, 7, l. 3; here it does not have the top bar, and the vertical staff is heavier than in the other forms.

- 2). The nasal stroke occurs twice: first over *a* in *mant*, 7, r. 16, designating the omission of an *n*, hence the spelling *mannt*, and again for the final *m* of *stouðum*, 8, r. 8.

The abbreviations in the superscription are by letter in column two of page seven, and by number 9 for the ending *-us* of the Latin *filius* in column one of the same page.

III. ACCENT MARKS. LIGATURES.

Accents are rarely used and even then with somewhat varying value. The ordinary mark is a long diagonal hair-line. This is written as a sign of length over the *o* of *or* three times on page two: l. 7 and 16 and r. 19; with similar value over the *o* of *sot* in 2, r. 6, over the *e* of *ret*, 3, r. 20, and of *set*, 5, r. 8. Consonantal *i* is thus accented in *hvarium*, 5, l. 22. The mark appears over the diphthong *ei* of *meir* in 7, r. 15, and over the first *e* of *veret* in 2, r. 8, in which cases its function is not clear. The curved stroke (nasal stroke) over the *a* of *varla*, 2, l. 22, is perhaps to be understood as intended to designate the length of the *a*. Though the mark has the form of the nasal stroke it can hardly represent abbreviation here, for, while the *a* is long, doubling of vowel to indicate length is not a feature of the text; nor could it very well stand for an omitted *r*, since the *a* is long.

Ligatures. The letter *d* is frequently combined into a ligature with a following vowel, usually *e*. The occurrences are:

d+e: I, *kyckvænde*, 2, l. 3; and 2, l. 10; *lande*, 2, l. 8; 2, l. 16; 2, r. 4 and 10, and elsewhere, in all eighteen times; *sande*, 2, l. 11; *haldet*, 3, l. 7; *dömde*, 3, r. 20; II, *valde*, 5, 21; III, *stannde*, 7, l. 23;

d+o: *domr*, 3, r. 22.

d+ö: I, *dömt*, 3, r. 21; *dömde*, 3, r. 21; *dömaz*, 3, r. 22; *rangdöme*, 4, l. 21; III, *döghra*, 8, r. 29.

ð+o: I, *leitaðo*, 4, r. 15; II, *ysodori*, 6, r. 15; *röðo*, 6, l. 19 and III, 7, l. 11;

ð+e: III, *skipaðer*, 7, r. 3.

Double *p* is usually written as a ligature, so regularly in *upp*; cp. 2, r. 18. *þo* is written in ligature in 8, r. 13.

Geminate *g* is also written as a ligature in Hand III, as *byggj*, 8, l. 2; *tvæggia*, 8, r. 25; *scuggin*, 8, r. 15; *leggi*, 7, r. 9 and elsewhere regularly so. This ligature does not occur in I or II. But there is evidenced a tendency in II to combine *r+a*; cp. *gera*, 6, r. 10; *vera*, 6, r. 20 and *fröðra*, 6, r. 15. In *annarra*, 6, r. 14, the top of the *a* and the bistave of the second *r* coincide completely, and the *r* is thus not to be distinguished from an *i*.

IV. SCRIBAL ERRORS.

There are four irregular forms that are due to miswriting. In 3, r. 19 the manuscript has *brorg* for *borg*, and in 6, l. 17 of II the spelling *lysir* must be regarded as an error for *löysir*. *Rveiði*, 4, r. 9, is clearly also a misspelling of *vreiði*. In 5, r. 21, we seem to have the word *meira* spelled *meiria*, though it may originally have been *meirra* with the second *r*, written in ligature with *a*.

V. THE USE OF CAPITALS FOR SMALL LETTERS.

The capital *R* in reduced form so that the main stave does not reach above the line, appears in a number of instances for small *r* and apparently with no further special function⁴. The cases are: *Ring*, 2, l. 29; *eR*, 5, l. 23; *Reina*, 5, r. 16; *meR*, 6, l. 21; *eR*, 7, r. 19; *vinndR*, 8, l. 6; *eR*, 8, l. 17; *veR*, 8, l. 23; *tæcR*, 8, r. 10; and *luttiR*, 3, r. 2. This feature is therefore rather more characteristic of the third hand than of the other two.

⁴The capital *R* is used in some Mss. to designate the omission of an *r*; so e. g. in the fragment of *Kringla*. In the fragment of *Jofraskinna*, however, *R* is written for *r* without any function of abbreviation.

VI. PALEOGRAPHY.

The Capitals. The capitals of the various parts of the fragments are plain letters composed of straight lines or curves and with little or no ornamentation. The *E* is regularly of the oval type, the most noteworthy feature of which is that the point of the lower part does not as a rule touch the cross bar; so e. g. in 1, l. 16, 2, r. 13 and elsewhere. Both ends may, however, touch the bar, as in several occurrences of the type in II and especially in III. The large initial *E* of page five describes an almost perfect circle, which is differentiated from *O* by the bar, the slender bistaves at the right and a somewhat more heavily shaded left side. *D.* This type is characterized by long points projecting out to the left from the top and bottom of the main stave in III, in place of which the initial in I has ornamentations in the shape of an anchor. The ends of the bar are here also divided into loops. Variants of the capital have divided straight ends, as 2, l. 24 and 4, l. 1, or triangular shaped ends, as 1, r. 17. The same general type of capital *D* appears in III, but the bar is a shorter heavier line squared at the ends by a slender vertical line, as 7, left column or 8. The capital *S* is characterised by prominent pointed ends and a heavily shaded middle line in I, the latter feature being lacking in the occurrences of it in III. In the variant in III the upper part is smaller and the lower part is larger and ends in a loop. The capital *N* occurs twice, 1, 1 and 8, 1, both of the same general type with a vertical left stave and a curved right part, in one of which the two main staves are supported on slender horizontal bistaves. The unusual type of *M* which appears on page three may be noted. It is the *N*-type with the curved stave on the right paralleled by one on the left, while the central stave comes to a point above the rest of the letter. A smaller variant of this type is found in II.

The Small Letters in Hand I. a. The most common form is the usual Latin type with an open top; the stave is straight or slightly inclined to the right, as in *siðan*, 3, l. 12. The top of the main stave is combined with the bistave of a preceding *r* or the upper bistave of *f*. The upper part of the letter is, however, very often closed, as in *hafða*, 1, l. 20. When left open the upper end

of the main stave may vary much in length, cp. *a* in 3, l. 15; or the stave may form a loop by means of a bistave at the right, as *iorðena*, 2, r. 20. *æ*. This type is a combination of the *a* and the upper loop of the *e*; the variations as in *tæckr*, 2, r. 14, are unimportant. *e*. It is the usual *e*-type with a rather prominent loop below and the upper loop closed by a slender bistave. This bistave frequently extends diagonally above the line, as, e.g. in *bæðe*, 1, r. 4, in the last *e* in 2, l. 3, and elsewhere in the ligature *de*; (cp. also *tre*, 2, r. 23). *c*. The type differs from *e* only in the absence of the upper bistave.

i. The type is the ordinary vertical stave and is nowhere differentiated by accent mark, (as e. g. in the *Tunsberg Bylog*⁵) from the staves of *n* or *m*. It is regularly joined to a preceding *r*, *g*, *t* and the *e* of the diphthong *ei*. It is readily distinguishable from the staves of *n* and *m* which are combined at the top. The first stave of *n* and the first two of *m* are usually curved slightly to the left at the top or else end in a sharp point, while *i* is ordinarily blunt at the top. *u*. The type is always distinguished from the parts of *n* and *m* by the staves being joined at the bottom; the lower part of the right stave also generally forms a loop or combines with a slender bistave, as in *mycklu*, 4, r. 13, which again runs over into a following letter.

o. The type is the usual oval, but with slight variants. The upper left side and the right lower is written straight, the other two parts being curved, as in *koma*, 1, l. 17; or it may approach the hexagonal shape as in *ou*, 2, l. 14 and elsewhere. *d* is formed with the body of the *o*, usually in its variant form, with its main stave turned to the left above the line. This stave is sometimes brought down quite near the top of the preceding letter, as *kyckvænde*, 2, l. 10. The voiced dental spirant is differentiated from it by a left-going loop, written over the top stave directly over the left part of the body of the letter, as *douð*, 2, l. 14, and *með*, 2, l. 18. Equally common is the slight variation of this according to which the superscribed loop appears directly over the body of the letter and seems to have been formed as a continuation of the left curve

⁵See *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, page 223.

of the lower part; this form is used in *værðr*, 2, r. 19; *niðr*, r. 20, *aðr*, r. 22, and elsewhere in the same column, and on other pages. In *vorðet*, 3, l. 20, the loop is unusually large. ö. This type is a combination of *o* and the upper loop of *e*; by an upper bistave as in *e* it is ordinarily attached to a following *m*, *y*, and *n*. It appears in ligature with a preceding *d* (see above).

b. The main part of this type is a vertical that is usually rather heavily shaded, combined with the *o*-type, as in *brot*, 1, l. 11; the top of the oval part is often narrowed somewhat, as in *brorg* (for *borg*), 3, r. 9, or more rounded, as *bæðe*, 4, r. 17. þ. The right part of this type is identical with that of *b*; the left is a stave which begins at a similar distance above the line and extends correspondingly far below the line and with a tail sharply curved to the left, as *þ* of *þetta*, 4, line 26. The variations of the right side are the slight ones observed in *o*, while a more real difference is effected by a much reduced loop at the bottom and a narrowed oval, as *þa*, 2, r. 21.

We meet with a feature here that is characteristic of our fragment in most of the types that have a stave that goes below the line. These are: *f*, *v*, *x*, *y*, capital *I* and *þ*. In all these the main stave forms a left-going loop at the foot. Such a capital *i* appears in *Irland*, 2, l. 20, and *I*, 3, r. 26, being the *i*-stave enlarged and thus modified. The *f* is otherwise the Anglo-Saxon type with its two bi-staves. The latter may vary slightly; it is either a slender bistave ending in a larger square figure, as *hafa*, and *krafte*, 2, l. 21 and 22; the somewhat different appearance of the type in *ofheit*, 1, r. 20, and the abbreviated *firir*, 1, l. 13, seems to be due to wearing away of the types. The Anglo-Saxon *ŷ* is the regular type used for *v*; its left stave is vertical to the point where the right stave meets it a little below the line; then it curves to the left and forms a small loop at the end, as *varla*, 2, l. 22, or it ends in a thick point as *vatn*, 2, r. 25. Or again the lower end of the main stave may turn slightly, without forming a loop, as in *værðr*, 2, r. 19. It is always open at the top, but the smaller stave is sometimes brought close to the side of the main one, as 2, r. 25. *y*. This type differs from *v* especially in the larger curve given to the left stave, and the pronounced slanting position of the letter, e. g., 2, l. 21 and 2, l. 5. Furthermore it regularly has a period over the opening be-

tween the two staves; cp. also the examples in 2, l. 1; 2, l. 3; 2, l. 10; 2, l. 25 and elsewhere. **x** is formed in the usual way varied by a still more pronounced loop at the left, as *veixti*, 2, r. 13. The upper bistave is identical with the upper bistave of *f*; its position is a little below the top of the main stave in 2, r. 13. In *vaxe*, 1, r. 11, it has a somewhat different form: the part of it that is in the line appears like a combination of *r* and *c*.

p. Of the group of letters whose main stave extends below the line *p* is the only one in which the stave is straight. The main part is identical with that of *f* but without the latter's loop; its top does not go above the line, the right part is the same as the corresponding part of *b* and *þ*; examples, 2, l. 2 and 2, r. 1, 2 and 4. Double *p* is written as a ligature; see above, page 15. This type is the usual vertical stave curved to the right at the bottom combined there with a short diagonal bistave, as *liggia*, 2, l. 12. The bistave runs over into a following *a*, *o*, *u*, *g* and sometimes into other types.

The main part of the **h** and **k** is a similar stave but the lower part is not curved and it has no bistave. The right part of *k* is similar to that of the capital *K*, so that up to the top of the line the type is a reduced capital. This type is also used for a small *r* elsewhere in the text (see above, page 6). The right part of the **h** is the same as the corresponding part of *þ*, but is left open at the bottom, sometimes ending at the foot of the line, as *hon*, 1, l. 6 or *hvaðke*, 2, l. 2. Perhaps this is always intended to be the case, for where it does extend below the line the extension is so slight that it is perhaps to be regarded as accidental, e. g. *han*, 3, r. 8. The main part of these three types is blunt at the top.

g. The upper oval of the *g* is the type *o* modified by a very short bistave at the upper right hand. The lower part is a somewhat smaller figure, which is always closed and ordinarily flattened slightly at the bottom as, *liggi*, 2, l. 14; *giarn*, 2, r. 2, but which elsewhere is practically round, e. g. *undarleger* 1, r. 13, or the first *g* in *byggvir*, 2, l. 25. The lower part may, as in the last case, be written almost directly below the main part, as also the first *g* in *liggia*, 2, l. 19, and in *þegar*, 2, l. 5. In the regular form of the type, however, it is written somewhat more to the right, as in *marga*, 1, l. 14, so much so that often the lower loop comes

directly under the right stave of the upper part, e. g. *nalega*, 1, r. 10, or the second *g* in *liggia*, 2, l. 14. The lower loop sometimes ends at the left in a stave which runs up to the main part, as, *grim*, 2, l. 25, or especially in *marger*, 3, l. 19.

r. There is, as the most commonly used type, the i-stave with a period-like bistave at the top on the right. The top of the main stave is turned slightly to the right and is regularly joined to a preceding letter, except *a*, *i*, *u*, while the bistave is joined to the following letter. The second type of *r* is not the right part of the capital *R* as in some other codexes where this type of *r* occurs⁵, but a type that approaches more nearly the form of the figure 2 with the upper part shortened, and the lower stave extending somewhat to the right of the main stave, (see *alldrigi*, 2, l. 13). It is a taller type than the corresponding one of the Tunsberg Law, with the body more prominent and the top much shortened. In our text it is limited in its use to the position immediately after *o* or *d*, in which position the usual *r* is not found. Thus it appears in the words: *drecca*, *or*, *brot*, *undr*, *værðr*, *alldrigi*, on page 1, *ormr*, *iorð*, *alldrigi*, *or*, *giorn*, *dreger*, *maðr*, *drap*, *stændr*, *niðr*, *værð*, *aðr* on page 2, *apaldre*, *vorðet*, *gorver*, *borg*, *staðr*, *kallaðr*, *atburðr*, *gort*, *þora* on page 3, *iorðen*, *niðr*, *þora*, *reiðr*, *undr*, and *auðrum*, on page 4. In the conditions under which this second type of *r* is used, our text, therefore, agrees with the fragment of *Jofraskinna* published in F. Jonsson's edition of *De bevarede Brudstykker af Skindbøgerne Kringla og Jofraskinna*, while in the *Tunsberg Bylog* the type has a much more extended use.⁶

s. This letter is, in almost every instance, represented by the long type. The only occurrences of the *s*-type are in the words *guðs*, 3, r. 18; *annars*, 3, r. 17; *þas*, 2, r. 14, *þæs*, 3, r. 12; *heilags*, 4, r. 10; *raðes*, 4, r. 22, and *þæs*, 4, r. 26, in all of which cases it is used after any letter finally, but without any peculiar orthographic value. The tall *f* has a rather individual form, in that the main stave is much heavier on the left above the line, narrowing off toward the top again, where it has a bistave in the form of a short declining stroke, as *smara*, 1, l. 14, and *sumt*, 2, r. 20. The main

⁵E. g. *Konungs Annál* (ed. H. Buerger Goodwin, Upsala, 1906).

⁶See reference above, page 17.

part sometimes extends slightly above the bistave, e. g. *siðan*, 2, l. 13. Sometimes the bistave is nearly horizontal, as *hans*, 2, l. 5, or is very short, as *saccar*, 2, l. 19, in which case the main stave may sometimes end in a clump at the top, e. g. *sem*, 2, r. 22. In *sva*, 1, l. 14, the top is rounded into a loop. A third type of *s*, a kind of variant of the long one, appears in final position in the word *konongs*, 3, r. 9, in which the main stave is of uniform thickness, or as in 3, r. 21, curved to the left at the bottom, being also joined at the top to the bistave of the *g*. In the writing of *ss* the bistave of the first letter is joined to the second; *s* is further written together with a following *t*, in which the main part of the *t* is brought up to and joined to the bistave of the *s*, or finally with *k*, as *skiot*, 1, l. 11. The thicker part at the middle of the main stave is joined to a preceding *e* (*besso*, 2, l. 16), or *æ* (*bæss*, 2, r. 11), or to the bistave of *g* (*konongs*, 3, l. 9).

t. The type used for *t* has a main stave that corresponds to that of *c*, but in place of the latter's loop at the top there is a short horizontal line mounted on top of the main part. In its regular form this line extends slightly to the left of the latter, as in *flut*, 2, l. 9 and *þat*, 2, r. 24, while on the right it ordinarily extends to a point directly over the end of the lower loop, e. g. *þat*, 2, r. 20, and elsewhere. Again the horizontal may extend to an approximately equal distance to the left of the main line, as, *tre*, 2, l. 15, and *naturu*, 2, r. 25. The main stave may extend slightly above the horizontal as in *þat*, 1, l. 12 and in a number of instances elsewhere. The length of the lower bistave varies considerably from the very short one of *t* in *þat*, 1, l. 12, to a much longer one which almost touches the upper bistave in *þat*, 2, l. 16 and 22, or in *sumpt*, 2, r. 18. Double *t* is combined by a longer horizontal mounted over the two staves. An unusual variant appears in *undarlect*, 2, r. 10, in which the main stave extends over the line as when it is combined with *f*. The top here is identical with the top of the composite *st* and is either to be looked upon as a scribal mistake or as an isolated instance of a variation suggested by the composite type. It may be added that the upper bistave is often joined to a following letter, especially to *i*, *u*, *r*, *n* and to the upper loop of the *a*. **z.** The *z*-type is the usual one, with the lower bar narrowed at the end and curved slightly upward. Leaf two has a larger

number of instances of the variant with a very short horizontal bar across the middle of the diagonal; this type occurs in *lettaz*, *az* (twice) and *gerðez*, page 3, r. 11, and 4, l. 9; the form without the cross bar occurs three times on the leaf.

VII. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE SECOND HAND.

The external differences are a smaller handwriting, slenderer types, and a more compact text. The last is indicated by the larger amount of material to the line in the transcribed text, opposite the pages in question. There is an average of twenty to twenty-five per cent more text to the line in the fragment from the second hand.⁷ Another external difference is the reduced use made of abbreviations on this leaf as already noted above, page twelve. The twenty-two abbreviations employed here are principally limited to the symbol for *oc*, which occurs six times, and the abbreviation of *þat*, which is found twelve times. As regards the internal features of the form of letters and the orthography it may be said, first that in general the types are similar in formation to those of Hand I, barring the differences already mentioned that they are taller and slenderer. The two hands agree in the form of the tall *f* as well as in its very general use, there being, in fact, no instance whatever of the use of the short *s* in II. Also the regular form of *r* in II is the one ordinarily used, the variant being employed in *auðrum*, *rauðr*, *hvorso*, *stor*, *smior*, *værðr*, *veðratto*, *gator*, *spor*, *maðr*, *breiðr*, *seiðr*, *niðr*, *miðr*, *liðr*, and the first *r* in *nörðre*, the principle following being, as in I, to use the variant after *o* and *ð*. There is, however, the difference that the regular *r* is even more general in II, appearing also after *d* in *nörðre*, *uttanvairðri*, 6, l. 24, and after *b* in *brennr*, 6, r. 18. There is in II a somewhat greater tendency to use the capital *R*-shaped type for a small *r* and it differs somewhat in form from that of I in three of the instances; cf. *Ring*, 2, l. 20, *eR*, 5, l. 23, and *meR*, 6, l. 21. The *y* is regularly formed with the lower part brought over to the left side of the preceding letter, e. g., *dyrenn*, 5, l. 4, or *byggjande*, 5, l. 9. Both

⁷The average material in the line of I and II is as the ratio of 27 : 35.

forms of *z* occur, the type with the cross-bar predominating. The ligature of *r + a* has already been referred to.

The new features are therefore mostly accidental or limited in number, and both parts might be written by the same hand as far as the form of the letters is concerned. Of minor importance are also the orthographic differences that are found to exist, such as the more frequent occurrence of the spelling *au* for the diphthong *ou*, whereas it is more consistently written *ou* in II. Cf. the words *naut*, *lausir*, *auðr*, *sauðir* in I, and *þau*, four times, besides the more frequent *þou*. In II *þou* is everywhere spelled with *ou*, the writing with *au* appearing only in *rauðr*. There are, however, it seems enough differences to add support to the conclusion which the more general features inevitably lead to, namely, that the part of the codex represented in leaf three was written by a different hand. While the style of type is the same, so much so that it would seem that the one scribe may have been taught the art of writing by the other, the differences are too considerable to admit of the belief that Leaf three is from the same hand that wrote the first two. The desire to crowd more material in the column will account for such difference as exists between the front and the back of the first leaf. On the back there are only twenty-five lines in the column, while the front page has twenty-seven. But the difference appears in a slightly greater crowding of the lines and in a more extensive use of abbreviations. In spite of the latter feature, however, there are only 177 words in twenty-four lines on page one, while the corresponding number of lines in leaf three has 222 words, with only one letter represented by abbreviation, and the conjunction represented by its symbol only twice in the column. The wish to get more material upon the page and thus save parchment, which is a conceivable reason for writing smaller letters, is, then, here out of the question in view of the fact that, whereas leaves one and two have abbreviations in considerable number, we suddenly find them dropped almost absolutely in Leaf three. Leaf II is also that of a more regular and in every way more beautiful hand, the work of a better trained scribe.

It may be observed that certain paleographic features are evidenced as characteristic of this hand, especially the variant of

the normal *r* by giving to the bistave a short upward flourish as in *blar*, 5, l. 13, *er* in the same line, and again in lines 16, 23 and 24, but especially in *lifir*, line twenty-two, where the second bistave ends in a kind of hook with a heavily shaded end. Further, the narrowed form of the *a* produces a reduced lower loop, and there is a tendency to bring the end of the main stave down to the lower part, as *landet*, 5, l. 5, and elsewhere. Finally a type of the letter *a* is produced, in which the left side of the letter becomes a continuous very slightly curved line, as in *par*, l. 12, *blar*, 13, *lande*, 15, *hvat*, 22, and elsewhere. We have already mentioned the absence of the short *s*-type in II and the preponderance of the *z*-type with a bar on a punctuated main stave.

The third leaf of the fragment therefore seems clearly to be the work of a different hand from that of the first two leaves. Somewhere between chapters eleven and seventeen a new hand took up the copying. The third fragment, which covers the last lines of chapter twenty to chapter twenty-two, is by still another hand. We shall now turn to this fragment.

VIII. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE THIRD HAND.

These may be considered under abbreviations, orthography and paleography. We have observed that the second Hand employs abbreviations very sparingly. This feature is still more marked in III; here abbreviations by letters are entirely lacking, and only two varieties of symbol abbreviations occur. One of these, the nasal stroke, appears only once, namely for the final *m* of *stouðum*, in 8, r. 8; the other is the sign for the conjunction *oc*, which here always has the cross-bar. The figure, furthermore, differs considerably from that of I and II: the main stave is vertical or nearly so, e. g. in 8, l. 9, and the upper bar is slightly curved, the left end turning sharply upward and the main part ends in a loop on the right; cf. p. 7, l. 8; 8, 2. This sign occurs eight times; the plainer one of Hands I and II is not used.

The most striking orthographic feature of the fragment is its umlaut conditions and the writing of *gh* for *g* medially and sometimes finally after *n* where it is in the other fragments regularly written *g*. There are in all forty-three occurrences, e. g., in

böyghizk, gnoghan, soghður, rörelegher, idulegha, nalegha, stighr, fylghir, igæghnum, döghra (twice), *ræghlur, eighi* (twice), *daghr* (six times) and after *n*; *ganh, langht, spurningh, and strænght*, in *ganh, langht, sannlæght* (8), *spurningh, strænght, væghr*. The spelling *ou* in all instances but one stands for the diphthong *ou* and may not as in I and II also stand for the open *a*. The latter sound is always represented by *o*, e. g. in: *oll*, 7, 4; *stoðum*, 8, lines 7, 9 and 10. The forms *hafum* or *allum* do not occur (as I, 1, lines 22 and 23). There is evidenced also a tendency to write *nn* after a short vowel irrespective of whether it is followed in the same syllable by another consonant or not, as: *inn, stannde, grönlendingar*.

As regards the paleographic features it may first be observed that geminate *g* is always written as a ligature. The instances are: *liggia*, 7, l. 2 and r. 9; *leggi*, 7, l. 24; *liggia*, 7, r. 9 and 13; *byggj*, 8, l. 2; *skugginn*, 8, r. 12 and 15; and *tvæggia*, 8, r. 19. Ligatures appear also in other cases of the same kind as on the other leaves, but *r+a* are not combined, see 6, r. *döghra*, 18, and *vera* 21. The capital *R* is relatively much more frequently used instead of the regular small types; the instances, six in all, have been noted above, page 15. The form of several of the letters vary markedly; this is true for *n*, *m*, *g* and *y*, and there are new variants for *d* and *ð*. The short *s* type is used in *þesser*, 5, l. 8. The two types of *r* employed in I and II are both used, the second in the same position as there; but the new variant which appeared a few times in II is here used quite commonly, as *er*, 7, l. 3, and elsewhere, almost regularly in column two of page eight.

Further is to be noted especially the two types of *d*: 1), one of the same general kind as that in the two other fragments, but differing from them in that the top stroke is shorter and not so much inclined. In the modification of it for the spirant the stave runs up diagonally over the base, stopping at the point directly over or only very slightly to the left of the body of the letter, as *eða*, 8, l. 17, or in *miðr*, 8, r. 8. The main stave may also end in a slight upward curve as in *naond*, 7, l. 2. 2), A second type, which has a straight stave as in *k*, *l*, and *h*, comes quite prominently into use, however. The occurrences are *lonnd*, line 1, *kollдум*, line 4, *lonndum*, line 16, and *vinndar* in the first

column; *brennande*, 4, *vinnd*, 9, and 19, and 21 and *röðde*, 21, in the second column; *grönlendingar*, line 4, *vinndr*, 6, *middaghs*, 9, in column three; *döghra*, line 6, *daghr*, 8, and 12 and 15 *unndan*, 14, *stundir*, 18, in column four. The voiced dental spirant is similarly of two different types, with a further variant of the first; there is the type we know from the two preceding fragments with the modification noted above. This appears in the words: *siðu*, 8, r. 5, *stouðum*, line 8 in the same column, and *yðr*, 7, r. 2, *miðr*, 8, r. 8, but does not seem to be used elsewhere. The usual *ð* is a modification of this, which has two bistaves, the second above and somewhat to the right of the first. This appears, e. g., in *norðr*, 8, l. 8, in which case the two points are placed above the hair line which runs up from the main stave. The point of the second bistave has elsewhere also the form of a hook below the hair line in, e. g., *niðr*, 8, r. 4, and *stoðum*, line 10. The second type has a straight stave crossed above by a thin line; the occurrences are: *með*, 7, l. 11, *eða*, 7, r. 11, with a short bar; *stoðum*, 8, r. 9 with a long bar; and *með*, 7, r. 6 and *eða*, 8, r. 20 with a bar that is curved upward at the right end.

It is characteristic of this hand that the staves that run above the line are thick and square at the end as the second *k* in *skiliazk*, 7, l. 8, or are crossed at the top by a short horizontal bistave,—hence the spirant in *með*, 7, l. 11 seems to have two cross bars.

In turning to the types *l*, *k*, *h*, *p* and *b*, this will perhaps be found to be the most prominent difference between them and the corresponding types in Hand II. The bistave is especially pronounced in the *h* in *hann*, 8, l. 1, and *gnoghan* in line 22 of the same column; see also *londen*, 7, r. 12. The two staves of double *l* are combined by means of the bars, which then appear like a long horizontal written across the tops of the two *l*'s; see *oll*, 7, r. 11. Elsewhere the top is left open, as in *kalldan*, 8, r. 1. The bar may appear only on the left of the stave, as in *k* in *marka*, 8, l. 15, and it may incline as in *pvi*, 8, r. 11 or in *h* in *eighi*, 8, l. 17. Perhaps the *þ* of *þu*, 8, r. last line, with apparently split top, may be looked upon as a further variation. A clear difference in the *h* appears in its short stave on the right, which here regularly extends below the line and ends in a thick point, so in *horum*, 8, r. 17, or *hon*, line two in the same column. The *h* in *gangh*, 8, r. 1, is uncertain; I

can detect no trace of the loop and it may be an isolated instance of *h* with the shorter bistave.

Those types whose main staves run below the line agree with the corresponding letters of the other two fragments in having a loop at the left, but the latter is a less prominent part of the letter; it is often a thin line, as *pvi*, 8, r. 22, and is sometimes entirely lacking, as *par*, 8, r. 14. The lower part of *y* and *v* is, uniformly with these, also shorter or only very slightly curved. The type *g* is often quite like that of Hand II, but the lower part of it more commonly of a somewhat different form, according to which the flattened base of the latter is extended farther to the left and then joined to the upper oval by a hair line, e. g., *gnoghan*, 8, l. 22; the left of the lower oval then becomes changed from a curve to a sharp end, the loop being closed by the thin diagonal line. This line seems in some occurrences of the *g*-type to be lacking; thus while it is present in *daghr*, 8, l. 15, and in *stighr*, r. 3, the *g* in *daghr*, in line eight of this column and in *nalegha*, 8, l. 14, shows no trace of such a stroke. It would seem to be an instance in our text of the type of *g* with an open lower loop, as in *Homilibok AM. 619 4to*.⁸

Finally the short staved types, *i*, *n*, *m*, and *u*. There are two types of the *i* stave, first, the plain vertical stave, which we have found in the two other fragments; this occurs in *i* in line one, page 7, after *k* in *pycki*, in line five, after *t* in *lutir*, and after *v* in *vist*, 8 and 9 in the same column; after *h* in *fylghir*, 8, r. 11, after *s* in *lysir*, 10, same column; and elsewhere in the neighborhood of other letters. The *n* with the same type of stave appears in *hon*, 8, l. 18, in *nu*, 8, r. 17, and elsewhere, and the corresponding *m* in *sem*, 8, l. 18, and in *sumum*, 8, r. 9; in this word we also have two *u*'s of the same type. These letters are, however, also found with a type that is more characteristic of this hand, one in which the staves are bent or broken so that the line appears to be composed of two or three short lines. An *i* of this type appears in *lita*, 8, l. 8, and elsewhere. The broken staves are more commonly used in the other three letters. In the *u* we find it, e. g., in *bua*,

⁸See Nr. 10 in *Palæografisk Atlas*.

8, l. 4, and in *n* in *hinnar*, 8, r. 5, and *n* and *m* both in *væghenom*, 8, l. 3; in *m* in *hovum* and *um* in lines 11 and 13 of the same column. In the last case the left stave of the *m* is straight, while the other two are broken, a combination which also appears in the first *n* in *einn*, 8, l. 14, and in *n* of *bein*, 8, l. 17. Also *r* is sometimes written with the broken stave, as in *firir*, 8, l. 10. We have, then, here the type of short stave letters which are met with in such a pronounced form in *Stjorn*, A.M. 227, Fol. (see *Palæografisk Atlas*, II) The type occurs also, e. g., in the old Norwegian *Rettarbot* for the Faroe Islands of the year 1298, a page of which appears as No. 53 in *Palæografisk Atlas*. It is, however, much less perfect in form there than it is in our fragment.

IX. THE VOWELS IN STRESSED POSITION.

A. *a* represents both short and long *a*. *Ðar* and *þat* are always written with *a*; cf. also *þas* for *þæs*, 2, r. 14. Otherwise the gen. sg. of the dem. pron. is regularly written *þæs*. The accusative is *þænn* in 2, r. 13 and *þan*, 4, r. 1, 6, r. 3, 8 and 21, but *þann*, 7, r. 17. *I*-umlant of *a* and *a* is most commonly *æ*, as: *tæcr*, *stændr*, *hværfr*, *bættra*, etc. It is written *e* in *dreger*, 2, l. 17, *hefer*, 5, l. 25, *hefe*, 6, l. 18, and *ei* in *heifði*, 3, r. 17 and 6, r. 8 and in *heivir*, 6, r. 1, while in *sætir*, 2, r. 25, it is represented by *æi*. Older *u*- and *w*-umlant of *a* is written *o*, e. g., *soc*, *oll*, *lond*, *fjoll*, *fogr*, *holl*, *hofðu*, *nokot*, etc. Younger *u*-umlant of *a* is *o*: *grundvolum*, 4, l. 17, and consistently in II and III, e. g., *dolum*, 5, l. 1; *strondum*, *hvorso*, 5, l. 25; *onnur*, 7, l. 1; *kollidum*, 7, l. 4; *holvum*, *stodum*, 8, r. 7; *hovum*, 8, l. 18 and 24, and r. 18 and 21. *U*-umlant is designated by *au* or *ou* in *aunnur*, 1, r. 15 and 2, l. 9; *laundum*, 2, r. 5 *stouðum*, 5, l. 7. *U*-umlant of *ā* is not indicated in several cases in I, as: *annur*, 1, r. 27, and 2, l. 3; *allum*, 1, r. 23 and 3, l. 15; *havum*, 1, l. 19 and 24; *hafum*, 1, l. 22 and 3, l. 22; *mandu*, 4, r. 23; *mannum*, 4, r. 6; *hauuðsæte*, 3, r. 8, and the pronoun *hanum*, which is written so regularly in I. None of these words occur with *o* in the stem in I. *U*-umlant of *ā* is regularly indicated in all three hands and is ordinarily written *au* or *ou*. e.g. *auðrum*, 4, r. 19 and 5, l. 26; *ouðrum*, 2, l. 4; and in II: *auðrum*, 5, l. 16 and 6, l. 14; *ouðrum*, 5, l. 4. It is written *o* in III in

notten, 8, r. 14. U-umlaut of *á* is not indicated in *aðru*, 5, l. 18, *aðrum*, 1, l. 7, *gatom*, 1, l. 13, and *gator*, 7, l. 10.

E. *e* is most often written *e* thus in the unstressed words *eða*, *með*, *sem*, and *enn* regularly, also in the pronouns *ek*, *mer*, *ver*, *þer*, *ser*, *þesse*, in the relative particle *er*, in the verb forms *veru*, *er*, *ero*, *veret*, *se*, in *her*, and *ner*, in internasal position in *menn*, *nema* and before nasal in *renna*, before *c* and *g* in *drecca*, *dreger*; also in the words: *þeðan*, *þeghar*, *gera*, *drépa*, *rettendum*, *sela*, in *hefi*, *hefer* and once in *þenn*. The writing with *æ* is, however, more common elsewhere. So regularly between *v* and *r* as *værðr*, *værðu*, *vare*, *værra*, *hværfr*, *hværr*, between *b* and *r* in *bæra*, and *bær-anstein*, before *l* in closed syllable in *væl*, *hæltzt*, *hælgæ*, and before *ng* in *stræng*, *ængu* and *ængun*. Further *æ* occurs in *æcki* before *ck* several times, and in the words *væghr*, *gæghnum*, *tvæggia*, *ræghlur*, *þænn*, *ænn* (twice), *þæs*, *ætlat*, once in *æptir* and once in *æða*, 6, 21. The spelling *ei* occurs for *æ* in the following words in I: *eicki*, *eingi*, *eingan*, *heilgir*, *keilduna*, *feigrsti*, *heifði*, *hveiriu*, *eiptir*, *veirðir*, *veiza*, *veixti*, *eipli*, and perhaps for *æ* in *þeinnig* and *keinnir*. Similar spelling occurs in II in the following cases: *heivir*, *heifði*, *eiptir*, *eingan*, *meigin*, *eindimeirki*, *cilligar* and *eicki*. There are no occurrences in III. There is therefore considerable irregularity in the writing of *e* and *æ*, but a tendency toward *æ* which is evidenced even in such unstressed words as *æða* and *ænn*. Noteworthy is also the extent to which *ei* is employed in monothongal function.

I. The vowel *i* is used in *firir* regularly as also in *mikill*, 6, l. 16, and *mikil*, 5, l. 14 (*i* for older *y*); but *myckler*, 4, r. 13, *mycla*, 5, r. 27, and *mykil*, 5, l. 15, *mykinn*, 7, l. 21. *i* occurs for *e* in *tikit*, 2, l. 7. The word *biscop* (*byscup*) is regularly written with the vowel *i*. Consonantal *i* is always written *i*, as *fioll*, *mioc*, *skiot*, etc. See also under vowel harmony.

O. *o* represents both short and long *o*, as in *oc*, *folc*, *goð*, *stor*, etc. For *o* as u-umlant of *a* and *á* see above under *a*. *honom* of the third hand probably represents a pronunciation with a long closed vowel (=ó). *o* appears for original *e* in *voret*, past participle of *vera* in I, 2, r. 6, an early instance of the substitution of the corresponding vowel of the fourth ablaut series for that of the fifth. The form *veret*, however, appears twice: 2, r. 8 and 4,

1, 20, so that the change is not yet to be regarded as anything more than sporadic in the dialect represented by our fragment. I-umlaut of *o* is *ö*, *nörðre*, 7, r. 8, *döma*, *röða*, etc. *u*. *u* stands for both short and long *u*. The vowel *u* is nowhere in the fragments represented by *v*; *u* has consonantal function only twice: *hauðsæte*, 3, r. and *sioluo*, both in Hand I. I-umlaut of *u* is regularly *y* in I, as *þyckiaz*, 3, l. 14, *þyckia*, 3, l. 23; cp. *þycki*, III, 7, l. 5 and 7, l. 9, but *i* in *þickia*, 4, r. 6. See also above under *i*.

Au and *ou*. These digraphs have two values: *au* is used, 1), for the diphthong *ou* especially in Hand I (in the words *þau*, 4 times, *nout*, *lousir*, *sauðir*, and *auðr*) and in *rauðr* in Hand II. 2), it is used to designate the u-umlaut of *a* in several words in the first two hands; see above under *a*. The writing *ou* as variant for the diphthong *ou*, occurs in I in *þou* (ten times), *douð* (three times) and in *bouð*; in II, *þou* (seven times), *brouð*, 5, r. 10, *nouta*, 5, r. 13, *souða*, 5, r. 13, and *bloutare*; and III, *oustri*, 7, r. 5, *bloutare*, 7, l. 19. *ei*. As with *au* (and *ou*) so *ei* represents orthographically two different sounds. It is, first, the regular way of writing the diphthong *ei* (*æi*); the spelling *æi* nowhere occurs in diphthongal value, and in this respect all three fragments agree. E.g., I, *einn*, *heim*, *heilagr*, *bein*, *heita*, *fleiri*, *stein*, *svein*, etc.; II: *þeim*, *freista*, *eigi*, *leita*, *veiði*, *reina*, *meir*, etc., and III: *fleiri*, *heimsens*, *eighu*, *heita*, *einkum*, etc.; then *ei* is extensively employed as a writing for the vowel *æ* in the first two hands; e.g. in I: *eicki*, *eingi*, *heilgir*, *veixa*, etc.; in II: *heivir*, *meiki*, *eiptir*, *eilligar*, etc. There are no cases of this spelling in III. See also above under *e*. The spelling *æi* appears as a variant writing for *á* in *saitir*, I, 2, r. 25, and for *æ* in *æingi*, II, 6, r. 23, and *uttanvæirdri*, 6, l. 24; see above under *e*. *öy*. This diphthong is always written *öy*, never *æy*; it appears only in the words *höyrim*, 1, l. 23, and *döyr*, 2, l. 5, *öyland*, 2, l. 22, in I as i-umlaut of *au*, in *höyrt*, 7, l. 7, and *löystir*, 5, l. 22, in II, and finally in *löyvi*, 7, l. 12, and *böyghizk*, 7, r. 5, in Hand III.

Ia, *iu* and *io*. *Iu* from Germanic *eu* appears in *siukir*, 3, l. 14; and *diupt*, II, 5, r. 24; *io* for Germanic *eu* in *þioð*, and *lios*; u-umlaut of *ia* (Germanic *e*) appears in *smior*, II, 5, r. 14; u-umlaut of *e* in *kiot*, II, 5, r. 15, *mioc*, II, 5, l. 11, *giorn*, 2, r. 1, and *fioll*, II, 5, l. 7, a-breaking of *e* in *iarne*, 2, r. 20, *sialfre*, 11, 5, l. 11,

siulfir, 5, l. 19, *giarner*, 2, r. 3, and *biarnar*, II, 5, r. 17. Of the various forms of *gegnom*, there occur *giagnum* in II, 5, l. 3. but *gæghnum* in III, 8, l. 1.

The Vowels in Syllables with Secondary Stress. It may be observed that *iu* occurs in *priðjungr*, 5, r. 2; *o* appears in *haðong*, 8, 4, r. and always in *konongr*; *e* in *ræreng*, II; *grönlennning*, II, and *grönlennninger*, III, 8, l. 4; *i* in *spurningh*, III, 7, r. 1. The suffix—*leg* (*lig*)—*lega* (*liga*) is regularly written with *e* as *undarleger*, 1, l. 16, *rörelegher*, III, 7, r. 3, *nalega*, 1, r. 9, and 25, *nalegha*, III, 8, l. 14, *iðulega*, II, 5, r. 24, *iðulegha*, III, 7, l. 20, *liclegleicum*, II, 6, r. 12, *liclegast*, 6, r. 19, while the vowel *æ* occurs once: *sannlæght*, III, 7, l. 9. The vowel *i* appears in *eilligard*, II, Cf. also the form *gersimi*, II.

X. THE EVIDENCES FOR OR AGAINST U-UMLAUT.

An analysis of the orthographic evidences for the presence or absence of *u*-umlaut reveals the following condition. The umlaut of *a* by the influence of a *u* that has disappeared is represented everywhere by the spelling with *o* or in rare cases *au*; the examples are: *soc*, *holl*, *strond*, *fogr*, *svor*, *lond* (*lonnd*, *laund*), *mol*, *nott*, and *kollid*. While orthography cannot in the case of long *a* offer any decisive evidence, it is to be noted that *a* that is capable of umlaut by retained *u* appears in most cases with the spelling *au* or *ou*, as *auðrum*, 4, r. 19 and 5, l. 15, *ouðrum*, 2, l. 4 and 5, l. 4, *auðrum*, 5, l. 16 and 6, l. 14, elsewhere with *a*, *aðru*, 5, l. 18 and *aðrum*, 1, r. 7, *varo*, 7, r. 2, *gatom*, 1, l. 13, *gator*, 7, l. 10. As the diphthongal writing (*au*, *ou*) is but a variant spelling of the umlauted vowel in those of the above cases where we know *u*-umlaut to be present, as *laund*, the use of the diphthong as a variant spelling of long *a* is evidence of the presence of *u*-umlaut of this vowel also before retained *u*. The consistent writing with *o* in the case of *honom* in Hand III may perhaps be regarded as evidence that in the dialect of this scribe *honom* was pronounced with a long closed vowel in the stem syllable.⁹ But the equally consistent writing of *a* in Hand I is also significant. We have here a pro-

⁹i. e. *hónom*.

nunciation with an open vowel. *Hónom* is out of the question; that the vowel is long however is indicated by the consistent use of the *a* and the single *n*,—for a long nasal is regularly spelled with a geminate in I, even sometimes before another consonant, as *lonnd*, *stronnd*, *vinnd*, etc. In the speech of the first scribe therefore this pronoun had a long open *o*.

With regard to umlaut of *ä* before a *u* that has been kept, the evidence is somewhat contradictory. It may be set down as indicated by the evidence that there are certain words where this umlaut clearly is present, and certain others where it is clearly absent. Again other words are pronounced differently by the different scribes, that is, the three writers did not speak quite the same dialect, and perhaps the dialect in which the original was written differed somewhat from the dialects of the scribes, especially from that of I. Thus the things in which I differs from II and III may have been introduced into his copy by scribe I. Or the spellings and other features that distinguish III from the other two scribes may have been characteristic of his dialect and introduced by him into his copy and hence are departures from the original.

Now if we take Hand III first we find that the spellings of the vowel in question before retained *u* is always *o* as it is where the earlier *u*-umlaut is present. Not only *oll*, *kolld*, *lonnd*, etc., but also *hovum*, 8, r. 21, *holvum*, 7, l. 4, *soghður*, 7, l. 12, *kolldum*, 7, l. 4, *onnur*, 7, l. 1, *stouðum*, 9, r. 7 and 9, and *stouðum*, 8, r. 8. There is one single exception, *askaðom*, 8, l. 21. There is here then dialectal mixture, or these forms all belong to a dialect in which various kinds of compound *u*-umlaut have operated, *askaðom* falling outside the range of these. In the case of *holvum* the auxiliary influence is the following labialized *l* and in the case of *hovum* it would be an instance of a combined *u* and *w*-umlaut. Now there is a tendency locally evidenced in the Old Norwegian dialects of a combined *u*-umlaut before an intervening guttural,¹⁰ which will account for the form *soghður*. In *onnur* the composite influence is *u* and the nasal combination following

¹⁰Cp. Hægstad's *Maalet i dei gamle norske Kongebrev*, page 10.

the stem vowel. *Stoðum* and *kollum* are then otherwise to be accounted for.

It will be well first, however, to observe the condition in the other two hands. The words in question in II are: *dolum*, 5, l. 1; *strondum*, 5, l. 3; *loundum*, 5, l. 4 and 15, and 5, r. 9; *londum*, 5, r. 1; *hvorso*, 5, l. 23, and *logandaum*, 6, r. 22. In *hvorso* the auxiliary influence is the preceding *v*.¹¹ *Loundum* may be interpreted in two ways: either (1), as has been suggested in the case of *onnur*, as the effect of the combined operation of *u* and the nasal group intervening, or (2) as the transference of the nominative-accusative vowel *o* into the oblique case. That is, we would in the latter instance have another kind of compound *u*-umlaut, which might be put into the form of a law as follows: *u*-umlaut operates in the dative plural of nouns that already have older *u*-umlaut in the nominative (and accusative). The same influence operative with neuters at first would soon come to operate also with the feminines that have *u*-umlaut in the nominative singular, as, e. g., *strond*, and there would be the added influence of the vowel *o* being already present in the dative singular. That the nasal combination was not the auxiliary influence in these cases in the dialect of II seems to be indicated in the form *logandaum*.¹² It is to be observed that the spelling *stoðum* appears in both hands. The forms *kollum* and *dolum* would seem to indicate that *l* operates as a joint influence with the *u* of the ending (see Kock's suggestion *Arkiv*, XII, 154).

In Fragment I we find quite a different condition in the forms of these words. The list has already been given above, page 28. There is one significant feature in which I agrees with II and III, namely, in the *u*-umlaut forms of the dative plural of neuters where *u*-umlaut is already present in the nominative, if we may regard *lond*, *londum*, as representative of the class. But with this exception the dative plural does not exhibit the later *u*-umlaut of *ä* in Hand I. The law formulated above will then hold good

¹¹For fuller illustrations of this form of compound *u*-umlaut see Kock's article on *u*-umlaut in *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XII, 140.

¹²Indeed this compound umlaut hardly seems to operate here; differently in *Arkiv* XII, 141.

for the three fragments as a whole. *Dvolum* is to be explained by the combined operation of *u*-umlaut and a preceding *v*, which will also explain *Grundvolum*, 4, l. 14, while in *hofðu*, 4, l. 21, the auxiliary influence is the following *f*(=*v*). But otherwise the unumlauted vowel is regular, where a nasal precedes the *a*, as in *margum*, 1, r. 7, or a nasal group follows, as *anur*, 1, r. 25, *annur*, 2, l. 3, or where these two conditions both are present, as *mannum*, 4, r. 6, and *mandu*, 4, r. 3, and in such cases as *allum*, 1, r. 20, 3, l. 16 and 4, l. 16, *atto*, 4, l. 4 and 7, and *hattom*, 1, r. 1. And indeed the instances *hafum*, 1, l. 22 and 3, l. 22 and *havum*, 1, l. 19 and 24, and *hauuðsæte*, 3, r. 8, show that in I an intervening *f* (*v*) does not operate in combination with *u* toward *u*-umlaut of an *a* that stands in a short syllable.

There is, however, one occurrence of an apparent compound *u*-umlaut in these words, *aunnur*, 2, l. 9. Perhaps this form, which is the regular one in III, is to be explained as a retention of the umlaut form of the original and therefore as evidence that a compound nasal and *u*-umlaut was characteristic of the language of the original.¹³ In that case scribes II and III have preserved the original more closely (the original was written in the dialect that they spoke?), while the dialect of scribe I did not have this kind of compound *u*-umlaut, and when he came upon these forms in the original he wrote them in accordance with their form in his own speech. Or else scribe I is following to some extent the norm of some other dialect, is under the influence of the dialect of another region. A glance at the total list of words in question suggests a possible third interpretation of the unumlauted forms of the three fragments as a whole; certain words had come to be fixed in the modified form, while certain others did not have the umlaut or had it only sporadically. The limitations of the material make it impossible to decide, as not all the words in question occur in all three hands; we have found, e. g. that some words appear only in the unumlauted forms in the three hands. But *allum* and *mannum* do not occur in III, while *stoðum* and *soghður* do not occur in I, and the absence or presence of umlaut in these words harmonises with the condition in the remaining words of the two

¹³But see below page 46.

hands. Finally the variation in *havum* I and *hofum* II shows a difference in dialect or in scribal method in the fragments I and II.

XI. THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED POSITION.

The question resolves itself into an analysis of the condition as regards vowel harmony or the writing of *e* and *o* or *i* and *u* in final syllable. According to the law of vowel harmony as it is generally supposed to operate in Old Norwegian, older *i* became *e* in unstressed position only when the preceding syllable contained an *a*, *e*, *o*, or *ö*, long or short, *o*, or *æ*.¹⁴ While this tendency operates most consistently in East and North Norwegian, there is much irregularity which takes the form of numerous occurrences of *e* and *o* where we should expect *i* and *u*, as Hægstad has shown, *Gamalt Tröndermaal*, pp. 79-80, while the opposite tendency is also evidenced to some little extent. Hægstad has further shown that in the documents from Agder in southern Norway *i* occurs regularly in all endings; see page seven of *Maalet i dei gamle norske Kongebrev*. In general it may be said that a tendency toward *i* and *u* is a characteristic of western and southwestern Norway.

In our fragments we find the condition to be as follows. Unstressed *e* or *i* in I: the ending has *e* as a rule if there is an *a* or *o*, long or short, in the preceding syllable; examples: *lande* (always with *e*), *sande*, *ofgange*, *haldet*, *saccer*, *krafte*, *staðrenn*, *kastale*, *raðes*, *vatne*, *atte*, *hafe*, *taker*, *hallaðe*, *leitaðe*, *marger* (once), *apaldre*, *vaxe*, *hugaðre*, *sotter*, *folket*, *folsens*, *hvaðke*, *gorver*, *voret* and *þotte*; and also if preceded by a diphthong in which *a* or *o* enters, as the second element, as *giarner*, and *iorðena*. The exceptions are *margir*, which occurs twice as compared with once for *marger*, and the words *aldri*, *allir*, *hallir* and *handi*, none of which appear with *e* in the ending. The ending has *e* if the preceding syllable has *e*, long or short, or *æ*. Examples: *etet*, *dreger*, *gerðez*, *hever*, *þesse*, *snerez*, *menge*, *veret*, *bæðe*, *mæle*, *sæte*, *ærende*, and after *ö* in *dömde*. An extension of the use of *e*

¹⁴Noreen, *Allisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*, §74, 7 and §254, note 1.

appears in *sveinnen*, 3, l. 4, where we should expect *i*.¹⁵ The spellings *cicki*, *heilgir*, etc., are only apparent exceptions; see below.

Unstressed *o* in I. *O* appears in the ending after *a* or *o* in only a few instances, barring the regular *hanom* and *nokot*; they are *gatom*, 1, l. 13, *varo*, 3, l. 22, *storum*, 1, r. 6, *hattom*, 1, r. 1, *komo*, 4, l. 2, *forðom*, 3, r. 7, and *domom*, 4, l. 1.¹⁶ For exceptions see below under ending *u*. The ending has *o* after *e*, *æ* and *ö*, long or short, as *þesso(m)*, *treno*, *mego(m)*, *vettrom*, *vatneno*, *rettendom*, *maleno*, *hættom*, *röðdom* and *röðo*.

The condition in the second Hand is essentially the same. Unstressed *e* occurs regularly in the inflected forms of *land*, in *hafet*, *hafsens*, and by extension beyond the law five times in *heimsens*. *E* occurs after *æ* in *hætte* and *ætle* regularly, but also, contrary to the law, after *y* in *dyren*. The vowel of the ending is, however, *i* in *allir*, *attir*, *sialfir*, and *ysiðori*. The unstressed vowel is, as we should expect, *o* in *gator*, *logandaum*, *hvorso*, *röðo*, and *röðdom*. But it is more often *u*; thus the vowel is *u* in *aðru* and *giagnum*, and regularly in the dative plurals: *dolum*, *lonndum* (four times), *strondum*, *ouðrum*, or *auðrum* (three times) and *stouðum* or *stauðum* (three times),—in all twelve occurrences.

Similar are also the conditions in Hand III. *E* occurs in unstressed position according to rule forty-two times. *E* appears in *heimsens* 7, l. 13, and also in *suðrsens*, 8, l. 21, but the unstressed vowel is always *i* in *allir*, (five times), *leggi*, 7, l. 23, *hevi*, 7, r. 6, *hevir*, 7, l. 6, 8, l. 11, and in *veghir*, 7, r. 3. Unstressed *o* is more limited in its occurrence; it appears, e. g., in *gator*, 7, l. 10, *væghenom* (three times), *askaðom*, in *honom* (twice), and in *suðrættom*. But *u* is used in *hofum* (and *hovum*), five occurrences, in *soghður*, *siolvum*, *kolldum*, and *lonndum*. An analysis of the material shows, then, that there is a relatively large number of departures from the law of vowel harmony. Short *a* and *o* are with few exceptions followed by *u* in the unstressed syllable, but long *a* and *o* are followed by *o* in accordance with the law. Long *æ* is followed by *e* and *o* while short *æ* is followed by *i* and *u*, both ac-

¹⁵ But *sveinum*, 3, l. 3.

¹⁶Besides cases of secondary stress as *nokot* and *konogr*.

ording to the law. The short *æ* is spelled *ci* in: *eingi*, *eicki*, *eipli*, *heilgir*, *eiptir*, *veixti*, *veirði*, *þeinig*, and seems once to be spelled *c*, *engi*. *I* is used in all cases in the ending in *allir*, *aldri*, twice in *margir*, and elsewhere. But *e* has established itself in the larger number of cases where vowel harmony should operate for it. There is noticed finally a tendency toward *-um* in the dative plural of adjectives and nouns, as an extension of the use of *u*, but on the other side the post-positive definite article tends with equal regularity to become *-enn*, *-en*, and *-et*.

XII. THE CONSONANTS.

The Labial Series. The word *up* is written everywhere with double *p* except 2, r. *P* is always used before *t* in *eptir* (*eiptir*). The intervocalic labial spirant is usually *f* in I, regularly so in II but is, with one exception, *v* in III. Examples: I. *hafa* (twice) *hafum* (twice), *hafe*, *hefer*, *ifir*, *þeifiat*. Cp. also *dofnar*, *hafðe*, *heifði*, *hofðu*, and *hulfr*. The exceptions are: *havum*, 1, l. 19 and 24, *hava*, 2, r. 4, and *hever*, 3, l. 7. II, The words are *hafa*, *lifa*, and *sialfir*; there are twenty-eight occurrences. The exceptions are *hava*, *hevir*, 6, r. 1. III, The occurrences of *v* are: *hevi*, 7, r. 6, *hevir*, 7, l. 6 and 8, l. 11, *hava*, 7, r. 17, *havi*, 7, r. 18, *hovum* (five times) and *löyvi*, 7, l. 12. *Hafa* appears in 8, l. 22, 8, r. 1, and 8, r. 24. *F* occurs regularly in *iafnan* (six occurrences), but *iamner*, 8, l. 3. Before another consonant in a compound the *n* disappears in this word, e. g. *iammikit*, 2, l. 21, *iammargr*, 2, l. 23, *iamkalld*, 7, r. 7, *iamlanght*, 7, r. 17, *iamvæl*, 7, l. 13, *iamvarmr*, 8, l. 6, and *næmda*, 4, r. 18. The simple stem has *mn* in II, *iamnan*, 6, l. 9 and 15, and in I, *iamnan*, 3, l. 7 and 10, 3, r. 15, and 4, l. 19. *U* is employed in consonantal function only three times: *sioluo*, I, 1, l. 25, *hauuð*, 3, r. 8, and *kevinus*, 3, l. 11.

The Dental Series. *D* is written in *fiolda*, II, 5, r. 21. *ð* for *d* in *undr*, 1, r. 21; *undr*, however, in 4, r. 4. *D* appears for *t* in *vaðz*, 2, r. 14 and *hvaðke*, 2, l. 2. The preterite of verbs whose stems end in *d* does not indicate assimilation of *ð* and *d* in *röðda*, 3, r. 24, *röðdom*, 2, l. 16, and in II in 5, r. 10 and 11, and III, 7, r. 21; But cp. *paðda*, 2, l. 2.¹⁷ *Ð* and *þ* are consistently distinguished,

¹⁷The writing *paðda* perhaps shows assimilation to be present after all in the above verbs; in *paðda*, *ðd*=*dd*.

þ being written initially always and *ð* medially and finally. Final *s* after *d*, *n*, becomes *z* in *lanz*, 1, l. 24, *islanz*, 1, l. 22, *manz*, 4, r. 10. *T* and *z* are written in *frostz*, 2, r. 5, *z* after *l* in *alzkonar*, 5 r. 15. and excrescent *t* before *zt* in *hæltzt*, 6, r. 11 (see below). Double *t* appears in a number of instances where we should expect single *t*, as especially in the word *lutti*, *luttir*, 1, l. 15, but *luti*, 4, l. 4; also *vettrom*, 1, l. 23 and elsewhere, and *eittr*, 2, l. 1 and 10. Hand III employs single *t* in these words everywhere. See below under doubling of consonants.

The Guttural Series. *G* (*k*) is written *c* before *t* in *sact*, *sliet*, *allict* and *heilact* in I, *byct* in II, 5, l. 21 and r. 2. Long *k* is as a rule written *ck*, as *þickia*, 1, l. 15, *eicki*, 5, r. 8 and elsewhere. It is often written *cc* as *drecca*, 1, l. 9, *ck* or *cc* appears also in *saccer*, 3, l. 17, *saccar*, 3, l. 19, *tacker*, 2, l. 15, *tæcki*, 2, r. 14. Elsewhere the principle observed is to write *k* and *sk* initially but *c* and *sc* finally; in medial position *k* predominates somewhat.¹⁸ Examples: *koma*, *kalld*, *keinna*, *krafte*, *kiot*, *skiot*, *skipan*, *skipti*, etc., but *oc*, *ec*, *þic*, *mioc*, *toc*, *soc*, *folc*, *sysasc*, etc; examples for the medial position: *slikir*, *tikit*, *taker*, *mikit*, *siukir*, *margskyns*, *alzkonar*, and *nokot*. *C* occurs in *tæcr*, 8, r. 5 and 10. Medial or final *g* is very often written *gh* in III: Examples *soghður*, *seghia*, *eighu*, *iðulegha*, *saghða*, *bøyghizk*, *væghenom*, etc; further also finally in *spurningh*, 7, r. 1; *stigh*, 8, l. 18 and elsewhere, *gangh*, 7, l. 24 and 8, r. 1, etc.¹⁹ This orthographic feature is also found to a limited extent in I, as *dagh*, 3, l. 25 and 26, *girnlegh*, 3, l. 17, and *eighi*, 4, r. 3, and there is one single occurrence in II, *vegh*, 6, r. 21.

The Nasals and Liquids. Final long *n* is as frequently written single as double in I and often also in II and III. Examples: I, *men* (seven times), *man* (three times), *han* (six times), *en* (twice), and *þæn* once, but *menn* (three times), *hann* (five times), *ænn* (twice), *hinn*, once, and *þænn*, once. *Vatn* is written with double *n* twice, 2, r. 9 and 11. II, Regularly *menn*, *hann*, and *þænn*, but *en* with one *n*. III, Regularly *hann* and *menn*; once *enn*, but

¹⁸*K* and *sk* may stand before both guttural and palatal vowels, as the examples show.

¹⁹But also *gang*, *gera*, etc. In general *gh* is used for spirantal *g*.

elsewhere *en* (nine occurrences). The following are also to be noted: *sveinnen*, 3, l. 4; *amnars skonar*, 2, r. 23; *lonnd*, *vinndr*, *stannde*, 5, l. 22 and *unndan*, 8, r. 14. and *grönlendingar*, 8, l. 4. The last instances show the tendency to write double *n* between a short vowel and *d*. Double *l* occurs in *scallt*, 8, r. 6; otherwise there is evidenced no corresponding tendency to double the *l*, barring the word *kalld* in III, e. g. *kollum*, 7, l. 4, *kalldar*, 7, l. 13, *kallder*, 7, l. 22 and 7, r. 4, *iamkalld*, 7, r. 7, *koll*, 7, r. 12, *kallda*, 8, l. 3, and *kalldan*, 8, l. 2 and 8, r. 1. The dem. pr. gen. sg. has *rs* for *ss* (*þærs*) three times in III.

S, x, z. *X* is nowhere represented by *gs*, but *xs* occurs in *voxst*, 6, r. 13. *Z* is written after *n* in *lanz* and *manz* (see above) and after *t* in *frostz*, 1, r. 6, and 6, l. 16. The superlative of *ut* is *ytztu*, I, l. 21 and *ytzum*, 8, r. 23; further *z* before *t* in *hæltzt*, 6, r. 11, *hælszt*, 6, r. 12. The medio-passive ends in *z* ordinarily in I and II, viz.: *privaz* infinitive, 2, l. 2; *lettaz* infin. 3, l. 5; *þyckiaz*, 3 pl. 3, l. 14; *gerðez* 3 sg. poet, 3, r. 11; *snerez*, 3, sg. 4, l. 15, *siaz* infin. 5, l. 7 and *föðaz* infin. 5, r. 17, *höyriz*, 3 sg. 6, l. 2. It ends in *zc* in *fysazc*, 3 pl. 1, l. 10 and *komazc*, 3 pl. 7, l. 12. The medio-passive ending is *zk* in III, *skiliazk*, 3 pl. 7, l. 8 and 8, r. 10, *vitnazk*, 7, l. 12, and *böyghizk*, 1. pers. subj. 7, r. 5; the latter form is the second personal form introduced into the first. See below under date of the fragment.

Doubling of Consonants. The writing of double consonant for the single consonant of normalised orthography is a feature that occurs with considerable frequency in all three hands. The tendency to write double *n* before *d* has already been noted for the words *vinndr*, and *lonnd*. The seven occurrences of such writing of the former of these words are all in Hand III, as also of *lonnd*, one of *stannde*, 7, l. 22, one of *rinndr*, 7, l. 4, and one of *grönlending*, 8, l. 4, and *unndan*, 8, r. 14. There is, in fact, only one occurrence elsewhere, namely *lonnd*. The writing of double *l* before *d* is similarly a characteristic of Hand III, which occurs nine times in the stem *kalldr*.²⁰ In Hand I there is one occurrence, *alldrigi*,²¹ 2, l. 13, which also appears in II, 6, l. 4. *Llt* for *lt* occurs five

²⁰But cf. *kalt*, I, l. r. 16. *kuldi*, I, r. 18 and 21.

²¹But *alldrigi*, I, r. 21, *aldri*, 3, r. 21.

times, as follows: *illt*, 1, r. 8, *allt*, 1, r. 21 in I; *allt*, 8, l. 14, *scallt*, 8, l. 15, and 8, r. 6, in III. *Llr* for *lr* is found once: *allar*, 8, l. 9.

Especially frequent, however, is the spelling with double *t* before *r* and in intervocalic position in certain words. The cases of the former are: *bættra*, 1, l. 12, *vettrom*, 1, r. 20 (twice), *vettr*, 1, r. 26, *eitrkykvænde*, 2, l. 1, 3 and 10, *luttr*, 4, r. 5, and 8, and *rettre*, 7, r. 6. Of the latter there are the following in I: *utta*, 1, l. 7, *luttu*, 1, l. 14, *luttir*, 1, l. 15, 1, r. 14, 3, l. 19, and 3, r. 2; *lutti*, 1, l. 17, 3, l. 20, 3, r. 4, and 4, l. 6, *lutta*, 1, l. 24, *vitti*, 1, r. 11, *hitti*, 1, r. 19 and 21, *rittu*, 2, l. 22, and 4, l. 26. There are five examples in II: *uttanvairðri*, 6, l. 25, *vitta*, 5, l. 8, *hitta*, 6, r. 18, *lutti*, 6, r. 1 and 8. It will be observed that this spelling is especially characteristic of Hand I and that no examples of it are met with in III. Intervocalic *c(k)* is written *cc(ck)* in some cases, principally in Hand I: thus, *saccur*, 1, l. 14, and 4, l. 15, *saccer*, 3, l. 14 and 4, r. 10, *luccum*, 1, l. 22. *Sacker* occurs three times in II: 5, r. 5, 6, l. 8, and 6, r. 18. Intervocalic or final *n* is geminated in *einnihveiria*, 6, l. 24, *strondenne*, 5, l. 11, *sveinnen*, 3, l. 4, *sinn*, 4, r. 19,²² *ratnn*, 2, r. 9 and 11, and intervocalic *r* in *anarra*, 5, r. 22, and 6, r. 14. *Mikill* is the form of the adjective modifying the feminine *smiorgarð* in 5, r. 14.

There cannot be much doubt as to the significance of these spellings in our fragments. If the doubling were limited to *l* and *n* before dentals its function would seem to be qualitative and its occurrence would point to a dialect where these consonants had developed a palatal quality in such position (see below under Dialect). But the doubling of *t* is even more consistently carried out and is generally distributed over all three fragments. Similarly with gemination of *c* and *t* after a short vowel. These things indicate that we have to do here merely with an orthographic characteristic, namely, that of writing an intervocalic consonant double after a short vowel designating that the consonant is long, and of writing such consonant double also where followed by *r* in the case of *tt*, or by *d* or *l* in the case of *ll* and *nn*. See further below under Dialect.

Loss of Consonants. *N* in the combination *mn* disappears

²² *peir hofðu þing sin.*

before a following consonant. Examples, *næmda*, 4, r. 16, and the prefix *iam* (*iamn*) in such compounds as *iamvæl*, *iamlanght*, etc. See under nasals above for further examples. Final *n* disappears in *utta*, *uttan* (normal *utan* and *útan*). Double *t* is simplified in the consonant group *rttv* of *hvertveigia*, 1, r. 8, and 6, l. 5. Final *tt* after the diphthong *ei* is simplified in *ofheit*, 1, r. 20. A simplification of the same sort after *y* occurs in *nyt*, 4, r. 4. Geminate *g* is in rare cases simplified before *v* in *bygva* (twice in I).²³ The form *ætle þer*, 5, r. 20, may also be noted; see further under Inflexions.

XIII. SOME INFLEXIONAL FORMS

The first person singular present indicative ending is *-e*. or *-i*; the ending is regularly *-r* in the second person in *þu tæckr*, 2, r. 14, *þu sæitr*, 2, r. 16. The svarabhakti vowel *e* is nowhere evidenced.²⁴ The ending of the third person pres. indicative of strong verbs is everywhere *-r*.²⁵ All occurrences are here listed: *hvarfr*, 1, l. 6, *brestr*, 1, l. 7; *tæcr*, 8, r. 5 and 10 and 8, l. 20; *liggr*, 1, r. 17, and 6, l. 24; *brennr*, 6, r. 18, *rennr*, 8, r. 9; *stændr* and *varðr* (several occurrences of each); *stighr*, 8, r. (several times), *liðr*, 8, r. 14. The svarabhakti vowel does not appear.²⁶ In the plural the *þ* of the second person disappears when the pronoun follows in *ætle þer*, 5, r. 20. The *-m* of the first person is, however, retained regularly as: *luccum ver*, 1. l. 22, *megom ver*, 3, r. 4; see also preterite forms below.

The preterite singular has the consonant *d* after *l*, *n*, and *m*, e. g., *ec næmda*, 4, r. 18 *dömde*, 3, r. 21, *vildi*, 4, l. 5 and 4, r. 1, *vildu*, 5, l. 8; Cp. further *mandi*, 3, r. 22, *monde*, 5, r. 25 and . When the stem ends in *g* the consonant is *ð* in *saghða*, 7, r. 2. The 2 pers. sg. of *geta* is *gast*, 7, r. 14. The *-m* of the 1 pers. plur. pret. is not syncopated in *gatom ver*, I, l. 13, *röðdom ver*, 2, l. 16, and 6, l. 4, *röðdom vit*, 5, r. 11, and *horum vit*, 8, l. 11. The *þ* of the 2

²³See above page 25.

²⁴*þu dreger*, 2. l. 17, is a subjunctive with unlauded vowel transferred from the indicative.

²⁵Except where *r* has been assimilated with *l* as *skil* 5, r. 22.

²⁶See below page 30.

person in *atle þer*, 5, r. 20, is syncopated. The forms of the preterite presents occurring are: of *muna*. 2 pres. sg. *mant*, 7, r. 16 *mann*, preterite; *mandi*, 3, r. 22, 4, r. 2 and 4, r. 24²⁷, *mundi*, 3, l. 1, 4, 1, and 5, r. 2, *monde*, 5, r. 25, *scula*, 2 pers. sg. *scallt*, 8, l. 15 and, 8, r. 6. mega, *þu matt*, 8, r. Among the past participles the following are to be noted: *tikit* (of *taka*) 2, l. 7, *veret*, 2, r. 7, and 4, l. 20, *sað* (of *sá*), 5, l. 21, and 5, r. 8. The medio-passives end in *-az* or *azc* (*azk*), 3 sg. pres. is *-ez* in *föðez*, 1, l. . the plural *-az* in *föðaz*, 5, r. 16, but *azc* in *skiliazsk*, 7, l. 8. 3, sg. in *-st* occurs once *skilst*, 7, l. 5. The 1 pers. pres. plural of *böygazk* is *böyghizk* in 7, r. 5 showing the disappearance of the form of the first person plural and the intrusion of the form of the second person into the first. For the other examples see under the consonants *s* and *z* above.

XVI. DATE OF WRITING

It has been established that the date of writing of the original *Konungs Skuggsjá* or *Speculum Regale* was the middle of the thirteenth century. In his *Oldnorsk-Islandsk Litteraturhistorie*, II, pages 994-995, Finnur Jonsson has shown more specifically that it must have been written between 1230-1260, which therefore becomes a limit *a quo* for the dating of all manuscripts of it. The original has, however, been lost or at any rate not yet discovered, for the main Ms. *AM. 243B* (see above page 8) has, for orthographic and linguistic reasons, been shown to be a copy of an earlier codex, but a copy that was clearly made soon after the original composition. All other copies or fragments of copies that have come down to us are later. A descriptive list of such of these as found their way into the famous collection of Arne Magnussen appears in Kaalund's *Katalog over den arnamagneanske Haandskriftsamling*, Volume I, 216-224. The Arnarnagnean collection, however, contains no manuscript of the *Skuggsjá* that needs be especially associated with our fragments. In the Royal Library of Copenhagen there is preserved a single leaf of a codex of the *Skuggsjá*, *Codex regius n. s. 235 g. 4to*,²⁸ which, as we have

²⁷Vowel in *mandi*, pret. transferred from *man*.

²⁸See Kaalund's *Katalog over de Oldnorsk-Islandske Haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliothek*, Nr. 468.

seen, Klemming was inclined to regard as belonging to the same codex as our fragments. This latter Kaalund dates 1300. Leaving out of the question for the present Klemming's identification, we shall consider briefly the evidences of date contained in the fragments themselves. The problem is much complicated by the fact that we have before us not the work of one man, but the work of several scribes who were copying from another manuscript; these scribes do not represent the same dialect, and they have, all three, introduced elements from their speech in their copy, varying, however in the extent of their departures from the original. We shall take first the medio-passive endings, the first and second persons plural of the verb, and the svarabhakti vowel.

The medio-passive ending, *zk* (*zc*) occurs five times; twice in I, *fysazc*, 1, l. 10, and *komazc*, 2, l. 12, and twice in III: *skiliazk*, 7, l. 8, and 8, r. 16, *forvitnazk*, 7, l. 12, and *böyghizk*, 7, r. 5. This oldest form of the passive ceased to be used about 1250, being then supplanted by *-z*, along with which there soon appeared the variants *-zt* and *st*, which during the first half of the fourteenth century gradually come to outweigh the ending *z*. The principal manuscript of the *Konongs Skuggsja* regularly has *zk* (or *zc*). Since, for reasons to be stated below, we cannot assign so early a date to 58 C. the form with *-zk* (*zc*) is to be accounted for as having been transferred from the original. At the same time we are thus able to date the codex from which the scribes of 58 C. copied as early as the third quarter of the century, being therefore of the same age as *A.M. 243 B.* Medio-passive forms occur nine times elsewhere in our fragments; see above page 39. While the ending *z* occurs sporadically in the earliest texts it is especially characteristic of the last half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century; *zt* appears alongside of *zk* commonly even at the close of the thirteenth century. The *z*-forms in our fragments clearly represent the speech of the scribes, and its consistent use and the absence of the form *zt* is evidence in support of a date as early as the last quarter of the XIIIth century. How does this accord with the remaining tests?

The original ending of the 2, pers, pres. ind. plur. was *-ið, -eð* (*-it*). This form has been preserved down to the present in Icelandic, but was early replaced by *-ir, -er*, in old Norwegian. Upon

this subject Sophus Bugge gathered some interesting statistics, which were published in *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XVI, 333-336. He shows that rare examples of *-er* occur as early as 1250, as in the second hand of *Strengleikar*, but that *-ir,-er*, does not establish itself until somewhat into the fourteenth century. The process was also somewhat more rapid in certain localities and an investigation would probably show that it was slowest in the conservative southwestern dialects, which are nearest akin to and longest preserved the features that were common to Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic. Bugge found the ending *-er* in six diplomas from the close of the thirteenth century, and these represent such remote regions as Stavanger, Oslo and Nidaros.²⁹ The occurrences in our fragments are too few to permit drawing any conclusion as to the use of these endings, but the fact that the *r* does not appear in the two cases where the second personal pronoun follows, while, however the 2, pers. plur. of the preterite has the new form *-ur,-or*, shows a mixed condition of forms which leaves a range of date extending from the last quarter of the XIII century to the first part of the following within which the fragments probably were written.

While the *þ* of *ætleþ* and *atteþ* do not appear in II, 5, r. when the pronoun immediately follows, the practice is different in the case of the first person plural. There are in all five occurrences: *luccum ver*, *gatom ver*, *hovum vit*, *röðdom ver* and *röðdom vit*; in the speech of the writers then it was not the practice to drop the final *-m* of the verb before *mer*, *ver* or *vit*. Noreen's statement upon this point is: in der 1 pl. fehlt sehr oft, jedoch nicht in den allerältesten hdschr, das auslautende *-m* wenn die pron. *vit* (*mit*) 'wir zwei', *vir* (*mer*) 'wir' unmittelbar folgen, sonst selten. Examples of this syncope are to be found though rarely from before 1200 as in *A.M. 619 IV (Homiliebok)*; See Wadstein's *Fornnorska Homiliebokens Ljudlära*, 139, who cites e. g. *sculu ver*, 94, 9. Yet the forms without *-m* are not in common use around 1300. The full form with *-m*, occurring as it does eight times in our text, with no occurrence of the shorter one might be explained as cases of retention of the forms of the prototype, but if the

²⁹The earliest occurrence is for the year 1283 in a diploma from Bergen, printed in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* II. 20.

forms without the *-m* were regular in the speech of the scribes that fact would have been very likely to intrude itself into the copy in a portion of the occurrences here as elsewhere. It seems, therefore, that the consistent use of the full form here again then supports a date somewhat before 1300.

The practice of the three scribes with reference to the svarabhakti vowel in the present indicative of strong verbs has been spoken of briefly above, page 41. The ending is regularly *-r* in the second and third person singular alike. Our fragments therefore represent a period when the old monosyllabic forms were still regularly used. If we turn to some other manuscripts of approximately the same date we find the condition to be about as follows. The *Þiðrekssaga*, first hand, date second half of the XIIIth century, does not have the new vowel, nor the *Baarlaams ok Josaphats saga* of the end of the XIIIth century, the main Ms. of the *Konungs Skuggsja* nor the *Fagrskinna* fragment of the same date. However the *Manuele Norvegicum*, Thott's Collection, 110, oct. of about 1300 has the svarabhakti vowel, as also a letter of the date 1299 printed in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum I.* 90, and one of 1303, printed as 71 in the *Diplomatarium Norv. II.*³⁰ The date of the appearance of the svarabhakti vowel is, then, the close of the XIII century, but it is rather limited in its occurrence as early as 1300, appearing perhaps only in certain localities. Its absence in 58 C perhaps, then, can only be said to indicate that our codex could not have been written after 1300, when the new forms begin to appear with increasing frequency, although this is also in part a question of dialect.

XV. THE DIALECT OF THE FRAGMENTS.

The condition of the three fragments is so varied with reference to phonology, inflections and paleography alike that the

³⁰We have here, as I believe, an indication of the origin of the svarabhakti vowel in these verbs. It appears earliest in the second person, appearing here first only slightly later than the establishment of the *-ir,-er*-forms in the second pers. plur. The ending *-er*, while it was establishing itself in the plural at the same time tended to become associated with the second person as the fitting verbal ending, this association of form was aided by the fact that *-er* was already present in the ending of the second pers. subjunctive.

question of dialect becomes an exceedingly complex one. The first and the third fragments are so different in essential points that it would seem that scribes I and III represent dialects that are far removed from one another; at the same time the differences are undoubtedly in part due to the difference of attitude to the original (see above 22 and 28). In general however it seems that radical differences in the latter from the language of the scribes were eliminated and the text adjusted in such cases to their speech. The practice within each fragment as to these essential features will therefore be the logical criterion to apply in determining the question of the dialect of the scribes. In the main the language of III is West Norwegian in character, and rather southwest than northwest. The language of I, however partakes of the features of both the East and the West, with a few North Norwegian elements. It would therefore seem that I represents rather a locality somewhere on the border between the East and the West, perhaps the northern region of the latter.

All three fragments distinguish consistently between *þ* and *ð*, which feature is originally East Norwegian. See *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 603. Thus the (western) principal Ms. of the *Konongs Skuggsjá* and *Fragment N* have such writings as *skamþur*, and *lærþir* and even in the inscription of the *Wax Tablets of Hoprekstad* *þ* appears along with *ð* medially and finally. But as Hægstad has shown, *ð* comes to be used more and more consistently in the function that it had in the East and the North, and they are by the last decades of the XIIIth century fixed in their use so that *þ* is written initially and *ð* elsewhere. This test, then, significant as it is for the oldest texts fails to show anything for our fragments which we have for linguistic reasons dated as late as the closing decades of the century.³¹

Similarly with the writing of *gh* for *g*, which originally is an East Norwegian characteristic, and which we find in our third fragment, where otherwise we seem to have a preponderance of West Norwegian characteristics. We find it widespread in the North and the West by 1300. Cp. the citation *Peters voku dagh* in

³¹See further Hægstad's *Vestnorsk Maalföre fyre 1350*, and *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 604.

a letter from Bergen of 1293, *Gamalt Tröndermaal*, 26. Yet the extensive writing of *gh* for *g* in the third hand would seem to exclude the very conservative Southwest, as well as the coast dialects of the region of Bergen, as the possible home of the third scribe. For it was well into the XIVth century, (1318 and after) before there is evidenced any noteworthy tendency to adopt the new spelling for spirantal *g* in the Southwest.

Among the earliest differences between East and West Norwegian is the one which exhibits itself in the vowel of the demonstrative pronoun *þann*, *þat*, the interrogative *hvar* and the adverbs *þar*, *þaðan*, *þangat*, *þanneg*, etc; these come to have the stem vowel *e*, *æ*, in Eastern Norway often even in the earliest manuscripts.³² Words of this class with few exceptions have the vowel *a* in 58 C. The occurrences in III are: *þagat*, 7, r. 4; *þann*, 7, r. 17; *hcart*, 8, r. 19; *þat*, 7, r. 21; 7, r. 23; 7, l. 14, 7, r. 6, 7, r. 16; *þar*, 7, r. 14; 7, r. 20, 8, r. 14, 8, r. 21. There is no instance of a word with *æ* in these words. In I the condition is as follows: *þar* occurs thirty-one times, *þær* none; *þat* occurs twenty-eight times, *þæt* none; *þan* occurs once, *þæn* once (4, r. 1), and *þænn* once (2, l. 13); *þeðan* occurs once, 4, r. 12. In Hand II there are eleven unabbreviated occurrences of *þat* and none of *þæt*, but the form *þænn* occurs three times: 6, r. 3, 8 and 21. The total in I and II is 92 occurrences with *a* as against 6 with *æ*. All occurrences of the adverb *þar* and the neuter dem. pron. *þat* have the vowel *a*, but on the other hand, while also other words of this group have the vowel *a* in III, *þan(n)* occurs only once in I and II as compared with five occurrences for *þænn*, to which is to be added *þeðan* in I. A reference to the material offered on page 66 of *Gamalt Tröndermaal* does not reveal any tendency in the dialect there treated of using *æ* in the masculine form of the dem. pron. while retaining *a* in the neuter, although *Tübinger Bruchstücke* (of 1270), which has the *æ*-forms everywhere in other words has *þar* four times. The forms with *æ* gained ground rapidly in the dialect of Trondhjem after 1250, as evidenced by such spellings as *þænn*, *þæt*, *þær* in the first

³²See Noreen's *Altisländische und altnorwegische Gram*, §14, I and §137, note 1. The most complete discussion with numerous examples from Mss. representing all dialects may be found in Hægstad's *Gamalt Tröndermaal*, 65-68.

Hand of the *Diðrekssaga* and the *Tübinger Bruchstücke*, both of which belong to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Furthermore Hægstad has shown that the texts representing this region have the form *hværr* for *hvarr* exclusively, and that the diplomes have *hværr* in all cases clear down to 1333, with the single exception of a letter of 1291 (*D. N. III, 30*) Hand I of 58 C also writes *hvorso*; the corresponding form in the North was *hværso* (or *hvarso*).

These things therefore show that the first scribe of 58 C cannot have been from the North of Norway (Trondhjem), of which there is, indeed also other evidence; and the East proper is even more completely excluded.³³ Among the other evidences against the North as the home of the scribe of Fragment I are the writing of the diphthongs *ei* and *öy*; in the North these are written *ai* and *ay* extensively, in some texts almost exclusively. Along with this is to be noted also the very extensive use of *a* for *e* in the North and East. 58 C nowhere employs *ai* or *ay* but always *ei* and *öy*. The condition upon these points, then, leaves open the Northwest of Norway and the southwestern group of dialects, although certain features would seem, as already noted, to exclude the extreme southern dialects. Further forms are: *firir*, regular throughout our fragments, which is more characteristic of the East and the North, the western word being *fyrir*; yet *firir* occurs also in the Southwest and the West especially in the inner border dialects, which partake of the features of the West or the East according to their proximity to the one or the other. Our fragments regularly has the spelling *konong*, which belongs to the East and the Northwest and to the border dialects. These last two words occurring always as they do in these forms seem to suggest an interior dialect or a western writer who is under northern influence.³⁴ The suffix *-leger*, which always has this form in the fragments, is Northern and Western, as against the Eastern *-legar*; *rettendom*, 4, l. 11, is Western as opposed to Northern *rettyndom*. The consonant combination *pt* is a distinctive Western character-

³³Among other things by the forms *fn* and *pt* and vowel harmony conditions.

³⁴With *firir* and *konong* is also to be listed *biscop*.

istic for the eastern *ft* in such words as *eptir* and *aptr*. The combination Germanic *bu* is represented by both *fn* and *mn* in 58 C; the conditions are summarized above, page 37. Of these forms *fn* belongs especially to the southwest while *mn* is characteristic of the North; the East occupies at first a somewhat intermediate position, thus we find the forms *iafn* and *hæfndar* in the East Norwegian text of the *Konongs Skuggsjá*.³⁵ But during the latter half of the XIIIth century the assimilation of *fn* to *mu* gains ground more and more in the East and also in the West proper. So that by the close of the century the *m*-form is well established in the interior portions of the southwestern dialect group, the graphic representation being variously *mn*, *mfn*, *mf* or *m*, the last two especially before another consonant. In this region such forms as *iamvæl*, *iamlangt*, etc., are then absolutely regular.³⁶ In Fragment III the southwestern *iafnan* occurs six times, but *iaman* appears in 8, l. 2. The prefix is always *iam-*, which occurs six times; the later form *can*, as we have seen, offer no evidence for the question of dialect.

The first conclusion that would seem to be suggested by this complexity of forms is that scribes I and II are not from Southern Norway nor from the West proper. The prefix form *iam-* rather than *iamn-* is, however, western as opposed to northern and, as evidenced by the regularity with which it is used, is the form that comes from the dialect of the scribe himself. Now the character of Fragment I with reference to *u*-umlaut of *a* before retained *u* is that of the northern dialect, but the conditions as regards vowel harmony are West Norwegian. Scribe I was therefore, it seems, a western scribe from the northern dialect of Southwestern group who was modelling his text somewhat after the form of the Trondhjem dialect, which at this time was in the ascendancy. As we have seen above he has, however, in other respects retained many elements of his own pronunciation (*þar*, *þann*, *þat*, *pt*, *ei*,

³⁵See chapter cited on page XVI of Hægstad and Torp's *Gamalnorsk Ordbok*, Christiania.

³⁶In a letter dated Voss, 1303, we find *stemfnu* and *stemfdi*; in the third Hand of the *Þidrekssaga* (third quarter of the XIIIth century) I find *iamnarðegr* in a photograph copy of Leaf 115 (r. line 7) which I have before me.

etc.). As suggested above, page 23, the paleography of II shows the latter to belong to the same school as I. In his language, however, he remains truer to his West Norwegian dialect; see the differences between these two hands as regards the *u*-umlaut. The two occurrences of *hænn* and one of *þeðan* in I, which were left unexplained above therefore find their natural explanation here; while preserving everywhere *þar*, *þat*, he twice introduces the eastern *hænn*, which at this time was also widely used in Northern Norwegian. This has been done three times by the second scribe. Now the one occurrence of *iamnan* in III would seem to find its simplest explanation as a case of the retention of the form from the original. However, as it would be impossible to harmonise such an explanation with a number of other facts the correct solution is rather that we have also in Hand III this isolated instance of Northern influence.

The later *u*-umlaut is characteristic of West Norwegian dialects in contra-distinction to those of the North and the East. We have above discussed briefly some kinds of combined *u*-umlaut. The distribution of these is very uneven and for that matter the whole subject not yet fully investigated. Here, however, Hand III stands wholly upon West Norwegian ground as it does indeed throughout, with sporadic exceptions. Hand II also is West Norwegian, but I represents a mixed condition, which, in view of the general character of the language of this fragment, we have above explained as northern influence upon a scribe whose own dialect is western. There remains then to localize the three hands somewhat more exactly if that be possible. We have already indicated that the extreme southern dialect of the southwestern group do not harmonize with the language of I and II. It may be added here that the dialects of the extreme southwest exhibit such a tendency toward *e* and *o* in the endings that the law of vowel harmony may hardly be said to operate. There is however in our three fragments a tendency in the opposite direction—toward a retention of *i* and *u* beyond the limits of the law of vowel harmony. This is a feature that is characteristic of the northern and the interior portions of the southwestern group of dialects. Such forms as *aldri*, *allir*, *hallir* and *margir* are char-

acteristic of these regions. There is not in any of the fragments, however, that extensive development of *i* in the ending which is evidenced for the extreme south (see above page 23). In the page of *Saudabrevet* (*Holm. 33, 2 4to*) reproduced in *Palæografisk Atlas*, 53, these features of the dialect of the Adger region are well illustrated, as well as that of the extensive use of *æ* for *e* and the diphthong *æi* that comes out so prominently in this dialect region (e. g. *rætt, sækr, samrætt, fæ, rækr, æigi, æinum*, etc.). The use of *u* in the ending after *o*, which is so noticable a feature of the northern dialects of the southwestern group, we have already observed to be a characteristic of Hand III. This, together with other features in the language of III, point to some dialect in the interior and northern region of the southwestern group as the home of this scribe. His proximity to central Norwegian territory would then account for the presence of the two East Norwegian spellings of *gh* for *g* and the dem. pron. gen. *þars*.³⁷ Scribes I and II would seem to be from a more exterior region. Of these II clearly represents most nearly the language of the original, which perhaps finds its nearest counterpart in the chief manuscript of the *Tomas saga Erhibiscups*.

XVI. ORTHOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RA. 58 C. AND AM. 243 B, FOL.

A brief comparison between our fragments and the principal Ms. of the *Konongs Skuggsja*, which also is regarded as belonging linguistically to southwest Norwegian territory will be of interest. I have before me a page of Leaf 37 from *Palæografisk Atlas*, 25, and a photograph of the right side of Leaf 152. The orthographic differences are not considerable but some divergences are worthy of notice, while *e* is also in 243, B, used regularly in the words *er, eða, her enn*, in the pronouns *cc, mer, þec, mec, sec, ver*, in the verb-forms *er* and *ero*, and in such other words as *geta, eta, gera, se, gecc*, there is a decided preponderance of *æ* over *e*

³⁷And yet the change of *ss* to *rs* is met with in regions as remote from one another as Tunsberg and Telemarken in the South and Trondhjem in the North. I am, however, not aware that it is evidenced anywhere in the western dialects.

in 243 B, which will be illustrated by citing the following list of occurrences: *sæm* (always *sem* in 58 C), *ræt*, *sæw æpter*, *þæsse*, *þætta*, *mæð* (always with *e* in 58 C) *mænn*, *drægr*, *væg*, *vætr*, *tænnr*, *hæfnd*, *brægr*, etc. The variant writing *ei* does not appear; this combination always represents the diphthong as: *fleiri*, *reipa*, the pronouns, *þeir*, *þeim*, etc. This diphthong is more often written *æi*, however, e. g., *vait*, *aiga*, *væizlo* and always in *aigi*. The diphthong *öy* is so written regularly on page 152 *döyr*, *löyndr*, *höyrt*, and *glöymðer* but *ey* in the two occurrences on page 37, *heyra* and *eyland*, which latter do not appear in 58 C. There is in 243 B the same tendency toward *i* and *u* in the ending and as in 58 C the tendency is strongest toward *u*. The following occurrences may be cited to illustrate: *horfir*, *levri*, *frosit*, *hafit*, *atli*, *hallir*, *hofði*, *lokit*, *lanndino*, *harmi*, *kosit*, (but on the other hand: *mikenn*, *mykels*, and *luter*); *sagðu*, *röðu*, *broður*, *gözku*, *getu*, *siölfu manu*, *dogum*, *dagum*, *hafum*, *hofu*, *allum*, *mannum*, *vætrum aðrum*, *lanndum*, *lonndum* and the regular *hanum*. The condition here is, then, in substantial agreement with 58 C. These examples will already have indicated what the u-umlaut conditions are; they are very similar to those of Hand I of our fragment. With regard to the doubling of consonants I find a pronounced tendency to double the *n* before *r* and *d* and the *l* before *d*. The same tendency is evidenced for *t* in *aritt* and *nattura* but it is not so pronounced and does not appear at all in the word *lutr*. The following examples of doubling of *n* and *l* are found: *tænnr*, *standa*, *lannz*, *mannzens*, *lannd*, *anndvärda*, *sunndreifir*, *unndarleger*, *hælldr*, *præfolld*, *tvifolld*, *illzku*, *alldri* and *villda*.

XVII. FRAGMENT COD. REG. 235 G, 4TO.³⁸

This fragment consists of a single leaf of parchment now preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen and entered as Nr. 468 in Kaalund's *Katalog over de Oldnorsk-Islandske Haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliotek*. It is 28.2×21.6 cm. large, the pages have double columns of twenty-seven lines each. The superscription is red; the initials are red with blue orna-

³⁸Brenner Fragment R.

mentation. It is worn much and the text often no longer legible. In externals this leaf corresponds strikingly to the leaves preserved in RA. 58 C. The columns here vary from twenty five to twenty eight lines, but seem most often to have had twenty seven lines. The initials in 58 C are red and green with opposite ornamentation; there appears a red initial in 235 g. The text preserved in the latter corresponds to portions of chapters 36 and 37 and comes therefore after that of the third of our fragments. It is therefore interesting to find other striking similarities between Hand III of 58 C and 235 g. For example besides the sign of abbreviation for *oc* the latter has but a single occurrence of an abbreviation, namely the sign for *-er*. *N* and *M* are always written out in full. It was shown above that Hand III uses only two forms of abbreviation, namely the sign for *oc* and two occurrences of the nasal stroke for final *m*; see above p. 13. We also notice that this was a striking feature in which III differed from I and II. The tall *s* was the only form employed by our third scribe; similarly in 235 g.

If we turn to the language we shall find some things in which the two vary, yet in most respects they agree also here. They are alike in respect to the doubling of *n* and *l* before dental combinations, as the following citations from 235 g will show: *lannd*, *stunnd*, *dugannde*, *tyinnt*, *hardannde*, *unnder*, *anndværðu*, *illzka*, *hælldr*, *winrallz*. The latter fragment also has a considerable number of instances of the writing of *gh* for *g*, e. g. *gaghne*, *langht*, *logh*, *þeghar*, *stigha*, *dregha*, *morghum*, *fræghdar*, *fylghia*, etc. The *u*-umlaut conditions are similar to those of 58 C, e. g. *horu* (*þau*), *logum*, *hofðu*, *rongu*, but the un-umlauted forms *allu*, *atto*, *drapom* and *mannum* are also found; *aðrum* occurs by the side of *oðrum* but the sound *o* is not represented by *au* or *ou* in this or any other word, differing here then from 58 C. The dative of *hann* is *honom* beside *honum*. The tendency toward *i* and *u* in unstressed position is exhibited in the following words: *dömi*, *folkitt*, *folkino*, *allir*, *eptir*, *morgham*, *aðrum*, *logum*, *röddum* (*ver*), *rongu*, etc. The language in general is the same form of West Norwegian which we have found in 58 C with *pt* in *eptir* and *aptir*, *ft* in *hafndar*, *iafnan* beside *iamnaðe*, but the northern *rangyndi* is found once. 235 g differs from 58 C in a somewhat more extensive use of *æ*

as in *sæm* and *mæð* along with *sem* and *með* and in the writing of the diphthong *ei*, which is sometimes written *æi* in 235 g, as: *æinn*, *æigi*, *dæila*. The infinitive *dregða* occurs, p. 90, line 30, which we met with in Hand I above in the subjunctive (*oc þo at þu*) *dreger*, 2, l. 17. The correspondences in essential features and in some minor details are so striking that I think there can be little doubt as to the identity of the codices from which *RA. 58 C* and *235 g* originally belonged. On the other hand the differences between Hand III of *58 C* and *235 g* (as e. g. *rangyndi*, the diphthongal writing *æi*, the forms *mæð*, *sæm*, *æf* and *firer*, beside *firir*, would seem to indicate the presence here of a fourth collaborator in the work of copying.

THE MANUSCRIPT

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

l[abz] / [Ya er fact a] F Peiri keildu oc Þyi
 Yatne er Þar er i at [Þat er] Þei Fiat allict
 mungate oc til gnogf at ðrecc[a] oc Þat.
 er mælt. at [Þ]at Fae nokot / Ya a men
 eF Þat er mio[c] ðruckit. En eF menge
 ra hu/ um keilduna Þa hYærfr hon
 bꝛot oz hu/in[u] oc bꝛes[tr] up [F]irir utta
 hu/et. SYa er oc fact at men mego
 Þar aF ðrecca Yið keilduna slict h
 Yar er Yil. en eF Þeir fy/azc. at haFa
 bꝛot með /er Þa ðoFnar Þat skiot
 oc er Þat Þa eigi bætttra en annat Yatn
 eða Þeðan Yærra. Nu gatom Yer firir
 Þer saccar /Ya marga lutta oc sma
 ra. at /likir luttir Þickia Þar unðar
 leger Yera. Eigi ma ec oc hug minum
 a koma fleiri Þa lutti er Þar ero a
 minninga Yeirðir i ÞYi lande. Pater ad filio
 Nu með ÞYi at Yer haYum Þa
 gaman rœðo upp haFða. at
 rœt um unðz Þou er a i/lande ero eða
 i i/lanz haFum. Þa luccum Yer hen
 ne með ÞYi at Yer hoeyrim minning
 Þeira lutta er i grœna la[nz] haYum
 ero. eða a ÞYi lande sioluo. Filius ad patreo
 Ðo at Yit skilð[im flei]ra um Þes
 /e lonð r[œða Þa ero Þou] Þo

Second Column

[mioc me]ð imi/[um] hattom [oc] ero Þau
 [eiði] oll eiptir [einum hætte ÞYi] at
 Þ[ou unðr er ero annat hYart] a grœ
 nalande eð[a irlande Þa ero] bæðe
 með oFgange Fro/ztz [oc iocla] eða eil
 ligr ælz oc bruna. eða með /t[or]om Fi/
 kum oc mar[gum aðrum haF] /skrim[s]
 lum oc er[hYart]eig]ia Þat [land /Ya] illt
 oc /narpt. at Þar [e]r naleg[a oby]ggian
 ðe firir Þa /oc. En irlanð er nalega
 landa bæzt Þat er men Yitti [Þ]o Yaxe
 Þar eigi Yin a. oc ero Þa[r mar]ger lut
 tir Þeir er unðarleger mann Þickia
 oc Þo Þeir luttir sumir e[r] Þat land
 man kallat Yera hægare [e]n aun
 nur lonð aF Þeim luttum e[r] Þar ero
 unðarleger i. Ðat liggr a Þeirih
 eim/ /iðu er /Ya Yæl er tæmpzat fa
 man hitti oc kulði at Þar [Y]ærðz
 alði oFheit n[e] oF k[alt]. Þ[Y]i at Þar
 Yærðz alðzigi oFhitti [at mein]i um
 sumrum. eicki [oc aF kulði at]meini um
 Yettrom. ÞYi [at u]m allum Yettrom. Þa
 fœðez Þar allt bufe uti. bæ[ð]e naut
 oc /auðir. oc nalega ero menn [Þ]ar kleið
 lau/sir bæðe um Yettr [oc] um /umar. En
 Þat land er /Ya heilact umFram an

nur lond. at þar ma ecki eitt hjer
de þr þaz a. þyadke omr ne þad
da. ne einn annur eitt kyckjande
7 þo at þar se flur þennig af oud
rum löundum þa doyr þe þegar
er þe þennir bara iög eða baran
stær. þo at nokor se ekir af þyn
lande. minn þyat tre eða mold
eða sandr flur i aunnur þou lond
er eitt kyckjande. erou. 7 er þann
sande eða moldu fact i ring um þa
u þar sem þau liggja. þa komaz
þou aldri sidan ut um þann
ring. oc þar liggja þou oll doud
i. **S**þa oc þo. at þu tæcker tre þe
er of þessu lande er. er nu røddom
þer um. 7 dieger i ring um þau. þa
at þu skidur iordunni með treno
þa liggja þou oll doud i þessom
ringi. **D**at er oc. marc um þrlad
at iomunus eyland sem i rland
er þa yru menn þat þarla er
ammargr se þe lagr mæð. i sem
þat. **D**at er oc mælt at þu þhod
er þe land þyggjur er bæde grim

ser oc þa dzap groen. oc miot olid
ug. **E**n þa dzapgrænc sem þer
ero. 7 þa margir sem þelgur ero i þa
ra lande. þa þaya þer tungan dæp
er af þeim. 7 allir þer þelgur men
er þar ero soe doudu þoer. þyn at
þer þaya þelþugader þerer þid al
la goda men. 7 þelga. þo at þer þe
re hafa gæmur sin a millum. þann
er er oc þe i lande þyn er undantæc er
fact i þa naturu þer. en þe þatner
kallar a þeira tungu. logþebag. þe
þatner þer mælt at þer a. **E**n þer
natuna þas þadz er þu tæcker tre þat
er þunnir kalla þeipid en þunnir þulgr.
en a laomu. er kallar actolum. 7 læt þu
þat i þatner. þa at þunþr standr. nide
ioidena. en þunþr i þatner. en þunþr upp
er i þatner. þa þarð. þat at iarne er
nide standr. ioidena. en þat at steni
er i þatner. er. en þe tre sem up stan
de er i þatner sem aðr þar þat. **E**n þo
at þu tæcker amnarf skonar tre en
þecca þa þannar þar ecki þunna
turu. þo at þu fact er þe i þe sama þat

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

nur lond. at Þar ma eicki eittrkyckýæn
 ðe Þriýaz a. hýaðke ozmr ne það
 ða. ne eingi annur eittrkyckýænðe
 oc Þo a[t] Þat se flut Þeinning af ouð
 rum laundum ða ðeyr Þat Þegar
 er Þat keinnir bæra iozð eða bæran
 stein. oc Þo at nokot se tikit óz Þýi
 lande annat hýat tre eða mold
 eða sandz oc flut i aunnur Þou lond
 er eittrkyckýænðe ero i. oc er Þeim
 sande eða moldu faet i ring um Þa
 u Þar sem Þau liggia. Þa komazc
 Þou allðzigi síðan ut um Þænn
 ring. oc Þar liggia Þou oll ðouð
 i. Sýa oc Þo. at Þu tacker tre Þat
 er óz Þesfo lande er. er nu ræððom
 ýer um. oc ðeger i ring um Þau. sýa
 at Þu skeiðir iozðunni með treno
 Þa liggia Þou oll ðouð i Þesfom
 ring. Ðat er oc. mælt um Irland
 at iammikit oeyland sem irlanð
 er. Þa ýittu menn Þat ýarla er
 [i]jammargr se heilagr maðz i sem
 Þar. Ðat er oc mælt at su Þioð
 er Þat land byggýir er bæðe grim

Second Column

i ser oc sýa ðzap gion. oc mioc ofið
 ug. En sýa ðzapgiarner sem Þeir
 ero. oc sýa margir sem heilgir ero i Þei
 ra lande. Þa haýa Þeir eingan ðzap
 et af Þeim. oc allir Þeir heilgir men
 er Þar ero sót ðouðir ýozet. Þýi at
 Þeir haýa heilhugaðer ýeret ýið al
 la goða men. oc hælga. Þo at Þeir ýé
 ret haýe grimir sín a millum. Vatnn
 eit er oc Þat i lande Þýi er undarlect er
 fact i ýra naturu Þæs. en Þat ýatnn er
 kallat a Þeira tungu. logheehag. Þat
 ýatn er ýæl mikit at ýeixti. En su er
 natura Þas ýaðz ef Þu tæckr tre Þat
 er sumir kalla beinýið en sumir hulýr.
 en a latinu er kallat acrifolium. oc sæitr Þu
 Þat i ýatnet. sýa at sumpt stænðz niðz
 i iozðena. en sumt i ýatneno. en sumt upp
 ór ýatneno. Þa ýærðz Þat at iarne er
 niðz stænðz i iozðena. en Þat at steini
 er i ýatneno er. en Þat tre sem up stæn
 ðz óz ýatneno sem aðz ýar Þat. En Þo
 at Þu taker amnar/ skonar tre en
 Þetta. Þa hamnar Þat eicki sinni na
 turu. Þo at Þu sæitir Þat i Þat sama ýatn

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

Þeim sva sem vera mundi a apaldze
 i tima sin rettan. oc toc han þa þar
 af þriu eipli oc færðe s'veininum. En
 þa er s'veinnen hafðe etet. af þeim
 eiplum. þa toc sot hans at lettaz
 oc varð han heil sottar þeirar. en þil
 sa hever iamnan siðan halðet
 þeiri giof er guð gaf hanom þa
 þvi at han ber a h'veiriu are eipli
 sva sem apaldz oc heita þou iamnan
 siðan hins hælga keuinuf eipli. oc fa
 ra þou alt irland siðan með þessom
 hætte. at menn eta þar af ef þeir
 værða siukir oc þyckiaz þeir men þro
 a Finna. at þou ero goð við allum
 siucleikum manna. en eicki ero þou
 girnlegh til az firir sættleic/ s'accer
 ef men heiði þou eigi firir læcnin
 gar meir s'accar. Marger luttir h
 afa oc þeir þar vorðet. er heilgir
 menn haða skiotlega gozt með si
 num krafte oc sva munu oc undarleg
 er þyccia. En yer hafum nu þa ei
 no luttir ræðða er með þeim heilag
 leic varo gozver. at þeir standa ænn
 i dagh til vitni/burðar oc iamun
 ðarleger þickia ænn i dagh til vit

Second Column

ni/ burðar sem þa hin fyr/taðag
 er þat varð. En þeir aðzer luttir
 er menn halða vit firir satt. oc firir
 sanna luttir ero hafðer. þa megom
 yer nu oc þa væl s'yna. Þar ero oc
 æn i þvi lande sa staðz einn er them
 er er kallaðz oc var sa /ta[ðr] forðom
 sva sem hann være hauu [ð/æ]te oc ko
 nong/ b'ozg. en hann er þo nu auðz
 firir þvi at men þoza eigi at byggia
 hann. En þesse atburðz gerðez til
 þæs. at staðzenn varð auðz. at alt
 folket er i var lande truði þvi at sa
 konongr er þar sæte a þeim stað
 skulði iamnan ðema retta ðoma
 oc eingan annan. En þo at þeir være
 heiðnir annars kostar. oc heiðvi eigi
 retta tru til guðs. þa hoðu þeir
 þo þenna atrunað sva staðfa/tan
 at þeir hugðu þat h'vet'ena rét ðæmt
 vera. er sa konongr ðæmðe. oc alði hug
 ðu þeir at rangr ðomr mandr ðæm
 az af þvi konongs sæte. En þar sem
 hæð þotte vera bozgarennar. þa at
 te. konongr. þar kastala fagra oc væl goz
 yan. I þeim kastala atte. konongr. fagra
 holl oc mycla þa sem han var yan at

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

fittia iF[ir] ðomon manna. En at
 finni gerðe sYa til. at Þou mol ka
 mo Firir [k]onong oc i hanf ðom er
 annan Þ[eg a]tto lut i Yinir hanf oc
 kunnir [menn] oc Yilði hann Þeira ma
 le Fult[in]gia um alla lutti. En an
 nan Yeg [a]tto lut i maleno Þeir menn
 er hanom Yar illa Yið oc han Yar mi
 kill oYin oc gerðez Þa sYa til. at ko
 nongr hallaðe meir ðome eiptir Yi
 lia finum en eiptir rettenðom. En
 Firir ÞYi at Þeðan kom rangðeeme
 sem oll alÞyða hugði. at koma mun
 ði retðeeme. Þa snere um sæte ÞYi Firir
 faccar at[r]unaðar Folfen/. oc snerez
 fa ka/stal[e] um oc holl með allum si
 num gru[n]ð'olum oc sYa iozðen með
 oc snerez [dat] upp a iorðunni er að Þi/
 si niðz e[n] huf all oc hallir [/n]erez niðz
 i iozðena [oc] heF[er] sYa Yaret iamnan
 siðan. E[n] Firir ÞYi at sYa mikill
 undarl[eg] leikr Yarð Þa Þoza sið
 an eigi [m]enn Þ[a]n stað at bygia oc
 engi konongr Þozer Þar siðan
 sit sæte [a]lt haFa. oc er Þar Þo hinn
 Feigr/ti s[t]aðz er men Yittu a iozðu

Second Column

Ðat mæla oc men. eF men Yilði Þæn
 stað bygia. at eingi ðagr manði fa
 iFir Þa ganga er Þeir manð[u] eighi
 hYærndag sia nyt unðz. Ða er Þar
 ænn ein fa luttr. i ÞYi lande undarlegr
 er mannum man Þickia mioc utru
 leger en Þat sia Þo Þeir men er lan
 ðet byggia. at Þesse luttr se Yist
 sannr. oc Yarð Þat Firir rYeiði ein/ hei
 lags manz faccer. Ðat er sYa fact
 at Þa er hinn heilgi patricius leitaðe
 Yið at bioða kristni i lande ÞYi. Þa Yar
 Þat eit kyn. er mycklu Yar hanom
 gagn/staðlegre en annat Folf er i Yar
 landeno. oc leitaðo Þeir men Yið at ge
 ra hanom marg/kyn/ haðong. bæðe
 mot[e] guði oc mote Þeim heilgum
 manne er nu næmða ec. oc Þa er hann
 bouÞ Þeim cristni sYa sem auðzum man
 num. oc han kom a Þeira Fund. oc Þar
 sem Þeir hoFðu Þing sin. Þa toko
 Þeir Þat til raðes. at yla at hanom
 sYa sem Yargar. En Þ[a]er han fa at
 han manði sinu ær[enðe] litlu a leið
 koma Yið Þetta Folf. [Þa] Yarð han
 mioc reiðz. oc bað Þæs guð at hann

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

at Yera munu Þou lið annattveigia i dolum
 Þeim er liggia millum Fjallanna. eða með str
 onðum er dyren mego giagnum hitta. Því at
 eigi mætte dyrenn eilligar renna af ouðzum loun
 dum. nema Þou Finni lið a ifum oc landet Þit. En
 offt haða menn freitvat at ganga upp a landet
 a Þou fjoll er hæst ero. i imifum stouðum at siaz
 um oc Yilðu Yitta ef Þeir Fynni nokot er Þit Yæra
 a landeno eða byggianðe. oc haða menn hYærgi
 Þat Funnit. nema Þar sem nu bYá menn. oc er
 Þat mioc litit fram með stronððenne sialFRE.
 Marmare er Þar oc mikill i lande Þar sem
 byct er með imifum lit bæðe rauðz oc sYá blar
 oc græn/aenn. Val er Þar oc mikil oc margr i
 ÞYi lande sa er ÞYi i auðzum loundum mykil
 ger/imi i Yera. Þat ero Þeir Fuglar er menn
 kalla Yale oc ero allir hYitir oc er hann gnoga
 re Þar en i ængu lande aðzu oc kunnu lanz
 menn Þo sialfir ser Þar æcki af nyta.
 Þer gatoz Þæs oc Fyrr i yðare ræðo. at eic
 ki sað er a ÞYi lande. oc Yil ec nu Þæs spy
 ria Yid hYat folc lifir er a ÞYi lande er
 eða hYoz/o mikit folc Þar er. eða hYat matYist
 um Þat folc hefer er Þar er. eða hYart Þat hei

Second Column

En ef Þat lægi ner auðzum loundum Þa
 mundi Þat Yera kallat ÞriÞiungr af einum
 bi/cup/dome. en Þo haða Þeir ser nu bi/cup
 ÞYi at eigi lyðir annat Firir sYá mikillar
 FiarYi/star sacker er Þeir ero Yid aðza menn
 En Þar er Þu leitar eiptir ÞYi Yid hYart
 er Þeir lifa a ÞYi lande. með ÞYi at Þar
 er eicki sað a. oc lifa Þo menn a Þeim
 loundum ÞYi at Yid flera lifa menn en
 Yid brouð eit. En a Þessu lande er nu ræððom
 dom Yit um. Þa er sYá fact iFra. at Þar se
 grof god. oc ero Þar bu god oc sto. ÞYi at menn
 haða Þar nouta mart oc souða. oc er Þar
 smiozgærð mikill oc ofta. oc lifa menn Yid
 Þat mioc oc sYá Yid kiot. oc Yid alzkonar
 Yeiði, bæðe Yid reina hold oc hYala oc sela
 oc biarnar hold. oc Fæðaz menn Yid Þat Þar
 a lande.
 Enn Þickir mer nokot Yanspurt ve
 ra um Þetta land. hYat ætle Þer at
 Yalde. hYi Þat land haße meiria isa Fiolða
 en eicki annarra. eða haFet Þat sem Þar
 er um. en Þat skil mer Þo Þat af at haFet se
 bæðe diupt oc sYá mioc salt. oc sYá iðulega
 [gialFR/samt oc hugða ec at Þat monðe]

de yera minna þou þu áttast þer gja i colun
 þeim er lugga millum þollanna eða með
 voddum er þetta mego gagnum þetta þy á
 og mætt þerem elligar i einu af oddum loun
 dum nema þou þinn lib a thum oc lander þit En
 og þara nem þessat ar ganga upp a lander
 a þou þoll er þast ero umsum stouðum oc þar
 um oc yðu þiza ef þer þinn nokor er þit þere
 a lander eða þyggande i þara menn þyrti
 þar þumma nema þar sem tu þya menn oc er
 þit þioc lita þiam með stroudderne þialþre
Quarnare er þar oc mikill i lande þar sem
 þyrt er meðumsum læ bæde maide oc þya blar
 oc greynacem. Þal er þar oc mikil oc margi
 þy lande sa er þyri audeum loundum upkil
 getum i þyri þar ero þer þyrtar er menn
 þalla þale oc ero allr þyrtar ve er hann gnoga
 re þar en i angu lande abou oc kumma þam
 menn þo þialþer ser þar atki af þyri
 er gann þar oc þyrt i þare rudo. ac er
 þu þad er a þyri lande i þil a tu þer þy
 ria þid þyrt þar þole þyrt er a þyri lande eis
 eða þyrt mikir þole þar er eða þyrt matyril
 um þar þole þyrt er þar er. eða þyrt þar þer

þinnar 71



En þyrt þyrt þer audeum loundum þa
 mendi þyrtia kaddar þyrtia þyrtia
 þyrtia þyrtia en þa þyrtia þer nu þyrtia
 þyrtia er þyrtia þyrtia þyrtia þyrtia
 þyrtia þyrtia þyrtia er þer nu þid aþa me
 En þar er þu lantar þyrtia þyrtia þyrtia
 er þer þyrtia a þyrtia lande með þyrtia at þar
 er atki þad a. oc þyrtia þo menn a þer
 loundum. þyrtia at þid þyrtia þyrtia
 þid þyrtia er. En a þyrtia lande er nu rudo
 dom þyrtia. þa er þyrtia þyrtia. ac þar se
 grof god. i ero þar bu god oc þyrtia. þyrtia me
 þyrtia þar noua mar oc þyrtia. oc er þar
 þyrtia mikill. oc oþta. oc þyrtia menn þid
 þar þyrtia oc þyrtia þyrtia. oc þid þyrtia
 þyrtia. bæde þid æma hold oc þyrtia oc þyrtia
 oc þyrtia hold. oc þyrtia menn þid þyrtia
 a lande
Qu þyrtia mer nokor þyrtia þyrtia
 ra um þyrtia land. þyrtia er þer at
 þyrtia. þyrtia þyrtia land þyrtia þyrtia
 en atki amarra. eða þyrtia þyrtia þyrtia
 er um. en þyrtia mer þyrtia. ac þyrtia se
 bæde þyrtia oc þyrtia þyrtia. oc þyrtia
 þyrtia

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

Þa er ræren [g haʃ]/en/ fylgir oc gíalfr [lio]t
 yærðz. En m[er] hœyriz /ʃa um þetta haʃ
 er nu rœððo[m ʋ]er um [oc] /ʃa landet þa
 yærðz allð[ig]i millum at eigi er i/um þa
 ct hʋartʋei[g]gia landet oc haʃet. meina
 þat kunni [a]t yærða /stundum her oc h
 ʋar. at lið yærðz a i/um firir rœreng
 gar haʃ/en/ en eigi firir ylia /acker
 Nu [m]eð [ðʋi a]t þar er æ iamnan fro
 /tet b[æðe ʋet]tr [o]c /umar froset bæðe
 land oc h[aʃ]. Þa ʋil ec nu þæs biðia at
 þer /ky[rir h]ʋoz/so yêðzatta er a þʋi lan
 ðe. hʋart þ[a]r yærða nokozet yllir eða
 eigi. eða f[og]r /[ol]/kin /sem auðzum /sta
 uðum eða er þar iamnan ill yêðzatta oc
 firir þʋi [/ʃa] mikill gnottir i/a oc frostz oc
 ʋil ec. at [þe]r lysir firir mer þenna /pur
 ning. oc /[ʃa] um þat sem ec heʃe fyr meir
 /spurt i o[cka]re rœðo. oc um þat er grœnlein
 ðingar kalla norðz liof. oc ʋilði ec nu at
 þer lœytir [þ]enna /spurdaga firir mer.
 oc um þat hʋat er þer ætlir i hʋæirium
 lut heim/en/ er þetta land liggir. hʋart
 þat liggir a einnihʋeirri uttan yærðri.

Second Column

Enn þeʃsa luttu sem nu heiʋir þu /spurða
 ma ec þic eigi /annfroðan gera til
 fulz. firir þʋi. at ec heʃe eingan þænn fun
 n]it er kannat haʃe allar kringlur heim/en/
 eða han/ ʋox. eða ranzakat haʃe allar heim
 /en/ siður. eða landa /skipan. eða þou einðim
 eirki sem þar ero i /kipað. oc eʃ ec heiʋði nokon
 þænn funnit er þeʃsa luttu heiʋði /ét oc ranza
 kat. Þa mætta ec þic nu /annfroðan her um
 gera. en þat ma ec i liof lata ʋið þic. hʋat ge
 toz manna ero. þeira sem hælzt haʃa ætlat
 eiptir liclegleicum. En þeir menn sem hælzt
 haʃa ritat um heim/en/ ʋox/t eiptir til ʋi/an
 y/idozi. eða annarra /oznra manna. oc froð
 ra. Þa haʃa þat mælt. at i himnum ero þeir
 meigin ʋeger /sem obyggianðe er unðir. er
 einn /ʃa heitr. at eicki ma unðir bʋa. firir
 hitta /acker oc bruna. oc hʋet ʋetna þænnr
 er unðir yærðz oc þickir mer þat liclega/st.
 [at /a ma]n ʋera ra/ar ʋegr /solaren
 [nar] oc ætla ec allan þænn ʋegh /skipaðan ʋe
 ra með loganðaum gei/lum hennar. oc m
 ege firir þʋi þar unðir bʋa. æingi /a er ʋæl
 tempraðan bol/tað ʋil haʃa Sʋa haʃa þeir

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

grannar Því at oll onnur lonnd Þou er i naonð honum liggia. Þa taka mikil illvíðri af honom. oc koma Þou oll Þa a er hann rinnðz af siolþum ser með kollidum blæðre. Nu ef Þer skilst þætta mal. Þa Þycki mer e[i] ghi fleiri sʒoz her til coma en nu heʒir Þu høeyrt her af Þeſſo. Filius ad patreo—9
 Þeſſer lutir skiltazk mer allir Væl. oc
 Þycki mer víst ſannlæght at ſʒa mu ni vera. en Þo ero em Þeir lutir er Þer gatoz litlu fyrr i yðarre rødo. er ek vil enn með yðzu læyvi til Forvitnazk. Þer ſoghður ſʒa at baðar ſiður heim/en/ Være kallðar iam Væl hin ſyðzi. ſem hin nærdze, en ec høeyri enn Þat alla menn ſeghia Þa ſem ſunnan af lonndum koma. at Þou ſe æ Þær/ heitare er maðz færri ſunnar. Sʒa oc allir Þeir ſin ndar er víðz ſuðzættar eighu nockot. Þa ero Þeir bæde bloutare oc lærre en aðzer ſinn ðar Sʒa gera Þeir ſinndar ok iðulegha um Vetrom ſtozan Þœy[oc] mikinn. Þo at að rer ſinndar ſe ſʒa kallðer at froſt ſtannðe af. ok i/a leggi. En Þa er varmt er ſumar [Þa er Þo] iaſnan ſunnan ſinnðz lære en

Second Column

Þeſſare ſpurningh. Pater ad Filio
 Þa er ec ſaghða yðz [at hi]nnum ſaro ſkipaðer Þrir Yeghir torſœrelegher. einn biennande en tʒeir kallðer. Þa gat ec Þærſ at hinn heiti Vægghr bæyghizk oz ouſtri. oc i Yeſtr. En ef ec heʒi Þat ſaght með rettre ſkipan. Þa ætla ec víst at iamk[o]llð ſe at Því i ſyðzi ſiðunni. ſem i nærdze. En Þo ætla ec oll Þou lonnd er liggia ner hinum heita Vægghenom. hʒart ſem Þou liggia ſiri ſunnan hann. eða norðan Þo ætla ec oll Þou heit vera. en hin ætla ec kollð vera lonnden er Fiarre liggia a hʒarttʒægia ſiðunni. E n Þar er Þu gazt Þærſ at allir menn ſeghia lonnden æ Því heitare er ſunnar mér færri. Þa ætla [e]k Þat Því Vállða at Þu mannt ængan Þann ſunnit haʒa. er iamlanght haʒi ſuðz a lonnden Faret fra Þeim heita Vægghenom ſem Þeſſe lonnd liggia i fra er nu hoʒum Þer um rætt. [E]n Þar ſem Þu røðder um Þat at ſinndar Þeir ſem oz ſuðrættom koma ero varmare en en aðzer. Þa er Þat licit at hann verðe varnir til þar at koma Þo [at] hann blæſe

TRANSCRIPTION

First Column

nozði i gæghnum hann. Þo at hann bla
se kallðan sunnan til. *oc* eþ menn byggi
iamner hinum kallða Yæghenom a
syðzi siðu sem grœnlennningar bua
a hinni noerðze. Þa ætla. Þa ætla ec Yist
at iamYarmr kœme nozðan Yinnra
til Þeirra. sem sunnan Yinnzi til Yar.
ÞYi at sYa eighu Þeir nozði at lita til
miðdagh/. *oc* allrar solar ra/sar. sem Yer
eighum suði at lita er Firir nozðan bu
um solena. Ðat he Yir sem FYrr hoYum
Yit um rœtt. att um Yetrom er her so
lar gangz litill en sYa mikil gnott um
sumaret. at nalegha er allt sem einn
daghr *se*. Nu scallt þu a ÞYi marka at
Yæghr solarennar er einkum bzeiði. *oc*
er eighi rof hennar sYa mio. eða bein
sem hon renne iaYnan at einum stigh
stræng. En Þeghar er hon tækr hin
er ytztu ræghlur a/kaðom Yægh til suði
sen/. Þa haYa Þeir sumar. ok gnoghan
solar gang. er bua a yztum siðum he
im/sen/ til suði/sen/. en Yer hoYum Þa
Yetr. *oc* æclu solar gangh/ En [Þeghar]

Second Column

gangh. *oc* gnoghan. en Þeir haYa kallðan
Yetr. *oc* Færr sYa iaYnan at hon stighr Þa
upp til nozðz/ er hon stighr niði til suðz/.
en Þeghar er hon stighr niði til nozðz/. Þa
tæcr hon at Yaxa til hinnar syðzi siðu.
Ðat scallt þu *oc* Yita at sYa Færr dæghra
skifti. sem solar gangz. ÞYi at sumum sto
ðum er Þa miðz daghr er sumum stouðum
er mið nott. en sumum stoðum rennr Þa
daghr upp, *oc* lysir. er sumum stoðum tæcr
at roeckYa. *oc* natta ÞYi at iaYnan FYlghir
daghr. *oc* liof solenne en /kuggrinn Flyr
solena. *oc* œcker Þo æptir henne æ sem hon
liði unnan. *oc* er Þar iaYnan notten sem
scugginn er. en Þar iaYnan daghr sem
liof/et er. En nu eþ ÞeYsar lutir skiliazk
Þer allir Yæl er Yit hoYum nu um rœtt
ÞeYsar stundir hYart tYæggia um dæghra
Far. eða solar gang. eða allir aðze Þeir
lutir er Yit hoYum Þar um rœtt. Þa
matt þu Vera Firi ÞYi Fullgoði Farr
maði at Faer munu um slika luti
Fleira spurt haYa en þu.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES
PUBLISHED BY
THE CORPS OF INSTRUCTION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
BETWEEN
MAY 1, 1910, AND MAY 1, 1911

NOTE: Only articles of sufficient importance to be regarded as contributions or valuable additions to the literature of a subject are included in this list, and then only when appearing in publications of recognized general standing. Book reviews are not included unless of such length and character as to be substantially original articles.

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The University Studies

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES

VOL. IV NO. 3

MARCH, 1913

MICHEL-JEAN SEDAINE

LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SCAVOIR

Variorum

Critical Edition

based upon the second Paris edition
of 1766 and its appendix

with

an Introduction

treating of all known editions and
translations

by

THOMAS EDWARD OLIVER, Ph.D.,

Professor of Romance Languages in the

University of Illinois

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Comédie en cinq actes et en prose,
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PREFACE

Sedaine's *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* represents the highest development in eighteenth century France of the type of play known as the "drame" or the citizen tragedy. What Diderot had failed to accomplish, despite the elaborateness of his theories, was realized to the fullest extent by Sedaine. Praise of Sedaine and his play is found not only among his contemporaries, but even more among modern critics. Voltaire, Diderot, and Grimm are the greater names of eighteenth century admirers, while to F. Brunetière, more than to any other, Sedaine owes a restoration to his proper place in the history of French drama.

Owing to its historical as well as to its great intrinsic interest Sedaine's masterpiece still has an honorable place in the repertoire of the Comédie Française. There is, however, no careful critical edition of the play, since the efforts of Georges d' Heylli in 1877 and again in 1880 to base editions upon the *souffleur* manuscript now in the archives of the Comédie Française must be considered as failures. Heylli's cardinal error consisted in ascribing final and decisive value to this manuscript, which, owing to the manifold corrections forced upon Sedaine by the interference of the police censorship, can no longer enjoy the confidence of scholars as possessing the final wishes of Sedaine for his text. Later authority for a correct text must be sought, and it is found in the second Paris edition of 1766. Indeed, so confusing are the readings of the *souffleur* manuscript that Heylli himself was often greatly embarrassed, and his two editions differ very considerably. His assertion that the second is the more accurate, is not borne out by the facts. Granted that the manuscript should be the basis of any edition at all, it is easy to show that Heylli's first edition is more close to that basis than the second. As will be seen, the *souffleur* manuscript does possess, however, very great interest, since it reveals one of the most absorbing struggles known in literature between an author and the representatives of the police power, acting as government censors. Heylli paid very little at-

tention to this struggle. He chose his readings arbitrarily from the confusion of correction and erasure. He hoped thereby to reach the original text, but he failed to see that, even if he should succeed, this original text might not represent the final wishes of the author.

The present edition is an attempt to correct the mistakes of the past. For this purpose I have sought out, as far as possible, the wishes of Sedaine, I have traced carefully in the notes the conflict between Sedaine and the censors from scene to scene of the *souffleur* manuscript. I have collated and grouped all editions published in French, whether these were printed in France or elsewhere, and, lastly, I have made a careful study of all known translations of the play, in order to see if the expressed desires of the author regarding the production of his play in foreign lands had been followed. The result is a considerable body of critical apparatus, which to many may appear as unnecessarily large. In apology it may be said that it seemed preferable to present all possible material that might prove useful to later investigators, even if at the present time its value is not fully apparent.

I am grateful to many friends for their aid, and especially to my colleague, Prof. H. S. V. Jones, who read my manuscript and gave many valuable suggestions. I wish also to acknowledge the great courtesy of librarians in this country and in Europe, who have helped me to secure rare books. Among these I am especially indebted to Geheimer Regierungsrath Dr. Ippel of the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin, Dr. Englmann of the Vienna Stadtbibliothek, and Monsieur Jules Coüet, custodian of the Archives of the Comédie Française at Paris.

THOMAS EDWARD OLIVER.

January, 1913.

INTRODUCTION

A. BASIS OF THE PRESENT EDITION

1. Just when Sedaine conceived the idea of his masterpiece cannot well be determined.* In a certain large sense, one may say that this play sums up his mental activity of the previous years. In its broader features *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* is the product of a man imbued with the strength of democratic ideals. The emphasis upon the dignity of labor, the ironical touches in criticism of an aristocracy whose sole claim to distinction is birth, the broad humanitarian interest, the attack upon the duel as a relic of medieval barbarism,—all these elements are distinctly revealed in the honest, straightforward character of Sedaine. As Guenther well says: “. . . les personnages de Sedaine émeuvent parce qu'ils ont tous ces nobles sentiments que l'auteur du fond de son âme, leur avait inspirés.”**

2. A valuable source for tracing out the history of the play prior to its first performance is found in the contemporary memoirs of Bachaumont, Collé, Melchior Grimm and others. In Collé's *Journal* (Didot edition 1868, vol. III, p. 51) under October 1765 one reads:

“Le lundi 21 du courant [October 1765] devoit être donnée la première représentation du “Philosophe sans le savoir,” comédie en cinq actes et en prose de M. Sedaine. C'eût été une espèce de dernière répétition, pour la donner ensuite à Fontainebleau; mais, comme le fond de cette pièce est un duel, la police ne l'a point voulu passer, ce qui me paroît une très-plate pédanterie. Dans “Le Cid”, le père dit à son fils: “Meurs ou tue!” Quoiqu'il en soit, M. Sedaine y fait des changements, et nous l'aurons cet hiver”.

In Bachaumont a similar passage under date of October 22, 1765, runs thus:

“On devoit donner aujourd'hui à Fontainebleau la première représentation d'une comédie nouvelle de M. Sedaine, en cinq actes et en prose. Elle est intitulée 'le philosophe sans le savoir'. Mais la police y a trouvé différentes choses à réprimander, entr'autres un duel autorisé par un père. On a châtré cette pièce absolument, et l'auteur ne peut se résoudre à la donner en un pareil état”.

*See note 1 of the Variants.

**Ladislas Guenther, *L'Oeuvre dramatique de Sedaine*, Paris 1909 thesis.

In Grimm's *Correspondence Littéraire* one finds a great deal of interest in this connection. The reader is referred to the index of the Maurice Tourneux edition. Of particular importance here is Grimm's statement (vol. 6, p. 402) under date of November 1, 1765:

"On devait donner à la cour "Le Philosophe sans le savoir", comédie nouvelle, . . . reçue depuis plusieurs mois par les Comédiens Français; et pour que la représentation devant Leurs Majestés pût être mieux exécutée, la pièce devait être jouée à Paris la veille." and the later words: "Je ne connais pas sa comédie du "Philosophe sans le savoir", mais je sais que cette pièce, au moment d'être jouée, a été arrêtée par ordre de la police; et l'auteur n'ayant pu s'arranger avec le censeur, il est fort douteux aujourd'hui qu'elle paraisse jamais sur le théâtre."

On p. 440 of the same volume under date of December 15 we learn that Diderot had read the manuscript of the play more than eight months before the first performance on December 2, 1765. It must then have been written before April 1765.

3. Between the dates of October 21 (or 22), 1765, and the date of the first performance December 2, 1765, there occurred one of the most interesting conflicts in the history of drama, a battle royal between an author intent upon preserving the full dramatic values of a truly remarkable play and a pedantic censor eager to perform his supposed duty and quite ignorant that the play in its original form was a far more severe attack upon the institution of the duel than was the mangled version which he finally forced upon the reluctant author. The battle ground of this conflict was the *souffleur* manuscript which now reposes peacefully in the archives of the Comédie Française. The many interesting peculiarities of this manuscript are fully set forth in the critical apparatus of the present edition, and a general description of the manuscript itself appears in paragraph 7 of this Introduction. What now is the value of this manuscript as the basis of a critical edition? Does it or does it not represent the final wishes of Sedaine as to the text of his play? Even when one has solved as far as possible the riddle of its manifold erasures and other corrections, and has reached what was approximately its primitive state before the conflict with the censor, one still would have only the wishes of Sedaine at that time. One would not have a text upon which one could rely as representing the

final wish of the author. Heylli gives no idea of the difficulty of the task upon which he was engaged. The *souffleur* manuscript is by no means the simple thing that he seems to imply. So confusing are some of its pages that he was often forced to choose arbitrarily from among the many variants possible. Indeed in many cases Heylli does not follow the manuscript at all, but chooses readings from some edition or from the appendices of the first or second Paris editions. In other words he is not consistent and cannot be. It will be very clear upon examination of the difficulties of interpreting the *souffleur* manuscript that this cannot be taken as the basis of a critical edition, first, because of the impossibility of establishing beyond doubt what its primitive text should be, and second, because, even if such a text could be established, it would not represent the final wishes of the author.

4. Where then are we to find the final wishes of Sedaine? The question now resolves itself into a choice between the first Paris edition of 1766 with its appendix and the second Paris edition of 1766 with the same appendix. One must say appendix in each case because the editions without the appendix only offer the text that was forced upon Sedaine by the police censorship, whereas the appendix contains the variants of the scenes such as they were before their distortion or suppression, and as Sedaine wished them to be in case his play were produced in foreign lands. That the choice is now limited to these two editions seems clear because no others published at Paris in the lifetime of the author contain this important appendix, and the only other edition that contains it is a pirated edition published at Geneva prior to June 14, 1766. See this edition in paragraph 15 of this Introduction under the sign E.

As between the first and the second Paris editions of 1766, what then are the reasons for choosing the second?

- a. The first edition is carelessly printed, the second is printed with great care.
- b. The second edition corrects all the errata of the first, including the error as to the date of the first performance. The first gives this as November 2, 1765, whereas the evidence is overwhelming that the correct date is December 2, 1765.* See a list of these errata in note 152 of the critical apparatus.

*The proof of the date December 2, 1765, is found in many places:—The daily registers of the Comédie Française are of course the most trustworthy, and

c. Certain corrections of style criticized by Grimm in the first edition were made in the second. See these at notes 103, 563. Doubtless more careful research in contemporary memoirs and correspondence would bring to light similar criticisms which Sedaine observed in his second edition.

d. The second edition has very many readings that approach more closely those of the primitive condition of the *souffleur* manuscript than the corresponding passages in the first edition. This is one among many illustrations of Sedaine's insistence upon his original version. Not only did he wish to restore scenes that had been distorted or suppressed by the censor, but he even wished to return to his original style, as far as this was feasible. See a few such places at notes 6, 89, 316, 330, 331, 366, 551, 554, 564, 603, 641, 647, etc., etc.

e. In similar manner the second edition copies closely the *souffleur* manuscript in the matter of scene arrangement, of order of actors in each scene, of stage-directions before and within the scenes. Thus Sedaine shows his desire to have the second edition correspond as closely as possible with the actual playing conditions of the *souffleur* manuscript.

f. The fact that the appendix of the second edition was published as an integral part of the book (which was not the case with the appendix of the first edition), is also an argument in favor of the second edition. The proof of this is that the pagination and lower signatures of the appendix of the first edition show that it is formed of two independent fascicles of 8 pages each, whereas in the second edition the signatures of the appendix merely continue those of the main part of the book and its additional 18 pages cannot form an independent fascicle or fascicles.

here we find December 2 and not November 2. December 2 is also found in the 1766 volume of *Les Spectacles de Paris ou Calendrier Historique et Chronologique des Théâtres etc., etc.* (Paris, Veuve Duchesne) p. 127 bottom. In Collé's *Journal* for December 1765 one reads: "Le lundi 2 décembre, je fus à la première représentation du *Philosophe sans le savoir*, etc." So also in Bachaumont's *Mémoires Secrets* under date of December 2, 1765: "Les Comédiens François ont donné aujourd'hui la première représentation du *Philosophe sans le savoir*, etc." See also Vol. iii, p. 209 of *Bibliothèque du Théâtre Français depuis son origine; contenant un extrait de tous les ouvrages composés pour ce théâtre etc., etc.*, where December 2, 1765, is the date. The impossibility of November 2, 1765, is seen in the fact that the date of the permission to play found at the end of the *souffleur* manuscript (see note 675 of the critical apparatus) is November 13, 1765. From November 13 to December 2 was none too long to train the actors in the changed version imposed upon Sedaine by the police. Unfortunately this date of November 2, 1765, has been repeated in many editions and accounts of the play. Even Guenther's recent docteur de l'université de Paris thesis on Sedaine (Paris 1909) p. 223 falls into this old error, altho he refers to Collé and to the *Spectacles de Paris* on that same page. The date November 2, 1765, is due to a confusion with November 29, 1765, when, according to Bachaumont's words of November 29, 1765: "Le Phil-

g. Many readings that appear in the first edition are cancelled in the *souffleur* manuscript and do not appear in the second edition; see notes 27, 58, 65, 106, 112, 136, 145, 219, 224, 229, 243, 309, 349, 353w, 547, 563. Inversely, many additions to the manuscript do not appear in the first edition but are present in the second; see notes 76, 87, 88, 113, 120, 130, 164, 186, 188, 206, 259, 267, 268, 442, 452, 502, 503, 536, 547, 563, 564.

Thus we have additional proof of the desire to bring the second edition and the *souffleur* manuscript into harmony. These cancellations and additions were clearly made after the publication of the first edition.

h. On the other hand, however, there are several additions and cancellations of the manuscript which do not appear in the second edition, altho many of them appear in the first. See cancellations at notes 258, 290, 296, 346, 356, 400, 436 (1),

osophe sans le savoir, ci-devant intitulé le Duel [see the critical apparatus note 1.]. ayant occupé depuis longtems l'attention des magistrats, sans avoir rien arrêté de fixe sur le sort de ce drame, on en a, pour terminer le committé, donné aujourd'hui une représentation à huis clos; tous les gens à simarre y ont été convoqués, & la pièce a enfin passé; au moyen des corrections faites elle doit être jouée lundi." Now, this first public performance announced for the following Monday again brings us to December 2, 1765. This rehearsal "à huis clos" is evidently that described by Grimm in his letter of December 15, 1765 (*Correspondance Littéraire*, M. Tourneux edition, vol. vi, p. 438): Grimm however gives the date as November 30, 1765, and his account is further very interesting because we learn that Sedaine had asked the magistrates to take their wives along, and that it was due to the weeping of these ladies that the play was finally permitted; Grimm also declares in this same place that the first public performance was December 2, 1765.

In some copies of books issued by the firm Claude Hérisant, who published the first two Paris editions of the *Philosophe*, are found advertising lists of Sedaine's plays from this house. Here the dates November 26, or 29, or, more vaguely, merely November, 1765, are given in the advertisement of the *Philosophe*. Thus in the Hérisant first edition (1768) of *La Gageure Imprévue*, the 1768 edition of *Les Sabots*, the 1771 edition of *Le Mort Marié*, the 1779 edition (chez l'auteur et chez Prault) of *La Gageure Imprévue*, etc., etc. Even in copies of the second Paris edition of the *Philosophe*, on whose title page the correct date December 2 is given, one reads nevertheless on the advertising pages "en Novembre 1765". The explanation seems to be in the constant postponement of the play. These lists were printed at a time when it seemed reasonably certain that the play would be given late in November. Later the lists found their way into bound copies, the publishers not noting the error or being indifferent to it.

Another date even more impossible, and for which I have found no explanation whatever, is June 25, 1765. This appears first, as far as I now know, in the Mame Frères edition of 1810, and is repeated by the large group of editions, sub-group Ib of my classification, which adopt the same text. (See paragraphs 23, 24, 25 of this Introduction.)

487, 591, 593, 608, 642; see additions at notes 59, 66, 124, 136, 294, 295, 354, 368, 370, 378, 446, 448, 581, 616. These places cannot argue however for the superiority of the *souffleur* manuscript or of the first edition over the second edition. They merely reveal the independence of the second edition which did not wish to accept the addition or adopt the cancellation. A slight study of the critical apparatus will reveal a constant independence of the second edition, which is eclectic in its readings, choosing what it prefers and from what sources it wishes. See merely the many places where the manuscript (Ms-S) or group Ia (which includes the first edition) or A alone (which is the designation of the first edition) differs from the text of B, the second edition which is our text.

i. This independence of B, the second edition, is seen further at notes 2, 8, 18, 21, 89, 93, 186, 189, 349, 520, 537, 552, 583, 591, 673. Note 520 is particularly interesting in this connection, since it proves that the second edition was laid on the press twice.

j. Note 344 discusses certain inserted pages of the *souffleur* manuscript which contain a copy of regular pages of the manuscript. This copy was rendered necessary by the confusion of the erasures and corrections of the regular pages of the manuscript. An examination of this copy shows that it was probably made between the first and second editions, and that consequently the second edition agrees more fully with its readings. See the proof at notes 353c, l, w, y; 362; 394.

k. At note 548 mention is made of a letter of Sedaine to the actors of the Comédie Française regarding the reinsertion of a certain passage which had been cut out by the censor. Sedaine enclosed a portion of the appendix of the second edition to show the passage involved. It is noteworthy that he sends the second and not the first edition. To be sure this was in November, 1791, and Sedaine may have had but the one copy of the second edition, but yet the fact has a certain significance. In this connection it should also be said that there exists a copy of the *Philosophe sans le Savoir* containing changed readings which Sedaine made in his own hand for a special performance or for special performances during the height of the Revolution. These changes are given in the notes under the sign RF (see the list in paragraph 43 of this Introduction). They were first found by Auguste Rey and printed by him in his pamphlets *La Fin de l'Ancien Régime à Saint-Prix* [the home of Sedaine in his closing years] Paris (Champion) 1881, and *La Vieillesse de Sedaine* (Paris, Champion, 1906). Monsieur Rey lives at Saint-Prix, (near Paris), of which town he has been mayor many years. He was so kind as to inform me that the Comte Henry de Brisay, a lineal descendant of Sedaine, whose present address is 11 Avenue de La Motte-Picquet, Paris, now owns this interesting copy. I have entered into correspondence with the Count de Brisay to find out just what edition this valuable copy may be. Judging by the passages quoted by Monsieur Rey, it is not the second edition, nor is it clear that it is the first. A letter of August 9, 1912, from the Count de Brisay increases rather than diminishes the confusion. The count writes: "Vous avez sans doute été trompé par une note d'une monographie de M. Rey. Il a voulu parler d'une brochure que je lui ai montrée et qui est composée d'épreuves d'imprimerie réunies

ensemble par un brochage maladroit. Les feuillets contiennent de la main de Sedaine un certain nombre de béquets". I am awaiting further details from Monsieur de Brisay, in the hope of establishing definitely whether these printer's proofs are of the first or the second edition.

l. It is of moment that the second edition is the one that is used in the preparation of the "Oeuvres Dramatiques de M. Sedaine" four volumes, Paris (Veuve Duchesne) 1776; however this is not really a separate edition, but merely an assembling of the separate plays of Sedaine which had appeared up to that date, each having its original pagination. Moreover a similar but later assembling of Sedaine's plays issued by the firm Duchesne in six volumes and containing plays that appeared as late of 1793, has the first edition as its copy of the *Philosophe*. Thus not much argument can be based upon these peculiar facts one way or the other. It should however be said that the first assembled edition by Duchesne seems to be the more common, that a five volume in 8vo. collection published "an viii" [1800] also contains a copy of the second edition, and that the very careful editions by Petitot in 1804 and 1817 follow the second edition and not the first.

m. At the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris there is an interesting copy of the second edition containing quite a large number of changes of text and of stage business. Monsieur Jules Coüet custodian of the archives and library of the Comédie Française at Paris writes me the following opinion regarding this copy:—"L'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine a certainement servi aux représentations du "Philosophe sans le savoir" à la Comédie Française, et cela probablement dès la publication de cette édition, en 1766. Les notes sont de Delaporte, qui était secrétaire-souffleur." This being the case, it is of considerable importance that the text used officially at the Comédie Française was that of the second edition, and not that of the first. This copy of the second edition is fully discussed in paragraphs 26 and 37 of the present Introduction. Its variants by Delaporte are found in the critical apparatus, under the sign Mz.

5. Our text then is the second edition plus the variants of its appendix. Wherever variants occur in the appendix they are inserted in their proper place in the text, and the version forced upon Sedaine, against which the appendix is his protest, is suppressed. This will be perfectly clear upon reference to the critical notes. The variants of the appendix are followed as indicated below:

From note 186 to note 190 (Act II, scene v.)

From note 314 to note 407 (Act III, scenes viii-xiii.)

From note 535 to note 606 (Act V, scenes iv-ix.)

From note 637 to the end (Act V, scenes xi-xiv.)

At notes 491; 526; 622 the readings of the second edition are

not strictly adhered to, for reasons that are duly set forth at those places.

6. In order to make more clear the value of these variants it seems desirable to give here in full Sedaine's explanation of his reasons for publishing them. This explanation is found as a sort of preface to the variants themselves and is as follows :

De tous les défauts de ma pièce, celui qui n'échappe pas à la plus légère attention, est qu'elle ne remplit pas son titre; j'ai été le premier à le dire après les changemens. Mon *Philosophe sans le savoir* étoit un homme d'honneur, qui voit toute la cruauté d'un préjugé terrible, & qui y cede en gémissant. C'étoit sous un autre aspect, Brutus, qui pénétré de ce qu'il doit à sa patrie, étouffe la voix de la raison, le cri de la nature, & envoie ses fils à la mort.

Les considérations les plus sages m'ont forcé de changer la situation, & d'affaiblir mon caractère principal; j'avoue que le titre de *Philosophe* paroissoit proposer Vanderk comme un modèle de conduite & ce prétendu modèle malheureusement trop près de nos moeurs étoit trop loin de nos loix; mais si cet Ouvrage a le bonheur d'être représenté dans les pays étrangers, les considérations nationales n'y subsistant plus, puisque le lieu de la scène n'est plus le même pour eux; je crois que le caractère de mon *Philosophe*, tel qu'il étoit, aura plus de ressort, & le personnage plus de jeu; les passages de la fermeté à la tendresse seront marqués avec plus de force, & les situations deviendront plus théatrales.

C'est cette raison qui m'a fait ajouter à la pièce telle qu'on la joue, les scènes telles qu'elles étoient avant d'être changées, & j'ai même remis ce que le Public m'a forcé de supprimer, l'or donné après la reconnaissance, l'arrivée des Musiciens, &c. Ce n'est pas que le public n'ait bien vu & bien décidé. J'avois diminué la force, le nerf, la vigueur de mon Athlète, & je lui laissois le même fardeau à porter; les proportions étoient ôtées; je désire que la représentation, en quelque lieu qu'elle se fasse, assure la justesse de ma réflexion.

As will be seen by the above words, Sedaine made the changes in his play because of pressure from two directions. The first was the official police censorship, the second was the criticism of the public. In a general way the police censorship is confined to the third act, altho there were other censored passages elsewhere; see particularly note 548. The criticism of the public was aimed at certain scenes of the fifth act; see notes 556, 578, 593, 638. These scenes were deemed too strong by the earlier audiences, and even Sedaine admits that they were, in view of the serious weakening of the character of Vanderk père which had resulted from the police censorship.

In the notes to the present edition are given the changed

readings forced upon Sedaine. It is thus possible to compare them seriatim with the original version as found in the *souffleur* manuscript, and also with the final version as printed in the appendix and as adopted in our text. Such a comparison brings us inevitably to the conclusion that Sedaine's dramatic instinct was far greater than that of his critics. The play is much more interesting, and far more consistent in its original form than in the censored version.

B. THE SOUFFLEUR MANUSCRIPT

7. The manuscript which was used by the *souffleur* at the Comédie Française is written on 96 pages which measure 10, 1-4th by 7, 3-4ths inches. The handwriting is unusually large and clear, as was necessary in a manuscript used for this purpose. It is not however Sedaine's handwriting. The corrections and additions are sometimes in the handwriting of the main part and quite as often in other hands. Many of the corrections were made first in pencil and then gone over in ink. Sedaine himself wrote some of the corrections and additions. The present editor wishes here to express his deep appreciation of the kind help given him by Monsieur Jules Couët, bibliothécaire-archiviste of the Comédie Française, in the deciphering of many difficult places in the manuscript, and particularly in the determination of such places as show Sedaine's own handwriting.

Between pages 54 and 55 of the manuscript are eight smaller pages containing a clear copy of the closing scenes of Act III. I have explained at note 344 the necessity of this copy, and the variants that it contains are also duly given in note 349 and the following notes. Pages 57 and 58 are also an additional sheet, inserted clearly before the recopying made on the above additional eight smaller pages. See notes 353j and 363 for the explanation of the presence of this additional sheet. These eight pages are not counted in the total of 96 mentioned above, but are numbered in the present edition for reference purposes 54 A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. The manuscript pagination is indicated in my text by heavy figures, thus: <1>, etc.

All variants of the *souffleur* manuscript including these additional pages are given in the critical notes, it being my purpose to furnish a complete picture of the manuscript in this particular.

I do not therefore give in the following list references to all variants, but merely to such places in the manuscript as possess unusual interest because of additions, cancellations, marginal notes, or other peculiarities:—

a. See again the lists given in paragraph 4 g, h and paragraph 6 of this Introduction.

b. Places where the handwriting of Sedaine is found: 285, 289, 478, 503, 611, 616, 617, 634, 645, 656, 670.

c. Sedaine's struggle with the censor is seen at notes 148, 186, 321, 322, 342, 344, 346, 352a, 353a-g, 373, 377, 379, 389, 400, 526, 548, 571. Particularly interesting in this connection are the evidences of the efforts of Sedaine to conciliate the censor without sacrificing too much; see these at notes 353j, 363, 381, 382, 391, 407.

d. Sedaine's yielding to public criticism of certain scenes is shown: at notes 556, 576, 578 for the episode of giving gold to Desparville père; at note 593 for the entrance of the musicians; at note 638 for the episode of the bullet-hole in young Vanderk's hat.

e. Other interesting places in the manuscript are listed below. Many of these reveal, even more than the references already given, the tangled, obscure and often illegible condition of the manuscript: 6, 12, 35, 38, 39, 54, 56, 61, 88, 106, 116, 134, 148, 162, 169, 171, 243, 258, 267, 295, 296, 400, 431, 436, 452, 478, 486, 491, 546, 547, 556, 575, 578, 593, 608, 611, 616, 617, 634, 645, 656, 670, 675.

A few further points of interest are given by Heylli in his 1877 edition, pp. 362-364, and in his 1880 edition, pp. xi-xiii.

C. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

8. Alleged 1765 editions.

Quérard in Vol. 9 (page 11, first column under Sedaine) of *La France Littéraire* gives a very incomplete list of the editions of *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, in which list many errors are found. The most serious of these errors is the statement that the first edition was in 1765 and that there was another edition in the same year. This error has been repeated in many bibliographies and manuals of French literature. Even as late as the very thorough and careful Paris docteur-ès-lettres thesis by Félix Gaiffe upon *Le Drame en France au XVIIIe siècle 1757-1791* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1910, page 572), this error has been transmitted. Most careful search in many libraries has failed to disclose any edition of the year 1765, and an examination of the bibliographical facts will show conclusively that there could not have been any:

a. Quérard gives Claude Hérissant as the publisher of the alleged first

edition of 1765, and the inference is clear that the same publishers issued the second alleged 1765 edition. Now Claude Hérissant is actually the publisher of the editions issued in Paris in 1766, and the second of these is distinctly called the second edition on its title page. Surely this publisher would have known of the existence of 1765 editions bearing his own imprint, had there been any. He would not have called a 1766 edition the second, when, if Quérard be correct, it should be the third or fourth.

Now, this second edition of 1766 corrects all the errata of its predecessor, and both the 1766 editions have the following *Approbation* at the close of the fifth act of the regular text:

J'ai lû par ordre de Monseigneur le Vice-Chancelier le *Philosophe sans le savoir*, Comédie: & je crois qu'on peut en permettre l'impression. A Paris ce 20 Février 1766. MARIN.

This same date of February 20, 1766 is found in all editions that print an *Approbation* at all. This Marin is the same official who signed the permit to stage the play which I have given at note 675 and which is found on p. 96 of the *souffleur* manuscript. The date of this permit is November 10, 1765. It would have been extremely unlikely, to say the least, that two editions of the play could have appeared between November 10, 1765 and the end of the year. It would have been impossible to print the play before its representation had been authorized, particularly in view of the vigilance of the censor Marin. Moreover plays were practically never printed until they had proved their success upon the stage.

c. More direct proof, however, is not lacking: The play ran from December 2, 1765 to February 26, 1766 with some interruptions for a total of twenty-eight performances.* It is noteworthy that this closing date is almost coincident with the date of the *Approbation* February 20, 1766. Thus when the play had run successfully and was to be put aside temporarily, the author proceeded to publish it.

*Contemporary memoirs attest the number of performances and some of the interruptions; for a discussion of the date of the first performance, see the footnote to paragraph 4 b. The memoirs of Grimm, Collé, Bachaumont are the chief sources of information. Collé says (p. 68 of vol. iii of the Didot 1868 edition): "Le lundi 16 du courant (=December) eut lieu la septième représentation du *Philosophe sans le savoir*, qui est suspendu jusqu'à la rentrée des spectacles, qui sont fermés d'aujourd'hui mardi 17, à cause de l'agonie de M. le dauphin et de la descente de la châsse de Sainte-Geneviève, où l'archevêque a été ce matin chanter une grande messe avec tout son clergé, et demander à Dieu qu'il nous renvoie ce prince à la vie." Bachaumont writes under date of January 30, 1766: "*Le Philosophe sans le savoir* continue avec un succès auquel l'auteur ne devoit pas s'attendre", and again under date of February 26, 1766: "Les Comédiens François ont enfin donné aujourd'hui la 28e, et dernière représentation du *Philosophe sans le savoir*. Ce bizarre succès seroit étonnant dans un autre siècle que celui-ci." See, also, a quotation from Grimm in paragraph 8 e. For the times, this run of twenty-eight performances was truly remarkable.

d. In Charles Collé's *Journal and Memoirs* (Didot edition, Paris, 1868, page 67) there is a criticism of the play after its initial performance on December 2, 1765. Here the following is of moment: "M. Sedaine m'a dit que nous l'aurons à l'impression telle qu'il l'avoit d'abord faite; on lui a accordé la permission tacite pour cet effet".

Just what interpretation should be placed upon the phrase "telle qu'il l'avoit d'abord faite" is not clear. Did Sedaine mean that he was to be allowed to print the original text intact, or did he mean merely a permission to print the uncensored variants as an appendix? The latter seems the more probable in view of the sequence.

e. In Grimm's *Correspondence* (edition Tourneux) are two passages of conclusive proof:

Vol. 6, p. 440 under date of December 15, 1765 one reads: "...cette charmante pièce [Le Philosophe] qui ne sera pas peut-être imprimée si tôt."

Vol 7, p. 23 under date of April 15, 1766 one finds:

"On vient d'imprimer la comédie du *Philosophe sans le savoir*. Cette pièce a été retirée par l'auteur après la vingt-huitième représentation, pour être reprise l'hiver prochain". After praising highly the play and congratulating the public upon its good taste in applauding what he calls "le plus grand succès que j'aie vu en ce pays-ci", Grimm concludes by criticising severely the printing in the first edition: "Je ne dirai pas autant de bien de M. Sedaine que du public. Je suis furieux contre lui. Il a fait imprimer la pièce avec la dernière négligence. Elle est défigurée par beaucoup de fautes d'impression, qui sont encore mal relevées dans un erratum. La ponctuation est [p. 24] fautive en plusieurs endroits, et il n'y a point de genre au monde qui demande plus d'exactitude et même plus de finesse que celui-ci, dans la manière de ponctuer. La négligence des imprimeurs rendra quelques endroits tout à fait inintelligibles pour ceux qui n'ont pas vu jouer la pièce. Il est aussi resté des incorrections dans le style." Grimm then makes the criticisms which are given at notes 103, 563. His description of the first edition is clearly that of the first Claude Hérissant imprint of 1766, and his criticisms of this imprint undoubtedly led Sedaine to return for the second edition to the greater dramatic accuracy of the *souffleur* manuscript.

It is thus clear that the first edition appeared only shortly before April 15, 1766. In view of the second quotation from Grimm above, it is difficult to understand the remark of his editor, Maurice Tourneux, given as a foot-note to the first quotation above (vol. 6, p. 440) to the effect that: "*Le Philosophe sans le savoir* fut imprimé presque immédiatement après la représentation". If this means the last performance on February 26, 1766, one would scarcely call April "almost immediately after", and, if it means the first performance December 2, 1765, as it probably does, the discrepancy is even more manifest.

9. Explanation of the method of grouping the editions and translations.

In the following pages the French editions and their several translations are grouped in various divisions according as they follow one or the other of the 1766 Paris editions, and according to the completeness with which they follow. Thus Group I includes all editions and translations which in the main follow the first edition, and Group II includes all those which follow the second edition. Within Group I three subdivisions became necessary: Group Ia represents that portion which remained completely or almost completely faithful to the *editio princeps*. Groups Ib and Ic however represent those divisions of Group I which differ sufficiently as sub-groups to merit classification as such. Beginning with the first Heylli edition of 1877 there are a number of editions which, owing to the efforts to find a satisfactory critical text, may not be classified in either Group I or Group II. These editions are therefore described at the end of the list under the title of "Independent Editions." It has been my aim to list all known editions and translations. I believe that the list of editions in French is complete or very nearly so, since I have consulted all the standard bibliographies, including the very complete *Bibliographie de la France ou Journal Général de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie*. I have been especially eager to search in eighteenth century bibliographies. In the matter of translations, however, and especially the many made into German, there still remain a number of unsettled problems which will be duly explained.

In order to list concisely and distinctly the variants of individual members of the several groups, the following arbitrary signs have been adopted. These signs are also placed at the beginning of the description of each edition or translation in the succeeding portions of this Introduction. In giving these descriptions the chronological order has been followed as far as possible within each group.

For greater convenience and to facilitate ready reference the following table is arranged alphabetically:

10. Table of Abbreviations.

| EDITIONS. | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--|-----------|--------------|
| Sign | Group | Brief Description | Date | See |
| A | Ia | First Paris edition. | 1766 | Paragraph 11 |
| Aa | Ia | Appendix to first Paris edition. | 1766 | " 12 |
| AC | Ic | "Chefs-d'oeuvre des auteurs comiques" | 1846ff. | " 28 |
| AR | Ic | "Le Théâtre" series, Ad. Rion, editor. | 1878 | " 32 |
| Av | Ia | Avignon reprint of A. | 1772 | " 19 |
| B | II | Second Paris edition. | 1766 | " 35 |
| Ba | II | Appendix to second Paris edition. | 1766 | " 36 |
| Bl | Ic | Bull's Cambridge (England) class ed. | 1887 | " 34 |
| BN | Ia | "Bibliothèque Nationale" edition. | 1875ff. | " 22 |
| BNa | Ia | Appendix to "Bibliothèque Nationale" ed. | 1875ff. | " 22 |
| C | Ia | Amsterdam edition, reprint of A. | 1766 | " 13 |
| D | Ia | Dresden reprint of A. | 1766 | " 14 |
| Di-H | Ia | Didot-Hachette stereotyped editions. | 1813ff. | " 20 |
| E | Ia | Geneva reprint of A. | 1766 | " 15 |
| Ea | Ia | Appendix to Geneva reprint. | 1766 | " 16 |
| F | Ia | Paris reprint of A. | 1767 | " 17 |
| FD | Ic | "La France Dramatique", Livraison 303-304 | 1838ff. | " 27 |
| G | Indep. | Gisi's reprint of 1880 Heylli edition (H2). | 1883 | " 48 |
| Ha | Ic | "Bibliothèque des chemins de fer" | 1854 | " 29 |
| H1 | Indep. | Georges d'Heylli's first edition. | 1877 | " 45 |
| H2 | Indep. | Georges d'Heylli's second edition | 1880 | " 47 |
| J | Ic | Julcs Janin edition. | 1872 | " 31 |
| K | Ia | Paris reprint of A. | 1769 | " 18 |
| L | II | Le Texier's London reprint of B. | 1785 | " 40 |
| Ma | Ib | Reprints of an edition by Mame Frères. | 1810ff. | " 24 |
| Mb | Ib-Ia | Reprints of Mame edition (Acts IV, V.=Ia) | 1829ff. | " 25 |
| Mo | Indep. | Moland's reprint of 1877 Heylli ed., (H1.) | 1878 | " 46 |
| Ms-S | I-II | The <i>Souffleur</i> Manuscript. | 1765 | " 7 |
| Mz | II-Ic | The Mazarine Library prompter's copy of B. | 1766? | " 26;37 |
| NB | Ic | No. 66 of "Nouvelle Bibliothèque Popu- laire" | 1887ff. | " 33 |
| O | Indep. | Victor Oger's edition based upon H2 | 1888 | " 49 |
| P | II | Petitot editions when both agree. | 1804-1817 | " 41 |
| P1 | II | First Petitot edition | 1804 | " 41 |
| P2 | II | Second Petitot edition. | 1817 | " 41 |
| RF | ? | Variants for Revolution performances made upon a copy by Sedaine. | 1791-93 | " 43 |

| Sign | Group | Brief Description | Date | See |
|------------------|-------|--|--------|--------------|
| T | II | Touquet's reprint of Pz. | 1822 | Paragraph 42 |
| TC | Ic | "Théâtre Contemporain Illustré, Livraison 455. | 1860ff | " 30 |
| Ty | Ia | Troyes reprint of Di. | 1816 | " 21 |
| TRANSLATIONS. | | | | |
| TrB | Ia | Bordoni's translation into Italian. | 1805 | " 62 |
| TrG | Ia | Gotter's translation into German | 1781 | " 60 |
| TrG ₂ | Ia | The Augsburg reprint of Gotter's trans. | 1793 | " 61 |
| TrK | Ic | Kent's translation into English from Bl. | 1888 | " 63 |
| TrM | Ia | The Mainz translation into German. | 1768 | " 55 |
| TrO | ? | The O'Brien adaptation into English. | 1772 | " 65 |
| TrP | Ia | Pfeffel's translation into German. | 1767 | " 51 |
| TrS | II | Schwarz' translation into Danish of B + Ba. | 1787 | " 64 |
| TrT | Ia | Teubern's translation into German. | 1776 | " 58 |
| TrW | Ia | The Vienna translation into German. | 1768 | " 56-57 |
| TrW ₂ | Ia | The Munich reprint of the Vienna trans- lation. | 1776 | " 59 |

In the following paragraphs these editions and translations are described in detail by groups, and chronologically within each group, as given below :

EDITIONS:

Group I.

Sub-group Ia.

A, Aa, C, D, E + Ea, F, K, Av, Di-H, Ty, BN + BNa, Paragraphs 11-22

Sub-group Ib.

Ma, Mb. Paragraphs 23-25

Sub-group Ic.

FD, AC, Ha, TC, J, AR, NB, Bl. Paragraphs 26-34

Group II.

B, Ba, Mz, L, P(P₁, P₂), T. Paragraphs 35-42

Uncertain.

RF. Paragraph 43

Independent Editions.

H₁, Mo, H₂, G, O. Paragraphs 44-49

TRANSLATIONS:

Group Ia: TrP, TrM, TrW, TrT, TrW₂, TrG, TrG₂, TrB. Paragraphs 50-62

Group Ic: TrK. Paragraph 63

Group II: TrS. Paragraph 64

Uncertain: TrO. Paragraph 65

D. DETAILED DESCRIPTION
OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.
EDITIONS.

GROUP I.

Sub-group Ia.

11. [A] 1766.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR, | COMEDIE EN
PROSE | ET EN CINQ ACTES, | *Représentée par les Comédiens
François | ordinaires du Roi le 2 Novembre 1765**. | *Par M.
SEDAINE.* | Le prix est de trente sols. | [Vignette of two
billing doves] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAUDE HÉRISANT;
Libraire-Imprimeur, rue | Neuve Notre-Dame, à la Croix d'or. |
M. DCC. LXVI. | *Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.* | **

[IV] + 95 pages. small quarto.

On page 95 at the end of the text is the Approbation which I have quoted in paragraph 8b. This is signed by Marin. As I have shown in paragraph 8e this edition was printed shortly before April 15, 1766.

The last printed matter is the statement: "*Le Privilège est à la Pièce intitulée Le Roi et le Fermier.*" Referring to pp. 71-72 of this play in the collected works of Sedaine, 1776 (see Paragraph 38), one finds the usual formal permit to Claude Jean Baptiste Hérissant to publish the works of Sedaine; however, the only works mentioned there by name are "*Le Roi et le Fermier, Pièce de Théâtre, & autres ouvrages de M. Sedaine. La Musique de la Pièce intitulée Le Roi et le Fermier, & autres Oeuvres de Musique de M.****". There follows the usual formal demand that "les Manuscrits qui auront servi de copie à l'impression des dits Ouvrages seront remis dans le même état où l'Approbation y aura été donné, es mains de notre très-cher et féal Chevalier Chancelier de France, le Sieur DE LAMOIGNON," and that the usual number of copies of the printed books be deposited according to law. The printers' manuscript of *Le Philosophe* does not exist at the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, nor could the authorities at these institutions say where it might be found, if it is at all still in existence. Even if it could be found,

*See foot-note to paragraph 4b.

**An exact reproduction of this title-page and a description of this first edition may be found on p. 558 of Jules Le Petit, "Bibliographie des principales éditions originales d'écrivains français du XVe au XVIIIe siècle" Paris 1888.

its interest would be slight, unless it showed variants that had not proved acceptable.

The present editor has examined some sixteen copies of this first edition, of which ten are in the Bibliothèque Nationale and three in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. There are also several copies at the Comédie Française, and the present editor also owns one. In view of this rather large number, it is strange that d'Heylli, Sarcey and others declare that this edition is *rarissime*.

It is clear that the edition was laid on the press at least twice, since certain errors were corrected in later copies. See notes 574, 646, 647, for errors that were not corrected, and note 624 for an error that was corrected. Some of the errors were listed in an Errata, and most of these were duly corrected in later editions. See note 152 for a list of these errata. Note 624 is particularly interesting as a proof that the edition was laid on the press twice, and that certain foreign reprints were made from the first impression. In all the copies of A examined the errata were inserted, usually on p. (iv), in one case on a separate page bound in at the back (Arsenal: Theat. N. 858).

Other peculiar features of A are given at notes: 328, 512, 667. See also the places listed in paragraph 4, b, c, d, g, h, j.

A gives on p. [III] the names of the actors who created the rôles at the Comédie Française.

12. [Aa] 1766.

In all but two of the copies of A that were examined there follow, bound in, sixteen pages with new upper pagination*, 1-16, and new Signatures A, Aij, B on p. 9, etc. Page 1 contains the statement by Sedaine which has already been given in paragraph 6. Pp. 2-16 contain the variants of the uncensored version as Sedaine hoped to have them in case his play were produced in other countries. These variants are used in the present edition as explained in paragraph 5. In paragraph 4f I have given as my opinion that the appendix of A did not necessarily belong to that edition, whereas the similar appendix of B, the second edition, did form part of that edition. The fact that two out of sixteen copies of A do

*In several copies there is a curious peculiarity of pagination for which I have found no satisfactory explanation: Thus, in some p. 1 is p. 89; p. 4 is p. 92, p. 5 is p. 93, p. 8 is p. 96. See the copy at the Paris Bibliothèque de l' Université, and also the copies 8° Yth 14,133; 8° Yth 14,136; 8° Inventaire Yf 11,604 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. In other copies (see one at the Bibliothèque Nationale 8° Yth 14,134) these pages 1, 4, 5, 8 are correctly numbered, but p. 2 is p. 90; p. 3 is p. 91; p. 6 is p. 94; p. 7 is p. 95. These peculiar numbers would seem to suggest a pagination of the censored text which should end at p. 88, provided the appendix was designed originally to be a part of the first edition. I have, however, never seen any such pagination of this censored text, all copies of which have 96 pages. I cannot, therefore, change my belief that the appendix was issued separately. See the pagination of E and Ea in paragraph 15.

not have the appendix seems to help prove this idea. We shall see that all the copies of B. have their appendix, the only exception being readily explained. Sedaine's hope that his play might be produced in foreign lands with the variants of the appendix, was not gratified to any large extent. The only foreign edition in French to publish them was an edition published in Geneva, which is described in paragraph 15. Only two translations, the Mainz translation into German and the Schwarz translation into Danish, adopt the uncensored version, although certain scenes in the fifth act, which were not those which the police prohibited, appear in Pfeffel's German version. These various features of the translations are more fully brought out in later paragraphs, where these versions are treated in detail.

13. [C] 1766.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR | OU | LE
GENTILHOMME COMMERÇANT | COMÉDIE EN PROSE, | ET EN CINQ
ACTES, | PAR M. SEDAINE, | LE PRIX EST DE 12 SOLS & DE 6 SOLS
POUR LES | ABONNÉES. | À AMSTERDAM & À LA HAYE |
CHEZ CONSTAPEL & LE FEBURE LIBRAIRES | M. DCC.
LXVI. |

72 pages octavo.

This edition has no appendix containing Sedaine's statement and the uncensored variants. The last printed matter is the Approbation to print, which copies exactly that of the two Paris editions A and B (see paragraph 8b). It is merely a reprint of A but corrects all of A's errata (see note 152). Nevertheless, certain other misprints of A are repeated in C: see notes 328, 574, 647. Owing doubtless to the Dutch typesetters, many other typographical errors occur. The only places where these are at all serious are at notes 83, 175, 326, 338, 512. The names of the Paris actors who created the rôles, and whose names appear in both A and B, are not given in C.

Victor Oger in his edition (see O paragraph 49) says (p. 3) that the first edition of the *Philosophe* was printed in Holland in 1766, with variorum notes by Sedaine. I have never seen any such edition and presume that Oger must have had this Constapel & Le Febvre issue in mind. As has been indicated however, there are here no variants, at least in the two copies which I have seen (that of the Landesbibliothek of Cassel, Germany, and that of the Boston, Massachusetts, Public Library). It is clear that C is merely a reprint of A, the proof being in the references given above. In a prospectus of the firm Constapel & Le Febvre which I found bound in with their 1772 edition of Davesne's comedy *Les Jardiniers* (copy in the Berlin Royal Library), may be read the conditions of subscription and publication of the series in which their edition of the *Philosophe* is included: "On fera venir de Paris, toutes les Pièces Dramatiques nouvelles, qui s'y représentent, ou qui y seront imprimées depuis peu, pour en faire aussitôt une nouvelle édition".

The same firm published in 1769 Sedaine's *Les Sabots* (copy in Berlin Royal Library), and on p. 32 of this is a list of plays published by them in 1766. The *Philosophe* is No. 10 in this list of 13, a list which is not arranged alphabetically, but presumably chronologically. Hence it seems entirely reasonable to believe that C was published late in 1766, and certainly later than A, which, as we have seen, appeared shortly before April 15, 1766 (see paragraph 8e).

14. [D] 1766.

LE | PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR | COMÉDIE | EN
PROSE | ET | EN CINQ ACTES | PAR M. SEDAINÉ | REPRÉSENTÉE
PAR LES COMÉDIENS | FRANÇOIS DE LA COUR SUR LE NOU-
VEAU THÉÂTRE | DE S. A. E. DE | SAXE | À DRESDE |
1766 | AVEC APPROBATION DE LA COUR. | CHEZ GEORGE CONRAD
WALTHER | LIBRAIRE DE LA COUR. |

116 pages octavo.

This is another reprint of A, without Sedaine's statement or the uncensored variants. It does not correct the errata of A, a fact which may argue that they were not given in the copy of A which the Dresden editor used. No list of actors, either in Paris or in Dresden, is given. It is apparently a rare book. There are copies in the Munich Hof-und Staats-Bibliothek, in the New York City Public Library, and in the Dresden Royal Library.

See note 152 for the list of A's errata, none of which are corrected by D (see note 326 for a correction made differently from the manner suggested in A's errata).

D. has unique readings at notes 86, 210, 660, 661. It shares with other editions certain peculiarities at notes 98, 145, 326, 482, 512, 574, 620, 624. At 574 it corrects an error of A that had not been noted in A's errata. 620 and 624 are curious misprints of peculiar interest, 620 being a misprint shared with E and 624 another shared with F, that at 624 being particularly interesting.

15. [E] 1766.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR | COMÉDIE EN PROSE |
ET EN CINQ ACTES, | REPRÉSENTÉE PAR LES COMÉDIENS FRAN-
ÇOIS | ORDINAIRES DU ROI LE 2 NOVEMBRE 1765. | PAR M.
SEDAINÉ. | LE PRIX EST DE VINGT-UN SOLS | A GENÈVE |
CHEZ LOUIS ANTOINE CAILLE. | AU BAS DU COLLEGE. |
MDCCLXVI. | AVEC PERMISSION. |

104 pages octavo.

The uniqueness of this edition consists in the fact that it alone of all editions, except the first and second Paris editions, has the statement and un-

censored variants of Sedaine. The censored text ends on p. 89; Sedaine's statement is on p. 90, the variants begin at the bottom of p. 90 and run through p. 104.

This is another reprint of A. It does not correct A's errata, however. Noteworthy is the fact that the arrangement of the title-page is the same as that of A. The list of the Paris actors is also given. The edition is very badly printed, being full of misspellings and other more serious errors.

See the list of A's errata in note 152.

Other places of interest are given at notes 41, 122, 125, 207, 512, 647 (a peculiar misprint). At 620, E shares with D an interesting misprint. In common again with D, E corrects at note 574 an unnoticed error of A.

This is evidently a rare book. I used a copy from the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek. A review of this edition in the *Goettingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen* (vol. 35, (1766) pp. 567-568) is dated June 14, 1766. Thus E must have appeared prior to this date, and we have another check upon the appearance of A.

Quérard in *La France Littéraire* (vol. 9, p. 11, first column) mentions a Geneva edition of 1768 which I have tried repeatedly to find. It is my present opinion that Quérard has made here another error, and that his 1768 should read 1766.

16. [Ea] 1766.

The statement by Sedaine and variants of the uncensored scenes as given in E do not differ from those of A except in unessential points, most of which are misprints. There are a very considerable number of these. In referring the variants to their proper place in the main text, E often gives the pagination of A instead of its own, this being another proof of E's dependence upon A, and also of the carelessness with which E is printed.

The only variant of Ea from Aa that seems worthy of note is the following in Sedaine's statement: Instead of "C'étoit sous un autre aspect Brutus, qui pénétré etc" as in Aa, we have in Ea: "C'étoit sous un autre aspect que Brutus, pénétré etc". See paragraph 6 for the entire statement.

See notes 346, 548, 577 for mention of Ea.

17. [F] 1767.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR | COMÉDIE EN
PROSE | ET EN CINQ ACTES, | REPRÉSENTÉE PAR LES COMÉDIENS
FRANÇOIS | ORDINAIRES DU ROI LE 2 NOVEMBRE 1765. | PAR
MONSIEUR SEDAINÉ | LE PRIX EST DE VINGT-QUATRE SOLS | A
PARIS | CHEZ CLAUDE HÉRISANT, LIBRAIRE-IMPRIMEUR | RUE
NEUVE NOTRE-DAME, À LA CROIX D'OR. | M.DCC.LXVII. | AVEC
APPROBATION & PRIVILÈGE DU ROI. |

71 pages octavo.

This is a reprint of A containing the same typographical errors, but having *no* errata. There is no appendix containing the statement by Sedaine and uncensored

variants. There is, however, the same *Approbation* signed Marin, and the same reference to *Le Roi et le Fermier* for the *Privilège*, as in A. The text is precisely that of A except in a few unimportant details.

See note 152 for a list of the readings of A which remain the same in F. Other peculiarities are at notes 207, 210, 574 (peculiar misprint also in A, whose repetition in F and Av suggests foreign typesetting for these as for C), 624 (repetition of another misprint). At 646, F corrects, but undoubtedly independently, an error of A. F is alone in its peculiarities at notes 219, 226, 325, 421, 437, 476.

It is rather mysterious that a 1767 edition presumably from the firm of Claude Hérisant should repeat the errors of the first 1766 edition by that firm, instead of adopting the more correct text of their second 1766 edition. One is inclined therefore to believe this 1767 a pirated edition and to consider the imprint Claude Hérisant as false.

This is a rare book. The only copy that I have seen is that of the Harvard University Library.

18. [K] 1769.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SÇAVOIR | COMÉDIE EN
PROSE, | ET EN CINQ ACTES, | REPRESENTÉE PAR LES COMÉDIENS
FRANÇOIS ORDINAIRES | DU ROI, LE 2 NOVEMBRE 1765. | PAR
MONSIEUR SEDAINE | À PARIS | PAR LA COMPAGNIE DES LI-
BRAIRES | M. DCC. LXIX. | AVEC APPROBATION ET PERMIS-
SION. |

71 pages quarto.

Copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A reprint of A only, having no uncensored variants or statement by Sedaine. A strange exception to this is the insertion of the episode of the bullet hole in the hat. See this in note 638; in this respect K is unique. The errata of A are all corrected; see list in note 152. The names of the actors do not appear. Other peculiarities are found in notes 326, 353 s, t, 574.

19. [Av] 1772.

LE | PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SAVOIR | COMÉDIE | EN
PROSE ET EN CINQ ACTES, | REPRÉSENTÉE PAR LES COMÉDIENS
FRANÇOIS ORDINAIRES DU | ROI, LE 2. NOVEMBRE, 1765. | PAR
MONSIEUR SEDAINE. | NOUVELLE ÉDITION. | À AVIGNON, |
CHEZ LOUIS CHAMBEAU, IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE, | PRÈS LE
COLLÈGE. | M. DCC. LXXII.

53 pages quarto.

A censored text only. No variants or statement by Sedaine. List of Paris
(267)

actors omitted. In scene division and stage directions precisely like A. It corrects some but not all the errata of A; see list in note 152. Av has unique readings at notes 32, 94, 175, 231, 332. It is like Ma only at 447, 529. It is like Ib at notes 56, 98, 121, 140, 199, 491, 529. It is like others at 98, 145, 326. Note the retention of the curious misprint at 574. Besides these misprints there are innumerable others, which fact suggests the possibility that the book was not set up by French typesetters.

It is a rare book. Copies in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, and in the Hof-und-Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.

20. [Di-H] 1813ff.

The text of A with no appendix of uncensored variants and no statement by Sedaine, but with correction of the errata of A (see list at note 152) with the exception of those at 152 itself and at 351, became the basis of many stereotyped reprints. This group follows so closely the subgroup Ia that it seemed unwise to separate it from Ia, despite the fact that it shows quite a number of differences. It seemed best to list those differences here, rather than to create an additional subgroup. The following references are to such places where Di-H does not follow Ia:

3, 9, 111, 224, 235, 250, 277, 283, 303, 324, 343, 352, 353 c, k, m, 377a, 417, 420, 431, 470, 488, 499, 506, 524, 559, 626, 627.

In Act I. Di-H does not follow Ia strictly in scene-division (see the table in paragraph 67.)

With the exception of 353c and 470, these references show an agreement with Ic and with BN. Thus Di-H is to this extent a cross between Ia and Ic, and BN follows it in this peculiarity. Moreover O has most of the above peculiarities, the exceptions being 9, 224, 235, 324, 417, 431, 488, 506, 524, 626. To a certain extent therefore, one may speak of a subdivision comprising Ic, Di-H, BN, to which O also often belongs.

At 623 Di alone departs from Ia. Inversely at 366 H alone departs from Ia. These places are further interesting as showing that BN follows H and not Di. The same seems to be true of O, as far as this follows group Ia at all. I now describe the editions which belong respectively to Di and to H; the Di editions were published by the Didot firm or its successors, the H editions by Hachette:

[Di] Didot division. 1813ff.

a) "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" is in vol. I, pp. 1-77 of "Oeuvres Choies de Sedaine. Edition stéréotype d'après le procédé de Firmin Didot. A Paris, de l'imprimerie et de la fonderie stéréotypes de P. DIDOT L'AINÉ, et de FIRMIN DIDOT." 18° The edition is in three volumes, the date 1813 being only in the last two. Vol. I contains a "Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Sedaine" (pp. v-xiiij) by "L. S. A." These initials are those of Louis-Simon Auger (1772-1829). The Bibliothèque Nationale considers its copy of this edition sufficiently valuable to belong to its Reserve (call-number Reserve Yf 4, 641-4, 643).

b) As far as the "Philosophe" is concerned, precisely the same stereotyped text forms pp. 1-77 of vol. I of "Oeuvres de Sedaine. Edition stéréotype Didot. Paris (no date). Gennequin Ainé, Libraire, 52 rue Saint André des Arts."

c) Quérard (*La France Littéraire*, vol. 9, p. 11, column 2) describes an edition as follows: "Oeuvres Choies (publiées avec une Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur, par M. Auger.) Paris, P. et F. Didot (*Victor Masson) 1813. 3 vols. etc". Quérard also gives a list of the works of Sedaine as arranged in these three volumes. This list is identical in content and in order with that of the Gennequin edition given above under b), and with the Hachette reprints (see below). The list differs however slightly from that of the Didot edition given above under a); these differences are as follows:

1. a) has "Rose et Colas" at the end of vol. I; in b) and c) "Rose et Colas" is the third play of vol. II.

2. a) places "On ne s'avise jamais de tout" (which b) and c) do not have at all) in vol. II where b) and c) have their "Rose et Colas".

3. a) adds to vol. III "Le Comte d'Albert" and "Suite du Comte d'Albert", (both coming after "Richard Coeur de Lion"); b) & c) do not have "Le Comte d'Albert" or "Suite du Comte d'Albert".

4. a) adds "Poésies Diverses", which are not given in b) or c) at all, at the end of vol. III.

Thus a) is a far more complete edition than b) and c), and seems to be a much rarer book.

d) Quérard adds to his description of c): "C'est sur les clichés de cette édition qu'a été faite la réimpression qui fait partie de la Nouv-Bibliothèque des Classiques Français, publiée en 1830 par le libraire Lecointe." This is correct The Berlin University Library has a copy of this Lecointe edition, whose complete imprint is: "De l'Imprimerie de Lachevardière, rue du Colombier 30. Paris. Librairie de Lecointe, quai des Augustins No. 49. Paris 1830."

e) Brunet's Manuel lists an edition as follows with the number 16,557: "Oeuvres dramatiques de Mich. Sedaine. Paris. 5 vol. in 8=Oeuvres Choies, Paris, Didot, 1813. 3 vol. in 18." The Didot imprint of this statement evidently belongs here. The 5 vol. edition mentioned is probably the one which is discussed in paragraph 38.

[H] Hachette division. 1860ff.

Under the title "Oeuvres Choies de Sedaine" and in one volume (18°, iv, 375 pages), the firm of L. Hachette or its successor has issued one and the same stereotyped edition at frequent intervals, merely printing a new date at each reissue. I have seen or know of copies having the dates: 1860, 1865, 1869, 1876, 1888, 1906. Doubtless other dates exist, since the edition is reprinted as often as the trade demands.

In this edition the *Philosophe* occupies pp. 1-33. The other plays of Sedaine are the same and in precisely the same order as indicated by Quérard in his description of the 3 vol. Didot edition mentioned above under c). I have shown above that c) is the same in these respects as b) and d).

21. [Ty.] 1816.

Le Philosophe | sans le savoir. | Comédie | en cinq actes
et en prose, | de Sedaine, | Représentée par les Comédiens
Français ordinaires | du Roi, le 2 Novembre, 1765. | A
Troyes | chez Gobelet, Imprimeur du Roi et Libraire, | près
l'Hôtel de Ville, No. 206. | 1816.

55 pages octavo.

Censored text only. No variants or statement by Sedaine. It corrects precisely the same errata of A as does Di-H, i. e. all except 152 and 351. At 623 Ty follows Di. Doubtless it is only a reprint of Di. It is a rather rare book. There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Quérard gives in *La France Littéraire* (vol. 9, p. 11) a Troyes (Gobelet) edition of the date 1815, but I have never seen it, and am inclined to believe 1815 an error for 1816. Nevertheless an 1815 Troyes (Gobelet) edition is given as No. 3183 on p. 551 of the 1815 volume of the *Bibliographie de la France ou Journal Général de l'Imprimerie* in the part dated Dec. 23, 1815. The *Bibliographie* does not give an 1816 edition in its 1816 volume. I am inclined to believe that the lateness of the date Dec. 23, 1815, is the key to the explanation. The *Bibliographie* had knowledge of the coming of the book, whose actual imprint is dated 1816. Even admitting the existence of an 1815 imprint by the same publishers, it can scarcely differ from that of 1816.

22. [BN and BNa] 1875ff.

The "Librairie de la Bibliothèque Nationale" Paris, publish as vol. 204 of their series: "Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection des meilleurs auteurs anciens et modernes", a stereotyped edition of "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" and "La Gageure Imprévue" in 32°. The date is changed at each reissue, the earliest being 1875.

The *Philosophe* had just been revived (September 17, 1875) at the Comédie Française, and for the first time approximately in the form originally written by Sedaine. It was this fact that led the editors of this BN edition to reproduce after their reprint of the censored text of A the uncensored variants and Sedaine's statement as we have found them bound in with the earlier editions (A, B, E) of 1766. The closing paragraph of the "Note des Éditeurs" on p. vii is here of interest: "Les éditeurs de la *Bibliothèque Nationale* voulaient donner ici la comédie de Sedaine telle qu'elle est jouée aujourd'hui; mais ils ont pensé qu'il serait plus intéressant pour le lecteur de lire d'abord la pièce qui a été représentée sur cent théâtres et imprimée dans vingt éditions, et de trouver ensuite la Note de l'auteur et les Variantes, que nous reproduisons d'après l'édition de 1765 [sic], devenue très-rare."

This edition has, therefore, the very considerable merit of being the first and only edition to reproduce the uncensored variants of the earliest editions of 1766 precisely as there printed. The only changes are modernized spellings and a few unimportant differences which are noted below. It did not however concern itself at all with the *souffleur* manuscript at the Comédie Française, nor attempt to give the text of the play as revived at that theatre. Reprints of this edition have been made to suit the demand of the trade in 1880, 1895, etc.

The peculiarities of BN are as follows:

It is like Di-H in two respects: It corrects the errata of A except 152 and 351. It also differs from A in the same places as Di-H (see list in paragraph 20). Where H departs from Di at note 366, we find BN following H rather than Di. BN is independent of Di-H and Ia at 349, 407b, 408, 413, 465, 494, 539, 601.

BNa is mentioned in notes 346, 352, 548, 577. BNa has peculiar readings in notes 347, 348, 349, 375, 592, 600, 640 662.

Sub-group Ib.

23. Beginning with 1810 there are a certain number of editions, usually stereotyped in one form or another, whose text shows sufficient differentiation from that of group Ia to merit special classification as an independent group. In addition to text variations, this sub-group Ib differs markedly in scene-numbering. This will be apparent upon consulting the scene-table in paragraph 67. Moreover the editions of Ib have the common mistake of giving June 25, 1765, an impossible date, as the date of the first performance. They also agree in calling the play a "drame". It should, however, be noted that these editions have no statement by Sedaine and no uncensored variants. They follow strictly the censored version.

The text differences between Ib and Ia are as follows :

- a. Ib is by itself at notes 26, 46, 47, 62, 67, 81, 88, 94, 188, 267, 312, 377c, 416, 459, 482 (like D.), 503, 513, 520, 551, 583, 655, 669.
- b. Ib is like the Ms-S at notes 311, 330, 423, 512.
- c. Ib is like Av. at notes 56, 98, 121, 140, 199, 447, 491, 529.
- d. Ib goes with Ic at notes 9, 189, 269, 394, 420, 646.
- e. Ib goes with group II very frequently: Wherever Ia and Ic are alike : 8, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29, 53, 69, 78, 87, 89, 117, 138, 152, 159, 164, 176, 186, 207, 208, 210, 215, 229, 243, 247, 248, 306, 308, 309, 349, 353c, 424, 442, 445, 464, 502, 603, 618, 653. In places where Ia alone differs from Group I: 127, 260, 305, 330, 353l, y, 394, 431, 500.
- f. The Ma portion of Ib (the main part of the sub-group Ib) shows peculiar readings at notes 7b, 411, 412, 425, 426, 431, 447, 529, 600. Mb does not differ from the regular text at these points.

Thus for a totality of nearly one hundred places Ib differs from Ia, and this amount seems to justify a special sub-group, particularly when taken in connection with the other differences emphasized above.

Within Ib there are two divisions Ma and Mb. The only distinction between them, however, is that Mb does not always follow Ib in Acts IV and V.

24. [Ma]

a) 1810. In Vol. XXXIX (=Drames Vol I.) of "Théâtre des auteurs du second ordre ou recueil des tragédies, et comédies restées au théâtre français." Paris, Mame Frères, 1810. "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" is at pp. 243-333.

1816. Precisely the same as the above appeared in 1816 with the imprint: "Imprimerie Stéréotype d'A. Egron. Paris. (Se vend a Paris chez J. B. Garnery, Libraire, rue du Pot-de-Fer, no. 14. H. Nicolle, à la Librairie Stéréotype, rue de Seine. No. 12)" "Le Philosophe" is at pp. 243-333.

1818. The same again, but with the title: "Répertoire Général du Théâtre Français composé des Tragédies, Comédies et Drames des auteurs du premier et du second ordre, restées au Théâtre Français." Vol. 66 (=Drames vol. I.) A Paris (chez Théodore Dabo à la librairie stéréotype, rue Hautefeuille No. 16.)

"Le Philosophe" is again at pp. 243-333.

1821. Precisely the same as 1818. The "Philosophe" is still at pp. 243-333.

1825. The same as 1818, but with the imprint: "Paris. Mme. Dabo-Butschert."

b) 1813. In Vol. 29 (=Drames Vol 1) of "Répertoire Général du Théâtre Français. Second Ordre. A Paris. Chez Ménard et Raymond, Libraires Editeurs, rue des Grands Augustins, No. 25, et à Versailles, chez Lebel, Imprimeur-Libraire, place d'Armes. 1813" "Le Philosophe" is at pp. 157-247. This edition shows a peculiarity at note 7b.

c) 1825. In Vol. XXXI of "Répertoire du Théâtre Français. Second Ordre.

(=“Chefs-d’Oeuvre Dramatiques de Champfort et Sedaine”). A Paris. Imprimerie de Jules Didot aîné, Imprimeur du roi. A Paris. Chez Ladrangue Guibert, Lheureux, Verdière” 1825. “Le Philosophe” is at pp. 153-256.

25. [Mb]

Mb is like Ma except for a few places in Acts IV and V, where Mb does not follow the peculiarities of Ma. The list of these places is: 411, 412, 425, 426, 431, 447, 529, 600. Here Mb remains with group I.

1829. In “Répertoire du Théâtre Français. Second Ordre. Tome XV. Paris, Baudouin Frères, Libraires, rue de Vaugirard 17”. “Le Philosophe” is at pp. 317-383. The date of the play is given merely as 1765.

1834. Precisely the same as 1829 appeared in 1834 with the imprint: “Paris, Bazouge-Figoreau, rue des Beaux-Arts No. 14”. On the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale is written Tome 23.

Sub-group Ic.

26. The editions given in the following paragraphs belong in the main to group I, but, like sub-group Ib, they differ sufficiently to merit classification as another sub-group. Many of these differences, but by no means all, are also found in the very interesting stage-copy of the second Paris edition (B) now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. This stage-copy, which is described in detail as Mz under group II in paragraph 37, has its corrections or additions written in a clear hand. The librarians of the Bibliothèque Mazarine had no definite knowledge regarding the origin of this stage-copy. Monsieur Jules Couët, custodian of the archives at the Comédie Française, did me the great kindness to examine carefully this book, and gave as his opinion that the manuscript additions and corrections were by Delaporte who was secrétaire-souffleur of the Comédie Française, and that this copy had served for the prompter’s copy at that theatre in all probability since the appearance of the second Paris edition in 1766. This being so, its readings possess great interest. I have therefore included all its variants in the critical apparatus.

Wherever the editions of Ic mention the full date of the first performance, it is November 2, 1765. Like Ib, Ic has no editions with the statement by Sedaine and the variants of the uncensored version. All the editions of Ic follow strictly the censored version.

The text peculiarities of Ic are as follows :

a. It alone differs from the rest of group I: 7, 34, 42, 73, 122(=E), 125(=E), 126, 127, 137, 166, 167, 204, 221, 225, 256, 261, 262, 272, 274, 275, 276, 293, 295, 298, 305, 317, 327, 350, 353g, 353u, 353w, 353z, 398, 401, 402, 407d, 407f, 409, 415, 434, 451, 460, 461, 463, 466, 467, 468, 483, 484, 491, 501, 523, 525, 567, 606, 610, 630, 631, 653, 666.

b. It has the readings of Mz as follows, a ? indicating that the readings are not precisely alike, but close enough to indicate beyond doubt some relationship: 16, 40, 42?, 95, 96, 101, 127?, 174, 178, 217, 222, 223, 233, 238, 240, 242, 244, 253, 256?, 268, 273, 281, 282, 291, 292, 293?, 317, 345, 353z?, 365, 369, 439, 440, 446, 448, 454, 473, 487, 501?, 631?

c. It agrees with Di-H (see paragraph 20) in certain variations from Ia: 3, 9, 111, 224, 235, 250, 277, 283, 303, 324, 343, 352, 353k, 353m, 377a, 417, 420, 431, 488, 499, 506, 524, 559, 626, 627.

d. It further agrees with Di-H in correcting the errata of A with the exception, as in Di-H, of 152, 351. In this it differs from Ib which only corrected 152, 189, 323, 326, 646, 656.

e. It is like Ib at notes 9, 189, 269, 394, 420, 646.

f. It agrees with the *souffleur* manuscript at notes: 34, 353g; 369, 446, 487, 491; of these it shares 369, 446, 487 with Mz.

g. Its agreements with Ia are given in paragraph 23e.

h. Together with Ib it agrees often with II: 260, 353l, 353y, 394, 500.

27. [FD] 1838ff.

The text of Ic is found in "La France Dramatique au XIXe siècle", Tome II. Livraison 303-304. Pagination 225-247. Quarto. "Paris. Imprimerie Normale de Jules Didot l'aîné. No. 4 Boulevard d'enfer.—A Paris chez Barba, chez Delloye, chez Bezou." The date 1838 is furnished by the *Bibliographie de la France ou Journal Général de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie* in the volume for 1838 (=27th year), p. 16. No. 165. The British Museum dates its copy 1841, which seems an error. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses another copy with another imprint as follows:

1866.) same as above but "Paris, Imprimerie de Walder rue Bonaparte 44". The two copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale are identical except for the imprints. The date 1866 is that of the *Dépôt Légal*, and it is also found in the 1866 volume of the *Journal de la Librairie*.

These impressions show no variants from the text of Ic.

28. [AC] 1846ff.

The text of Ic is further found in Vol. VII of "Chefs d'oeuvre des Auteurs Comiques". This volume contains the *Philosophe sans le savoir* and *La Gageure Imprévue* of Sedaine, and also plays by Marmontel, Collé, Monvel, Andrieux and Chéron. Each author is paged separately. The *Philosophe* occupies pp. 1-63 of

Sedaine's portion and heads the volume. The following imprints of this edition exist:

1846. Paris (Didot). Copy in the Boston, Massachusetts, Public Library.

1857. The same. Copy in the Harvard University Library.

1861. The same but with the imprint: Paris (Librairie de Firmin-Didot Frères, Fils et Cie) Imprimeurs de l'Institut, rue Jacob 56". Copy in the Chicago Public Library.

1879. The same as 1861.

No date. The same seems to have been often reprinted with the imprint: Librairie de Paris. Firmin-Didot et Cie, Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 58, rue Jacob, Paris. (No date).

The text of AC offers a few points of interest at 572, 592, 623. It seems to have been the basis of BI (see paragraph 34).

29. [Ha] 1854.

The text of Ic is printed in the following: "Bibliothèque des Chemins de fer. Troisième Série, Littérature Française Le Philosophe sans le savoir etc. Paris. Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie., rue Sarrazin, No. 14. Imprimerie de Lahure à Paris. 1854". 80 pages. 75 centimes.

This edition offers points of interest at notes 275, 572.

30. [TC] 1860ff.

The text of Ic appears further as "Livraison 455" of the "Théâtre Contemporain Illustré" 12 pages quarto in two columns, published by "Michel Lévy Frères éditeurs" Paris. Each livraison sold for 20 centimes. The first impression was in 1860 and this edition seems to have been frequently reprinted.

The names of the original Paris actors of 1765 are given. A rough wood-cut represents one of the scenes, presumably the return of the younger Vanderk.

This edition has peculiarities which are given at notes 353z, 407d.

31. [J] 1872.

Le Philosophe sans le savoir in the text of Ic forms pp. 476-499 of "Chefs-d'oeuvre dramatiques du XVIIIe siècle, ou Choix des Pièces les plus remarquables de Regnard, Lesage, Destouches, Beaumarchais, Marivaux, etc, etc. Edition ornée de portraits en pied coloriés dessinés par M. Geoffroy . . . et précédée d'une Introduction et d'une Notice sur chaque auteur par Jules Janin de l'Académie Française. Paris, Laplace, Sanchez et Cie., éditeurs. rue Séguier 3. 1872". Large octavo. viii + 675 pages in two columns. At page 476 is a picture in colors of M. Vanderk père seated with arms extended; below is the quotation from Act V Scene V: "Mon fils est mort! . . . Je l'ai vu là . . . et je ne l'ai pas embrassé." According to Lorentz this Janin edition was also issued in two volumes smaller octavo.

This edition shows a peculiarity at note 225.

32. [AR] 1878.

The text of Ic appears also in a series known as "Le Théâtre". "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" etc. Nouvelle édition publiée par Ad. Rion, fondateur de la Collection des 100 Bons Livres à 10 c. Paris, Départements, Etranger, chez tous les Libraires." Paris. Imprimerie Ve. Larousse et Cie. 16° 54 pages.

This edition has a few peculiarities noted at 233, 353z.

33. [NB] 1887.

The *Philosophe* appeared again in the text of Ic as No. 66 of "Nouvelle Bibliothèque Populaire à 10c." published by Henri Gautier, Paris. Small octavo, 29 pages, followed by Sedaine's "Epître à mon habit," and "Le Cerf et le Chien". 1887 is the date of the "Dépôt Légal" stamp on the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

34. [B1] 1887.

The text of Ic appeared also as a class-room text in the following: "Le Philosophe sans le savoir par Michel-Jean Sedaine. Edited with introduction, argument, and notes by Rev. Herbert A. Bull, M. A. Cambridge (England) at the University Press 1887. Edited for the syndics of the University Press." Small octavo. vi + 90 pages.

This is a volume of the so-called "Pitt Press Series". The editor seems totally unaware of the editions of Heylli of 1877 and 1880, as well as their reprints by Moland and Gisi respectively (see below under Independent Editions). Bull adopts merely the censored text and shows no knowledge of the existence of uncensored variants. Hence his edition has no critical value whatsoever, and it is further marred by prudish omissions and distortions of the original text. A list of these follows: 110, 180, 181, 450. It seems reasonably clear that Bull used one of the AC editions (see paragraph 28) as his basis: see notes 572, 592, 623. Other text peculiarities of B1 are given at notes 53, 131, 226.

A poor translation into English was made of this edition in 1888. See tr K at paragraph 63.

GROUP II.

35. [B] 1766.

LE PHILOSOPHE | SANS LE SÇAVOIR, | COMEDIE EN
CINQ ACTES | ET EN PROSES [*sic*], | *Représentée par les Comédiens François* | *ordinaires du Roi le 2 Decembre 1765.* | *Par M. SEDAINE.* | SECONDE EDITION. | TRENTE SOLS BROCHÉ |
[the same vignette of two billing doves as in the first edition A.] |
A PARIS, | Chez CLAUDE HERRISSANT, Libraire-Imprimeur, |
rue | Neuve Notre-Dame, à la Croix d'or. | M. DCC. LXVI. |
Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi. |

Octavo. [iv] + 120 pages. The text ends on p. 119, and p. [120] contains the same *Approbation* by Marin, and the same reference to the *Privilège*, as in the first edition A. (see paragraph 11). After p. [120], there follow eighteen pages with new upper pagination from 1 to 18, but with regular continuation of the signatures of the main part of the text. Thus, the last signature of the main text had been Hiiij on p. 117, and the first signature of the additional 18 pages is I on p. 9. Since the book is an octavo, this signature-numbering gives us exactly sixteen pages from the signature H on p. 113 to the signature I on p. 9 of the additional pages. It is thus clear that these additional pages were issued together with, and as an integral part of, the main portion of the book. In paragraph 12 I have shown that this was not the case with the appended pages of the first edition A. I have used these facts already in paragraph 4f as one of the proofs of the superiority of the second edition. The remaining signatures of the appendix of B are Iij on p. 11 and K on p. 17. Thus the signature I contains only eight pages. Signature K contains merely pages 17, 18, and two advertising pages of the books for sale by Hérissant. This irregularity is unlike the symmetry of the appendix to A where we have to do with exactly two fascicles, each quarto, totalling sixteen pages.

In preceding paragraphs, notably in paragraphs 4a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l; 5, 8, I have described this second edition and endeavored to justify my choice of it as the text of the present edition. All the variants of the critical apparatus start from this second edition as a base.

Note 520 is an interesting proof that B was laid on the press twice. This is of interest in view of the fact that note 624 proved that A also had been treated in like manner.

There are six copies of B at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; three at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; one at the Bibliothèque Mazarine; and other copies at Gotha, Wolfenbüttel, the Comédie Française, Paris, and in the Boston (Massachusetts) Atheneum. The present editor also owns a copy.

36. [Ba] 1766.

In preceding paragraphs I have already discussed the appearance of the appendix of the second edition, and shown that it was issued as an integral part of that edition. In only one copy of the dozen or more that I have seen is the appendix absent, and there the omission is clearly accidental. This is the Bibliothèque Nationale copy with call-number 8° Yth 14,126.

In paragraph 5 was quoted in full Sedaine's statement of his reasons for printing the variants of the uncensored version. It is rather remarkable that he was allowed to print that which he was not allowed to present on the stage. In this connection the quotation from Collé's *Memoirs* which I have given in paragraph 8d is of interest.

Reference is again made to paragraph 5 for the list of places where the variants of Ba are inserted in the text of the present edition. Where these variants replace the readings of the censored text I have given the latter in foot-notes using B as the basis of comparison with other censored editions.

37. [Mz] Probable date 1766.

At the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris (call number 46,289), there is a most interesting copy of the second Paris edition, B, (1766), containing a great number of written corrections and additions to the censored text. The uncensored variants are left untouched, and it is clear that they were not used at all. The handwriting of these changes is of the late eighteenth century according to the librarians of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, who declare that the book came to the library before the Revolution. In its changed condition Mz is manifestly a stage-copy for use by a prompter or stage-manager, and was clearly prepared by some one thoroughly acquainted with the actors' art. Monsieur Jules Coüet, the scholarly archivist of the Comédie Française writes me as his opinion that the handwriting is that of Delaporte secrétaire-souffleur of the Comédie Française in 1766. Monsieur Coüet declares further that this stage-copy was certainly used for representations at the Comédie Française for some time after the appearance of the second Paris edition of the play. Its interest and value therefore are considerable. Aside from certain changes in the text, to which I shall refer presently, this copy has the following features:

a. At the beginning of each scene, the personages playing in that scene are given numbers, doubtless in order to indicate their relative position on the stage. Often in the progress of a scene, marginal lists indicate the changed stage-positions of the characters at that point in the dialogue. These changes are particularly frequent toward the end of the play.

b. To indicate more carefully each entrance and exit of an actor, marginal notes create a new scene at that point, and the regular scenes are renumbered accordingly. This renumbering is not always accurately made, especially in the fifth act.

c. Quite a number of additional stage-directions are given throughout. This additional stage-business aids materially in the correct interpretation of the play. The same may be said of the additions to the dialogue.

d. On the inside page of the front cover is written a list of the characters appearing in Act I, and this list is in the order of their appearance.

e. In very many cases when changed readings are written over the original readings, the latter are not cancelled. Evidently the choice was left open.

A leading interest of this Mazarine Library copy consists in its having many of the variants which have been found charac-

teristic of sub-group Ic of Group I. What the connection between Mz and the sub-group Ic may be, is still considerable of a mystery. The earliest edition of Ic that I have found is of the year 1838 (see paragraph 27). It does not seem entirely probable that Mz served directly as the basis of Ic, for, in the first place, the variants of Mz are not always accurately reproduced, and, in the second place, Mz has many more variants which are not found in Ic or in any other printed text. The situation is probably this: the first editor of Ic had access to Mz or to some other stage-copy based upon Mz, and chose such variants as pleased him, rejecting the others.

The peculiarities in the text of Mz are as follows:

1. See again the list in paragraph 26b for the similarities of Mz and Ic. There are some forty such.

2. In addition to these, Mz actually changes the text at notes 5a, 33, 36, 42, 57, 60, 63, 104, 127, 194, 208a, 228, 237, 239, 245, 246, 252, 256, 265; 272, 293, 294, 301, 315, 332, 336, 339, 340, 341, 353w, 353x, 353y, 439, 457, 498a, 500, 501, 631, 635, 656, 673. Here alone there are forty-one places where Ic does not follow suit.

3. Mz furthermore changes the stage-directions or business at the following places: 57, 113, 191, 266, 294, 353x, 353z, 434, 435, 536, 602, 614, 657. Here also Ic does not follow suit.

4. Mz occasionally writes a proposed change over the original reading without cancelling the latter. See at notes 7a, 28, 65, 119, 376, 487, 562, 635. Here again Ic is not dependent.

5. The most interesting peculiarities of Mz are those places which reveal some connection of Mz with the *souffleur* manuscript: see notes 56, 353q, 369, 446, 448, 487, 533?, 556, 616; of these peculiarities Ic shares those at 369, 446, 487. It is clear that the original manuscript was occasionally consulted by Delaporte, who prepared Mz.

6. At 622 the retention of "bonheur" is of interest.

38. 1776.

The second Paris edition, B, is contained in Vol. II of: "OEUVRES | DRAMATIQUES | DE M. SEDAINE | QUATRE VOLUMES IN 8° | Prix, brochés 12 livres | Tome Premier [etc], | A PARIS | Chez la Veuve DUCHESNE, rue S. Jacques, au Temple du Goût. | M.DCC.LXXVI. | Avec Approbation et Privilège" | Octavo.

As indicated, this is a set of four volumes. The other plays in the second volume are: *Le Roi et le Fermier*; *L'Anneau Perdu et retrouvé*; *La Gagewre*

Imprévue. All the plays in all four volumes retain their original pagination, so that Quérard accurately describes this 1776 issue when he says (*La France Littéraire*, vol. 9, p. 11): "Ce n'est point une édition proprement dite du théâtre de Sedaine, mais la réunion, au moyen de frontispieces d'un certain nombre de piéces de cet auteur qui avaient été imprimées séparément".

The total number of plays in this collection is nineteen. I know of copies of this 1776 edition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and at the Bibliothek des Herzoglichen Hauses, Gotha.

The *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. de Soleinne*, vol. II, No. 1954, mentions an 1800 collection of Sedaine's "Oeuvres Dramatiques" in five volumes. This collection I have never seen, but I judge that it is the same as that mentioned by Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* under No. 16,557: "Oeuvres dramatiques de Mich. Sedaine. Paris. 5 vol. in 8" (see paragraph 20e). It is also the same as that mentioned in Gustave Lanson's "Manuel Bibliographique, Dix-huitième siècle" under Sedaine: "Oeuvres Dramatiques. An viii (1800), 5 vol. in-8." Monsieur Lanson has recently informed me that the text of the *Philosophe* contained there is that of the second edition (B) of 1766.

39. In addition to the 1776 issue of Sedaine's works listed above in paragraph 38, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses a similar collection or "réunion" in six volumes, whose title pages, or "frontispieces" as Quérard would call them, run as follows:

THEATRE DE SEDAINE. PARIS, Chez DUCHESNE,
Libraire, rue Serpente No. 19. [No date.]

Quérard does not list this collection at all.

This undated collection contains besides the nineteen plays found in the 1776 collection ten others which first appeared from 1777 to 1791. These ten later plays are all found in Volumes V and VI. In Vol. I the plays are the same and arranged in the same order as in Vol. I of the 1776 collection. In the other volumes (II, III, IV) the arrangement is not the same. *Le Philosophe*, however, is in the second volume as before, and, at least in the set at the Bibliothèque Nationale, is a copy of the first Paris edition A. There may be other sets in which the second edition is found, but I have seen only the one set. In a general way the order of arrangement here, as in the collection of 1776, is chronological. In the 1776 collection "La Reine de Golconde" is the last play of Vol. IV, but in the collection in six volumes it is the first play of Vol V.

In the 1776 collection the list of plays in each volume is printed on the verso of the title-page or "frontispiece" of that volume. In the undated collection the lists are printed on the title-pages themselves. From the fact that all six title-pages are identical in type-setting, paper, and general appearance (except of course that the lists of plays differ), and the further fact that Vol. V and Vol. VI con-

tain the plays subsequent to 1776, one may well conclude that the entire set was issued much later than 1776. Vol. V could not have been issued before 1784, the date of its last play which is "Richard coeur de lion", nor Vol. VI before 1791, the date of its last play, "Guillaume Tell". It seems fairly reasonable to conclude that the entire collection was not issued before 1791, but I have at present no absolute proof of this.

Another point of great interest concerning this undated collection, is that the Bibliothèque Nationale copy, at least, has also the music of many of the songs of the comic operas bound in immediately after each opera. The undated collection therefore is distinctly the more complete in every respect, and it is rather strange that Quérard does not mention it.

40. [L] 1785.

In Vol. I of "Recueil des Pièces de Théâtre lues par Mr. Le Texier en sa maison, Lisle Street, Leicester Fields. À Londres 1785-1787, chez T. Hookham dans Bond-Street au coin de Bruton-Street," the text of B was reprinted under the title "Le Philosophe sans le sçavoir."

This edition is octavo. It is very badly printed having innumerable errors due, no doubt, to English typesetters. It gives the list of the original Paris actors, but has no statement by Sedaine nor any uncensored variants. Otherwise it is an exact reprint of the second Paris edition, B. There are copies in the Koenigliche Bibliothek, Berlin, in the British Museum, in the New York City Public Library, and in the Boston (Massachusetts) Atheneum.

This edition is of some interest at notes 122, 125, 343, 520, 622. At 668 it corrects a manifest error of B. At 520 it shows that it came from the impression of B that had "lieu" and not "coulisse". At 622 it retains "bonheur".

41. [P] includes both [P1] 1804 and [P2] 1817.

[P1] 1804.

The text of B is found in volume VII, 1804, pp. 197-310 of "Répertoire du Théâtre François ou Recueil des tragédies et comédies restées au théâtre depuis Rotrou, pour faire suite aux éditions in-octavo de Corneille, Molière, Racine, Regnard, Crébillon et au théâtre de Voltaire. Avec des notices sur chaque auteur et l'examen de chaque pièce par M. Petitot [=Claude Bernard Petitot]. Paris. De l'imprimerie de P. Didot l'ainé. Chez Perlet, Libraire, rue de Tournon No. 1133". Octavo.

[P2] 1817.

Under precisely the same title the Petitot edition was re-

printed in 1817 as pp. 177-279 of Volume VII of the "Répertoire etc" by "Foucault, Libraire, rue des Noyers No. 57." The 1817 edition corrects a few inaccuracies of that of 1804, and the stage-directions are given more carefully, with a view to eliminating all ambiguities.

These editions of Petitot are the most carefully edited and printed of all the earlier editions. It is not without significance that it is the text of B. that was used. In scene division the Petitot editions differ from all others. See the table in paragraph 67. The variations from the censored text are very few, and no attention whatsoever was paid to the statement by Sedaine or to the uncensored variants which are not published with these editions. An engraving represents the scene of the return of Vanderk fils and beneath it are the words from Act V, Scene XI: "Mon fils . . . je t'embrasse. . . je te revois sans doute honnête homme".

As in B. the date of the first performance is correctly given, December 2, 1765. Petitot, however, calls the play a "drame".

I have used the sign P when the two editions agree, and have adopted P1 and P2 to distinguish them.

P. is of interest at notes 1, 46, 266, 269, 275, 491, 600, 616, 668.

P1 has interest at notes 79, 517, 622. P2 at notes 98, 267, 287, 423, 517, 551, 622.

In a somewhat extended criticism of the play, Petitot disapproves of the idea of discussing on the stage the question of the duel, because this institution "malgré tout ce que la raison et les lois ont tenté pour l'abolir tient si essentiellement à nos moeurs qu'il est sage de ne pas permettre qu'on le discute sur le théâtre". We thus see why it was unlikely that Petitot should wish to publish the original version of Sedaine. He further declares that in the first intention of the author the play was called "Le Duel", but that the police would not permit it to be played under this title. This statement of Petitot has been often repeated, but I have as yet found no proof of the use of such a title. If it had ever been used, surely the *souffleur* manuscript which reveals so thoroughly the struggle between Sedaine and the police censors, ought to have some evidence of it, but there the title is "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" and the play is called a comedy, this last fact being another point of attack of Petitot. He ridicules the idea of calling it a comedy and insists upon labeling it "drame", showing moreover very little sympathy with this type of play.

Petitot ridicules rather sharply the praise of commerce contained in the play, declaring that these "phrases ambitieuses . . . sont toujours applaudies par les commis marchands qui garnissent le parterre, et qui n'apprennent pas sans admiration, par la bouche des acteurs, qu'en mesurant du drap ou de la toile, 'ils tiennent dans leurs mains les fils qui lient ensemble les nations et les ramènent à la paix par la nécessité du commerce.'" Petitot declares that commerce has caused more wars rather than fewer wars, and he adds that Vanderk père seems less noble in reestablishing his fortune than were his ancestors in consecrating their

time, fortunes and lives to the service of the state. In short Petitot is far from sympathetic to the play, although he admits that it is the best French "drame". However many of his objections are well made. Despite all this, Petitot's edition was for many years the standard.

42. [T] 1822.

The text of B but, again, with no statement of Sedaine or uncensored variants, is found in "Théâtre Français. Répertoire Complet. Edition Touquet. Paris. Imprimerie de A. Belin rue des Mathurins St.-Jacq. No. 14. 1822" in the volume containing plays by "Sedaine, Demoustier, Segur", pp. 3-68. Page 1 has the title-page: "Théâtre de Sedaine. Edition Touquet. Paris. Chez l'éditeur rue de la Huchette No. 18." One of the sub title-pages has the number XLIII, and there is a portrait of Sedaine as a frontispiece.

This edition is merely a reprint of P2 (the 1814 Petitot edition). See the proof at notes 98, 267, 517, 622.

UNCERTAIN.

43. [RF] 1791-93.

During the height of the French Revolution, Sedaine made certain changes upon a copy of the *Philosophe sans le savoir* for special performances during that time of intense public excitement. This copy is now in the hands of the lineal descendant of Sedaine, the Comte Henry de Brisay, who resides at 77 Avenue de La Motte-Picquet, Paris. I have endeavored to find out what edition this may be, but thus far unsuccessfully. If it were the second edition, this fact would be an additional strength to the arguments for the superiority of that edition. However, even if it were the first edition, this would not weaken or change my point of view as expressed in the fourth paragraph of this Introduction.

The performances in question were undoubtedly those of Nov. 29, 1791, when the celebrated actor Prévillo returned to the stage, and those of Sunday, Feb. 3, 1793, and Thursday, Feb. 7, 1793, shortly before the execution of Louis XVI.* The receipts

*This is not, however, the opinion of the Count de Brisay, who writes me as follows (August 9, 1912): "Je ne crois pas ces changements faits à l'époque de la Terreur; le ton grandiloquent des corrections manuscrites indiquerait bien plutôt le commencement de la Révolution, '89-'90 par exemple".

for the two last performances were very small, which shows the diminished interest of the public during the Terror. For the performance of 1791 the receipts were extraordinarily high, due doubtless to the return of Prévile, who had created the rôle of Antoine.

These variants were published by Auguste Rey as I have indicated in paragraph 4k. Since they were undoubtedly made under the political pressure of the time, with a merely temporary purpose of making the text acceptable to the turbulent democratic audiences of that epoch, we are not justified in adopting them as the permanent and final wish of Sedaine. However, their interest is so great that I have given them in full in the critical apparatus. They may be seen at notes 23a, 33a, 56a, 134a, 135a, 155a, 155b, 159, 160a, 163a, 168a, 172a, 174a, 195, 199a, 208b, 216a, 366, 398, 401, 402, 412a, 427a, 429a, 535, 658a, 673a.

INDEPENDENT EDITIONS.

44. Beginning with the Georges d'Heylli edition of 1877, there are a number of editions which may not be classed under any of the foregoing groups, since they all profess to be based upon the *souffleur* manuscript of the Comédie Française. We have already discussed the error of adopting this manuscript as the basis of a truly critical edition. Its value consists, as we have seen, in its presentation through interesting variants of the struggle between Sedaine and the French censorship; and this point must be constantly in our minds, as we review these editions, which gave this manuscript a greater value than it really deserves.

As will be seen, Heylli's first edition was copied by Moland's, while Heylli's second edition was the basis of the class editions of Gisi and Oger. Thus, we must direct our critical examination chiefly to the two editions of Heylli, and see in what manner he executed the task that he set himself. In this investigation the first point of interest is to enquire why Heylli made two editions, and was not content with the first. It was this fact of there being two Heylli editions differing in many details of text which first led the present editor to undertake the investigation represented in these pages.

45. [H1.] 1877.

The first Heylli edition of the *Philosophe sans le savoir* occupies pp. 1-111 of the

“Théâtre de Sedaine, Publié avec Notices et Notes par Georges d’Heylli. Paris. Librairie Générale, 72, boulevard Haussman et rue du Havre. M.DCCC.LXXVII.” Duodecimo xlv + 383 pages.

In addition to the *Philosophe* this edition has three other plays by Sedaine: *La Gageure Imprévue*, *Le Déserteur*, and *Richard Coeur de Lion*. Of special interest also are a *Notice sur Sedaine*, an *Avertissement relatif au Philosophe sans le savoir* and appendices containing Jules Prével’s *Histoire du Philosophe sans le savoir* (this being Prével’s article from the “Figaro” of September 15, 1875), and a *Note à propos du ‘Mariage de Victorine’ de George Sand, faisant suite au Philosophe sans le savoir*. The other material of the appendix deals with the remaining plays of the edition.

In this text of the *Philosophe* we find the first attempt to restore an original uncensored version of the play, “conformément au premier manuscrit de Sedaine tel qu’il le lut à la Comédie Française et avant que le censeur lui eût imposé ses mutilations” (p. xxxv). In reading this phrase we must bear in mind once more (see paragraph 7) that this manuscript is not in Sedaine’s hand, although the words of Heylli might readily give the impression that it was. A similar care is necessary in reading on p. xxxix: “le manuscrit de Sedaine tel qu’il le présentait aux comédiens français et avant l’examen du censeur, et sans les modifications que l’auteur fut obligé, après cet examen, d’apporter à sa version primitive”. Heylli continues on p. xl: “C’est aussi cette première version, débarrassée des ratures et rectifications exigées par la censure, que nous donnons ci-après.”

As can readily be seen in the critical apparatus of the present edition, Heylli was often forced to choose arbitrarily from the confusing readings and corrections of the *souffleur* manuscript. There are many places where the restoration of an original text on the basis of the manuscript is impossible owing to these “ratures et rectifications” which apparently Heylli finds so little difficulty in removing. Indeed, a careful study of the manuscript shows that the task which Heylli set himself was far more serious than his words indicate. It may, in fact, be said that he did not, and could not, perform this task, at least in the way that more modern and accurate editorial scholarship demands.

Heylli dedicates his edition (p. [v]) to Monsieur Emile Perrin, “Administrateur-général de la Comédie Française, à qui est due la restitution intégrale du premier texte etc”.* On p. xxxi the expression “texte intégral” is again used, and

*The dedication is also “aux excellents artistes qui ont interprété ce texte, pour la première fois, le 17 septembre 1875”; there follows a list of these actors and their rôles in the *Philosophe*.

on p. 353 the word "intégrité" in a similar connection. Although, in the main, these statements are correct, and much credit is due Monsieur d'Heylli for this edition and his later one of 1880, yet, it can readily be seen in the notes of the present edition how much the first Heylli edition differs from the original readings of the manuscript. In the second edition Heylli himself acknowledges that the first edition had not given the original text as completely as it should have. As a matter of fact the first edition is closer to the original readings of the manuscript than the second. The differences between the first and the second are so numerous that it would be futile to make a list of them. A mere glance at any page of my critical variants reveals this.

Other points of interest in H1 are as follows:

- 1) H1 is by itself at 86, 93, 134, 220, 267, 310, 335, 359, 378, 390, 392, 433, 507, 514, 639, 664, 670.
- 2) H1 is like the manuscript when H2 is not: 24, 46, 54, 56, 88, 135, 136, 156, 169, 267, 295, 296 etc, etc.
- 3) H1 further arbitrarily adopts a reading at notes 81, 307, 346, 357, 374, 384, 405, 406, 471, 497, 504, 506, 531, 596, 604, 637, 667, 672. In these places it is followed by H2. Taken in connection with those given in 1) above, these represent a rather large total of arbitrary cases.

Heylli knew of the existence of the uncensored variants, since he quotes on p. 359-360 Prével's mention of them. Moreover, in a few instances, he follows their readings, not only in H1, but in H2; see the proof at notes 546, 576, 656. That he does not give them greater value is due to his fixed opinion that the *souffleur* manuscript should be the criterion. I have ventured to criticize Heylli for his method at notes 346, 478, 548. His arbitrary treatment of the manuscript does not justify his claim of having given a "texte intégral". Moreover, his failure to consider or even mention the possibility of variants is not in keeping with more modern methods of text editing. In the description of the second Heylli edition below, are noted a few other points of criticisms of Heylli that more properly belong in that place.

46. [Mo] 1878.

The text of Heylli's first edition (H1) in modernized spelling and with a few unimportant differences occupies pp. 185-267 of:

"Théâtre de Sedaine avec une introduction par M. Louis Moland. Paris, Garnier Frères. 1878." 12°. xlv + 463 pages.

On pp. 269-277 Moland gives in extenso the scenes of the third act that were affected by the censorship. On p. 277 he summarizes briefly the changes made in the fifth act. Aside from these variants and remarks, however, Moland's edition is no more a critical edition than Heylli's.

In his Introduction Moland gives a number of interesting details regarding the history of *Le Philosophe*. He declares (p. xxxvi) that all performances of the play until the revival of the original version, September 17, 1875, had been in the

censored form, and attributes to this the further fact that all editions previous to Heylli's had also followed the censored form without even an attempt to give the uncensored variants.

Moland's edition forms one of the volumes of Garnier Frères' *Bibliothèque Choisie, 2e série*, at three francs a volume, and the same firm's *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la Littérature Française et Étrangère*, at seven francs a volume.

Moland differs from H1 at notes 41, 118, 122, 123, 125, 133, 166, 221, 269, 277, 348, 351, 440, 507, 514, 592, 610, 630, 644. Of these the most interesting are 118, 155, 221, 440, 644.

In all other places Mo. is precisely like H1.

47. [H2] 1880.

The second edition of Heylli was published under the title: "Le Philosophe sans le savoir, comédie en cinq actes. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Comédie Française avec une préface par Georges d'Heylli. Paris. Librairie des Bibliophiles, rue Saint-Honoré 338. MDCCCLXXX". P. [103] reads: "Imprimé par D. Jouaust pour la collection des Petits Chefs-d'oeuvre. Avril 1880".

The size is small quarto. xxii + 102 pages of text.

To justify the phrase "pour la première fois" of the title page, Heylli has a foot-note to p.i: "Nous disons "pour la première fois": en effet l'édition du théâtre choisi de Sedaine que nous avons publiée en 1877 à la Librairie Générale, et qui est aujourd'hui épuisée, ne donnait pas cette version d'une manière aussi complète". However, Heylli does not indicate anywhere in what respects his second edition differs from, or is superior to, his first. A careful comparison of the second and the first does not show the alleged superiority of the second. In fact when both are compared with the *souffleur* manuscript, their source, it is clear that the superiority lies with the first and not with the second edition. This fact is clearly brought out in the critical notes of the present edition. According to Heylli this second edition also reproduces the manuscript "intégralement".

Another peculiar feature of H2 is the insertion of many stage-directions not found either in the manuscript or in any edition. These directions may have been added by Heylli after an observation of the stage business in the 1875 revival of the play. He had already added many such in the first edition, most of which are retained in the second. See these directions at notes 25, 37, 45, 64, 139, 157, 183, 190, 192, 197, 232, 254, 378, 519, 589, 596, 637.

H2, far more often than H1, uses arbitrary readings of its own. In most of these it is followed by the edition by Oger (see paragraph 49). It stands alone at notes 58, 102, 261 (with 1c), 263, 319, 480, 609. It originates a reading that is adopted by O, at notes 15, 16, 20, 33, 42, 75, 79, 108, 128, 134, 144, 160, 166, 172, 195, 232, 291, 298, 430, 496, 572. At 33, 63 the reading is, strange to say, found also in Mz.

It is worthy of remark that in a foot-note to page ii, Heylli speaks of the variants of the two editions of 1766, declaring these editions *rarissimes!* As we have seen, the Paris libraries alone have about two dozen copies, not to mention several at the Comédie Française. The truly remarkable fact is that Heylli failed to make proper use of these important variants as a check and correction to his attempted restitution of the *souffleur* manuscript. On p. xi of his Introduction Heylli states that Sedaine made "de sa propre main" the corrections demanded by the censor. This is only true to a very slight extent, as we have already seen in paragraph 7. See the list of all such actual cases of Sedaine's handwriting at paragraph 7b.

48. [G] 1883.

The text of Heylli's second edition in modernized spelling was the basis of the following German school edition:

"Le Philosophe sans le savoir. Comédie en cinq actes et en prose par Sedaine. Erklärt von M. Gisi. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1883". 8°. 90 pages.

This is a volume in the "Weidmannsche Sammlung französischer und englischer Schriftsteller mit deutschen Anmerkungen herausgegeben von E. Pfundheller und G. Lücking".

This edition by Gisi has a slightly better claim as a critical edition, since it gives, besides grammatical and historical notes, the censored scenes and a few variants from four "other" or "earlier" editions, as Gisi calls them. These four are:

1. that by Petitot 1804 (P1. see paragraph 41.)
2. that by Mame Frères 1810 (Ma. see paragraph 24.)
3. the 1861 reprint of the edition in the *Chefs d'oeuvres des Auteurs Comiques*". (AC. see paragraph 28.)
4. the 1869 reprint of "Oeuvres Choiesies de Sedaine" as published by the Hachette firm. (Di-H. Hachette Division. see paragraph 20.)

Gisi's critical apparatus, however, is slight, and is of little value for two reasons: first, because his text is based upon Heylli, and second, because none of the above editions from which he takes a few variants contains the uncensored version. Gisi seems more concerned with noting differences of scene-division and difficulties of syntax than anything else. Our debt to Gisi consists chiefly, therefore, in his work: "Sedaine, sein Leben und seine Werke, mit besonderer Beziehung auf 'Le Philosophe sans le savoir', Berlin Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1883". 8° 52 pages. This he had written in connection with the necessary preparation of his edition of *Le Philosophe*. It contains a number of interesting matters.

49. [O] 1888.

Another class edition but of much less value than Gisi's is that by Victor Oger:

“Le Philosophe sans le savoir, Comédie en cinq actes et en prose (d’après le Manuscrit original de Sedaine, aux Archives de la Comédie Française) with an Introduction, a Summary of the Play, the full Text of all the Alterations imposed on the Author by the Censure of 1765, and grammatical and Explanatory notes by Victor Oger, Lecturer, etc. . . . New Edition. Librairie Hachette & Cie., London, Paris, Boston, 1888”. 8°. xii + 116 pages.

The text of this edition occupies 58 pages, the notes also 58 pages!

Oger declares (p. iii) that his “text is practically the same as that carefully reproduced from the said MSS. by M. Georges D’Heylli in *LES PETITS CHEFS-D’OEUVRE* (Paris 1880.)” This is, in the main, true. The text apparently is based upon H₂, but there are very many deviations. In fact, the text is a curiously arbitrary affair and it is difficult to determine the chief source aside from H₂. It may perhaps be safe to say that I_c is followed chiefly where O deviates from H₂. I_c is followed at notes 73, 95, 96, 174, 238, 242, 244, 253, 256, 268, 269, 273, 276, 281, 292, 305, 345, 350, etc, etc.

O does not lack arbitrary readings of its own: see at notes 34, 81, 101, 110, 130, 180, 181, 182, 188, 232, 267, 450, 461, 506, 522, 523, 532, 541, 546, 570, 595, 619, 632, 636, 651, 666.

O very frequently follows I_a also. In paragraph 20 I have noted O’s occasional relationship to Di-H. The connections with H₂ are too numerous to list.

Oger gives as notes to his pages 31, 33, 35, 36, 44, variants of the censored version of Acts III and V. There are no other variants than these, and hence we cannot call O. a critical edition in any true sense. On p. iii Oger declares that “Sedaine had, in the “*editio princeps*” printed in Holland (1766), given in variorum notes the unaltered text of his work, as well as that allowed by the Censure, etc.” I have commented upon this serious error of taking the Dutch edition as the first edition in the description of the Dutch edition C (see paragraph 13.) C. is neither the first edition nor does it contain variorum notes, as far as I have seen copies.

The edition of Oger is, therefore, prepared in a very arbitrary and careless manner. It is moreover greatly overburdened with explanatory grammatical notes.

TRANSLATIONS

50. Sedaine’s play was frequently translated. I have seen translations into German, English, Italian, Danish. Especially numerous are the German translations, there being five that I have actually seen and collated. It is probable that others also exist in German, since many bibliographical references point in that direction. It is also likely that further search would bring to light translations into other languages than those mentioned

above. This whole subject is full of difficulties. The translations were often issued anonymously, and even without mention of Sedaine's name. The title of the play was frequently changed or paraphrased in such a way that detection is difficult. I am therefore far from believing that the translations described below are a complete list. It is, however, my purpose to give only such translations as have actually passed through my hands. As to the others (if there be others), I can but indicate the confusing and often conflicting bibliographical references to their alleged existence, in the hope that some other investigator more favorably located may be aided in his research.

It will be noted at once how popular Sedaine's play proved to be in Germany and Austria. The reason is not far to seek. In German-speaking lands there had been going on for some time a revolt against the classicism that France had imposed upon German literature. The activities of Lessing to create a new drama were bearing fruit. It was but natural then, that a play, which was the very best representative of a similar revolt in France against classicism, should find a hearty welcome. This is the explanation of the preponderance of German versions in the following paragraphs.

Group I.

Sub-group Ia.

51. [trP] 1767.

The first translation was one into German:

Der Philosoph | ohne es zu wissen | Ein Schauspiel in
fünf Aufzügen. | Aus dem Französischen des Herrn Sedaine
übersetzt. | Frankfurt und Leipzig | bey Johann Gottlieb
Garbe 1767.

a) This translation exists both as a part of a volume containing other translations from the French, and as a separate reprint from that volume. As a part of a larger volume it is the second play in the third volume of Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel's "Theatralische Belustigungen nach französischen Mustern" "Frankfurt und Leipzig, by Johann Gottlieb Garbe":* Vol. I appeared in 1756, vol. III in

*a) This book is relatively rare, either as a reprint or as a part of the *Belustigungen*. It was already rare in 1776; see the Gotha Theater Kalender for

1767,** and the last or fifth vol. in 1774. In this form the *Philosoph* is pagged 63-164 and it is an octavo with signatures beginning with E on p. 65. As a reprint the pagination is 1-102, and the octavo signatures begin on p. 1 with [A], the last signature being G₃ on p. 101. In other respects the two issues are identical, there being not the slightest change of text or typing. In the reprint the following details may well be noted: P. 1 is the title page; p. 2 gives the "Personen" but no names of actors; the first act begins on p. 3 and ends on p. 22; the second begins on p. 22 and ends on p. 46; the third occupies pp. 47-64; the fourth pp. 64-80, the fifth 81-102. By adding 62 to these figures one has the similar features of the issue in the third volume of the *Belustigungen*. I have given these exact details because of the importance of this translation in many bibliographies. Very frequently I have found library catalogues ascribing this translation to other translators. Frequently also bibliographies declare that there are other Frankfurt 1767 translations. If there be such, I have failed to find them, despite the effective aid of the Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken in Berlin, and the help of many librarians.

1775, p. 158 bottom, where it is spoken of as "fast ganz vergriffen und schwer zu bekommen". I have seen the reprints of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Hof-und Staatsbibliothek, Munich, the Grossherzoglichebibliothek, Gotha, the Koeniglichebibliothek, Vienna, and the British Museum. This last copy is erroneously ascribed to J. F. Schmidt as translator in the British Museum Catalogue (see Vol. 69, Supplement, under Sedaine). In paragraph 54c I discuss this ascription to Schmidt.

As a part of the *Belustigungen* there are copies in the Berlin Universitaetsbibliothek and the Heidelberg Universitaetsbibliothek, these two libraries having the only complete sets of the five volumes as far as I now know. The university libraries of Kiel and Koenigsberg have volumes I-II-III, and the Hamburg Stadttheatergesellschaft Library has an imperfect copy of volume III in which, however, the *Philosoph* is complete. All these copies have the imprint Garbe, whether they be reprints or parts of the set. In the *Messe Verzeichniss*, the valuable contemporary lists of books for sale, immediately after their publication, at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book markets, we find that both the reprint and the third volume of the *Belustigungen* were ready for the *Michael Messe* of 1767 (see for the third volume p. 873 and for the reprint p. 887 of the "fertig gewordene Schriften" of the year 1767 in the *Messe Verzeichniss*.) Thus both were ready before Saint Michael's day (September 29) 1767.

b) In the *Messe Verzeichniss*, which is absolutely contemporary with the publication, and therefore thoroughly reliable, the imprint of this translation is

**In Christian Heinrich Schmid's "Chronologie des deutschen Theaters" 1775 (new edition by Paul Legband, Berlin 1902), p. 170, one reads concerning the plays in this third volume of the *Belustigungen* that the celebrated actor, "Herr Koch hat diesen ganzen Theil spielen lassen". This was presumably in Leipzig where Koch then was (1767).

b) It seems beyond doubt since the publication of Dr. Karl Worzel's Heidelberg Dissertation (Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel's *Theatralische Belustigungen*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Französischen Dramas in Deutschland. Bruchsal (Ewald Schmidt) 1911. vi-117 pages.), that Pfeffel is the author of this translation. Dr. Worzel is now an authority on this point. In addition to the evidence afforded by Worzel's dissertation, the following quotation from a letter of Dr. Worzel to the present editor is of value. In view of the ascription of Frankfurt 1767 translations to other writers I had raised the question whether Pfeffel might not have entrusted the translation to another than himself. Dr. Worzel replied: "Pfeffel hat sicher das Stück übersetzt; es ist bei seinem Charakter von vornherein ausgeschlossen, das er anderer Leute Geistesprodukt aufnimmt und als sein eigenes ausgibt. Zweitens ist es nach der einheitlichen Durchführung des ganzen Werkes [the *Belustigungen*] durch zehn Jahre hindurch nicht anzunehmen dass er eine fremde Übersetzung einschleibt; es handelt sich für ihn ja nicht um ein Geschäftsunternehmen. Drittens, was ausschlaggebend ist: es stimmt zu seiner Praxis in der Behandlung der Vorlagen (sprachlich, inhaltlich), und er gibt eine lange Rechtfertigung seiner Aenderungen, vielmehr seiner Wahl zwischen Sedaine I [the censored version] und Sedaine II [the uncensored version]." Pfeffel was born in 1736 at Colmar and died in 1809. From 1757 on he was totally blind and must therefore have had assistance in the preparation of his quite extensive literary products (see Jocher-Adelung, Vol. 5 p. 2172 of the *Fortsetzung* to the *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*.) Whether this assistance was other than that of a reader and secretary we cannot well determine. It does, however, seem reasonable to believe

correctly given as "J. G. Garbe". In later bibliographies this translation is given a different imprint:—In Heinsius we find (vol. 4, 1813, column 256 of *Schauspiele*): "Belustigungen, theatralische, nach franz. Mustern. 4 Bde (*sic*). 8. Frankf. Hermann 1756-1773 (*sic*)". In Kayser's *Bücherkunde* (vol. 6, 1825-27, "Schauspiele" division, p. 10.) the "Belustigungen, theatralische etc" is given the imprint: "Hermann (Gebhardt u. K. [=Körper]). I have not however found any such imprints in copies of this translation. In the *Messe Verzeichniss* for 1788, p. 195 of the "Nachrichten," it is stated that the firm Hermann has taken over part of the stock of the Garbe house, and according to the Index of the 1795 volume of the *Messe Verzeichniss* there is then no longer a firm Garbe. I referred to the Frankfurt book dealers Joseph Baer & Co. the question of the existence of a firm of Gebhardt & Körper. These gentlemen very kindly secured from Rechtsanwalt Dr. jur. Alexander Dietz of Frankfurt information on this matter, whereby it appears clear that not until about 1800 is there any evidence of the existence of a firm Gebhardt & Körper. Certain it is that no such firm existed in 1767. I am therefore safe in asserting that the imprints given in Heinsius and Kayser will not be found on the actual volumes of the Pfeffel translation, and that they only indicate the dealers of whom the book could later be secured. I have gone into these details, because the imprints Hermann and Gebhardt & Körper will be given again by Heinsius and Kayser in connection with other volumes, and it is therefore of importance to have the above

with Worzel that Pfeffel would certainly have acknowledged any actual literary collaboration, had there been such.

c). Pfeffel's translation is in the main accurate, following closely the censored text of the first Paris edition. Pfeffel, however, had knowledge of the uncensored variants and of Sedaine's preference for them. In a *Vorrede* which is found only in Vol. III of the *Theatralische Belustigungen* and is not reproduced in the reprint, Pfeffel gives his reasons for not following Sedaine's wish that the original version be used in foreign lands. This entire *Vorrede* merits quotation despite its length, but I refer to Worzel's summary (pp. 62-67 of his dissertation), where one finds also many matters of interest regarding Pfeffel's treatment of his original. In brief, Pfeffel says that, had the play been written in Germany, it would have received another title than *Le Philosophe* and would have been called a bourgeois tragedy and not a comedy. He deprecates the cheapness of the word philosopher in France. He declares that the uncensored variants would not, as Sedaine thought, strengthen the character of the elder Vanderk, but would do just the contrary, since a man who upholds a son in a senseless prejudice has no claim to being an oracle of wisdom. He insists that Vanderk's reasons for sending his son to the duelling ground are as chimerical as is the "Gespenst der Ehre", which the father would uphold. Thus Pfeffel thinks that the only way to justify the title of the play is to be even more strict than the Paris censor; then and then only will the truly great qualities of Vanderk père receive their full value. Of great

facts in mind. For instance Dr. Worzel writes to me (Dec. 30, 1910), that nine of the twenty-two plays of the *Belustigungen* "sind von Gebhardt und Körber nachgedruckt." See also paragraph 54c.

c) According to Meusel's "Das gelehrte Deutschland" (vol. 6, p. 80 under Pfeffel.), several of the plays in the *Theatralische Belustigungen* were separately printed. As we have seen, this is correct, but Meusel is incorrect when he continues: "Zum Beispiel Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, aus dem Franz. steht auch in den Neuen Schauspielen aufgeführt zu München, Th. 1, 1776", Dr. Worzel (p. 70 of his dissertation) says that Reichard's *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1777*, (p. 198) and Jöcher-Adelung's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, (Leipzig 1784-97, vol. 5, p. 2173. No. 10) also declare that this reprint in the *Neue Schauspiele . . zu München* is the Pfeffel translation. This is an error but a very natural one to make, due to the fact that the title of the Munich reprint is the same as that of the Garbe imprint: "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen". The British Museum has a copy of the Munich translation, and an examination of it revealed at once that it was not a reprint of the Pfeffel work, but a reprint of a Vienna translation whose authorship I have as yet been unable to determine. The title of the Vienna original is "Das Duell oder der Weise in der That" (see paragraphs 56, 57), and the change of title in the reprint was undoubtedly the cause of the confusion in the contemporary bibliographical works mentioned above and also in more recent reference literature. I describe the Munich reprint in paragraph 59.

interest, therefore, are those places where Pfeffel changes Sedaine's conception of the elder Vanderk and of the duel. These may be found at notes 353t, 403, 453, 472, 474, 479. This treatment of the duel by Pfeffel has even greater interest when contrasted with the precisely contrary conception of another German translator, F. W. Gotter. See paragraph 60. Pfeffel transfers the scene to Germany and is thus obliged to make certain changes of names, localities and historical allusions; see these at notes 44, 134, 185, 198, 353e, 425, 431, 526, 555, 560, 659.

Although Pfeffel does not adopt the uncensored variants when they concern the duel, he does adopt them in other places; he keeps the scene of the arrival of the musicians and the episode of the bullet hole in young Vanderk's hat. See notes 593 and 638 respectively. The episode of the giving of gold coin after Vanderk father knows that Desparville is the father of young Vanderk's antagonist (see note 578), Pfeffel does not adopt, for the technical dramatic reason that the scene would then be too long and that Vanderk father would have to speak too much after the three knocks on his door, whose dramatic power, Pfeffel thinks, would then become greatly lessened. Pfeffel also uses the uncensored variants at 603, 651. Pfeffel amplifies his original at notes 151, 203, 226, 407a, 431, 453, 475, 508. Although Gotter's translation shows deviation in the treatment of the duel from that found in Pfeffel, yet Gotter unquestionably copied the text of Pfeffel at notes 165, 193, 220, 278, 429, 453, 457, 496, 532, 534, 545, 546, 569, 572; many other such places might have been noted had it seemed worth while. Pfeffel's version is further interesting at notes 144, 177, 189, 209, 210, 269, 555, 615, 621.

52. As has been shown in the notes to the previous paragraph, there was considerable confusion regarding the authorship and the imprint of the Pfeffel translation printed by Garbe in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1767. The situation is even more complicated and perplexing than has thus far appeared, due to the fact that two other Frankfurt 1767 translations are alleged by standard bibliographies to exist. One is ascribed to Christian Friedrich Schwan, the other to Johann Friedrich Schmidt. I have made repeated efforts, with the aid of the *Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken*, and of correspondence with many libraries and leading German book dealers, to find these alleged 1767 Frankfurt translations by Schwan and by Schmidt. Thus far my efforts have not succeeded. In the case of Schwan, I believe that he never wrote a translation, and consequently that the ascription of such to him is erroneous. In the case of Schmidt I am not warranted as yet in going so far. It is not unlikely that he made a translation and that it was published anonymously. I do not believe, however, that his translation, if published, appeared in Frankfurt in 1767.

In all cases where library catalogues or bibliographies declare that a 1767 Frankfurt translation is by Schwan or Schmidt, careful investigation always reveals that the volume so ascribed is the Pfeffel translation. In the following paragraphs the arguments for and against the existence of translations by Schwan and by Schmidt are presented.

53. The alleged Schwan translation :

In the *Deutsches Anonymen Lexicon* of Holzmann-Bohatta Vol. 4 (1907) under Sedaine, No. 1951, one finds the following :

"Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufz. a. d. Franz. . . Frankf. u. Leipzig 1767."

Note, as far as it goes, the identity of this title with that of the Garbe imprint. The *Anonymen Lexicon* gives as translator: Christian Friedrich Schwan, and as authority for this ascription, Wendelin von Maltzahn's *Deutscher Bücherschatz des 16, 17, 18, bis um die Mitte des 19 Jahrhunderts* (Jena 1875-1882). This is the *only* authority given. Turning to Maltzahn therefore we find on p. 536 under No. 2283, sub-number 6) the following :

"Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen. Ein Schauspiel in 5 A. Aus dem Französischen des Herrn Sedaine übersetzt. Franckfurt und Leipzig, bey J. G. GARBE 1767."

A foot-note from sub-number "6)" reads: "Verf[asser] Buchhändler Christian Frdr. Schwan" [with a reference to another publication by Schwan].

Immediately after sub-number "6) Der Philosoph etc." is, however, sub-number "7)" as follows :

"7) Eugénie, ein Schsp. von 5 A. aus dem Franz. des Herrn von Beaumarchais übersetzt 1768. 8°."

There is no reference from this sub-number 7) to the foot-note given above as from sub-number 6).

Now there is overwhelming evidence that Schwan translated Beaumarchais' play; see the following :

Karl Worzel. Pfeffel's *Theatralische Belustigungen*. Heidelberg Dissertation 1911. p. 81.

Gotha Theater Kalender for 1775, p. 124, and later years.

Meusel's *Das Gelehrte Teutschland* etc. vol. 7, p. 403.

Goedeke's *Grundriss*, both the first and the second editions.

Schwan's own account of his translation of *Eugénie* quoted by J. Minor, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 70 (1892), p. 552. etc.

In my judgment, therefore, we have in Maltzahn a typographical error. The foot-note given above and declaring Schwan as author should have been labelled "7)" and not "6)". It would then correctly give Schwan as the translator of *Eugénie* instead of ignoring this unquestioned fact and ascribing erroneously the

translation of the *Philosophe* to Schwan, when it is clear that the book quoted is the Garbe imprint and the work of Pfeffel.

The question may now arise: Granted that the above reference in Maltzahn is an error, may not Schwan have made a translation after all? In reply let me offer the following argument:

The reference in Maltzahn's *Deutscher Bücherschatz* etc, 1875-1882, is the oldest statement of a Schwan translation of the *Philosophe* that I have yet found. Heinsius and Kayser have no such statement. In Goedeke's first edition of the *Grundriss* we also find nothing; see vol. II, p. 633, No. 360. This is probably due to the fact that Vol. II of Goedeke's first edition was published considerably before Maltzahn's book. In the second edition, however, Goedeke ascribes a 1767 Frankfurt translation of the *Philosophe* to Schwan (see Vol. V, p. 252 (Dresden 1893)), and it seems reasonable to think that Maltzahn is his authority. A careful search through the seven earliest volumes of the Gotha Theater Kalender which begins in 1775 yielded only negative results. This Kalender reaches back in its bibliographical data even beyond 1765 in the case of writers still active in 1775. Thus, it is most accurate in its description of the *Theatralische Belustigungen* which begin in 1765; see p. 158 of the 1775 volume, and p. 217 of the 1776 volume. Thus, also, to return to Schwan, the Kalender (1775, p. 124) lists Schwan's 1768 translation of *Eugénie* of Beaumarchais, and also Schwan's 1769 translation of Collé's *La Partie de Chasse de Henri IV*. Certainly a translation of *Le Philosophe* would also have been mentioned, had it existed.

Goedeke (second edition, vol. V, p. 252 of the *Grundriss*) gives several references as authorities for Schwan's literary activity, but an investigation of all of them failed to show that Schwan ever translated the *Philosophe*. They strengthened on the contrary the opposite view:

Goedeke's title of the alleged translation does not give the publisher but merely "Franckfurt und Leipzig 1767". The spelling "Franckfurt" suggests again Maltzahn. Goedeke's reference to Hamberger-Meusel, *Gelerte Teutschland* (vol. 7, p. 403) contains no mention of *Le Philosophe*, nor does his reference to Vol. 33, p. 176 of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. I was unable to procure Schwan's *Selbstbiographie* which was published by Haakh in vol. I (pp. 67, 148, 219, 295, 384, 457) of *Hausblätter von Hackländer und Höfer* for 1861. The essence of this, however, seems to have been given by J. Minor in vol. 70 (1892) pp. 537-562 of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Here the quotation on p. 554 from Schwan's *Selbstbiographie* is of considerable importance: "Das umständliche Verzeichniss meiner litterarischen Arbeiten findet man in Meusel's Fortsetzung von Hambergers Gelehrtem Deutschland in welch' letzterem aber die *Anecdotes russes* auf mein Begehren ausgelassen worden, weil ich damals immer noch wegen irgend einer Verfolgung von Seiten Russlands nicht sicher zu sein glaubte". This passage refers undoubtedly to the date of Meusel's seventh volume in which Schwan's literary productions are listed on p. 403, but with no mention of a translation of *Le Philosophe*. The date of this seventh volume is Lemgo 1798. It is reasonable to suppose that Schwan would not have omitted from a list which he himself

evidently furnished to Meusel, the translation of the *Philosophe*, had he made one. Schwan lived until 1815 but the stirring times from 1798 to 1815 were not conducive to literary labors. In fact, according to Goedeke, Schwan published nothing after 1790.

I can therefore only conclude that Schwan never wrote a translation of Sedaine's *Philosophe*, and that the typographical mistake in Maltzahn is the source of the erroneous contrary opinion.

54. In the case of the translation ascribed to Johann Friedrich Schmidt, the difficulties in the way of absolute certainty are even greater than with the alleged Schwan translation. There is ample evidence that Schmidt made a translation, but whether it was published or not remains still a mystery. Assuming that it was published, two courses of thought are possible: either to identify it with some one of the known translations that appeared anonymously, or to continue the search for another translation as yet undiscovered in European libraries, to which we could with certainty assign Schmidt's name. This latter course seems less likely of success in view of the search thus far. I shall first present the evidence that Schmidt made a translation, and then try to bring into some order the confusing bibliographical references to its existence in published form.

a) In the Gotha Theater Kalender for 1776, p. 186, is the oldest reference to a Schmidt translation that I have yet found; here in a list of dramatic authors and their works one reads:

"Schmidt [no initials given] Rath zu Pymont. Folgende ungedruckte [sic] Uebersetzungen aus dem Franz." Fourth in the list that follows is "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, ein rührendes L. [=Lustspiel]". An asterisk precedes each of the nine titles given, which, according to the *Nachricht* on p. 176 of the Kalender for 1776, indicates that the plays had actually been performed. Unfortunately, there is a complete absence of dates. In this connection it should also be noted that beginning with the volume for 1780 the Kalender omits this asterisk, the editor explaining on p. 140 of the 1780 volume that he omits the asterisk "wegen der Ungewissheit, die immer damit verbunden war". Thus we are permitted to doubt whether the Schmidt translation ever saw the boards. We should also remember that it is here described as having not yet been published.

The volume for 1777, p. 154 repeats the same meagre and vague information which we find in the 1776 volume. In the 1778 volume, p. 118, however, the notice is amplified and changed thus:

"Schmidt, Johann Friedrich, Herzogl. Weimarerischer Commissionsrath, jetzt zu Wein. Gedruckte (*sic*) Uebersetzungen des #Herrnrecht L., des #Stummen L.,

#des Philosophen ohne es zu wissen, D [=Drama]. Mit diesen beiden letztern hat er kürzlich ansehnliche Vermehrungen vorgenommen, die noch in Mspt. sind. Ungedruckte Uebersetzungen, #Zelmire [etc, etc]. Arbeitet an einer Ines de Castro, ist Verfasser einiger Artikel im Theaterjournal für Deutschland, und im diesjährigen Theaterkalender".*

Here the sign # also indicates that the play had been produced. Now, if, as stated, Schmidt were a contributor "im diesjährigen Theaterkalender", it would seem reasonable that he should see to it that information in the Kalender about himself were accurate. The same notice about Schmidt with omission merely of "diesjährigen", appears in the Kalenders for 1779 (p. 128), 1780 (p. 125), 1781 (p. xxii), 1784 (p. 163), 1785 (p. 140). Thus, if the notice had been inaccurate, there had certainly been ample time for correction. I must emphasize again here the general accuracy of the Gotha Theaterkalender in its information. In the 1782 volume, according to a note on p. 154, the lists of plays are shortened by the omission of all that had appeared in print: hence the omission of "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen" in Schmidt's list (p. 172) is a further indication that it had been published. The 1783, 1784, 1785 volumes are like that of 1782 except that the title "Direktor des Lekturcabinets zu Wien" is added to Schmidt's other titles.

b. Neither Schmidt (J. F.) nor Schwan (C. H.) are mentioned in Jörden's *Lexicon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten*, Leipzig, 1806-1811.

In Meusel's *Das Gelehrte Deutschland* fourth edition (1784), Schmidt is spoken of as at Vienna, but neither there nor in the seven different *Nachträge* to the fourth edition is the *Philosophe* translation ascribed to Schmidt. In Meusel's *Lexicon der vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller* Vol. 12 (1812), p. 283 under "Schmidt (Johann Friedrich 2)," however, we find ascribed to this writer: "*Der Philosoph, ohne es zu wissen; ein Drama von Sedaine. Frankf. am M. 1767. 8". No name of publisher is given, and the asterisk in Meusel usually means that a work so designated appeared anonymously. Note also that this is the earliest attempt to give a date and place of publication. Kayser's *Bücherkunde*, Vol. 6 (Leipzig 1825-1827), page 91 of the appendix containing "Schauspiele", attempts to go a step further and give the publisher. We read under Sedaine: "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, Lstsp; aus d. Französ. von Jh. Fr. Schmid II. Frankf. 1767. Gebhardt u. K." (=Körper). This information under Sedaine is backed up by a cross-reference from "Schmid, Jh. Fr. III [sic]" on p. 88. The name is elsewhere in Kayser under other works spelled Schmidt (under Brueys p. 15; under Goldsmith p. 32; under Voltaire p. 35 etc).

Now, Kayser is the only bibliography which I have seen thus far which offers us so much information. Holzmann-Bohatta in the *Anonymen Lexicon* No. 1949 give merely: "Sedaine, M. J. Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen; ein Drama. Frankf. a. M. 1767. Uebersetzer, Schmid, Johann Christian [sic]" citing as sole

*Both the *Theater Journal für Deutschland* and the *Gotha Theater Kalender* had the same editor, Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard.

authority Meusel's *Lexicon*. Schmid is not mentioned in the first edition of Goedeke's *Grundriss*, but in the second (Vol. IV, p. 250) the title is quoted precisely as in Meusel. Where then did Kayser get the information that the book was published by Gebhardt & Körber? Where, indeed, did Meusel in 1812 learn that it was published at Frankfurt am Main 1767, when the 1776 Gotha Theater Kalender declares that it had not yet (1776) been published at all?

c) It is my present belief that the statements in Meusel and later works are due to a confusion with the Pfeffel translation which appeared as we have seen at Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig in 1767 with the firm of Garbe. I have been utterly unable to find any other 1767 Frankfurt imprint than this Pfeffel translation, and I do not believe that any other exists. The contemporary and accurate "*Messe Verzeichniss*", prepared especially for the Frankfurt and Leipzig book trade from year to year, mentions no other than the Garbe imprint. It will perhaps be of aid, if I quote in chronological order from this "*Messe Verzeichniss*" and from later bibliographies, in an endeavor to show how the confusion of which I speak might have arisen:

On p. 887 of the "*Messe Verzeichniss*", in the list of books ready for the market by Michaelmas 1767, we read:

"Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, ein Lustspiel aus dem Französ. des Herrn Sedaine. 8. Frankfurt am M. bey J. G. Garbe.

Philosoph, der wahre, ein Lustspiel nach dem Französischen des Herrn Araison. 8. Frankf. am M bey J. G. Garbe".

Let us note here that the title of the *Philosoph* is not worded precisely as on the actual title page of the Garbe imprint; see paragraph 51. Note also that Araison's comedy is the very next title. Heinsius' *Bücher-lexicon* Vol. T-Z for 1700-1810 in the division "Schauspiele" which was issued in 1813 is evidently following the *Messe Verzeichniss* when we find p. 330, 2nd column, under "Philosophie" the following:

"Der wahre Philosoph. Lustsp. von Araison. 8. Frkt. Gebhardt u. K. 1767.

Der Philosoph, ohne es zu wissen. Lustsp. von Sedaine. 8. Ebend. 1767".

Here we have the same two comedies placed together as in the "*Messe Verzeichniss*". No names of the translators are given in either the *Verzeichniss* or in the Heinsius list. Under "Schmidt" Heinsius makes no mention of a translation of the *Philosophie*. It is, however, perfectly reasonable to think that we are dealing with the same books despite the change in the name of the publisher. We have already seen in part b. of the note to paragraph 51 how the firm of Garbe had ceased to exist in the interim between 1767 and 1795, proving this by the Index of the "*Messe Verzeichniss*" itself. The Garbe stock passed first into the hands of the firm Hermann in the year 1788, and about 1800 the firm of Gebhardt & Körber apparently succeeded to Hermann. In other words Heinsius is simply copying the *Messe Verzeichniss* and keeping up to date the names of the firms of whom the books may in 1813 be obtained. Thus we are dealing still with the Garbe edition of Pfeffel's translation.

Kayser in turn copies from Heinsius, but brings in the confusing element which he probably got from Meusel by assigning this translation to Schmidt. In Kayser the fusion is therefore made between the information given in Heinsius (which is accurate) with that given in Meusel (which is not accurate, as far as I can now judge). As one result of all this, the catalogue of the British Museum (Supplement Vol. 69, under Sedaine) assigns its copy of the reprint of the *Philosoph* to Schmidt, thus: "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Aus dem Französischen . . . übersetzt by J. F. Schmidt pp. 102. Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1767. 8°". My personal examination of this copy showed that it was the usual reprint from the *Theatralische Belustigungen* by Pfeffel, and the British Museum catalogue will be changed accordingly. In several instances the *Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken* sent me notices that certain German libraries had the alleged Schmidt translation published at Frankfurt in 1767. In every case, however, investigation showed the error of such an ascription, since the books cited proved to be the Garbe imprint of the Pfeffel translation.

I discuss in paragraph 56c the possibility that Schmidt made the Vienna translation of 1768 which appeared in a reprint at Munich 1776 under the same title as the Garbe imprint: "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen". This fact may yet prove to be the key to our difficulty.

55. [TrM] 1768.

It is a relief to return to solid ground again in the description of the following translation:

DER WELTWEISE | ohne es zu wissen; | Ein Lustspiel |
 in fünf Aufzügen | aus dem Französischen | des Herrn Se-
 daine, | von einer Dame | in das Deutsche übersetzt | und
 bey der Aufführung desselben in Mainz dem Drücke übergeben. |
 Mainz | 1768 | [no name of publisher or translator.] Small
 quarto. [vi] + 60 pages.

This is quite a rare book. There are copies in the Stadtbibliothek in Mainz and in the library of the Goethe Museum in Frankfurt am Main. A notice of this book did not get into the 1768 *Messe Verzeichniss*, probably because it was privately printed with no name of publisher. There is a favorable and a very interesting review of this Mainz translation in the first volume for 1768 of the *Goettingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen* etc (pp. 255-256); this is in the 32nd number for March 14, 1768; therefore, the translation appeared before that date. On p. [ii] is a list of the actors who played this translation in Mainz, Herr Köppe, Mad. Köppe, Herr Bergopzomer, etc. The actor Bergopzomer is probably the same who appears later in the list of the troupe in Vienna. His full name was Johann Baptist Bergopzomer. He was born 1744 in Vienna and made his

début in 1764; (see Reichard's Gotha Theater Kalender for 1775, p. 176, and later volumes).

Pages iii-vi of the Mainz translation are taken up with a "Vorbericht" signed by this actor Bergzoomer in which he criticizes the many distorted translations into German made at that time. He lays down the principle of good translation as a thorough and even elegant knowledge of both languages concerned. Only thus can we secure an accurate rendering of the author's thought which must be given precisely as the author would have translated it himself. Bergzoomer emphasizes the especial difficulties connected with dramatic translations, declaring that the translator of plays must know the character of the people in whose language the original is written as well as the character of the German people. He deprecates not only the use of poor or provincial German, but especially the habit of transferring the scene of the original to Germany, and of making changes "die dem Character der handelnden Personen zuwider sind". One is tempted to see in all this a veiled attack upon the Pfeffel translation, which, as we have seen, transfers the scene to Germany, gives German names to many of the characters, and alters the character of Vanderk père to suit the translator's rather than the author's conception of this rôle. This interesting preface concludes as follows: "Voltaire verwandelte die Schottländerinn in keine Französinn, noch der Uebersetzer der Sara Sampson den Mellifont in einen Marquis. Es ist traurig, dass unsere Schaubühne, die erst in Werden steht, und gute Stücke am nöthigsten hätte, durch eine Fluth schlechter Uebersetzungen überschwemmet wird". This preface gives us no knowledge of the translator beyond that she is "eine Dame, die das Glück hat in der Beschäftigung mit den Schönen Wissenschaften ein Vergnügen zu finden".

This Mainz translation clearly follows the uncensored, original version of Sedaine in the third act. But on the other hand it does not in the fifth act, omitting the scene of the musicians, and the episode of the bullet hole in the hat. Strange to say, it has *no* request for gold coin at all, differing thus from both the censored and the uncensored version. The notes at which these and other peculiarities may be seen are as follows:

No scene of the musicians: 593. No request for gold-coin: 578, yet see 635. Omission of reference to the *Ordre du Mérite*: 548. Attitude toward the duel: 321, 342, 403, 479. Other peculiarities: 83, 156, 158, 189, 209, 214, 307, 346, 380, 403, 441, 568, 575, 637, 646, 652, 668.

56. [trW] 1768.

There appeared at Vienna in 1768 an anonymous translation which was issued in two different forms. Of these I have actually seen only the first, numbered below a), but I accept the report of the custodian of the Städtische Sammlungen of Vienna, Dr. Englmann, who declares that the second is *textually* precisely the same

and only partially typographically different from the first. Both forms are described below:

a) "Das | Duell, | oder | der Weise | in der That, |
Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. | [vignette] | Aufgeführt
in dem K. K. privilegirten deutschen Theater in Wien | Im Jahre
1768."

Octavo. 83 pages. There are copies in the Koenigliche Bibliothek, Berlin, the Koenigsberg Universitätsbibliothek and the Vienna Stadtbibliothek. I have seen the Vienna copy which was courteously loaned to the Sorbonne Library for my use. This copy is the last of four plays bound together under the following title:

Neues | Theater | von | Wien. | Zur Fortsetzung der
Schaubühne | und | neuen Sammlung | von Schauspielen, |
welche auf der | Kaiserlich Königlichem privil. | deutschen
Schaubühne zu Wien | aufgeführt worden. | Sechster Theil. |
Zu finden im Krauss-ischen Buchladen | 1770. |

That Krauss is the publisher is amply proved. Pp. [84]ff. following the text of "Das Duell etc" contain a list of the plays to be found at the publishing house of "Johann Paul Krauss."

In the "*Messe Verzeichniss*" of books on sale at the 1769 Ostermesse of Frankfurt and Leipzig, one reads (near the top of p. 1073) the following title:

"Das Duell oder der Weise in der that, Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. 8°. Wien. bey J. P. Kraussen". The book was, therefore, printed after the Michaelmesse (September 1768) and before the Ostermesse of 1769, probably early in 1769, since Heinsius gives it this date 1769 (Vol. 4, column 270 under "Duell"). Kayser also mentions the book (Vol. 6, "Schauspiele" supplement p. 24), assigning it to Krauss 1769.

In the "Innhalt des sechsten Theils" of the above-mentioned "Neues Theater etc", the fourth title is given thus: "Das Duell, oder der Weise in der That, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen, aus dem Französischen des Herrn Dedaine [*sic*]".

This error of Dedaine for Sedaine is repeated in the "Vorrede zum sechsten Band" of this "Neues Theater etc" thus: "Dieses ist ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen, und aus dem Französischen des Herrn Dedaine [*sic*!] entlehnet. Wenn jemahl ein Mann, welcher die Weltweisheit weder in Schulen, noch aus Büchern erlernt, und doch der Natur nach solche vollkommen besitzt und erzeiget, sich in der Welt befunden, so erscheint hier ein solcher in der Person eines Vaters. Wir wollen

selben nicht schildern, sondern einen Leser und Zuschauer, auf Druck und Vorstellung hinweisen, indem uns bewusst, das beydes vergnügt hat".

b) The Vienna Stadtbibliothek possesses three copies of another edition of this translation, which other edition seems to have been issued before the one described above. In these three copies the title and page-numbering are identical.

"Das Duell oder der Weise in der That. Ein Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Wien, 1768" with no name of publisher.

In all three copies there is an engraving (unsigned) which represents the fourth scene in the fifth act when Vanderk father says to "Herrn von Blankenfeld" (Desparville father): "Da ist ihr Geld. Gehen Sie, mein Herr, gehen Sie, Sie haben die höchste Zeit". Of the three copies one is declared "Anonym" on the catalogue-card of the Vienna Stadtbibliothek and as having come "aus der Theaterbibliothek Louis Groll". The other two copies are assigned on the catalogue-cards to "Ernst Friedrich Jester" as "Uebersetzer und Bearbeiter". This name, however, does not appear anywhere in the volumes themselves. I shall discuss Jester as a possible translator later (see "d" below).

One of the two copies assigned to Jester is bound with two other plays, "Der Herbsttag" and "Die Entführung", as the 30th volume of the "Theatralische Sammlung" published at Vienna by Joh. Jos. Jahn. The date of the title-page of this 30th volume is 1792, but the date of the "Duell" is 1768 as already said. Whether or not Jahn be the publisher of the "Duell" in this form, is not yet determined, but my present opinion is that this edition as well as the other was printed by Krauss, and that Jahn later secured the right to issue this play as a part of the 30th volume of the "Theatralische Sammlung".

It is undoubtedly this edition, rather than the one described under a) above, which was used by Sonnenfels in the 24th and 25th "Schreiben" of his "Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne 1768" of which there is a reprint by A. Sauer in *Wiener Neudrucke* Vol. 7. The date of the 24th Schreiben is May 20, 1768, and Sonnenfels writes (p. 348; reprint p. 143): "Das Stück ist in jedermanns Händen". Therefore the book was printed before this date. As we have seen, this could scarcely have been true of the edition described under a) above, which did not appear until September, 1768.

c) The criticism by Sonnenfels of Sedaine's play and of the Vienna translation is most favorable. The passages quoted from the translation correspond word for word with the text of the Krauss imprint. It is of some interest to note that Sonnenfels always omits the first part of the title "Das Duell", referring to

the play as "Der Weise in der That" only. On p. 347 (reprint p. 143), Sonnenfels says: "Der Uebersetzer, den ich vor mir habe, hat den Namen des Stückes, der wörtlich lauten sollte: "Der Weise ohne es zu wissen", durch "Der Weise in der That" gegeben". There is no other reference in Sonnenfels to the translator and I have as yet found no convincing proof of his identity. A suspicion that he may have been Johann Friedrich Schmidt is not without some foundation, but there are serious difficulties in the way. In favor of Schmidt can be alleged the facts that he made a translation (see the discussion in paragraph 54); that he was "Direktor des Lesekabinetts zu Wien" from about 1783 on (see Gotha Theaterkalender for 1783); and that, beginning with 1777 his works were usually published in Vienna (see Meusel's *Lexicon etc.* vol. 12, pp. 283-284; Goedeke's *Grundriss*, 2nd edition, vol. 4, p. 250). Just when Schmidt first went to Vienna, however, I have been unable to determine, although he might well have had relations with Vienna dramatic interests before his own arrival. Another point in this connection is this: The 1776 Munich reprint of the Vienna translation, which will be described in paragraph 59, changed the title from "Das Duell, oder der Weise in der That" to "Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen", and this change may have misled the bibliographies including the Gotha Theater Kalender, Meusel's *Lexicon*, and Kayser, to give this title to Schmidt's translation. This title once given, it was easy to confuse it with the Garbe imprint of 1767 which had identically the same title; hence the gradual final ascription of the Garbe imprint to Schmidt. In this connection also the words of Sonnenfels himself (P. 347; reprint 143) are of interest: "Es soll von eben dem Stücke noch sonst eine Uebersetzung vorhanden seyn: welche die hamburger Bühne aufführt: aber sie ist mir nicht zu Gesichte gekommen". This Hamburg presentation may have been from either the Pfeffel or the Mainz translation; the fact that the library of the Hamburg theatre possesses a copy of the Pfeffel translation may argue a little in its favor.

d) It seems best to take up here the discussion of the possible authorship of Ernst Friedrich Jester as translator of this Vienna version. As indicated under b), Jester's name is given on the catalogue-cards of two of the copies owned by the Vienna Stadtbibliothek. Why it is not on the other two is not at all clear. In Goedeke's *Grundriss* (second edition vol. 4. (1891) p. 254) the following is listed as one of Jester's works: "Der Weise in der That: Lustsp. a. d. Franz." No date or place or publisher is given. This is evidently taken from Meusel's *Das gelehrte Teutschland*. Fifth edition, vol. III, p. 530 (Lemgo 1797): where one reads in the list of Jester's works: "Der Weise in der That: aus dem Französischen des Sedaine . .". Here also no date, place or publisher is given. Strange to say, in Meusel's *Das gelehrte Deutschland im 19ten Jahrhundert* (Lemgo 1808-1827) which is the continuation of the work previously mentioned, there is no mention of Jester's having translated Sedaine's play, although Jester occupies a fair amount of space in vol. 6, p. 263 and a long list of his works is given.

In Kayser under Jester (Vol. 6, "Schauspiele" division p. 46) there is no mention of this play, nor is Jester ascribed the authorship at the mention of the Vienna

imprint by Krauss on p. 24 under "Duell". Returning now to Goedeke we find that he gives as one of his authorities the following:

"Biographie und Verzeichniss seiner (=Jester's) Schriften in den 'Beiträgen zur Kunde Preussens' 5, 500-520."

The date of this fifth volume is Königsberg 1822 and the article in question was written by Professor Ludwig von Baczko of Königsberg who was Jester's friend. Now, Jester had just died (April 14, 1822) and it is very reasonable to suppose that his friend's knowledge of his literary activities would be correct at a time so close to Jester's death. What then do we find? On p. 518 is a list of the translations made by Jester from foreign languages, all of which translations (according to a note at the end of the list) remained *in manuscript*. In the list is the following title:

"Der praktische Philosoph. Familien-Gemälde in 5 Aufzügen. Nach dem Französischen des Sedaine frei bearbeitet".

Jester was a forester of some note in the service of Prussia. Hence there appeared in 1824 in "Sylvan, Jahrbuch für Forstmänner, Jäger und Jagdfreunde, Neue Folge, 2 Jahrgang" (1824), pp. 3-20 a biography at whose close is given what the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* vol. 30, p. 788, calls "eine vollständige Aufzählung aller seiner (=Jester's) Theaterschriften". In this list is the same title as above, "Der praktische Philosoph etc", the only difference being the omission of the phrase "frei bearbeitet". At the end of the portion of the list that has "Der praktische Philosoph" is the note that the plays there given are "sämmliche manuscrite". Hence again it was not published. A foot-note on p. 3 of this number of "Sylvan" declares that the material for the article on Jester is taken from the above mentioned number of the "Beitraege zur Kunde Preussens" and "aus handschriftlichen Notizen". The note also states that Professor von Baczko had recently died. The frontispiece of the number of "Sylvan" is a portrait of Jester in uniform, presumably that of his rank as Prussian Oberforstmeister.

It is thus pretty clear that Jester made a translation of Sedaine's play, since the title "Der praktische Philosoph Familien-Gemälde" could scarcely be anything else than "Le philosophe sans le savoir". It is, however, far from clear that the play was ever published either at Vienna in 1768 or at any other time or place.* We must, however, note that Jester was in Vienna from 1767 to 1772 as secretary of the Prussian embassy to the court of Austria. He had also shown an active interest in the drama from his earliest years, both as translator and as amateur actor, had visited Paris for three months at the time that Sedaine's play was first produced, and upon his ultimate return to Königsberg had taken a deep interest in the establishment of a permanent theatre there. According to the list in "Sylvan", Jester, in addition to his publications on forestry and hunting, was the

*I wrote to the Königsberg University Library in the hope that Jester's Mss. of "Der praktische Philosoph" might be in that city. Information was received that the Mss. was neither in the University Library, the Stadtbibliothek, nor the Archives of the Königsberg Theater. I am searching for it elsewhere.

author of ten original comedies and dramas, half of which were published, of thirteen translated comedies, none of which were printed, and of nine original and four translated operas, none of which were published.*

Thus his dramatic interests were very considerable. Among his original dramas the most widely known was "Das Duell oder das junge Ehepaar" in one act. This had several editions. The theme was unquestionably suggested by Sedaine's *Philosophe*, and much of the phraseology is similar: the peace of a recently married young couple is threatened by a duel which has been brought about by the bride's brother challenging the young husband. The cause had been the brother's wicked anger that his sister had not chosen otherwise. There are some good scenes, but there is rather too much sentiment and too much weeping for modern tastes. Much as Vanderk father must conceal the facts from his family, so in Jester's play the young husband tries to hide everything from his bride. A similar tense scene near the close is relieved by a happy ending as in the *Philosophe*. It is also interesting to note that Jester translated Sedaine's "La Gageure imprévue". This also remained in manuscript.

57. [TrW continued]

The Vienna translation seems to have proved quite a success. It is undoubtedly this version to which Klotz refers when he says that "Sedainens Weiser in der That" was "wiederholt" at the *Leipzig Ostermesse* of 1769 (see Klotz' *Deutsche Bibliothek der Schönen Wissenschaften* III, 1769, p. 529). At p. 101 of this third volume is a first mention of the play, but there is no statement there nor elsewhere of the translator's name. Further evidence of its having been performed at Vienna before 1769 under the above title is seen in the "Promemoria" of Affligio, where its success is described as "mittelmässig". It was No. 28 in the repertory of the Vienna German theatre. Apparently, also, the play was given in French before the Austrian court at Vienna in 1771 (see Alexander von Weilen: *Die Theater Wiens; das K. K. Hofburgtheater*, vol. 2, 1. (1897), p. 166, line 9, and p. viii, at the end of the vol.). A. von Weilen, in speaking of the successful

*As far as I have examined the Gotha Theater Kalender for information concerning Jester, there is no mention of the plays that he translated or wrote. His name appears in the lists of dramatic authors and his occupations are mentioned, but nothing else. Thus in the 1775 volume, p. 120: "Jestern von. Preussischer Gesandtschafts-Sekretair zu Wien.;" 1777 (p. 147), 1778 (p. 111), 1779 (p. 119): "Jestern von, Preussischer Kammerrath bey Königsberg.;" 1780 (p. 115), 1781 (p. xii): "Jestern von, Kriegs-und Domainenrath in Königsberg.;" 1784 (p. 153), 1785 (p. 130): "Jester, Ernst Friedrich, Kriegs-rath zu Königsberg." Remaining years bring no additional information. It is of interest to note that his full name does not appear until the issue of 1784, which would seem to show how little he and his work were known to the editor of the Kalender. Nowhere in the Kalenders examined can I find mention of a translation of the *Philosophe sans le savoir* by Jester.

rôles of the famous Vienna actress, Madame Johanna Richard-Sacco, gives as one her "Julie" in "Der Weise in der That" in 1776. In the Vienna translation Victorine of the original becomes "Julchen" and her rôle is given considerably greater importance, especially in the closing scenes. Still later proof of the existence of the play at Vienna as late as 1793 is found in Teuber and von Weilen, *Die Theater Wiens* vol. 2, 2, 1. (Vienna 1903), p. 118: "Ohne rechten Erfolg versucht man ältere Stücke wiederaufzunehmen. Werke von Destouches und Marivaux finden zwar die Anerkennung der Kritik, aber nicht den Zuspruch des Publicums, das bei der Aufführung von Sedaine's "Das Duell oder der Weise in der That" 19 october 1793 zischte". The identity of this title with the Krauss imprint is worthy of remark. This performance was at the Vienna Nationaltheater (see p. xxvi of the *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1795.*).

This Vienna translation, therefore, held the boards a long time. It is a very careful and accurate translation of the censored text of the first Paris 1766 edition, having the same scene-division and other peculiarities. Toward the end of the play, however, certain important additions are made, whereby the rôle of Antoine and especially that of Julchen (=Victorine) are enhanced, the indication of a betrothal of Julchen and Vanderk fils being clearly made. These changes are of such a character that I have had to quote entire scenes to show them; see especially at notes 638 and 674 and in this connection, 85, 108, 254, 260, 443 and 527. The changes are of much interest since they anticipate the pretty sequel play to the *Philosophe* written by George Sand in 1851 with the title *Le Mariage de Victorine*. Sonnenfels in his *Briefe über die Wienerische Schaubühne*, p. 356 (reprint pp. 147-148) praises this changed ending of the play, and criticizes Sedaine for not having added this touch to the original. He forgets, however, that Sedaine had no desire to enlarge the love episode, no doubt fearing lest it overshadow the main theme, the character of Vanderk. The Vienna version follows the uncensored variants in one place, namely the retention of the episode of the bullet-hole in young Vanderk's hat, and it is largely upon the emotion caused by this incident that the changed ending and the increased importance of Julchen's rôle in the last scenes are based. See this episode at note 638. Another feature of the Vienna version is that the stage movements and business are amplified and described in more detail. Thus it is clear that the translation was made by some one who had excellent knowledge of actual stage conditions. The most interesting of these places are found at notes 85, 108, 113, 146, 175a, 189, 208, 227, 241, 254, 260, 280, 294, 302, 404, 443, 527, 556a, 597, 638, 646, 651, 674. As in the Pfeffel translation the scene is transferred to a German atmosphere, Desparville becoming Herr von Blankenfeld, the old aunt die Baronesse von Frontheim, Vanderk's former names being von Wartholz, von Altholtz, and Victorine Julchen as already noted; see at notes 44, 134, 431, 526, 659. The attitude toward the duel is the same as in the censored French version. The names of the original Vienna actors of this translation are listed on p. 2 of the Krauss imprint; these names are not repeated in the Munich reprint of 1776. Other places of interest in this edition are mentioned at notes 14, 24, 132, 142, 187, 195, 209, 210, 216, 272, 353e, 367, 403, 479, 528, 569, 621, 668.

58. [TrT] 1776.

Another German translation, whose title no doubt caused confusion with those already listed, is the following:

DER | PHILOSOPH | OHNE ES ZU WISSEN | Ein
Lustspiel | aus | dem Französischen des Herrn Sedaine, | für
ein Privat-Theater übersetzt | Dresden 1776 | In der Walther-
ischen Hofbuchhandlung. |

Octavo. 87 pages, p. 88 being blank.

In the copy at the Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek* there is added on pp. [89-92] an epilogue:

Epilog | zu dem Lustspiele: | Der Philosoph ohne es zu wissen, | bey
dessen Aufführung | durch | eine junge Familiengesellschaft | auf einem Privat-
Theater zu Dresden, | am 16ten März 1776. |*

Nachdem Anton die letzten Worte des Stückes gesprochen, trat | der jüngere
Vanderk nebst Sophien wieder näher zu dem | Parterre und fuhr fort:

Welch eine Lehre! Lern' sie, Jugend!

Wie oft sind Witz und Munterkeit,

Die holden Zierden früher Tugend,

Der Keim von Unbesonnenheit!

and so on for 88 similar verses spoken alternately by the younger Vanderk and his sister Sophie. These verses are in praise of modesty, virtue, duty and domesticity as the most desirable qualities for youths and maidens, and in warning against conceit, vanity, flattery and deception. This epilogue is not found in all copies of this rather rare edition.

It is probable that this book appeared soon after the date of March 16, 1776, given in the epilogue as the date of the performance of this version. In any event the book is listed as ready for the trade in the *Messe Verzeichniss* for Easter 1776, p. 61.

The translator of this Dresden edition was Hans Ernst von Teubern who was "kurfürstlicher Sächsischer Hofrath und geheimer Referendarius zu Dresden seit 1767". He was born 1738 and died 1801. He had translated many works from the English and the French. See: Kläbe, Neuest, Gel. Dresden, Leipzig 1796; Reichard's Gotha Theater Kalender auf das Jahr 1777, p. 183, also for 1780, p. 172

*This "Privat-Theater" cannot have been the "Societäts-Theater" in Dresden, a report from which is printed in the 1785 Gotha Theater Kalender, pages 84 following. According to this report the Societäts-Theater was opened on May 19, 1776, with Stephanie the younger's "Abgedankter Officier" followed by a one act play, "Das Duell" [probably Jester's]. The Teubern translation of Sedaine's play was, however, played in this Societäts-Theater April 1, 1777 (see pages 88-89 of this report).

etc; Almanach der deutschen Musen, 1777, p. 135; Meusel's "Das gelehrte Teutschland etc" fifth edition, vol. 8, pp. 30-31, (Lemgo 1800); Heinsius vol. for 1700-1800, p. 330 under Sedaine; Kayser vol. 6, "Schauspiele" division, p. 91; Goedeke's Grundriss, second edition, vol. iv, p. 211.

I know of copies of this work in the Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek*, the Mannheim *Theater Bibliothek*, the Gotha Grand Ducal Library. The last has in some mysterious way been bound in the first volume of the Gotha copy of "Neue Schauspiele aufgeführt auf dem Churfürstlichen Theater zu München, [etc, etc]. Augsburg und München bey Conrad Heinrich Stage 1776". As we shall see in the next paragraph there is a translation of Sedaine having the "Stage 1776" imprint, and presumably in other copies of this first volume of the München "Neue Schauspiele etc", this Stage imprint would be found. This Stage 1776 imprint is a reprint of the Vienna edition, and it, rather than the Teubern translation, belongs in the set of the München "Neue Schauspiele".

This Teubern translation is very exact, taking no liberties with Sedaine's text, and following strictly the censored version of A, the first Paris edition of 1766. There are, therefore, very few places where the Teubern translation is of interest. It deviates slightly at note 211. Notes 156, 189, 195, 209, 210, 269, 403, 479, 555 reveal a few other points of interest. Notes 210, 620, 646, seem to show that Teubern used the Dresden reprint of A in making his translation.

59. [TrW2] 1776.

There appeared in 1776 a reprint of the Vienna translation of 1768 (see paragraphs 56 and 57) under another title, which change caused much confusion in bibliographical reference literature:

DER | PHILOSOPH | ohne es zu wissen. | Ein |
 Schauspiel | in fünf Aufzügen. | Aufgeführt | auf | dem
 Churfürstl. Theater zu München | Mit Genehmigung des Chur-
 fürstl. Büchercensurcollegiums | [München] | 1776. |
 Octavo. 72 pages.

This is seemingly a very rare book. There are copies in the *Königliche Bayrische Hof-und Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, and in the British Museum. I have seen the latter copy (call-number 11,747.df.20(2) under "Philosoph" in the British Museum Catalogue). It is a word for word reprint of the Vienna translation.

This edition was designed to be the first play in the first volume of:

Neue | Schauspiele | aufgeführt | auf dem Churfürstlichen Theater zu
 München | Mit | Genehmigung des Churf. Büchercensurcollegiums. | Augs-
 burg und München | bey Conrad Heinrich Stage, 1776 [and following years].

The copy of this first volume owned by the Gotha Grand Ducal Library has, through some error, the Teubern translation (see last paragraph) instead of the

Munich reprint of the Vienna translation. The first two volumes of the Munich "Neue Schauspiele" are listed in the "Messe Verzeichniss" for Easter 1776 (p. 70) as ready for the trade, "Augsburg, bey Stage in Commission". The "Philosoph" of the first volume is not there listed as a reprint, and perhaps it was not so sold.

In the c) portion of the foot-note to paragraph 51 we have already seen how Meusel and others confused this Munich reprint with the Pfeffel translation. This error is due largely to the two having the same title, but, above all, to the repeated declaration in the Gotha Theater Kalender that the Munich reprint is "nach Pfeffel's Uebersetzung". (See the Kalender for 1777, p. 198; 1778, p. 170; 1779, p. 189; 1780, p. 188, etc.).

This edition is listed in the Holtzmann-Bohatta Deutsches Anonymen Lexicon, Vol. III as number 8838. The reference there given as authority is "Haydinger: Katalog der Bibliothek aus dem Nachlass des Herrn Franz Haydinger, Wien 1876-77". Clearly the same book is listed as No. 1378 of the "Katalog der aus Anlass der Erwerbung eines Theiles der Franz Haydinger'schen Bibliothek aus der Wiener Stadtbibliothek ausgeschiedenen und zur öffentlichen Versteigerung gelangenen Doubletten. Wein 1877. Selbstverlag der Wiener Gemeinderrathe". Thinking that, if the Vienna library had had two copies, I might see the one that had not been sold, I asked to have this copy sent to Paris for my use. I was informed, however, that the above catalogue "enthält ausser den Duplikaten auch alle jene Werke, welche, wenn auch keine Doubletten, dennoch damals ausgeschieden wurden, weil sie keine Wiener Drucke waren und daher nicht in den Rahmen der Stadtbibliothek passten". Thus, the Munich reprint of the Vienna translation is no longer in the Vienna *Stadtbibliothek*. It would seem that the Vienna library authorities had not realized that the Munich edition was really a reprint of the Vienna translation, for otherwise they might have preferred to keep it.

60. [TrG] 1781.

Fourteen years after the first translation into German there appeared another which seems to have been more successful in actual dramatic presentation than previous versions in German. The translator was Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, 1746-1797, who had translated many other foreign plays into German, and his work appeared both as a reprint and in a series under the following title:

DER | WEISE IN DER THAT. | Ein | Schauspiel |
in fünf Akten | Nach Sedaine | Leipzig, | im Verlage der
Dykischen Buchhandlung. | 1781. |

Octavo. 102 pages.

The series in which this translation appeared was the "Komisches Theater der Franzosen für die Deutschen herausge-

geben von J. G. Dyk, Leipzig im Verlage der Dykischen Buchhandlung". And the "Weise in der That" is in the "Siebenter Theil" which appeared in 1781. In this form the pagination is [369]-470.

In Dr. Friedrich Walter's "Archiv und Bibliothek des Grossh. Hof-und Nationaltheaters in Mannheim, etc," Leipzig, 1899 (S. Hirzel). Band II, pp. 91-92, one finds the complete list of the plays contained in the ten volumes of the "Komisches Theater etc (1777-1786)". In this and in similar collections like the "Theatralische Belustigungen", the "Neue Schauspiele", (Munich 1776ff.) etc, one finds the French plays which were most appreciated in Germany at this time. There is opportunity here, through a study of these plays, for some scholar to deepen our knowledge of the influence of French drama upon German drama in the late 18th century.

Both the seventh volume of the "Komisches Theater" and the reprint of the "Weise in der That" appeared between Easter and St. Michaels of 1781; see the *Messe Verzeichniss* for that year, p. 100, p. 187, p. 210; see also the *Gotha Theater Kalender* for 1782, p. 193 and p. 196 of the list of "Schriften so für die deutsche Bühne von Michael 1780 bis Michael 1781 im Druck erschienen sind". There is a copy of the reprint in the Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek*, and copies of the seventh volume of the "Komisches Theater" in the *Bibliothek des Mannheim theaters* and in the *Bibliothek der Hamburgtheatergesellschaft*.

Prefixed to the seventh volume of the "Komisches Theater" (but not to the reprint) is the following preface in the "Verzeichniss der Stücke":

"Der Weise in der That in fünf Akten nach Sedaine von Herrn Gotter.

Le Philosophe sans le sçavoir ist der Titel des Originals, und das Stück schon vielfältig von Deutschen übersetzt und gespielt. Bey einer kurzen Prüfung wird man aber finden das alle vorhandene Uebersetzungen höchst flüchtig gemacht sind; daher Herr Gotter für eine gesellschaftliche Vorstellung, sich der Mühe einer neuen Bearbeitung unterzog. In dieser wird man das Stück gewiss mit Vergnügen wieder einmal lesen, da es, unter den neueren französischen Schauspielen, die erste Stelle nach dem *Hausvater* von Diderot verdient".

This claim of the publisher Dyk that Gotter's translation is superior to others is not justified by the facts. It can readily be proved that Gotter made liberal use of the Pfeffel version, many of the sentences being absolutely the same. I have not attempted to note any cases beyond those which concern us otherwise in the endeavor to show how the German versions differ from the French original, but even here a surprisingly large number of instances occur. See these at notes 165, 193, 220, 278, 429, 453, 457, 496, 532, 534, 545, 546, 569, 572. Even the title "Der Weise in der That" seems borrowed from the Vienna translation. Quite in contrast to Pfeffel, however, Gotter adopts an apologetic attitude toward the duel as an institution, although he adheres in the main to the censored text of the first Paris edition of 1766. Indeed, it may be said that Gotter even favors the duel as necessary, and this approval may have been one of the reasons why his version was more

popular on the German stage, especially at Berlin and Mannheim, than the version of Pfeffel who, as we have seen, went even beyond the Paris censor in his condemnation of this custom. The passages that concern the duel may be found at notes 353i, 353t, 403, 479, 489; the last is particularly interesting since Vanderk as in the uncensored version gives his son letters that shall aid his flight. Gotter takes every opportunity to emphasize the sentimental and emotional value of a scene or incident, and this may have been another reason for the popularity of his version; see such instances at notes 74, 80, 459, 461, 505, 518, 597, 598, 616, 646, 651, 664. Other points of less importance are given at notes 24, 113, 134, 144, 146, 150, 154, 163b, 165, 189, 209, 232, 256, 269, 270, 271, 280, 299, 427, 432, 440, 515, 516, 538, 590, 598, 671.

The date 1781 is the only one for which I have actually found copies of the Dyk imprint, but Meusel's *Lexicon der deutschen Schriftsteller* under Gotter gives 1782 as the date which Goedeke copies (*Grundriss*, 2nd ed. vol. 4, p. 252, no. 20.). Again Heinsius (vol. 4, column 370 under "Weise") and Kayser (vol. 6, "Schauspiele" division, p. 36 and p. 91) give 1786. The British Museum Catalogue gives its copy of a Gotter translation the date 1788, but examination showed that this was an error for 1793 and that the book was the reprint of Gotter which is described in the next paragraph.

61. [TrG2] 1793.

There appeared a reprint of Gotter's translation in 1793 as volume 50 of the set known as: "Deutsche Schaubühne". The title is as follows:

"Der | Weise in der That | Ein | Schauspiel | in fünf
Anfügen | Nach Sedaine". |
Octavo. 80 pages.

It is the fourth play in the volume whose title page (*recto*) runs thus:

"Deutsche | Schaubühne | Zweyter Band | Augsburg |
1793". |

The *verso* of this title page (in some copies this is the *recto* of an extra title-page) is as follows:

"Deutsche | Schaubühne | Fünften Jahrgangs | Zwey-
ter Band | Nach der Ordnung 50ster Band | Augsburg |
1793. |

This reprint is very carelessly made. The typographical errors are exceedingly numerous. There are also quite a number of relatively unimportant differences from the 1781 text of Gotter; these differences are, however, only in the choice of single words, for instance: "liebster Sohn" for "lieber Sohn"; "sey es dir gesagt" for "sey es gesagt", and similar slight changes that do not seriously affect the

phraseology or meaning. It has, therefore, not seemed worth while to indicate them in my notes, since it is quite clear that the more carefully prepared edition of 1781 contains the standard text of Gotter's version. Only one place merits mention at note 425.

There are copies of this Augsburg reprint in the Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek*, the Kiel *Universitätsbibliothek* and the British Museum. The last copy is assigned the date 1788 in the British Museum Catalogue, but this is due to the fact that 1788 is the date of the first volume of the series of the "Deutsche Schaubühne", which ran for 73 volumes (from 1788 to 1802). Volume 50 itself has always the date 1793.

62. [TrB] 1805.

The only translation into another Romance tongue that I have thus far discovered is the following:

Il Filosofo | senza saper d'esserlo | dramma | del Signor
Sedaine | traduzione inedita | del Signor Abate | Placido
Bordoni | In Venezia | l'anno 1805 | Presso Antonio Rosa |
con privilegio. |

Octavo. 57 pages, followed by three pages of:

"Notizie Storico-Critiche | sopra | Il Filosofo senza saper
d'esserlo, | estese dall' Editore." |

This translation is the fifth play in "Anno Secondo Tomo I Gennaio 1805" of a series known as:

"Anno Teatrale | in continuazione | del Teatro Moderno
applaudito, | ossia | raccolta annuale | divisa in dodici men-
suali volumi | di | Tragedie, commedie, drammi e farse |
che godono presentemente del piu alto favore sui pubblici teatri |
cosi italiani, come stranieri; | corredata di Notizie storico-
critiche | E | d'un Indice alfabetico in fine di tutti i componi-
menti | inseriti nei detti dodici volumi. | In Venezia | Presso
Antonio Rosa | con privilegio."

There are copies of this translation in the *Grossherzogliche Hessische Hofbibliothek*, Darmstadt, and in the British Museum (see their catalogue at "Teatro".)

The translation follows closely the text of the first Paris edition of 1766, A, and shows no knowledge of the uncensored variants or of Sedaine's statement. In its attitude toward the duel Bordoni's translation adheres closely to the censored version, but in the "Notizie" the closing words reveal a criticism similar to that of Pfeffel:

"Ma che dunque seguir dovrebbe (alcuno qui chiedere potria) un padre che nel caso stesso del vecchio Wanderk si trovasse?—Che seguire?—Seguire ciò che sana filosofia ci addita: ed e troncar tosto ogni contesa, se altro mezzo non vale,

non colla spada del figlio, ma con quella della Giustizia che non mai si follemente si delude quanto allora che per un fantastico onore, delirio dell' umana mente, ad avventurar vassi la vita degli uomini, e, ciò ch' è più, la pace e l'onore vero delle famiglie le più innocenti".

This attitude toward the duel is brought out especially at notes 401, 403, 472, 479, 481, 485, 492, 493. In some of these cases Sedaine's original thought is practically distorted. Other places where Bordoni's translation possesses slight interest are at notes 11, 165, 182, 189, 210, 269, 283, 353v, 498, 516, 570, 655, 659.

On page 59 in the "Notizie" mention is made, apparently, of a previous translation in the following terms:

"Questa . . . composizione, poco tempo dopo la sua comparsa in Francia, tradotta fu in italiano e recitata sulle venete scene, ma *con poca fortuna* secondo ciò che nell' *Appendice al Ragionamento ingenuo* scrive il signor conte CARLO GOZZI il quale aggiugne che *per due volte vide rappresentare Il Filosofo senza saper d'esserlo; che sempre gli piacque, e che per tal ragione il lesse ben cinque volte*".

It is not said in this passage that the translation made soon after the appearance of the play in France was ever published, nor is it entirely clear whether Gozzi saw the play given in this translation or not. C. Frati, the librarian of the San Marco Library at Venice has most kindly searched there for such an earlier Italian translation, but thus far without success. He writes under date of March 20, 1911: "Dans les annales littéraires de Venise pendant les deux derniers siècles, ainsi que dans les catalogues de la Bibliothèque, aucune trace n'en fait soupçonner l'existence". If there was such an earlier translation, therefore, it probably was not published.

But was there such a translation anyway? This is not so clear as the passage quoted above seems to imply. Referring to the passage in Gozzi's works from which the above is in part quoted, we find the following (Opere edite ed inedite del Co. Carlo Gozzi, Tomo quinto. In Venezia, Giacomo Zanardi. 1802. p. 23; pp. 50-57.):

Gozzi says (p. 23) that a French troupe played twenty-four evenings in Venice during the fall of 1772 using the French language. On p. 50 he says that this was in the Teatro a S. Samuele, and that the troupe, with the exception of a few of the actors, was the so-called Truppa Imperiale which d'Afligio had called to Vienna. Gozzi speaks of the luke-warm reception of this troupe while in Venice (pp. 52ff) when he saw them play Diderot's *Père de Famille* and Le Sage's *Crispin rival de son Maître*. Then he adds (p. 57): "Io fui a vederla [the French troupe] una seconda volta la penultima sera delle sue recite, sera resa fortunata dalla privazione, che doveva succedere per l'avvenire. Si rappresentava: *Il Filosofo senza saper d'esserlo*, Dramma, che si sempre mi piacque, che per tal ragione lessi ben cinque volte in francese, e che per due volte vidi rappresentare tradotto con poca fortuna". He then goes on to speak of his experience in hearing the actors speak French in their performance of the *Philosophe*. It is however to be noted carefully that his reading of the play had been in French, that the performance of the visiting Vienna Imperial actors was in French, and that he does not specify in what language

the play was translated when he saw it before "per due volte". In other parts of his critical works Gozzi attacks the German dramatic critics Sonnenfels and Heufeld showing familiarity with German literature. It seems, therefore, far more likely that "tradotto" refers to a German translation rather than to one in Italian, and that the editor of the Bordoni translation has simply misquoted Gozzi. Perhaps, however, Bordoni's translation itself is meant. This may have remained "inedita" until 1805. Bordoni was born 1736 and was still alive in 1807.

Sub-group Ic.

63. [TrK] 1888.

There are no translations of sub-group Ib. There is, however, one of sub-group Ic. This is a very poorly made translation of H. A. Bull's edition, see paragraph 34. The translator's name is William Henry Kent, and the title is as follows:

"A Philosopher without knowing it. Sedaine's *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* translated into English, as nearly literal as the different idioms of the French and English languages will allow. Reading and London. 1888."

68 pages.

That Kent used Bull's text is very clear from his preface where he says (p iii) that he has translated the "Cambridge edition of the text of the original" which had been prepared for the "Cambridge Syndicate". Bull had given the incorrect date of the first performance, November 2, 1765, which Kent corrects to December 2, 1765.

It is not my purpose to reveal the defects of this translation which in places shows complete misinterpretation of the simple French of the original. The wonder is that any such translation should be necessary.

Group II.

64. [TrS] 1787.

There exists a translation into Danish which has much interest. Not only is it the sole translation from the second group, but it is the only translation to adopt Sedaine's uncensored variants completely and incorporate them in the text as Sedaine wished. This translation is entitled:

"Den | virkelig Viise. | Et | Skuespil i fem Akter. |
Oversat efter Sedaines: *Le Philosophe [sic] sans le savoir.* | ved
Friderich Schwartz."

This translation forms pp. 329-416 of:

"Skuespil | til Brug | for | den danske Skueplads |
Ellevte Bind. | Kiøbenhavn 1787. | Trykt paa Gyldendals
Forlag. |

Octavo.

I have seen the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. At notes 321, 342 are found a few peculiarities of this translation which follows the second Paris edition B closely even in stage directions and scene-divisions. At note 540 is found an interesting change which shows how carefully this Danish translation was made. At 656 and 670 we see it preferring the censored text to the uncensored; these are however only slight variations. Otherwise the text of the Danish translation follows carefully the uncensored variants and inserts them in their proper places. At 668 is still further evidence of the care with which the translation was made.

Uncertain.

65. [TrO] 1772.

There appeared in England in 1772 a very free adaptation of *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*. So free is this adaptation that it is not easy to assign it to either group I or Group II of my classification. There is no division into scenes but merely an indication of the entrances and exits. Hence a valuable help in classifying this English adaptation is absent, and one is reduced to an examination of the text itself. Here, however, many passages suggest group I as their source, whilst many others suggest group II with equal strength. I have therefore been unable to decide and am forced to class this work as "Uncertain", although I am slightly in favor of group II as the source.

The title page runs thus:

"The | Duel | A | Play | as performed at the | Theatre-Royal | in | Drury-Lane. | London | Printed for T. Davies, Russel-street, Covent Garden. MDCCCLXXII".

On a preceding page the following occurs: "(Price one Shilling and Sixpence)". The British Museum has this book; see its catalogue under "Duel" where William O'Brien is given as translator. This name appears in writing on the Museum copy's first title-page. This ascription to O'Brien is also justified by the Halkett and Laing Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain, Edinburgh 1882 Vol. II, p. 177 under "Duel" where, however, the reference is apparently to another edition (London MDCCXXIII), octavo pp. 100. I was unable to find this other edition at the British Museum and am inclined to believe that there is but the one. Their copy is octavo and has (iv) + 100 + (ii) pages; these last two pages are apparently misbound since they contain, *recto*, an "Advertisement", and, *verso*, the "Dramatis Personae" both of which naturally belong at the beginning of the book. The ascription to O'Brien is further justified in Baker, Reed, and Jones' "Biographica Dramatica or a companion to the Play House," A. D. 1812, vol. I. p. 545 under "O'Brien, William". Here he is described

as a man "of ancient lineage," whose family "from attachment to their monarch and religion abandoned their country and property after the capitulation of Limerick, and followed his fortunes into France". Later O'Brien became a famous actor appearing at Drury Lane Theatre first in 1758 and retiring six years later. See also the Dictionary of National Biography, first issue, vol. 41, and re-issue, vol. 14, p. 776, where we learn much more of O'Brien's life. He died in 1815. In Vol. V., pp. 342-343 of W. Genest's "Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration to 1830" (Bath 1832) we learn that the date of the Drury Lane performance was December 8, 1772, and that the play was "acted but once". After an analysis of the play the article in Genest closes: "the *Duel* is on the whole a good play; it must be added to the list of the pieces which have been unjustly condemned."

Below are given the main features of this English adaptation, since it is impossible to list its many transformations of scenes and other peculiarities:

The plot is kept in the main. It is the censored version that is followed, although some knowledge of the uncensored is shown (see note 320). The scene is laid in London, and the characters are English, Irish and Scotch. Thus the Vanderks have become here the Melvilles, Desparvilles has become Sir Dermot O'Leinster, "a knight and Baronight from Ireland", Maria (Victorine) is not the daughter of Hargrave (Antoine) but is the orphan child of a school fellow and intimate friend of Melville, who had been of great service to Melville in earlier days; hence her social rank is equal to that of young Melville, and the love element between them is greatly emphasized. In fact the play ends with their betrothal. In *Sedaine*, Victorine has many of the duties of a social inferior, but in the changed English version these lines are spoken by an additional character, the housekeeper, Mrs. Jones. The rôle of the aristocratic aunt is greatly expanded; she is Lady Margaret Sinclair from the north of Scotland and talks a broad Scotch which contributes greatly to the humor of her lines. This is her first visit to London and she takes every opportunity to show her provincialism. She gets up at five in the morning to examine "the peerage of Scotland" so as to instruct her nephew in the family history. She hopes that her brother had Scotchmen furnish his fine house, plans to marry her nephew into the family of Lady Catherine M'Clyde "lineally descended fra' David the first", and rails against "filthy commerce". Declaring that because he is a banker and hence in trade he is "under a cloud", she concludes: "Dye think that a person o' rank wull ever acknowledge a mon that has lived by his wit—hut, hut!" The aunt's character is really well drawn and her closing words are especially good: "Distract! Troth you are aw' distract! I ha' no' met with man nor woman that seemed i' their senses, sin I left Scotland.—The Lord keep me in mine, and send me safe back, that I may live to see my auld castle wi' the sma' portion of understanding with which I cross'd the Tweed." Melville like Vanderk is of noble origin, having the right to a Scottish earlship. His liberal, cosmopolitan spirit contrasts well with the narrowness of his sister, this element in his character being somewhat more emphasized than in *Sedaine*:

Melville. Nobility? ridiculous! where was our nobility while I was struggling in the world; sunk, bury'd under contempt and poverty.—what makes it lift its head

and plume itself again! Trade, trade, sister, that produces opulence and credit—that gives birth to honours—

Lady M. Honors! what honors can ever spring fra' trafic, but let us cut short etc".

In other respects, however, the character of Melville is not so strongly drawn as in the original, especially in the monologues, where he yields more to his mental anguish. In fact he does not occupy the same commanding and central position as in the original, and this necessary unity to the play is still further disturbed by the increased importance of the aunt's rôle, and the expansion of the love episode. In general also the dialogue and the monologues are much expanded, and hence much of the subtilty and delicacy of Sedaine's more condensed dialogue is lost. The increased importance given the servants' rôles, especially that of Sandy, the stupid servant of the aunt, has its element of humor, but detracts from the main interest.

A few places of importance have been listed at notes 44, 320, 353w, 373, 489, 540, 578, 674.

66. I have made efforts to find a Dutch translation, but thus far without success. It seemed strange to note that other plays of Sedaine, to be sure his operas in most cases, had been translated into Dutch, whereas there was apparently no translation of his greatest play, the *Philosophe*, whose theme seems so much in sympathy with the spirit of the Dutch people. The librarians of the Royal Library at The Hague, and of the University Library at Leyden have kindly lent their aid, but nothing has as yet been found. Mr. S. G. De Vries of the University Library at Leyden writes as follows (April 5, 1911):

“ Je ne crois pas qu'une traduction existe, car elle ne se trouve pas mentionnée dans le livre de J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*. 2e Deel. 1908, page 321 sv. où ce savant énumère tous les drames de Sedaine dont une traduction lui est connue.”

I am, however, not content to believe that a translation may not yet be found. In Germany several of the translations appeared anonymously and under titles that were often rather free renderings of the original and hence very difficult to detect. The same may be true of Holland, and for that matter of other lands where as yet no translation has been discovered.

TABLE OF SCENE-DIVISIONS.

67. In the following table the scene-arrangement of the several groups is shown. It will be noted that the groups do not show consistency throughout the five acts, and, further, that there is considerable divergence between the members of a group.

TrO has no scene-divisions (see paragraph 65).

ACT I.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| Ms-S; Group II (ex. P. T.); H1; Mo; H2; G. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| Group Ia (ex. Di-H; BN; Ty; trG; trB.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| Group Ib; P; T. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| Group Ic; Di-H; BN; Ty; trG; O. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 |
| TrB. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| See slight details at notes | | 11 | 16 | | 39 | | | 46 | 64 | 79 | | | | 94 | | 106 | |

ACT II.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|---|---|------|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|
| Ms-S; Group II (ex. P.-T.); H1; Mo; H2; G. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| Group Ia, b, c; O. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 13 |
| P. T. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| See slight details at notes | 109 | 113 | | | 175a | 186 | 202 | | 208 | 254 | | | 259 | 261 |
| | | | | | 176 | 188 | 205 | | 232 | | | | 260 | 262 |
| | | | | | | 189 | | | | | | | | 263 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 264 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 265 |

ACT III.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|--------|------|--------|
| Ms-S; H1; Mo; H2; G; trS. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11* | 12 | 13 |
| Group II (ex. P. T.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 0* | 11 | 12 |
| P. T. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0* | 8 | 9 |
| Group Ia, b, c, (ex. trM) | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0* | 8 | 9 |
| TrM; O. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8* | 9 | 10 |
| Aa; Ea; BNa. | | | | | | | | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8* | 8[9] | 10 |
| Ba.** | | | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 10 | 8[11]* | 11 | 11[12] |
| Details at notes | 266 | 270 | 275 | 280 | 295 | 314 | 363 | 377 | 379* | 393 | 407 | | |
| | 267 | | 276 | 281 | 296 | 353 | 364 | 378 | 391 | 394 | | | |

*This is the scene of the reëtrance of young Vanderk which is omitted in all censored editions. The only translations that have it are trM and trS.

**The confusion in the numbering of the scenes in the appendix Ba is very considerable. Part of it was due to the typesetters having before them as copy the appendix of A. Some of the page references in Ba are the same as in Aa, although the pagination of B differs totally from that of A.

ACT IV.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| Ms-S; all editions exc. P. T; all translations. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| P. T. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

ACT V.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|------|------|----|
| Ms-S; O; trP; trS. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6* | 7* | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| All censored editions; all translations (exc. trP; trS.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0* | 0* | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Variants of Aa, Ea, BNa. | | | [4] | 5 | 6* | 7* | 8 | 9 | | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | |
| Variants of Ba**. | | | [4] | 5 | 6* | 7* | 8 | 8** | | 9** | 12** | 12** | 12** | |
| H1; Mo; H2; G. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6* | 7* | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11-12° | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| Details at notes | 520 | 526 | 535 | 593 | 593 | 602 | 602 | 606 | 606 | 637 | | | 673 | |
| | | | 578 | | | | 606 | 607 | | 638 | | | 673a | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | 674 | |

*Scenes 6 and 7 are those of the entrance of the musicians and their expulsion by Antoine. See note 593.

**The confusion of numbering in Ba is due to the unsuccessful attempt to make the scenes correspond with the numbering of the censored text B. As in Act III there was also confusion with the appendix of A.

°See note 637.

TEXT and VARIANTS

of

LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SÇAVOIR

Comédie en cinq actes et en prose

par

MICHEL—JEAN SEDAINÉ

**Représentée pour la première fois le 2 décembre 1765
par les Comédiens François ordinaires du Roi.**

NOMS

| Des Personnages. | Des Acteurs.* |
|--|----------------|
| M. VANDERK père | M. Brizard. |
| M. VANDERK fils | M. Molé. |
| M. DESPARVILLE père, ancien Officier . . | M. Grandval. |
| M. DESPARVILLE fils, Officier de Cavalerie | M. Le Kain. |
| Mme VANDERK | Mlle Dumesnil. |
| UNE MARQUISE, sœur de M. Vanderk père . | Mme Drouin. |
| ANTOINE, homme de confiance de M. Vanderk, | M. Préville. |
| VICTORINE, fille d'Antoine | Mlle Doligny. |
| Mlle SOPHIE VANDERK, fille de M. Van- derk | Mlle Dépinai.† |
| UN PRÉSIDENT, futur époux de Mlle Van- derk | M. Dauberval. |
| UN DOMESTIQUE de M. Desparville . . | M. Bouret. |
| UN DOMESTIQUE de M. Vanderk fils . | M. Auger. |
| LES DOMESTIQUES de la maison . . . | M. Feulie. |
| LE DOMESTIQUE de la Marquise . | |

La Scène est dans une grande Ville de France.

*The names of the actors are those who created the rôles at the first performances. This list is from the second Paris edition B. 1766.

†Mlle Pepinal in Meland's edition (1878) page 186.

<1>*

*These numbers indicate the pages of the *souffleur* manuscript.

LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SÇAVOIR,
COMÉDIE¹

ACTE PREMIER.

*Le Théâtre représente un grand Cabinet éclairé de bougies, un secrétaire sur un des côtés, sur lequel sont des papiers et des cartons.*²

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.

ANTOINE, VICTORINE.

ANTOINE. Quoi! je vous surprends votre mouchoir à la main, l'air embarrassé, et³ vous essuyant les yeux, et je ne peux pas sçavoir pourquoi vous pleurez?

VICTORINE. Bon, mon Papa, les jeunes filles pleurent quelquefois pour se désennuyer.

ANTOINE. Je ne me paye pas de cette raison-là.

VICTORINE. Je venois vous demander...

ANTOINE. Me demander? Et moi je vous demande ce que vous avez à pleurer; et je vous prie de me le dire.

VICTORINE. Vous vous moquerez de moi.

ANTOINE. Il y auroit assurément un grand danger.

N. B. See the list of abbreviations in paragraph 10 of the Introduction

¹This is the title in the *souffleur* manuscript and in all editions in French. In Ib and P it is, however, called a "drame", and Pfeffel declares that it should be called "ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel" and not a comedy. In Bachaumont's Memoirs under date of Nov. 29, 1765, we read: "*Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, ci-devant intitulé *le Duel*, etc." This is the earliest statement to this effect that has been found,

²The Ms-S gives no stage-setting. Ia, b, c; H1; O have: *côtés; il est chargé de papiers et de cartons*. Since there is but the one stage-setting, the unity of place is strictly observed; for similar observance of the unities of time and action, see note 14.

³et omitted: Ic; Di-H; BN; H1; O.

VICTORINE. Si cependant ce que j'ai à dire⁴ étoit vrai, vous ne vous en moqueriez certainement pas. <2>

ANTOINE. Cela peut être.

VICTORINE. Je suis descendue⁵ chez le Caissier de la part de Madame.

ANTOINE. Hé bien?

VICTORINE. Il y avoit plusieurs Messieurs qui attendoient leur tour, et qui causoient ensemble. L'un d'eux a dit: "Ils ont mis l'épée à la main; nous sommes sortis, et on les a séparés."

ANTOINE. Qui?^{6a}

VICTORINE. C'est ce que j'ai demandé. "*Je ne sçais,*" m'a dit l'un de ces Messieurs, "*ce sont deux jeunes gens: l'un est Officier*

and it seems to have been the source of similar statements that the original title was "Le Duel". See such statements in vol. 2 p. 195 of *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, Leipzig, (Dyck) 1766; in P; in H1 (foot note to p. 355); and in many histories of French drama, Lenient, H. Lion etc. Ladislas Guenther says, p. 218 of his 1908 Paris thesis on Sedaine: "Le premier titre de cette pièce étoit 'Le Duel,'" etc, and later: "'Le Duel' imprimé en grandes lettres sur l'affiche etc". La Harpe even declares (*Cours de Littérature*, Didot edition, 1870 v. 2, p. 511) that Sedaine himself says in his preface that the first title was "Le Duel", but Sedaine makes no such statement in any edition that I have seen. The *souffleur* manuscript reveals every stage of the conflict between Sedaine and the police censors, and had the question of the title been a disputed point, the manuscript should reveal such a dispute. But the title there is not changed, and was from the beginning, "Le Philosophe sans le savoir." At note 571 we find that the manuscript had in the dialogue of the fifth act the expression "c'est un duel", which was cancelled, but this has nothing to do with the title of the play. Pending more evidence, therefore, I think that Bachaumont originated the idea that the title was ever really "Le Duel." Sedaine himself wrote in his "Quelques réflexions sur l'opéra comique" which may be found in the fourth volume of "Théâtre choisi de Pixérécourt", Nancy 1843, (p. 509): "En 1765 m'étant trouvé à la première représentation des "Philosophes" [a comedy by Palissot 1760], je fus indigné de la manière dont étoient traités d'honnêtes hommes de lettres que je ne connaissais que par leurs écrits. Pour réconcilier le public avec l'idée du mot philosophe que cette satire pouvoit dégrader, je composai 'Le Philosophe sans le savoir.'" It would seem that if his chief purpose in writing this play had been to enhance public appreciation of the word "philosophe", Sedaine would most surely have given this word the chief place in

⁴j'ai à vous dire: Ia, b, c; H1.

⁵descendu: Ms-S.

^{6a}qui donc?: Mz.

dans la cavalerie, et l'autre dans la marine". "Monsieur, l'avez-vous vu?" "Oui. *Habit bleu, paremens rouges.*"* "Jeune"? "Oui, de vingt à vingt-deux ans." "Bien fait?" Ils ont souri: j'ai rougi, et je n'ai osé continuer.

ANTOINE. Il est vrai que vos questions étoient fort modestes.

VICTORINE. Mais si c'étoit le fils de Monsieur? . . .

ANTOINE. N'y a-t-il que lui d'Officier? <3>

VICTORINE. C'est ce que j'ai pensé.

ANTOINE. Est-il le seul⁷ dans la marine?

VICTORINE. C'est ce que je me disois.

ANTOINE. N'y a-t-il que lui de jeune?

VICTORINE. C'est vrai.

ANTOINE. Il faut avoir le cœur bien sensible.

VICTORINE. Ce qui me feroit croire encore que ce n'est pas lui, c'est que ce Monsieur a dit que l'Officier de marine avoit commencé la querelle.

ANTOINE. Et cependant vous pleuriez.

VICTORINE. Oui, je pleurois.

the title. Such a purpose could scarcely have been so well furthered by the title "Le Duel". In this connection the definition of "Philosophe" given by Diderot in the *Encyclopédie* is of much interest. This definition applies very completely to such a man as Monsieur Vanderk. Diderot does not define a philosopher as a scholar or an adherent of any school or system of thought, but as a man governed in all things by reason, open to all the best influences of life (including religion), social, and humanitarian, jealous of honor and probity, fulfilling all social and family duties, in short as nearly perfect morally as is possible to mankind.

*1a, b, c; H1; H2; O. insert here an additional *oui*, thus making *habit bleu, paremens rouges* a question of Victorine to which the additional *oui* is the answer. The Ms-S however by an underlining of the replies made to Victorine agrees with B., and I have accepted this reading despite a feeling that it seems somewhat more natural for Victorine to give the description of the uniform. It should also be noted that the *oui* of the first edition is not corrected in its errata, and furthermore that in the second edition, B, *paremens rouges* is followed by a question mark.

The Ms-S had at first: *habit blanc, paremens bleus*. According to Racinet *Le Costume Historique*, vol. V., plate 386, which gives the marine uniforms of this epoch, there were no white coats with blue facings. On the contrary figures 9 and 10 of plate 386 show the color "*bleu de roi*" for the coat and "*écarlate*" for the cuffs, collar, vest, short breeches and stockings. Hence the correction in the Ms-S.

⁷*est-il seul*: Ic.

ANTOINE. Il faut bien aimer quelqu'un pour s'alarmer si aisément.^{7a}

VICTORINE. Hé, mon Papa, après vous qui^{7b} voulez-vous donc que j'aime plus?⁸ Comment, c'est le fils de la maison; <4> feu⁹ ma mère l'a nourri; c'est mon frère de lait; c'est le frère de ma jeune Maîtresse, et vous-même vous l'aimez bien.

ANTOINE. Je ne vous le défends pas; mais soyez raisonnable.

VICTORINE. Ah! cela me faisoit de la peine.

ANTOINE. Allez, vous êtes folle.

VICTORINE. Je le souhaite. Mais si vous alliez vous informer.

ANTOINE. Et où dit-on¹⁰ que la querelle a commencé?

VICTORINE. Dans un Caffé.

ANTOINE. Il n'y va jamais.

VICTORINE. Peut-être par hazard. Ah! si j'étois homme, j'irois.

ANTOINE. ¹¹Il va rentrer à l'instant. Et comment s'informer dans une grande ville. . . <5>

SCÈNE II.

UN DOMESTIQUE de M. Desparville, ANTOINE, VICTORINE

LE DOMESTIQUE. Monsieur.

ANTOINE. Que voulez-vous?

LE DOMESTIQUE. C'est une Lettre pour remettre à M. Vanderk.¹²

ANTOINE. Vous pouvez me la laisser.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Il faut que je la remette moi-même; mon Maître me l'a ordonné.

^{7a}pour s'intéresser si vivement is written above pour s'allarmer etc in Mz, but the latter reading is not cancelled.

^{7b}que voulez vous: Ma(b); H1.

⁸j'aime le plus: Ms-S: Ia, c; H1.

⁹feu ma mère: Ms-S; D; Ib, c; P; Di-H; BN; H1.

¹⁰Hé, où dit-on: Ms-S.

¹¹This last speech of Antoine is omitted in Ia, b, c. After Victorine's last speech, trB adds: (*parte*); hence Victorine is there not present in the next scene.

¹²The Ms-S had at first: *pour remettre à Monsieur. Vanderk* is added in another hand. Everywhere else in the Ms-S, except in a few similar corrections, we find *Wanderk* with *W*, a spelling found in no edition. (Compare notes 44 and 645.)

ANTOINE. Monsieur n'est pas ici; et quand il y seroit, vous prenez bien mal¹³ votre temps: il est tard.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Il n'est pas neuf heures.¹⁴

ANTOINE. Oui; mais c'est ce soir même les accords de sa fille. Si ce n'est qu'une Lettre d'affaires, je suis son homme de confiance, et je¹⁵. . . .

LE DOMESTIQUE. Il faut que je la remette en main propre.

ANTOINE. En ce cas, passez au magasin, et attendez, je vous ferai avertir.¹⁶

<6>

SCÈNE III.

ANTOINE, VICTORINE.

VICTORINE. Monsieur n'est donc pas rentré?

ANTOINE. Non. Il est retourné chez le Notaire.

VICTORINE. Madame m'envoie vous demander. . . Ah! je voudrais que vous vissiez Mademoiselle avec ses habits de nocés¹⁷; on vient de les essayer. Les boucles d'oreilles, le collier, la rivière de diamans. Ah! ils sont beaux¹⁸: il y en a un gros comme cela; et Mademoiselle, ah! comme elle est charmante. Le cher amoureux est en extase. Il est là, il la mange des yeux; on lui

¹³mal omitted in H1.

¹⁴Note here and elsewhere the passage of time. Sedaine has closely observed the unity of time, the play taking place between about nine in the evening and four of the next afternoon: see Act V sc. iv "*trois heures seize minutes*" in the first speech of Vanderk père; the "*onze heures dix minutes*" of Act II, sc. x; and the early morning hour at the beginning of Act III, etc. TrW is the only edition to note this: (p. 2) "*Die Handlung fängt des Abends an, und währt bis den andern Nach-mittag*". Compare at note 2 the observance of the unity of place. The unity of action or plot consists in the delineation of the remarkable character of Vanderk père who is the pivot around which centers all the action of the drama. Every character and every scene contributes its share to this main purpose of the author.

¹⁵Instead of *et je*. H2; O; have *et vous pouvez me la laisser*, a reading without any authority, taken doubtless from Antoine's second speech in this scene, by error.

¹⁶Mz; Ic; H2; O; add here: LE DOMESTIQUE. *Par là?* ANTOINE. *Oui, . . . à gauche! . . . à gauche!!* (H2; O; adding a third *à gauche*).

¹⁷noce: Ms-S.

¹⁸Ms-S: *Les Diamants, le Collier, ils sont beaux!* Ia, b, c; H1: *Les diamans, le collier, la rivière de diamans. . . ah! ils sont beaux!*

a mis du rouge, et une mouche, ici.¹⁹ Vous ne la reconnoîtriez pas.

ANTOINE. Si-tôt qu'elle a une mouche.²⁰

VICTORINE. Madame m'a dit: "Vas demander à ton père si Monsieur est revenu,²¹ s'il n'est pas en affaire,²² si on peut lui parler": je vais vous dire²³; mais vous n'en parlerez pas; Mademoiselle va se faire annoncer comme une Dame de condition²⁴ sous un autre nom; et je suis sûre que Monsieur y sera trompé. <7>

ANTOINE. Certainement un père ne reconnoîtra pas sa fille.

VICTORINE. Non, il ne la reconnoîtra pas, j'en suis sûre. Quand il arrivera, vous nous avertirez: il y aura de quoi rire. . . Cependant il n'a pas coutume de rentrer si tard.

ANTOINE. Qui?

VICTORINE. Son fils.

ANTOINE. Tu y penses encore?

VICTORINE. Je m'en vais: vous nous avertirez. Ah! voilà Monsieur. (*Elle sort*).

SCÈNE IV.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, DEUX HOMMES portant de l'argent dans des hottes, ANTOINE.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, se retournant dit aux Porteurs qu'il aperçoit. Allez à ma caisse: descendez trois marches, et montez-en cinq, au bout du corridor. (*Les hotteurs sortent*.)

ANTOINE. Je vais les y mener.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, reste. Les Notaires ne finissent point. (*Il pose son <8> épée et son chapeau²⁴; il ouvre un secrétaire.*) Au reste ils ont raison; nous ne voyons que le présent, et ils voient l'avenir. Mon fils est-il rentré?

¹⁹ici, omitted in Ia, b, c.

²⁰H2; O: *une mouche ici* (compare 42).

²¹revenu et s'il: Ms-S; Ia, c; H1.

²²affaire, et si: Ia, c; H1; H2; O.

²³je vous dirai: Ia, c.

²⁴comme une dame étrangère: RF. This is the first of several corrections made by Sedaine for performances during the first Republic. I designate these changes by RF. See Introduction 43.

²⁵il pose sa canne, son chapeau: Ms-S; H1; *Hut und Stock*: trG; trW; *il pose son chapeau et son épée*: Ia, b, c; O.

ANTOINE. Non, Monsieur. Voici les rouleaux de vingt-cinq louis que j'ai pris à la caisse.^{24a}

M. VANDERK PÈRE.²⁵ Gardes²⁶-en un. Oh ça, mon pauvre Antoine, tu vas demain avoir bien de l'embarras.

ANTOINE. N'en ayez pas plus que moi.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'en aurai ma part.

ANTOINE. Pourquoi? Reposez-vous sur moi.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Tu ne peux pas tout faire.

ANTOINE. Je me charge de tout. Imaginez-vous n'être qu'invité. Vous aurez bien assez d'occupation de recevoir votre monde.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Tu auras un nombre²⁷ de domestiques étrangers; c'est ce qui m'effraie, sur-tout ceux de ma sœur.

ANTOINE. Je le sçais.²⁸ <9>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je ne veux pas de débauche.²⁹

ANTOINE. Il n'y en aura pas.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Que la table des Commis soit servie comme la mienne.

ANTOINE. Oui, monsieur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'irai y faire un tour.

ANTOINE. Je le leur dirai.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'y veux³⁰ recevoir leur santé et boire à la leur.

ANTOINE. Ils en³¹ seront charmés.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. La table des domestiques sans profusion du côté du vin.³²

ANTOINE. Oui.³³

^{24a}See note 582.

²⁵H2 adds: (*assis au bureau à gauche*).

²⁶*Gardes-en un*: Ib, although *tu* is consistently used by Vanderk to Antoine.

²⁷Ms-S had first *tas* which was changed to *nombre*. Hence *tas* in Ia, c; H2; O.

²⁸In Mz, *il est vrai* is written over *Je le sçais*, but the latter is not cancelled.

²⁹*débauches*: Ia, c; H1.

³⁰*je veux*: Ia, b, c.

³¹*ils seront charmés*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1.

³²*sans profusion du vin*: Av.

³³*sans doute* instead of *oui*: Mz; H2; O.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Un demi-louis^{35a} à chacun comme présent de noces.³⁴ Si tu n'as pas assez³⁵, avance-le.

ANTOINE. Oui.³⁶ <10>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je crois que voilà tout . . . Les magasins fermés, que personne n'y entre passé dix heures. . . . Que quelqu'un reste dans les bureaux, et ferme la porte en dedans.

ANTOINE. Ma fille y restera.³⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, il faut que ta fille soit près de sa bonne amie. J'ai entendu parler de quelques fusées, de quelques pétards. Mon fils veut brûler ses manchettes.

ANTOINE. C'est peu de chose.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ais toujours soin que les réservoirs soient pleins d'eau.³⁸

SCÈNE V.³⁹

VICTORINE, M. VANDERK PÈRE, ANTOINE.

(Victorine entre et parle à son père à l'oreille)

ANTOINE à sa fille. Oui.

SCÈNE VI.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, ANTOINE.

ANTOINE. Monsieur, vous croyez-vous⁴⁰ capable d'un grand secret?

<11>

³⁴Douze livres RF. see 56a.

³⁵noce: Ms-S; Ic. After *noces* Antoine says *oui*: Ia, b, c; O has *bon*.

³⁶Add: *de ce que je l'ai donné*: Ia, b, c; H2; O. In Ms-S the *Si tu n'as pas assez, avance-le* is crowded in, and is in a different ink apparently.

³⁷Bon for *Oui*: Mz; H1; H2.

³⁸H2; O. add: (*Victorine paroît au fond*).

³⁹Ms-S had at first: *Qu'il y ait toujours des baquets pleins d'eau*, which is then changed to the above reading. In this latter, Ms-S had: *le soin*, the *le* being later stricken out.

⁴⁰The editions differ in quite a complicated manner as to what constitutes a numbered scene. I have adopted the arrangement of group II, which coincides with the Ms-S not only in this numbering, but also in the order of the characters in each scene-heading. See the scene table in paragraph 67 of the Introduction.

⁴¹*Vous sentez-vous*: Mz (*sentez* written above *croyez* which latter is not stricken out); Ic; H2.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Encore quelques fusées, quelques violons?
 ANTOINE. C'est bien autre chose. Une Demoiselle qui a pour vous la plus grande tendresse.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ma fille?

ANTOINE. Juste. Elle vous demande un tête à tête.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Sçais tu pourquoi?

ANTOINE. Elle vient d'essayer ses diamans, sa robe de nocé⁴¹; on lui a mis un peu de rouge⁴². Madame et Elle pensent que vous ne la reconnoîtrez pas. La voici.

SCÈNE VII.

LES MÊMES, UN DOMESTIQUE, M. VANDERK PÈRE.

LE DOMESTIQUE.⁴³ Monsieur, Madame la Marquise de Vanderville.⁴⁴

M. VANDERK PÈRE.⁴⁵ Faites entrer. (*On ouvre les deux battans.*)

<12>

SCÈNE VIII.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, ANTOINE, MLE SOPHIE VANDERK annoncée sous le nom de Madame de Vanderville.

SOPHIE *faisant de profondes révérences.*⁴⁶ Mon⁴⁷ . . . Monsieur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Madame. (*au Domestique*⁴⁸) Avancez un

⁴¹noces: E; Mo.

⁴²mis du rouge une mouche: Mz; *Du rouge et une mouche*: Ic; *Du rouge et une mouche* ici: H2; O. (compare note 20).

⁴³(riant): Ia, b, c.

⁴⁴The Ms-S has *Vanderville*, although it has consistently *Wanderk* (see notes 12 and 645); trP: *die Frau Baronessin von Rosenwangen*; trW: *die Baronesse von Saarheid*; trO: *Lady Bell Brilliant*.

⁴⁵(se levant): H2; O.

⁴⁶*faisant de grandes révérences*; Ms-S; H1. Ia, c have *De grandes révérences* immediately after *On ouvre les deux battans*, uniting scene viii and vii, and also have: *SOPHIE, interdite*. Ib has: (*on ouvre les deux battans.*) *SOPHIE, interdite et faisant de grandes révérences*. The Ms-S has no: *annoncée sous le nom de Madame de Vanderville*, nor has P or H1.

⁴⁷Ib has: *non* for *mon*.

⁴⁸(*au domestique*) omitted: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1.

fauteuil.⁴⁹ [*Ils s'assient.*⁵⁰] (*à Antoine.*) Elle n'est pas mal. (*à Sophie.*⁵¹) Puis-je sçavoir de Madame ce qui me procure l'honneur de la voir.

SOPHIE *tremblante.*⁵² C'est que . . . Mon . . . Monsieur, j'ai . . . j'ai un papier à vous remettre.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Si Madame veut bien me le confier. (*Pendant qu'elle cherche, il regarde Antoine.*)

ANTOINE. Ah! Monsieur, qu'elle est belle comme cela!

SOPHIE.⁵³ Le voici. (⁵⁴*Le Père se lève*⁵⁵ *pour prendre le papier.*) Ah! Monsieur, pourquoi vous déranger⁵⁶? (*à part.*) Je suis toute interdite.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Cela suffit. C'est trente louis.^{56a} Ah! rien de mieux.^{57;58}; (⁵⁹*Pendant qu'il va à son secrétaire, Sophie fait signe à Antoine de ne rien dire.*) Ce billet est excellent; il vous est venu par la Hollande? <13>

SOPHIE. Non oui.⁶⁰

⁴⁹siège: Ia, b, c. Ms-S had: *un fauteuil à Madame*, the *à Madame* then being stricken out.

⁵⁰(*ils s'asseient*) in P and later editions.

⁵¹Ms-S omits: (*à Sophie*).

⁵²Ms-S has: *tremblant*.

⁵³Ia, c; O; have a foot-note from here: *On pourroit voir Victorine espionner*; B1 puts this in the text.

⁵⁴Ms-S has this direction in the left margin and in another hand. Ms-S and H1 have: *M. Vanderk se lève*.

⁵⁵*et prend*: Ms-S.

⁵⁶In the Ms-S a line is drawn through this but it is rewritten above (compare 61). There follows: (*à part*) *je suis toute interdite*, which is stricken out; hence H1 omits it; it is also stricken out of Mz. Editions P and later have: *tout interdite*, except H2 and O which restore *toute interdite*; Av and Ib have *je suis interdite*.

^{56a}*neuf cents livres*: RF.

⁵⁷Mz changes this as follows: M. VANDERK père (*à Antoine*). *Cela suffit. C'est trente louis.* ANTOINE. Ah! M. VANDERK père (*à Sophie*). *Rien de mieux*, etc.

⁵⁸Ms-S had: *je vais*, which is stricken out; it is found however in Ia, b, c; H1; H2 (*et je vais*): O.

⁵⁹Ms-S has: (*il va à son secrétaire*) followed immediately by (*Pendant qu'il va à son Secrétaire Sophie fait signe à Antoine de ne rien dire*). Ia, b, c; H1; O have: (*Pendant que M. Vanderk etc.*)

⁶⁰Mz adds: *Monsieur*.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous avez raison, Madame . . . Voici la somme.

SOPHIE. Monsieur, je suis votre très-humble et très-obéissante servante.⁶¹

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Madame ne compte pas?

SOPHIE. Non. Ah! mon cher Monsieur.⁶² Vous êtes un si honnête homme, que la réputation . . . la renommée dont⁶³ . . .

SCÈNE IX.

LES MÊMES, MME VANDERK.⁶⁴

SOPHIE. Ah! Maman, mon cher père⁶⁵ s'est moqué de moi.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Comment! c'est vous, ma fille?

SOPHIE. Ah! vous m'aviez reconnue.

MME VANDERK.⁶⁶ Comment la trouvez-vous?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Fort bien. <14>

SOPHIE. Vous ne m'avez seulement pas⁶⁷ regardée. Je ne suis pas une trompeuse⁶⁸; et voici votre argent, que vous donnez avec tant de confiance à la première personne.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Garde-le, ma fille. Je ne veux pas que dans toute ta vie tu puisses te reprocher une fausseté même en badinant. Ton billet je le tiens pour bon. Garde les trente louis.

SOPHIE. Ah! mon cher père . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous aurez des présents à faire demain.

⁶¹Ms-S had above "*Je suis . . . servante*". "*Ah, Mr. pourquoi vous déranger*" but it is stricken out, probably because the same phrase occurred above. (See note 56). It was written with pencil and then gone over with ink.

⁶²Ms-S; H1; H2; O; *Ah, mon cher . . . Non, Monsieur* etc. Ia, c: *ah, mon cher . . . Mon, Monsieur* etc. Ib: *Ah! mon cher . . . monsieur, vous êtes si honnête homme* etc.

⁶³Mz has written above: "*la renommée dont*", "*dont vous jouissez*". H2; O. also have: *renommée dont vous jouissez*.

⁶⁴H2 adds: LE GENDRE, du fond.

⁶⁵Ms-S had first: *papa*, then *mon cher papa* written over it, *papa* being stricken out. This change was made between the first and second editions, since we find only *papa* in Ia, b, c; H1; O; in Mz *papa* is written above *père*, but the latter is not stricken out.

⁶⁶Ms-S adds: *à son mari*; also H1; H2; O.

⁶⁷Ib: *ne m'avez pas seulement*.

⁶⁸voleuse: Ia, b, c; H1.

SCÈNE X.

LES MÊMES, LE GENDRE futur.⁶⁹

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous allez, Monsieur, épouser une jolie personne. Se faire annoncer sous un faux nom, se servir d'un faux seing pour tromper son père⁷⁰; tout cela n'est qu'un badinage pour elle.

LE GENDRE. Ah! Monsieur,⁷¹ vous avez à punir deux coupables. Je suis complice, et voici la main qui a signé. <15>

M. VANDERK PÈRE *prenant la main de sa fille et celle de son futur.*⁷² Voilà comme je la punis.

LE GENDRE. ⁷³Comment récompensez-vous donc?⁷⁴

MME VANDERK. (*Madame Vanderk fait un signe à sa fille.*⁷⁵)
Ma fille.⁷⁶ . . .

SOPHIE *au futur.* Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous prier . . .

LE GENDRE. Commandez.

SOPHIE. Devinez ce que je veux dire.⁷⁷

MME VANDERK. *à son mari.* Votre fille est dans un grand embarras.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Quel est-il?⁷⁸

LE GENDRE *à Sophie.* Je voudrais bien vous deviner . . .
Ah! c'est de vous laisser?

SOPHIE. Oui.⁷⁹

⁶⁹omit futur: Ms-S; Ia, c; H1; H2; O.

⁷⁰pour tromper son père is written between the regular lines of the Ms-S.

⁷¹Ms-S omits: *Ah! Monsieur.*

⁷²Ms-S; *du futur.*

⁷³Ic; O. prefix: *si vous punissez ainsi.*

⁷⁴trG adds the sentimental touch: (*Sophien die Hand küssend*) O, *meine Sophie!* Gotter frequently adds similar touches of sentiment. (See 80, etc.)

⁷⁵(*La mère fait un signe à Sophie*): Ia, b, c; (*Madame Vanderk fait un signe à Sophie*): H1; *faisant un signe à Sophie*; H2; O.

⁷⁶*Ma fille* appears to have been added later to the Ms-S; It is not found therefore in Ia, b, c; H1.

⁷⁷*veux vous dire*: Ia, b, c.

⁷⁸Ia, c; *votre fille est très embarrassée.* M. VANDERK père. *Quel est son embarras?*

⁷⁹H1: *Le gendre sort*; H2; O: *Le gendre sort du fond, et Antoine de droite*; P1: *il sort.*

SCÈNE XI.

M. ET MME VANDERK, SOPHIE.

MME. VANDERK. ⁸⁰Votre fille se marie demain, elle nous quitte; elle voudroit vous demander⁸¹ . . . <16>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ah, Madame.

MME VANDERK à sa fille. Ma fille . . .

SOPHIE. Ma mère! . . . Ah! mon cher père, je . . .
(*Se disposant à se mettre à genoux; son père la retient*).

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ma fille, épargne à ta mère et à moi l'attendrissement d'un pareil moment. Toutes nos actions, jusqu'à présent, ne tendent⁸² qu'à attirer sur toi et⁸³ sur ton frère toutes⁸⁴ les faveurs du Ciel. Ne perds jamais de vue, ma fille, que la bonne conduite des père et mère est la bénédiction des enfants.

SOPHIE. Ah! si jamais je l'oublie!

SCÈNE XII.

LES MÊMES, VICTORINE.⁸⁵

VICTORINE. Le voilà, le voilà.

MME VANDERK. Qui? Qui donc?⁸⁶

VICTORINE. Monsieur votre fils. <17>

MME VANDERK. Je vous assure, Victorine, que plus vous avancez en âge, et plus vous extravezuez.

VICTORINE. Madame?

⁸⁰trG is again more sentimental than the original: MADAM VANDERK (*zu Sophien*) *Nun will ich deinem Herzen Luft machen. —Lieber Mann! Sophie kann uns nicht verlassen, ohne sich den väterlichen Segen. . .* VANDERK. *Ach, liebe Frau!* MADAM VANDERK. *Komm, Sophie!* SOPHIE. *Auch den Ihrigen beste Mutter!* —*Ach, mein Vater, ich bin —(will ihm zu Füßen fallen, er hält sie zurück).* see note 74.

⁸¹Ms-S: *Votre fille se marie; demain elle nous quitte etc.*

Ia, c: *Votre fille nous quitte; elle veut vous demander.*

Ib: *Votre fille se marie demain; elle voudroit vous demander.*

H1; H2: *Notre fille se marie demain; elle nous quitte; elle voudroit vous demander . . .*

O: the same as H1, H2 with *veut* for *voudroit*.

⁸²ne tendent jusqu' à présent: Ia, b, c; H1.

⁸³C omits: *sur toi et*; trM: *dir und deinen Brüdern.*

⁸⁴toutes, not in Ms-S.

⁸⁵trW: *Julchen (ganz ausser Athem).*

⁸⁶D has merely: *qui donc?* H1 has: *qui donc? qui donc?*

MME VANDERK. Premièrement, vous entrez ici sans qu'on vous appelle.

VICTORINE. Mais, Madame.

MME VANDERK. A-t-on coutume d'annoncer mon fils?

SOPHIE. En vérité⁸⁷, ma bonne amie, vous êtes bien folle.

VICTORINE. C'est que le voilà.

SCÈNE XIII.

LES MÊMES, M. VANDERK FILS.

SOPHIE. Ah! nous allons voir.⁸⁸ (*M. Vanderk fils fait de grandes révérences à sa sœur qu'il ne reconnoît pas.*) Ah! mon frère ne me reconnoît pas.

M. VANDERK FILS. Hé! c'est ma sœur! Oh, elle est charmante!

MME VANDERK. Tu la trouves donc bien?

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui, ma mère.

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SCÈNE XIV.

LES MÊMES, LE GENDRE.

LE GENDRE, *bas à Sophie.* M'est-il permis d'approcher? Les Notaires⁸⁹. . . (*au père*) Les Notaires sont arrivés. (*Il veut*

⁸⁷The *en vérité* of the Ms-S is in the margin and in another hand: hence its absence in Ia, c; O.

⁸⁸The *Ah! nous allons voir* of the Ms-S is written in another hand and between the regular lines; it is therefore absent in Ia, c; following this phrase in the Ms-S is an asterisk referring to another asterisk which, in the list of personages in the scene-heading, precedes the direction *faisant de grandes révérences à sa sœur qu'il ne reconnoît pas*. This therefore indicates that this direction should be inserted after *nous allons voir* as was done in B, the second Paris edition. We have therefore here a rather striking proof of the superiority of this second edition. Ib likewise puts its similar phrase *M. Vanderk fils lui fait des révérences* after *nous allons voir*. On the contrary H1 keeps its direction where it was first written in the Ms-S. Ia, c. has merely *le fils fait des révérences* after Victorine's *C'est que le voilà*.

⁸⁹This first *Les notaires* omitted in Ia, c; H1; H2; O. Thus II and Ib alone retain the evident reading of the Ms-S; as a further indication of the young man's absorption in Sophie the reading is good stage-business and it was therefore restored by Sedaine in the second edition.

donner la main⁹⁰ à Sophie, elle indique⁹¹ sa mère en souriant.⁹²
Il s'aperçoit de sa méprise⁹³) Ah!⁹⁴

SCÈNE XV.

M. VANDERK FILS, SOPHIE, VICTORINE.

SOPHIE. Vous me trouvez donc bien?⁹⁵M. VANDERK FILS. Très bien.⁹⁶

SOPHIE. Et moi, mon frère, je trouve fort mal de ce qu'un
jour comme celui-ci⁹⁷ vous êtes revenu si tard. Demandez à Vic-
torine.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mais, quelle heure donc?⁹⁸SOPHIE. lui présentant⁹⁹ une montre. Tenez, regardez.

M. VANDERK FILS. en considérant la montre.¹⁰⁰ Il est vrai
qu'il est un peu tard; ¹⁰¹je crois qu'elle avance; elle est jolie. (*Il
veut la rendre*).¹⁰²

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SOPHIE. Non, mon frère, je veux que vous la gardiez comme
un reproche éternel de ce que vous vous êtes fait attendre.¹⁰³

⁹⁰le bras: Ia, b, c.⁹¹qui montre sa mère: Ia, b, c; O.⁹²en souriant, omitted: Ia, b, c; H1; O.⁹³Ms-S: lui sentant sa méprise; H1: sentant sa méprise. No such phrase in Ia, b, c.⁹⁴In Ia, c; H1; H2; O. the scene ends thus: SOPHIE. *A ma mère* (in Av. *Ah! ma mère*). (*Le gendre donne la main à la mère et sort*). Ib also has this last direction. H1; H2 also have the young man say *Ah*.⁹⁵Add: *mon frère*: Mz; Ic; O.⁹⁶Mz; Ic; O have: *Oui, très bien, ma sœur*.⁹⁷Ms-S had at first: *comme aujourd'hui*, but corrects to: *comme celui-ci*.⁹⁸Ib; D, Av; Pz; T. *Mais quelle heure est-il donc?*⁹⁹donnant: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1.¹⁰⁰This stage-direction placed after "*un peu tard*": Ms-S; H1; H2. Entirely omitted: Ia, b, c; O.¹⁰¹In Ia, b there follows: *Cette montre est jolie. (il veut la rendre)*. Ic: Mz have: *Cette montre est jolie, très jolie. (il veut la rendre)*. O has: *Cette montre est jolie, très jolie. Je crois qu'elle avance. (il veut la rendre)*.¹⁰²H2 adds here: *très jolie*.¹⁰³Grimm (*Correspondance Littéraire*, édition Tourneux, v. 7, p. 24) criticises here the style of Sedaine, but misquotes him in part: "On ne dit pas: Je veux qu'elle vous reproche de ce que vous vous êtes fait attendre: il faut dire: de vous être fait attendre." Grimm however concludes: "Ce sont des misères, je le sais, mais comment peut-on souffrir la tache la plus légère sur une belle statue?" As has been pointed out, Grimm praised the play most highly. See 563.

M. VANDERK FILS. Et moi¹⁰⁴ je l'accepte de bon cœur. Puissé-je¹⁰⁵, à chaque fois que j'y regarderai, me féliciter de vous sçavoir heureuse.

SCÈNE XVI.¹⁰⁶

LES MÊMES, UN DOMESTIQUE.

LE DOMESTIQUE à *Sophie*. Mademoiselle, on vous attend.

SOPHIE. Ne venez-vous pas, mon frère?

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui, j'y vais . . . tout à l'heure. Je vous suis¹⁰⁷. . . .

SCÈNE XVII.

M. VANDERK FILS, VICTORINE.

VICTORINE. Vous m'avez bien inquiétée. Une dispute dans un Caffé.

M. VANDERK FILS. Est-ce que mon père sçait cela?

VICTORINE. Est-ce que cela est vrai?

M. VANDERK FILS. Non, non, Victorine.¹⁰⁸ (*Il entre dans le salon.*)

VICTORINE *en s'en allant d'un autre côté*. Ah! que cela m'inquiète.

Fin du premier Acte.

¹⁰⁴Mz inserts: *ma sœur*.

¹⁰⁵*puissai-je*; Ms-S.

¹⁰⁶In the first condition of the Ms-S this scene is silent as follows: LES MÊMES, LE GENDRE. (*Le gendre rentre; il prend la main de Sophie et la ramène. Cependant le frère considère la montre, rêve et soupire. Victorine le regarde.*). This reading was subsequently cancelled in favor of that in II, but it is found in Ia, c; with omission of *et la ramène* and *cependant*, and with substitution of *regarde* for *considère*.

¹⁰⁷Ms-S omits: *je vous suis*, and has *toute à l'heure*. H1; H2; O. add: (*Sophie sort*).

¹⁰⁸H2; O. add a third *non* here. TrW adds stage directions: VAND. (*lebhaft*) *Weiss es mein Vater?* JULCH. (*erschrocken*) *Ist es denn wahr?*

ACTE II.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE

ANTOINE, LE DOMESTIQUE *de M. Desparville.*¹⁰⁹

ANTOINE. Où diable¹¹⁰ étiez-vous donc ?

LE DOMESTIQUE. J'étois dans le magasin.

ANTOINE. Qui vous y avoit envoyé ?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Vous.

ANTOINE. Eh !¹¹¹ Que faisiez-vous là ?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je dormois.

ANTOINE. Vous dormiez ! il faut qu'il y ait plus de trois¹¹² heures.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je n'en sçais rien ; eh bien, votre maître est-il rentré ?

ANTOINE. Bon ; on a soupé depuis.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Enfin, puis-je lui remettre ma Lettre ?

ANTOINE. Attendez.

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SCÈNE II.

LES MÊMES, M. VANDERK FILS.

LE DOMESTIQUE *voyant entrer M. Vanderk fils.*¹¹³ N'est-ce pas là lui ?

¹⁰⁹Le domestique qui a déjà paru: Ia, b, c.

¹¹⁰B1; O. omit: *diable*.

¹¹¹et que faisiez vous là: Ic; Di-H; BN; H1; H2; O.

¹¹²Ms-S had first *deux* cancelled for *trois* written above; hence *deux* in Ia, b, c. Compare 114.

¹¹³The appearance of the Ms-S indicates that this direction was added later; hence its absence in Ia, b, c. Mz inserts: *M. Vanderk fils qui marche en rêvant, jusque sur le bord de la scène*. TrG has: *Vanderk Sohn (in tiefen Gedanken)*. TrW goes into more detail: *Anton (sieht den jungen Vanderk kommen)..... (er betrachtet den jungen Vanderk aufmerksam der in Gedanken herein kömmt und tiefsinnig auf und ab geht ohne den Anton zu sehen) . . and later: (er betrachtet noch einmal den jungen Vanderk, schüttelt mit dem Kopf und geht mit Jacob ab)*.

ANTOINE. Non, non, restez; parbleu, vous êtes un drôle d'homme de rester dans ce magasin pendant trois¹¹⁴ heures.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Ma foi, j'y aurois¹¹⁵ passé la nuit si la faim ne m'avoit pas réveillé.

ANTOINE. Venez, venez.

SCÈNE III.

M. VANDERK FILS *seul*.

Quelle fatalité! je ne voulois pas sortir; il sembloit que j'avois un pressentiment; n'importe¹¹⁶. . . . Un Commerçant un Commerçant¹¹⁷ c'est l'état de mon Père, au fait¹¹⁸, et je ne souffrirai jamais qu'on l'humilie¹¹⁹, j'aurai tort tant qu'on voudra¹²⁰; mais . . . Ah, mon Père! . . . mon Père . . . un jour de noce . . . je vois toutes¹²¹ ses inquiétudes, toute sa douleur, le désespoir de ma Mère, ma Sœur, cette pauvre Victorine, Antoine, toute une famille. Ah, Dieux!¹²² . . . que ne donnerois-je¹²³ pas pour reculer d'un jour,¹²⁴ reculer! . . . (*le*

¹¹⁴Compare 112.

¹¹⁵Ms-S: *j'aurois*.

¹¹⁶*N'importe* omitted: Ia, b, c. Between *N'importe* and *Ah, mon père etc*, the Ms-S is corrected in a confusing manner: It had at first: *et je ne puis souffrir qu'on l'humilie* which was cancelled; the above reading was then written in between the regular lines.

¹¹⁷Ms-S: *Un commerçant . . . commerçant*. Ia, c; O. have: *Les commerçants . . . les commerçants*.

¹¹⁸Mo which is practically everywhere the same as H1, here has: *au fait, c'est l'état de mon père*. Ia, b, c omit *au fait*.

¹¹⁹*avilisse* for *humilie*: Ia, b, c; H2; O. Mz also had written *avilisse* above *humilie*, but the latter was not cancelled.

¹²⁰Ia, b, c omit: *j'aurai tort . . . voudra*. This phrase is one of those added later to the Ms-S and written between the regular lines. See note 116.

¹²¹Av: Ib omit: *toutes*.

¹²²*Ah, Dieux!*: E; L; Ic; Mo. O. See 125.

¹²³*donnerai-je*: Mo.

¹²⁴*d'un seul jour*: added above and at end of the line in Ms-S: the same addition in Ia, b, c; H1; O.

*père entre, et le regarde.) Non certes, je ne reculerai pas. Ah, Dieux!*¹²⁵ (*Il apperçoit son père, il prend*¹²⁶ *un air gai.*)

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SCÈNE IV.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, M. VANDERK FILS.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Eh, mais, mon fils, quelle pétulance! quels mouvemens! que signifie? . . .

M. VANDERK FILS. Je déclamois; je faisais le Héros.¹²⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous ne représenteriez pas demain¹²⁸ quelque Pièce de Théâtre, une Tragédie?¹²⁹

M. VANDERK FILS. Non, non, mon père.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Faites, si cela vous amuse; mais, il faudroit quelques précautions; dites-le-moi, et s'il ne faut pas que je le sçache, je ne le sçaurai pas.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je vous suis obligé, mon père; je vous le dirois.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Si vous me trompez, prenez-y garde, je ferai cabale.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne crains pas cela; mais, mon père, on vient de lire le contrat de mariage de ma sœur; nous l'avons tous signé. Quel nom avez-vous donc pris?¹³⁰ Et quel nom <23> m'avez-vous fait prendre?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Le vôtre.

M. VANDERK FILS. Le mien! Est-ce que celui que je porte?¹³¹ . . .

¹²⁵*Ah, Dieu!*: E; L; Ic; Mo; O. See 122.

¹²⁶*reprend*: Ms-S; Ia, b; H1.

¹²⁷*Je déclamois; je . . . je faisais le Héros*: Ia. *Ce n'est rien, mon père . . . C'est que . . . je déclamais; je, je faisais le héros*: Ic, also Mz but with only one *je* before *faisais*.

¹²⁸*Représenteriez-vous demain etc?*: H2; O.

¹²⁹In the Ms-S *une tragédie* is written above *quelque* as if it were a substitution for *quelque pièce de théâtre*; all editions however add it to the sentence.

¹³⁰In the Ms-S *donc*: is in another hand and ink and is written above *pris*; hence omission of *donc* in Ia, b, c which have: *Quel nom y avez-vous pris?* O has both *y* and *donc*.

¹³¹*Est-ce que je porte*: B1.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ce n'est qu'un surnom.¹³²

M. VANDERK FILS. Vous vous êtes titré¹³³ de Chevalier, d'ancien Baron de Savières, de Clavières, de¹³⁴ . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je le suis.

M. VANDERK FILS. Vous êtes donc Gentilhomme?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui.

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous doutez de ce que je dis?

M. VANDERK FILS. Non, mon père; mais est-il possible? . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il n'est pas possible que je sois Gentilhomme?^{134a}

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M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne dis pas cela. Mais¹³⁵ est-il possible, ^{135a} fussiez-vous le plus pauvre des Nobles, que vous ayez pris un état? . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils, lorsqu'un homme entre dans le monde, il est le jouet des circonstances.

M. VANDERK FILS. En est-il d'assez fortes pour nous faire descendre¹³⁶ du rang le plus distingué au rang . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Achevez, au rang le plus bas.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne voulois pas dire cela.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Écoutez: le compte le plus rigide qu'un père doive à son fils, est celui de l'honneur qu'il a reçu de ses

¹³²TrW: *Das ist nur ein angenommener Namen.*

¹³³Mo: *Vous êtes titré etc.*

¹³⁴Ms-S: *de Salvières, de Clavière . . . &c.* In the margin but cancelled is the following note in another hand: *il faudroit mettre d'autres noms, je crois qu'il y a de MM. de Salvières et de Clavières.* This may have been written by the censor or at least by some member of the theatre.

H1: *de Salvières, de Clavières, de etc. . .* H2; O: *de Savières, de Clavières . . .* TrP: *Freiherr von Altdorf, Herr zu Reichenthal, und . . .* TrW: *von Wartholz, von Altholz.* TrG: *von Savieeres: von Savieeres? von . . . ?*

^{134a}RF. substitutes *Il n'est pas possible que cela soit!*

¹³⁵mais omitted: Ms-S; H1.

^{135a}RF. omits *fussiez-vous le plus pauvre des nobles.*

¹³⁶The Ms-S had first: *pour descendre* which is in Ia, b, c; the Ms-S then inserted *vous faire* above *pour descendre*; H1 alone has the reading *pour vous faire descendre.*

ancêtres: asseyez-vous.¹³⁷ (*Il s'assied; le fils prend un siège, et ne s'assied pas.*¹³⁸) J'ai été élevé par votre bis-ayeul; mon père fut tué fort jeune à la tête de son Régiment. Si vous étiez moins raisonnable, je ne vous confierois pas l'histoire de ma jeunesse; et la voici:¹³⁹ Votre Mère, fille d'un Gentilhomme voisin, a été ma seule et unique¹⁴⁰ passion. Dans <25> l'âge où on¹⁴¹ ne choisit pas, j'ai eu le bonheur de bien choisir. Un jeune Officier, venu en quartier d'hiver dans la province¹⁴², trouva mauvais qu'un enfant de seize ans, c'étoit mon âge, attirât¹⁴³ les attentions d'un autre enfant; votre Mère n'avoit pas douze¹⁴⁴ ans; il me traita avec hauteur¹⁴⁵; je ne le supportai pas; nous nous battîmes.

M. VANDERK FILS. ¹⁴⁶Vous vous battîtes.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui, mon fils.

M. VANDERK FILS. Au pistolet?¹⁴⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, à l'épée.¹⁴⁸ Je fus forcé de quitter la province; votre Mère me jura une constance qu'elle a eue¹⁴⁹ toute sa vie. Je m'embarquai. Un bon Hollandois, propriétaire du bâtiment sur lequel j'étois, me prit en affection. Nous fûmes

¹³⁷*Asseyons nous: Ic.*

¹³⁸*un siège et s'assied ensuite: Ia, c; H1. Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O have: Le Père s'assied for il s'assied.*

¹³⁹*H2; O. add: (Le fils s'assied).*

¹⁴⁰*Av; Ib omit: et unique.*

¹⁴¹*où l'on: Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.*

¹⁴²*TrW: ein junger Officier kam zu uns in die Winterquartiere.*

¹⁴³*attira in Ms-S.*

¹⁴⁴*quinze: H2; O. War kaum fünfzehn: trG. Noch nicht zwölf Jahr: trP.*

¹⁴⁵*Ms-S had first: avec une hauteur, but the une was later cancelled; hence avec une hauteur in Ia (except D and Av); H1; O.*

¹⁴⁶*TrW: (lebhaft) Sie schlugen sich? TrG: (sehr lebhaft) Sie schlugen sich, lieber Vater?*

¹⁴⁷Note the young man's preoccupation with his own duel . . . See the further mention of pistols at notes 267; 346; 407c.

¹⁴⁸At the word *épée* of the Ms-S is an asterisk repeated in the margin but with no note added; this is probably a mark made by the censor as he hesitated regarding the suppression of this passage.

¹⁴⁹*eu in Ms-S.*

attaqués¹⁵⁰, et je lui fus utile¹⁵¹, (c'est là que¹⁵² j'ai connu Antoine). Le bon Marchand¹⁵³ m'associa à son commerce; il m'offrit sa nièce¹⁵⁴ et sa fortune. Je lui dis mes engagements, il m'approuve, il part, il obtient le consentement des <26> parens de votre Mère, il me l'amène avec sa nourrice; (c'est cette bonne vieille qui est ici). Nous nous marions; le bon Hollandois mourut dans mes bras, je pris à sa prière et son nom et son commerce; le Ciel a béni ma fortune; je ne peux pas être¹⁵⁵ plus heureux; je suis estimé; voici votre sœur bien établie; votre beau-frère remplit avec honneur une des premières places dans la Robe.^{155a} Pour vous, mon Fils, vous serez digne de moi et de vos ayeux; j'ai déjà remis dans notre famille tous les biens que la nécessité de servir le Prince^{155b} avoit fait sortir des mains de nos¹⁵⁶ ancêtres; ils seront à vous, ces biens;¹⁵⁷ et si vous pensez que j'aie fait par le commerce une tache à leur¹⁵⁸ nom, c'est à vous de l'effacer; mais dans un siècle aussi éclairé que celui-ci, ce qui peut procurer¹⁵⁹ la Noblesse n'est pas capable de l'ôter.

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah, mon père, je ne le pense pas; mais le préjugé est malheureusement si fort

¹⁵⁰TrG: *Bey einem Anfall von Kapern.*

¹⁵¹TrP: *und ich war so glücklich ihm das Leben zu retten.*

¹⁵²Ms-S: *où*: hence *où* in Ia, c; H1. In A's errata, of which this is the first, *où* is corrected to *que*, and this *que* is found in C and K which always correct the errata of A. For other errata of A corrected in similar manner, see notes 155, 156, 163, 173, 189, 323, 326, 351, 646, 656. Di-H and B-N correct all these except here (152) and 351. These errata of A are all corrected in B. Five of the errors existed already in the Ms-S: 152, 156, 173, 189, 323.

¹⁵³*Le bon Hollandois*: Ia, b, c; O.

¹⁵⁴*seine Tochter*: trG.

¹⁵⁵*je ne peux être*: Ia, b. In errata of A this is corrected to *je ne peux pas être*. Mo has *je ne veux pas être*.

^{155a}RF. substitutes *dans la magistrature*.

^{155b}RF. substitutes *de servir l'état*.

¹⁵⁶*vos*: Ms-S; Ia, b; H1. In A's errata this is corrected to *nos*; trM; *deiner*; trT: *meiner*.

¹⁵⁷H2; O. add: (*ils se lèvent*).

¹⁵⁸*deinen Namen*: trM.

¹⁵⁹*donner*: Ia, c. RF. has *donner la distinction*.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Un préjugé¹⁶⁰! un tel préjugé n'est rien aux yeux de la raison.^{160a}

M. VANDERK FILS. Cela n'empêche pas que le commerce ne soit vu¹⁶¹ comme <27> un état¹⁶². . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Quel état, mon fils, que celui d'un homme, qui d'un trait de plume se fait obéir d'un bout de l'univers à l'autre! Son nom, son seing n'a pas besoin, comme la monnaie d'un Souverain¹⁶³, que la valeur du métal serve de caution à l'empreinte; sa personne a tout fait; il a signé; cela suffit.

M. VANDERK FILS. J'en conviens; mais . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ce n'est pas un peuple, ce n'est pas une seule nation qu'il sert; il les sert toutes, et en est servi; c'est l'homme de l'univers. X

M. VANDERK FILS. Cela peut être vrai; mais enfin en lui-même qu'a-t-il de respectable?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. De respectable! ^{163a} ce qui légitime dans un Gentilhomme les droits de la naissance; ce qui fait la base de ses titres; la droiture, l'honneur, la probité.^{163b}

M. VANDERK FILS. Votre seule¹⁶⁴ conduite, mon père.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Quelques particuliers audacieux¹⁶⁵ font armer les Rois; la <28> guerre s'allume; tout s'embrase; l'Europe est divisée; mais ce Négociant Anglois, Hollandois, Russe ou Chinois, n'en est pas moins l'ami de mon cœur; nous sommes sur la superficie de la terre¹⁶⁶ autant de fils de soie qui¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ *Le préjugé*: H2; O.

^{160a} RF. adds *Les hommes ne naissent-ils pas égaux?*

¹⁶¹ *considéré*: Ia, b, c; O.

¹⁶² The Ms-S had: *comme un état vil*. WANDERK. *Comme un état vil!*
Quel état etc. This reading was cancelled.

¹⁶³ *des souverains*: Ia, b; In A's errata this is corrected to *du souverain*.

^{163a} RF substitutes: *ce qui seul peut légitimer les distinctions parmi les hommes; la droiture, l'honneur, la probité.*

^{163b} Noteworthy is the addition of *Glaube* by trG to the qualities of the nobility.

¹⁶⁴ *seule* in the Ms-S is written above the line and apparently later, since it is not in Ia, c.

¹⁶⁵ Some translations give this initiative to the rulers: trP, *Die Regenten Europas greiffen nach den Waffen*. TrG, *Wenn die Könige zu den Waffen greifen*. TrB, *Alcune circostanze fanno prender l'armi in mano ai re.*

¹⁶⁶ *sur la surface de la terre*: Ic; Mo. *Sur la terre*: H2; O.

¹⁶⁷ *autant de fils qui* etc: Ic; H2; O.

X / | lient ensemble les nations, et les ramènent à la paix par la nécessité du commerce. Voilà, mon fils, ce qu'est un¹⁶⁸ honnête Négociant.

M. VANDERK FILS. ^{168a}Et le Gentilhomme donc, et le Militaire?

X / | M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je ne connois que¹⁶⁹ deux états au dessus du Commerçant, (en supposant qu'il y ait des différences¹⁷⁰ entre ceux qui font le mieux qu'ils peuvent dans le rang où le Ciel les a placés); je ne connois que deux états¹⁷¹, le Magistrat qui fait parler les Lois, et le Guerrier¹⁷² qui défend la Patrie.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je suis donc Gentilhomme?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ^{172a}Oui, mon fils; il est peu de bonnes maisons auxquelles¹⁷³ vous ne teniez, et qui ne tiennent à vous.

M. VANDERK FILS. Pourquoi donc me l'avoir caché?¹⁷⁴

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Par une prudence peut-être inutile. J'ai craint que l'orgueil d'un grand nom ne devint le germe de vos vertus^{174a}; j'ai désiré que vous les tinssiez de vous-même. <29> Je vous ai épargné jusqu'à cet instant les réflexions que vous venez

¹⁶⁸ce que c'est qu'un: Ia, b, c: H1.

^{168a}RF. omits *et le gentilhomme donc*.

¹⁶⁹The first reading of the Ms-S was as above: *Je ne connois que*; then this was heavily cancelled in favor of: *Il n'y a peut-être que*, a reading found only in H1. This was later cancelled lightly and the original *Je ne connois* restored. In the margin is the note: "*Observez la correction, elle est heureuse*", but it is not at all clear which correction is meant. Two "*bons*" one in the margin and cancelled, the other above *Il n'y a peut-être*, left uncanceled, add to the confusion.

¹⁷⁰*en supposant encore qu'il y ait quelque différence* etc: Ia, b, c; O.

¹⁷¹Here as at note 169 the Ms-S hesitated, first correcting to *ce sont le magistrat etc* and then restoring the original *je ne connois que deux états, le magistrat etc*. A cancelled "*bon*" in the margin, and an uncanceled "*bon*" in the text add to the confusion also. No edition has the *ce sont*.

¹⁷²*le soldat*: H2; O. Of interest here is the total omission of the nobleman as such, despite the fact that Vanderk is a member of that class.

^{172a}RF substitutes: *Gentilhomme, gentilhomme! vous l'êtes* as the whole speech.

¹⁷³*maisons à qui*: Ms-S: Ia, b; H1. In the errata of A the correction to *aux quelles* is made.

¹⁷⁴*Mon père, pourquoi donc me l'avoir caché si longtemps?*: Mz: Ic: O.

^{174a}RF substitutes to this point *j'ai craint que le misérable préjugé de la naissance, qui ne sert que d'aliment à l'orgueil et à l'ambition, j'ai craint que le sot préjugé que la raison un jour fera disparaître ne devint le germe de vos vertus*.

de faire, réflexions¹⁷⁵ qui dans un âge moins avancé se seroient produites avec plus d'amertume.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne crois pas que jamais

SCÈNE V.

LES MÊMES, ANTOINE, LE DOMESTIQUE de M. DESPARVILLE.^{175a}

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Qu'est-ce?¹⁷⁶

ANTOINE. ¹⁷⁷Il y a, Monsieur, plus de trois heures qu'il est là; c'est un Domestique.¹⁷⁸

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Pourquoi faire attendre? Pourquoi ne pas faire parler? Son tems peut être précieux; son Maître peut avoir besoin de lui.

ANTOINE. Je l'ai oublié; on a soupé; il s'est endormi.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je me suis endormi. Ma foi, on est las, las¹⁷⁹ Où diable¹⁸⁰ est-elle à présent? Cette chienne de lettre¹⁸¹ me fera damner¹⁸² aujourd'hui.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Donnez-vous patience. <30>

LE DOMESTIQUE. Ah, la voilà!

(Pendant que le Père lit, le Domestique bâille, et le fils rêve.)

M. VANDERK PÈRE.¹⁸³ Vous direz à votre Maître . . . Qu'est-il¹⁸⁴ votre Maître?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Monsieur Desparville.¹⁸⁵

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'entends; mais quel est son état?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Il n'y a pas long-tems que je suis à lui; mais il a servi.

¹⁷⁵C omits through carelessness: *que vous venez de faire, réflexions*. Av omits the second *réflexions*.

^{175a}Ia, b, c: *M. Vanderk fils qui rêve*: to its translation of which trW adds: *Anton giebt auf die Miene des jungen Vanderk acht*.

¹⁷⁶*Qu'est-ce?* ends the previous scene in Ia, c:

¹⁷⁷trP prefixes: *Ich suchte Sie unten, mein Herr*.

¹⁷⁸These two phrases inverted: Mz; Ic; H2; O.

¹⁷⁹*on est las, on est las!*: Ia, b, c; O.

¹⁸⁰*où est-elle*: Bl; *où donc est-elle*: O.

¹⁸¹*cette lettre*: Bl; O.

¹⁸²*me fera mourir*: O. *mi farebbe arrabbiare oggidi*: trB.

¹⁸³(*devant son bureau*): H2.

¹⁸⁴Ms-S had first: *Quel est*, which is cancelled for *Qu'est*.

¹⁸⁵*Herr von Palmfeld*. trP.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Servi?

LE DOMESTIQUE. ¹⁸⁶Oui, il a la Croix; c'est bleu, c'est un ruban bleu; ce n'est pas comme les autres; mais c'est la même chose.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Dites à votre Maître, dites à M. Desparville que demain entre trois et quatre heures après midi¹⁸⁷ je l'attends ici.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Oui.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Dites, je vous en prie, que je suis bien fâché de ne pouvoir lui donner une heure plus prompte, que je <31> suis dans l'embarras.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je sçais, je sçais.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁹(Comme le Domestique tourne du côté du magasin, Antoine dit:)

ANTOINE. Hé bien, où allez-vous? encore dormir!¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶From here to the end of the scene at 190 we now follow the text of the appendix of B where are found the variants of scenes which Sedaine for one reason or another had been forced to change. In these variants he gave the scenes as he wished them to be. It is of great interest to note how these variants correspond almost completely with the original readings of the Ms-S.

The Ms-S had here: *Oui. Il a la Croix: mais c'est bleu, c'est un ruban bleu, ce n'est pas comme les autres.* This was cancelled for: *Oui. C'est un ancien officier . . . un officier distingué même,* a reading found in II, Ib, H1, H2; O. In Ia, c. this was shortened to: *Oui, c'est un officier distingué.*

Other references to this blue cross and ribbon and to the *ordre du mérite* which they represent are found at notes 526, 548. That Sedaine desired their retention is proved by his reinsertion of all these references to the *ordre du mérite* in the variants, and also by a letter dated 26 9bre, 1791 which he wrote to the actors of the Comédie Française. I have quoted from this as yet unpublished letter which is in the archives of the Comédie Française at note 548 where it more properly belongs. At note 548 will also be found an historical statement of the *ordre du mérite*.

¹⁸⁷Compare note 540. TrW: *morgen gegen vier.*

¹⁸⁸The Ms-S had first merely as above, then by insertions this was changed to: *Oh, je sais, je sais . . . La noce de Mlle. votre fille . . . oh, je sais, je sais,* which reading is that of Ib (with omission of first "oh"); H1; H2. In Ia, c: *Je sais, je sais . . . La noce de . . . oui, oui.* O has: *Oh, je sais, je sais . . . La noce de . . . je sais, je sais.*

¹⁸⁹In the Ms-S the scene ends with the last speech of the servant, and thus A, D, F with trT, trG, trB do the same. In the errata of A we read: *Ajoutez:*

¹⁹⁰H2; O; add: (*ils sortent*)

SCÈNE VI.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, M. VANDERK FILS.¹⁹¹

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père, je vous prie de pardonner à mes réflexions.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ¹⁹²Il vaut mieux les dire que les taire.

M. VANDERK FILS. Peut-être avec trop de vivacité.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. C'est de votre âge; vous allez voir ici une femme qui a bien plus de vivacité que vous sur cet article. Qui-conque n'est pas Militaire n'est rien.¹⁹³

M. VANDERK FILS. Qui donc?¹⁹⁴

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Votre Tante, ma propre Sœur; elle devoit être arrivée. C'est en vain que je l'ai établie honorablement; elle est veuve à présent et sans enfans; elle jouit de tous les revenus des biens que je vous ai achetés; je l'ai comblée de tout ce que j'ai cru devoir satisfaire ses vœux; cependant elle ne me pardonnera jamais l'état que j'ai pris; et lorsque mes dons ne profanent pas ses mains, le nom de Frère profaneroit ses lèvres; elle <32> est cependant la meilleure de toutes les femmes; mais voilà comme un honneur de préjugé¹⁹⁵ étouffe les sentimens de la nature et de la reconnoissance.

M. VANDERK FILS. Moi,¹⁹⁶ mon père, à votre place je ne lui pardonnerois jamais.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Pourquoi? Elle est ainsi, mon fils; c'est

Antoine dit au domestique qui tourne du côté du Magasin: Hé bien! allez-vous encore dormir? This correction appears in C; K; Di-H; B-N; Ib, c; trP; trM; trW. TrW heightens somewhat the comedy effect: (Jacob will auf der unrecten Seite herausgehen) Ant. (zieht ihm beym Kleide zurück) He! He! wo will er hin? Das ist der Weg nach dem Gewolbe. Schon wieder schlafen? (er geht mit Jacob ab). H; H1; H2; O; have the reading adopted in our text, that of Ba.

¹⁹¹Mz adds: *s'apercevant que son père est seul, se lève.*

¹⁹²H2 adds: *assis au bureau.*

¹⁹³TrP: *Wer keine Feldbinde trägt, ist nichts in ihren Augen.* TrG: *Wer kein Port'epée trägt, ist nichts in ihren Augen.* Note the striking similarity.

¹⁹⁴Mz: *Qui donc, mon père?*

¹⁹⁵comme un préjugé: H2; O. *eine eingebildete Ehre: trW.* TrT has: *aber so erstickt eine Ehrgeizige, aus Vorurtheil, die Empfindungen etc.* RF substitutes: *comme un préjugé ridicule.*

¹⁹⁶Mais for *Moi*: Ia, b, c; H1.

une foiblesse en elle; c'est de l'honneur mal entendu, mais c'est toujours de l'honneur.

M. VANDERK FILS. Vous ne m'aviez jamais parlé de cette Tante.

M. VANDERK PÈRE.¹⁹⁷ Ce silence entroit dans mon système à votre égard; elle vit dans le fond du Berry¹⁹⁸; elle n'y soutient¹⁹⁹ qu'avec trop de hauteur le nom de nos ancêtres, et l'idée de noblesse^{199a} est si forte en elle, que je ne lui aurois pas persuadé de venir au mariage de votre sœur, si je ne lui avois écrit qu'elle épouse un homme de qualité; encore a-t-elle mis des conditions singulières.

M. VANDERK FILS. Des conditions!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. "Mon cher frère," m'écrit-elle, "j'irai; mais ne seroit-il pas mieux, ne seroit-il pas plus convenable²⁰⁰ que je ne passasse que pour une parente éloignée <33> de votre femme, pour une protectrice de la famille?" Elle appuie cela de tous les mauvais raisonnemens qui J'entends une voiture.²⁰¹

M. VANDERK FILS. Je vais voir.

SCÈNE VII.

LES MÊMES, MME VANDERK, SOPHIE, LE GENDRE, VICTORINE.²⁰²

MME VANDERK. Voici, je crois, ma belle-sœur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il faut voir.

SOPHIE. Voici ma tante.²⁰³

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Restez ici, je vais au devant d'elle.

LE GENDRE. Vous accompagnerai-je?²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁷H2: *se levant.*

¹⁹⁸TrP: *in Franken. Berri: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1; O.*

¹⁹⁹*elle ne soutient: Av; Ib.*

^{199a}RF. substitues *cette pitoyable idée de noblesse.*

²⁰⁰Ia, b, c; H2; O. omit: *ne seroit-il pas plus convenable.*

²⁰¹Ms-S had first: *carrosse* which was cancelled for *voiture.*

²⁰²*Victorine omitted Ia, b, c.*

²⁰³TrP amplifies: HENRIETTE. *Ich bin recht begierig diese neugefundene Tante kennen zu lernen. Den Augenblick habe ich das erste Wort von ihr erfahren.*

²⁰⁴Add: *monsieur: Ic; O.*

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, restez. Victorine, éclairez-moi.
*Victorine prend un flambeau, et passe devant.*²⁰⁵

SCÈNE VIII.

MME VANDERK, M. VANDERK FILS, SOPHIE, LE GENDRE.

LE GENDRE. Eh bien, mon cher frère, vous avez aujourd'hui
un petit air sérieux. <34>

M. VANDERK FILS. Non, je vous assure.

LE GENDRE. Pensez-vous que votre chère²⁰⁶ sœur ne sera pas
heureuse avec moi?

M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne doute pas qu'elle ne²⁰⁷ le soit.

SOPHIE à sa mère. L'appellerai-je ma tante?

MME VANDERK. Gardez-vous-en bien; laissez-moi parler.

SCÈNE IX.

LES MÊMES, M. VANDERK PÈRE, VICTORINE,²⁰⁸ LA TANTE, UN
LAQUAIS *de la Tante en veste, une ceinture de soie, botté,
un fouet sur l'épaule, portant la queue de sa maîtresse.*

LA TANTE. Ah! j'ai les yeux éblouis. Écartez ces flambeaux.
Point d'ordre sur les routes. Je devrais être ici il y a deux
heures.^{208a} Soyez de condition, n'en soyez pas, une Duchesse^{208b},
une Financière²⁰⁹, c'est égal. Des chevaux terribles. Mes femmes
ont eu des peurs. (*à son Laquais.*) Laissez ma robe, vous. Ah,
c'est Madame Vanderk!

MME VANDERK, *avance, la salue,*²¹⁰ *et met de la hauteur.*
²¹¹Madame, voici ma fille que j'ai l'honneur de vous présenter.

²⁰⁵No stage direction in Ms-S.

²⁰⁶*chère* is written in Ms-S in other ink and hand above the line; hence omitted in Ia, b, c; H2; O.

²⁰⁷*ne*: omitted: Ms-S; Ia (except E; F); Ic; H1.

²⁰⁸*Victorine* omitted: Ia, c. TrW makes this entrance of the aunt more ceremonious: *einige andre Bediente, die sie mit Fackeln bis an die Thüre begleiten. (Herr Vanderk führt sie an der Hand).*

^{208a}Mz inverts thus: *Il y a deux heures que je devrais être ici.*

^{208b}RF has for "*une duchesse*", "*une femme comme il faut, moi.*"

²⁰⁹*eine Marktschreyerin*, trP; *eine Pächtersfrau*, trT; *eine Bürgersfrau*, trM; *ein Bürgersweib*, trW; *eine Komödiantin*, trG.

²¹⁰Insert: *l'embrasse*: Ia, c. D has: *et la tante met de la hauteur.* TrP, trW, trT, trB also represent the aunt as haughty here. A; F, have *Mde. Vanderk met de la hauteur.*

²¹¹TrT omits entirely the presentation of the daughter.

LA TANTE, *fait une révérence protégeante*²¹³, *et n'embrasse pas.*
²¹³Quel est ce Monsieur noir, et ce jeune homme?²¹⁴ <35>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. C'est mon gendre futur.

LA TANTE, *en regardant le fils.* Il ne faut que des yeux pour juger qu'il est d'un sang noble.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ne trouvez-vous pas qu'il a quelque chose du grand-père?

LA TANTE. Mais . . . Oui . . . le front²¹⁵; il est sans doute avancé dans le service?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, il est trop jeune.

LA TANTE. Il a sans doute un Régiment?²¹⁶

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non.

LA TANTE. Pourquoi donc?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Lorsque par ses services il aura mérité la faveur de la Cour^{216a}, je suis tout prêt.

LA TANTE. Vous avez eu vos raisons; il est fort bien . . . Votre fille l'aime sans doute?²¹⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui, ils s'aiment beaucoup. <36>

LA TANTE. Mais²¹⁸ je me serois très-peu embarrassée²¹⁹ de cet amour-là, et j'aurois voulu que mon gendre eût eu²²⁰ un rang avant de lui donner ma fille.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il est Président.

LA TANTE. Président! pourquoi porte-t-il l'épée?²²¹

²¹³Omit *protégeante*: Ia, b, c.

²¹⁴Add à *M. Vanderk père*: Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.

²¹⁵TrM: *Wer sind etc* to which Vanderk replies: *Es ist . . . mein zukünftiger Schwiegersohn.*

²¹⁶Substitute: *quelque chose . . . oui, le front*: Ia, c.

^{216a}TrW: *eine Compagnie.*

²¹⁷RF substitutes *il aura mérité d'être avancé.*

²¹⁸*T'aime apparemment*: Mz (with ? after *apparemment*); Ic.

²¹⁹*Moi* for *Mais*: Ia, b, c; H1; O.

²²⁰Ms-S had first: *Mais je ne me serois pas embarrassé*; then *ne* and *pas* were cancelled and *peu* written above *pas*; hence, *je me serois peu embarrassée* in Ia, b, c; H1. F has *si peu*.

²²¹H1 omits *eu*. TrG undoubtedly copies from trP: *einen Character haben müssen.*

²²²*l'uniforme*: Ic (but not Mz); Mo.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Qui? voici mon gendre futur.

LA TANTE. Cela? Monsieur est donc de Robe?

LE GENDRE. Oui, Madame, et je m'en fais honneur.

LA TANTE. Monsieur, il y a dans la Robe des personnes qui tiennent à ce qu'il y a de mieux.

LE GENDRE. Et qui le sont, Madame.

LA TANTE. à son frère. Vous ne m'aviez pas écrit que c'étoit un homme de Robe. (*au gendre*) Je vous fais, Monsieur²²³, mon compliment; je suis charmée de vous voir uni à une famille . . .

LE GENDRE. Madame. <37>

LA TANTE. A une famille à laquelle je prends le plus vif intérêt.

LE GENDRE. Madame.²²³

LA TANTE. Mademoiselle a dans toute sa personne un air, une grâce, une modestie, un sérieux²²⁴; elle sera dignement Madame la Présidente. (*regardant le fils.*) Et ce jeune Monsieur?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. C'est mon fils.

LA TANTE. Votre fils! votre fils! vous ne me le dites pas, vous ne me le dites pas²²⁵; c'est mon neveu^{225a}; ah, il est charmant, il est charmant²²⁶; embrassez-moi, mon cher enfant.²²⁷ Ah!²²⁸ vous avez raison, c'est tout le portrait du grand père²²⁹; il m'a saisie,

²²³Monsieur, je vous fais: Mz; Ic.

²²³Certainement, Madame: Mz; Ic.

²²⁴Ms-S had first: *un sérieux, une modestie* which is found in Ia (except Di-H; B-N), Ib. Ic; DiH; B-N omit *un sérieux* completely.

²²⁵This phrase not repeated: Ia, b, c; H1; O. Ic has: *vous ne le dites pas*, but only once. J has, however, the *me*.

^{225a}The aunt forgets her plan to be only a distant relative (see text at notes 200, 222-223).

²²⁶This phrase not repeated: F; Bl. TrP becomes extravagant: *ach er ist zum küssen, er ist zum fressen*.

²²⁷As usual TrW enlarges the stage business: "(*er geht zu ihr, und küsst ihr die Hand, sie klopf't ihn auf die Backen und küsst ihn*) *sieh mich einmal an.*"

²²⁸Mz for *ah* has *eh! oui*.

²²⁹The Ms-S appears thus: *du Gra de mon Grand Père* with cancellation first of *du Gra* then of *de mon* above which was then written *du*: hence *de mon Grand Père* was retained long enough to become the reading of Ia, c; O. In favor of *de mon* it may be noted that Vanderk seems to be thus excluded from relationship with his sister, which is her purpose. Compare 225a, 230.

ses yeux, son front, l'air noble; ah! mon frère,²³⁰ ah! Monsieur, je veux l'emmenner, je veux le faire connoître dans la province, je le présenterai; ah! il est charmant.

MME VANDERK. Madame, voulez vous passer dans votre appartement?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. On va vous servir. <38>

LA TANTE. Ah! mon lit, mon lit et un bouillon. Ah! il est charmant; je le retiens²³¹ demain pour me donner la main. Bon soir, mon cher neveu, bon soir.²³²

M. VANDERK FILS. Ma chère tante, je vous souhaite . . .

SCÈNE X.

M. VANDERK FILS, VICTORINE.

M. VANDERK FILS. Ma chère tante est assez folle.²³³

VICTORINE. C'est Madame votre tante?

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui, sœur de mon père.

VICTORINE. Ses domestiques font un train; elle en a quatre, cinq, sans compter les femmes; ils sont d'une arrogance. Madame la Marquise par-ci, Madame la Marquise par-là; elle veut ceci²³⁴, elle entend ça²³⁵; il semble que tout soit à eux.²³⁶

M. VANDERK FILS. Je m'en doute bien.

VICTORINE. Vous ne la suivez pas, votre chère tante? <39>

M. VANDERK FILS. J'y vais. Bon soir, Victorine. •

VICTORINE. Attendez donc.

M. VANDERK FILS. Que veux-tu?²³⁷

²³⁰Note use of *frère* and the quick change to *Monsieur*. Compare 225a, 229. The aunt has again forgotten herself for a moment.

²³¹Av has: *Ah! mon, mon lit et un bouillon. ah! il est charmant et je le retiens* etc.

²³²H2; O add: *Ah! il est charmant!* H2 omits the next speech of the son, and has: (*ils sortent*). O has the speech and (*ils sortent tous excepté M. Vanderk fils et Victorine*). TrG has no equivalent for the son's speech.

²³³Add: *à ce qu'il me paraît*: Mz; Ic; H2; O. AR omits *thé me*.

²³⁴The Ms-S had first: *elle veut ceci, elle entend cela*, then *cela* was cancelled for *ça*. Ia, b, c; H1: have *elle veut ci*.

²³⁵H1; H2; O. follow the first Ms-S reading having: *elle entend cela*. Ic; Di-H; BN have: *elle veut ça*.

²³⁶à elle: Ia, b, c; O.

²³⁷Mz: *Qu'est-ce que tu me veux?* VICTORINE. *Ah, voyons* etc.

VICTORINE. Voyons donc votre nouvelle montre.

M. VANDERK FILS. Tu ne l'as pas vue?²³⁸

VICTORINE. Que je la voie encore!²³⁹ . . . Ah! elle est belle²⁴⁰ . . . des diamans . . . à répétition²⁴¹ . . . il est onze heures sept . . . huit . . . neuf . . . dix minutes, onze heures dix minutes. Demain à pareille heure . . . voulez-vous que je vous dise tout ce que vous ferez demain

M. VANDERK FILS. Ce que je ferai?²⁴²

VICTORINE. Oui . . . vous vous lèverez à sept, disons à huit heures; vous descendrez à dix; vous donnerez la main à la Mariée; on reviendra à deux heures; on dînera, on jouera; ensuite votre feu d'artifice; pourvu encore que vous ne soyez pas blessé.

M. VANDERK FILS. Blessé. Qu'importe?²⁴³ <40>

VICTORINE. Il ne faut pas l'être.

M. VANDERK FILS. Bon!²⁴⁴

VICTORINE. ²⁴⁵Je parie que voilà tout ce que vous ferez demain.

M. VANDERK FILS. Tu serois bien étonnée si je ne faisais rien de tout cela.

VICTORINE. Que ferez-vous donc?

M. VANDERK FILS. Au reste²⁴⁶, tu peux avoir raison.

VICTORINE. C'est joli, une montre à répétition; lorsqu'on se réveille, on sonne l'heure; je crois que je me réveillerois tout²⁴⁷ exprès.

²³⁸Mz: Ic; O: *Est-ce que tu ne l'as pas vue?*

²³⁹Mz inserts: M. VANDERK fils. *Tiens, la voilà.*

²⁴⁰Mz; Ic: *Ah! qu'elle est belle!*

²⁴¹TrW: *sie lässt sie repetiren.*

²⁴²Mz; Ic; O: *comment, ce que je ferai?*

²⁴³The Ms-S had first: *Ah! si je le suis, je le serai bien, ou point du tout.* This was then cancelled and *Blessé. Qu'importe?* was written below and in another hand. Of the former reading Ia, c; kept: *Ah! si je le suis?* . . .

²⁴⁴Similarly here the Ms-S had first: *Qu'importe?* which was cancelled for *Bon.* Ia, b; H1 have *Cela vaudroit mieux.* Ic; Mz; O have *Oui, cela vaudroit mieux.*

²⁴⁵Mz prefixes: *Eh bien.*

²⁴⁶Mz has *Après tout* for *Au reste.*

²⁴⁷Omit *tout*: Ia, c; H1.

M. VANDERK FILS. Eh bien, je veux qu'elle passe la nuit dans ta chambre, pour savoir si tu te réveilleras.

VICTORINE. Oh²⁴⁸, non.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je t'en prie.

VICTORINE. Si on le sçavoit, on se moqueroit de moi. <41>

M. VANDERK FILS. Qui le dira? Tu me la rendras demain au matin.²⁴⁹

VICTORINE. Vous en pouvez être²⁵⁰ sûr; mais . . . et²⁵¹ vous?

M. VANDERK FILS. N'ai-je pas ma pendule?²⁵² Et tu²⁵³ me la rendras.

VICTORINE. Sans doute.

M. VANDERK FILS. Qu'à moi.

VICTORINE. A qui donc?

M. VANDERK FILS. Qu'à moi.

VICTORINE. Eh, mais, sans doute.

M. VANDERK FILS. Bon soir, Victorine . . . Adieu . . .
Bon soir. Qu'à moi, qu'à moi.²⁵⁴

SCÈNE XI.

VICTORINE seule.

Qu'à moi, qu'à moi; que veut-il dire? Il a quelque chose d'extraordinaire aujourd'hui; ce n'est pas sa gaieté, ce n'est pas²⁵⁵ son air franc; il révoit. Si c'étoit . . . non. <42>

²⁴⁸Omit *Oh*: Ia, c.

²⁴⁹Ms-S: *le matin*.

²⁵⁰*Vous pouvez en être*: Ic; Di-H; BN; H1; H2; O.

²⁵¹Omit *et*: Ia, b, c.

²⁵²Mz: *la mienne for ma pendule*.

²⁵³*et puis tu*: Mz; Ic; O.

²⁵⁴Add (*il sort*): H2; O. TrW brings out more vividly the emotion of this parting: "*Gute Nacht, Julchen . . . Lebe wohl . . . (sehr beklemmt) gute Nacht. . . (er geht und kommt zurück) . . . hör . . . keinem als mir, keinem als mir. (er geht ab).*"

²⁵⁵Omit this second *ce n'est pas*: Ia, b, c; H1; O.

SCÈNE XII.

ANTOINE, VICTORINE.

ANTOINE à sa fille. ²⁵⁶On vous appelle, on vous sonne depuis une heure. (*Victorine sort.*)

SCÈNE XIII.

ANTOINE seul.

Quatre ou cinq ²⁵⁷ misérables laquais de condition donnent plus de peine qu'une maison de ²⁵⁸ quarante personnes. Nous verrons demain . . . ce sera un beau bruit . . . Je n'oublie rien? Non (*Il souffle les bougies, et* ²⁵⁹ *ferme les volets.*) Je vais me coucher. ²⁶⁰

SCÈNE XIV.

UN DOMESTIQUE de M. Vanderk, ANTOINE.

ANTOINE. ²⁶¹Quoi! ²⁶²

LE DOMESTIQUE. Monsieur Antoine ²⁶³, Monsieur dit qu'avant de vous coucher vous montiez chez lui par le petit escalier. ²⁶⁴

ANTOINE. ²⁶⁵Oui, j'y vais.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Bon soir, M. Antoine.

ANTOINE. Bon soir, bon soir.

Fin du second Acte.

²⁵⁶Ic; O: *Eh bien! on vous appelle* etc. Mz elaborates: *Eh bien! il a* [sic] *deux heures q'on vous appelle, q'on vous sonne depuis une heure; si vous vouliez bien monter la haut.* TrG has: *sie wollen zu Bette gehen. Marsch, zu Bette!*

²⁵⁷Ms-S: *quatre à cinq.*

²⁵⁸The Ms-S had first *qu'une per* [sic] *maison de*; this was cancelled for *dans une maison que* written above. H1; H2; O alone have the changed reading. It may have been made too late for insertion in I or II. Whether the change had Sedaine's approval cannot be determined.

²⁵⁹The Ms-S added later: (*ferme les volets*) with no connecting *et*. Thus Ia, b, c have no *et ferme les volets*.

²⁶⁰Ms-S; Ia; H1: *allons nous coucher.* TrW has more stage-business for Antoine including the removal of a key left in the desk-lock.

²⁶¹Ic; H2 insert: LE DOMESTIQUE. *Monsieur Antoine?*

²⁶²Omit: *quoi*: Ia, b; O.

²⁶³H2 omits: *Monsieur Antoine.*

²⁶⁴The Ms-S ends the act here.

²⁶⁵Mz changes slightly the closing dialogue: ANTOINE. *Ah, Oui, j'y vais. Bon soir, mon ami.* LE DOMESTIQUE. *Bon soir, M. Antoine.*

ACTE III.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁷M. VANDERK FILS ET SON DOMESTIQUE *entrent en tâtonnant avec précaution; il fait ouvrir le volet fermé le soir par Antoine, pour faire voir qu'il est un peu jour. Il regarde partout. (Il doit être en Redingote et en Bottines.)*

SCÈNE II.

M. VANDERK FILS, SON DOMESTIQUE; *il est botté ainsi que son Maître.*

M. VANDERK FILS. Champagne, va ouvrir le volet²⁶⁸
Hé bien, les clefs?

LE DOMESTIQUE. J'ai cherché partout, sur la fenêtre, derrière la porte; j'ai tâté le long de la barre de fer, je n'ai rien trouvé; enfin j'ai réveillé le Portier.

²⁶⁶Not counted as separate scene: Ia, b, c; Mz; P; O.

²⁶⁷There is considerable variation in this important direction: The Ms-S read first: *fil seul entre* then *seul entre* was cancelled and *et son Domestique entrent* was written above in other ink and hand. Similarly *fait ouvrir* was written above cancelled *ouvre*. It is clear, therefore, that in the first draft Vanderk fils entered alone and his servant later, which arrangement would explain the counting of this silent scene as a separate scene, the entrance of the servant constituting Scene II. The phrase: (*Il doit être en Redingote et avoir des bottines*) is crowded in but in the same hand. H1 alone has the phrase in this form; it is entirely absent in Ia, b, c; O.

The editions vary as follows:

Ia, b, c. *M. Vanderk fils entre en tâtonnant avec précaution: le Domestique ouvre (Ib; il fait ouvrir) le volet fermé le soir par Antoine. M. Vanderk regarde (Ib: et regarde) partout. Le Domestique est botté ainsi que son Maître, qui tient deux pistolets.* O omits of the above from "précaution" to "regarde".

H1 is like the text adopted except for the omission of "le soir".

P2; T are also like the text, but avoid all ambiguity thus: "*ils entrent*" etc: "*M. Vanderk fait ouvrir*" etc: "*Ce jeune homme doit*" etc".

²⁶⁸This was added later to the Ms-S, and thus is not in Ia, b. Mz; Ic; O expand thus: "*M. VANDERK fils. Champagne? SON DOMESTIQUE (Mz. CHAMPAGNE) Monsieur. M. VANDERK fils. Va ouvrir le volet. SON DOMESTIQUE. J'y vais . . . le voilà ouvert. M. VANDERK fils. Eh bien! les clefs*" etc".

M. VANDERK FILS. Eh bien?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Il dit que M. Antoine les a.

M. VANDERK FILS. Eh²⁶⁹, pourquoi Antoine a-t-il pris ces clefs?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je n'en sçais rien.

M. VANDERK FILS. A-t-il coutume de les prendre? <44>

LE DOMESTIQUE. Je ne l'ai pas demandé; voulez-vous que j'y aille?

M. VANDERK FILS. Non. Et nos chevaux?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Ils sont dans la cour.

M. VANDERK FILS. Tiens, mets ces pistolets à l'arçon, et n'y touche pas. As-tu entendu du bruit dans la maison?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Non. Tout le monde dort; j'ai cependant vu de la lumière.

M. VANDERK FILS. Où?

LE DOMESTIQUE. Au troisième.

M. VANDERK FILS. Au troisième!

LE DOMESTIQUE. Ah! c'est dans la chambre de Mademoiselle Victorine; mais c'est sa lampe.

M. VANDERK FILS. Victorine! . . . Vas t'en.

LE DOMESTIQUE. Où irai-je?

M. VANDERK FILS. Descens dans la cour, écoute; cache les chevaux <45> sous la remise, à gauche, près du carrosse de ma Mère; point de bruit surtout; il ne faut réveiller personne.²⁷⁰

SCÈNE III.

M. VANDERK FILS *seul*.

Pourquoi Antone a-t-il pris ces clefs? Que vais-je faire? C'est de le réveiller. Je lui dirois. . . . Je veux sortir. . . . J'ai des emplettes. . . . j'ai quelques affaires. . . . Frappons.²⁷¹ Antoine. . . . Je n'entens rien²⁷². . . . Antoine. (*prêt à frapper, il suspend le coup.*) Il va me faire cent questions: Vous sortez de bonne heure, quelle affaire avez-vous

²⁶⁹et pourquoi: Ib, c; P; Mo; O. und trP; trG. e trB. aber trT.

²⁷⁰TrG adds: WILHELM. Sorgen Sie nicht. (*schleicht auf den Zehen ab*).

²⁷¹TrG: (*klopft und ruft*).

²⁷²Ic: *il n'entend rien*. Mz: *il ne répond pas*. TrW: *er rührt sich nicht*.

donc? Vous sortez à cheval; attendez le jour.²⁷³ Je ne veux pas attendre, moi . . . Donnez-moi les clefs²⁷⁴. (*il frappe.*) Antoine.

SCÈNE IV.

M. VANDERK FILS, ANTOINE (*dans sa chambre*²⁷⁵)

ANTOINE. Qui est là!

M. VANDERK FILS. Il a répondu. Antoine.

ANTOINE. Qui peut frapper si matin?

M. VANDERK FILS. Moi.

ANTOINE. Ah! Monsieur, j'y vais.²⁷⁶

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SCÈNE V.

M. VANDERK FILS *seul*.

Il se lève . . . Rien de moins extraordinaire; j'ai affaire, moi; je sors; je vais à deux pas; quand j'irois plus loin. Mais vous êtes en bottines²⁷⁷; mais ce cheval²⁷⁸; mais²⁷⁹ ce Domestique? Eh bien, je vais à deux lieues d'ici; mon père m'a dit de lui faire une commission. Comme l'esprit va chercher bien loin les raisons les plus simples. Ah! je ne sçais pas mentir.

SCÈNE VI.

M. VANDERK FILS, ANTOINE, *son col à la main*.²⁸⁰

ANTOINE. ²⁸¹Comment²⁸², Monsieur, c'est vous?

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui, donne-moi vite les clefs de la porte cochère.

²⁷³le grand jour: Mz; Ic; O.

²⁷⁴Qu'il me donne les clefs: Ic.

²⁷⁵ANTOINE (*en dedans*): Ia, b; O; Ha. ANTOINE (*en dehors*): Ic. (*d'abord en dehors*): P.

²⁷⁶ANTOINE *Tout à l'heure! j'y vais*: Ic; O.

²⁷⁷en bottes: Ic; Di-H; B-N; Mo; H2; O.

²⁷⁸Pferde: trP; trG.

²⁷⁹Omit: mais: Ia, b, c; O.

²⁸⁰TrW: (*mit einer Halsbinde in der Hand und einem Rocke über den Arm*) (*Er zieht sich während dem Reden an*). TrG: *kommt im Nachtkleid heraus*.

²⁸¹Prefix: *Eh bien! qu'est-ce que c'est?*: Mz; Ic; O.

²⁸²Ah for Comment: Mz; Ic.

ANTOINE. Les clefs?

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui.

ANTOINE. Les clefs? mais le Portier doit les avoir.

M. VANDERK FILS. Il dit que vous les avez. <47>

ANTOINE. Ah! c'est vrai; hier au soir, je ne m'en ressouvenois pas. Mais à propos Monsieur votre père les a.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père; hé²⁸³, pourquoi les a-t-il?

ANTOINE. Demandez-le-lui²⁸⁴, je n'en sçais rien.

M. VANDERK FILS. Il ne les a pas ordinairement.

ANTOINE. Mais vous sortez de bonne heure.²⁸⁵

M. VANDERK FILS. Il faut qu'il ait eu quelques raisons pour prendre les²⁸⁶ clefs.

ANTOINE. Peut-être quelque Domestique²⁸⁷, ce mariage . . . Il a appréhendé l'embarras²⁸⁸, des fêtes, des ambades . . . Il veut se lever le premier; enfin que sçais-je?

M. VANDERK FILS. Eh bien, mon pauvre Antoine, rends-moi le plus grand . . . rends-moi un petit service: entre tout doucement, je t'en prie, dans l'appartement de mon père; il aura mis les clefs sur quelque table, sur quelque chaise; apporte-les-moi. Prends garde de le réveiller; je serois au désespoir si j'étois la cause²⁸⁹ que son sommeil eût été²⁹⁰ troublé. <48>

ANTOINE. Que n'y allez-vous?²⁹¹

²⁸³ *et pourquoi*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; H1; H2; O; trB.

²⁸⁴ *Demandez-lui*: Ia, b, c; H1.

²⁸⁵ The Ms-S hesitated here: First was *bonne heure* which was cancelled for *bon matin*, this in turn being cancelled for a second *bonne heure*. Perhaps *bonne heure* was retained because young Vanderk had said (Scene III) that Antoine would use this phrase. In the Ms-S there is now added and without doubt in Sedaine's own hand the following which was subsequently cancelled: *Il n'est pas 5 heures*. WANDERK fils. *Il est plus que cela mais*. . . .

²⁸⁶ *ces clefs*: Ia, b, c; H1; O.

²⁸⁷ *quelques domestiques*: P2.

²⁸⁸ *appréhendé de l'embarras*: Ia, b, c; O.

²⁸⁹ The Ms-S had first: *Si j'étois la cause d'avoir troublé son sommeil*, then a correction in Sedaine's hand to: *si j'étois la cause que son sommeil fût troublé*. Ia, b, c; H1; O have: *au désespoir d'avoir été la cause*.

²⁹⁰ *fût troublé*: final reading of Ms-S; H1; H2.

²⁹¹ Add *vous-même*: H2; O. Mz; Ic substitute: *Mais pourquoi n'y allez-vous pas vous-même?*

M. VANDERK FILS. ²⁹²S'il t'entend, tu lui donneras mieux une raison que moi.²⁹³

ANTOINE. ²⁹⁴J'y vais; ne sortez pas, ne sortez pas.²⁹⁵

SCÈNE VII.

M. VANDERK FILS *seul*.

Où veux-tu que j'aïlle?²⁹⁶ J'aurois bien cru qu'il m'auroit fait plus de questions; Antoine est un bon homme. . . . Il se sera bien imaginé Ah, mon père, mon père! Il dort Il ne sçait pas Ce cabinet cette maison, tout ce qui frappe mes yeux²⁹⁷ m'est plus cher; quitter cela pour toujours, ou pour long-temps, cela fait une peine qui²⁹⁸. . . . Ah! le voilà Ciel! c'est mon père.

²⁹²Prefix: *C'est que*: Mz; Ic; O.

²⁹³*mieux que moi une raison*: Ic; *mieux que moi quelque raison*: Mz.

²⁹⁴Add: (*le doigt en l'air*): Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1. Mz expands thus: "ANTOINE (*va pour sortir et revient*) Écoutez. M. VANDERK FILS. Eh bien, qu'est-ce que tu veux? ANTOINE. Ne sortez pas, ne sortez pas. M. VANDERK FILS. Comment que je ne sorte pas! Et où veux-tu que j'aïlle? Je n'ai point de clés. ANTOINE. Ah! c'est vrai. (*il sort*)."
TrW adds the idea that Antoine speaks in *einem warnenden Tone*.

²⁹⁶The Ms-S crowds in here in other ink: WANDERK FILS. *Je n'ai pas de clefs; où veux-tu que j'aïlle*. ANTOINE. *Ah! . . . c'est vrai*. This is in H1 which adds (*il sort*) at the end. Ic; H2; O have: M. VANDERK FILS. *Où veux-tu que j'aïlle? Je n'ai point de clefs*. ANTOINE. *Ah! c'est vrai. (il sort)*.

Ia, b have merely: M. VANDERK FILS. *Où veux-tu que j'aïlle*, this closing the scene.

²⁹⁷The Ms-S had first: *Où veux-tu que j'aïlle* which was cancelled, *je n'ai pas de clefs* being written above in a faint ink. In fact the ink is so faint as to suggest that it was erased. It might well have been erased, since it repeats the phrase noted in 295. In any event *je n'ai pas de clefs* is found in this position only in H1. It is most probable that the *Où veux-tu* etc of Ia, b was taken from this point in the Ms-S and simply transferred to the end of the preceding scene, since the insertion in the Ms-S described in 295 was made too late to be adopted in Ia, b. Ia, b, c; H2; O begin Scene vii with *J'aurois bien cru* etc.

²⁹⁸Substitute: *tout ce qui m'entoure*: Ia, b, c; O.

²⁹⁹Omit *qui*: H2; O. Ic ends the speech thus: *une peine qui . . . N'importe . . . Ah, ciel! c'est mon père!*

SCÈNE VIII.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, *en robe de chambre*²⁹⁹, M. VANDERK FILS.

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! mon père, ah!³⁰⁰ que je suis fâché; c'est la faute d'Antoine; je le lui avois dit; mais il aura fait du bruit, il vous aura réveillé. <49>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, je l'étois.

M. VANDERK FILS. ³⁰¹Vous l'étiez! et sans doute que. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous ne me dites pas bon jour.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père, je vous demande pardon, je vous souhaite bien le bon jour.³⁰² Comment avez-vous passé la nuit? votre santé . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous sortez de bonne heure.

M. VANDERK FILS. Oui, je voulois

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il y a des chevaux dans la cour.

M. VANDERK FILS. C' est pour moi, c'est le mien, et celui de mon Domestique.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Eh! où allez-vous si matin?³⁰³

M. VANDERK FILS. Une fantaisie d'exercice! je voulois faire le tour des remparts³⁰⁴; une idée . . . un caprice qui m'a pris tout d'un coup ce matin. <50>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁰⁵Dès hier au soir, vous aviez dit qu'on tint vos chevaux prêts;³⁰⁶ Victorine l'a sçu de quelqu'un, d'un homme de l'écurie, et vous aviez l'idée de sortir.

M. VANDERK FILS. Non pas³⁰⁷ absolument.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non! mon fils, vous avez quelque dessein?

M. VANDERK FILS. Quel dessein voudriez-vous que j'eusse?

²⁹⁹The Ms-S added *écarlate* but cancelled it; the entire phrase is inserted above the line. TrG makes no mention of costume.

³⁰⁰Omit this *ah!*: Ia, b, c; O.

³⁰¹Substitute: *Vous l'étiez! Apparemment, mon père, que l'embarras d'aujourd'hui, et que . . .*: Ia, b, c; O. Mz has: *Vous l'étiez! Apparemment mon père, que vous vouliez . . .*

³⁰²The speech ends here: Ia, b, c; O. TrW adds: (*er küsst ihm die Hand*).

³⁰³*Et où allez-vous si matin?*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; H1; O.

³⁰⁴*du rempart*: Ia, b, c; O.

³⁰⁵*Dès hier vous aviez dit* etc; Ia; H1; H2. *Non, non, dès hier vous aviez dit* etc: Ic; O.

³⁰⁶The speech ends here: Ia, c.

³⁰⁷*Non, pas absolument*: H1; H2. TrM has: *Doch ohne Zeit zu bestimmen*.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁰⁸C'est moi qui vous le demande.

M. VANDERK FILS. ³⁰⁹Je vous assure, mon père. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils, jusqu'à cet instant, je n'ai connu en vous ni détours, ni mensonges³¹⁰; si ce que vous me dites³¹¹ est vrai, répétez-le-moi, et je vous croirai . . . Si ce sont quelques raisons, quelques folies de votre âge, de ces niaiseries qu'un père peut soupçonner, mais ne doit jamais savoir, quelque peine que cela me fasse, je n'exige pas une confiance dont nous rougirions l'un et l'autre; voici les clefs, sortez. (*Le fils tend la main, et les prend.*) Mais, mon fils, si cela pouvoit intéresser votre repos, et le <51> mien, et celui de votre mère?

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! mon père.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il n'est pas possible qu'il y ait rien de déshonorant dans ce que vous allez faire?

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! bien plutôt. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Achevez.

M. VANDERK FILS. Que me demandez-vous? Ah, mon père, vous me l'avez dit hier; vous avez³¹² été insulté; vous étiez jeune; vous vous êtes battu; vous le feriez encore . . . Ah! que je suis malheureux! je sens que je vais faire le malheur de votre vie. Non . . . jamais . . . quelle leçon! . . . Vous pouvez m'en croire³¹³. . . . si la fatalité . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Insulté . . . battu . . . le malheur de ma vie; mon fils, causons ensemble, et ne voyez en moi qu'un ami.

M. VANDERK FILS. ³¹⁴S'il étoit possible que j'exigeasse de vous un serment. . . . ³¹⁵promettez-moi que quelque chose que je

³⁰⁸Substitute: *Je vous le demande*: Ia, c.

³⁰⁹*Croyez, mon père* . . . was the first reading of the Ms-S. Hence this reading in Ia, c.

³¹⁰*ni détour ni mensonge*: Ia, b, c; *ni détours ni mensonge*: H1.

³¹¹*ce que vous dites*: Ms-S; Ib.

³¹²*aviez*: Ib.

³¹³Ms-S: *me croire*.

³¹⁴From this point to the end of Act III, I again follow the variants of the appendix of B. I shall, however, continue to show the readings of the censored editions, and also of the Ms-S which are most interesting and reveal clearly Sedaine's struggle with the censors.

³¹⁵Mz inserts: *De grâce*.

vous dise, votre bonté ne me détournera pas de ce que je dois faire.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Si cela est juste. <52>

M. VANDERK FILS. Juste ou non.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ou non?³¹⁶

M. VANDERK FILS. Ne vous alarmez pas. Hier au soir j'ai eu quelqu'altercation, une dispute³¹⁷ avec un Officier de Cavalerie; nous sommes sortis; on nous a séparés . . . Parole aujourd'hui.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, *en s'appuyant sur le dos d'une chaise.*
Ha!³¹⁸ mon fils.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père,³¹⁹ voilà ce que je craignois.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³²⁰*avec fermeté.* ³²¹Je suis bien loin de vous détourner de ce que vous avez à faire³²²; (*douloureusement.*) vous êtes Militaire, et quand on a pris un engagement vis-à-vis du public, on doit le tenir, quoi qu'il en coûte à la raison, et même à la nature.

M. VANDERK FILS. Je n'ai pas besoin d'exhortation.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³²³Je le crois; et³²⁴ puis-je savoir de vous un détail plus étendu de votre querelle, et de ce qui l'a causée; enfin de tout ce qui s'est passé?

³¹⁶*Juste ou non!*: Ms-S; Ib; II.

³¹⁷*querelle for dispute*: Ic; Mz has *querelle* written above *dispute*, but *dispute* is not cancelled.

³¹⁸*Ah!*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

³¹⁹Omit: *Mon père*: H2.

³²⁰The Ms-S has no *avec fermeté*.

³²¹The passage from *Je suis bien loin* through *Je le crois; et* of the father's next speech is cancelled in the Ms-S in a very vigorous manner, suggesting the eagerness of the censor to suppress this passage. It is consequently lacking in all censored editions. Compare however note 323. TrM is the only German translation to keep (with trS the Danish translation) the original version at this point. TrO here seems to show knowledge of the original version by these words: Oh, George, George, what a stroke is this! but tho' you are my son, I can't divert you from what you ought to do. You are in the service of your king, in the service of your country. O cruel, cruel honour! etc.

³²²The Ms-S has *détourner de votre devoir* and omits *douloureusement*.

³²³*Je le crois* was retained by error in A, and thus got into D, E, F, and most of the translations. A's errata, however, remove it, and it is absent in C, Av, K, and II, as well as later editions of Group I.

³²⁴*et* omitted: Ic, Di-H; B-N.

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! comme j'ai fait ce que j'ai pu pour éviter votre présence. <53>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous fait-elle du chagrin?

M. VANDERK FILS. Ha! jamais, jamais, je n'ai eu tant besoin³²⁵ d'un ami, et sur-tout de vous.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Enfin vous avez eu dispute.³²⁶

M. VANDERK FILS. L'histoire n'est pas longue³²⁷: la pluie qui est survenue³²⁸ hier, m'a forcé d'entrer dans un café; j'y jouois³²⁹ une partie d'échecs; j'entends à quelques pas de moi quelqu'un qui parloit avec chaleur; il racontoit, je ne sçais quoi, de son père, d'un marchand, d'un escompte, de billets³³⁰; mais je suis certain³³¹ d'avoir entendu très-distinctement: Oui, tous ces Négocians, tous ces Commerçans sont des fripons, sont des misérables.³³² Je me suis retourné, je l'ai regardé; lui sans nul égard³³³, sans nulle attention, a répété le même discours³³⁴. Je me suis levé³³⁵, je lui ai dit à l'oreille qu'il n'y avoit qu'un malhonnête homme qui pût tenir de pareils propos.³³⁶ Nous sommes sortis; on nous a séparés.³³⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous me permettez³³⁸ de vous dire.

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M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! je sçais, mon père, tous les reproches que vous pouvez me faire: cet Officier pouvoit être dans un instant d'humeur; ce qu'il disoit pouvoit ne pas me regarder; lorsqu'on

³²⁵tant de besoin: F.

³²⁶enfin vous avez une dispute: A; E; F. The errata of A correct to *enfin vous avez eu dispute* of which C omits *enfin*. Ib; D; K; Av have: *enfin vous avez eu une dispute*.

³²⁷Substitute: *Voici le fait; la pluie* etc: Ic.

³²⁸survenu: A; C.

³²⁹je jouois: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1.

³³⁰d'un escompte de billets: Ms-S; Ib; II; H1; H2. *d'un escompte, des billets*: Ia.

³³¹je suis sûr: Ms-S; II.

³³²sont de fripons, sont de misérables: Av. Mz has *malheureux* for *misérables*, and goes on: *Moi, je me suis retourné* etc.

³³³sans nul égard is written above the line in Ms-S.

³³⁴Ms-S had first: *chose*, but cancels for *discours*, changing *la* to *le*.

³³⁵H1 omits *je me suis levé*.

³³⁶Mz substitutes: *qui pût parler de la sorte*.

³³⁷et on nous a séparés: Ms-S.

³³⁸permettez: C.

dit tout le monde, on ne dit personne; peut-être même ne faisait-il que raconter ce qu'on lui avoit dit³³⁹; et voilà mon chagrin, voilà mon tourment. Mon retour sur moi-même a fait mon supplice³⁴⁰; il faut que je cherche à égorger un homme qui peut n'avoir pas tort. Je crois cependant qu'il l'a dit, parce que j'étois présent.³⁴¹

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous le désirez; vous connoît-il?

M. VANDERK FILS. Je ne le connois pas.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Et vous cherchez querelle. ³⁴²Je n'ai rien à vous prescrire.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père, soyez tranquille.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ah! mon fils, pourquoi n'avez-vous pas pensé que vous aviez un³⁴³ père? Je pense si souvent que j'ai un fils.³⁴⁴

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M. VANDERK FILS. ³⁴⁵C'est parce que j'y pensois.

³³⁹raconter ce qu'il avait entendu dire substituted: Mz.

³⁴⁰Mz omits: *Mon retour supplice.*

³⁴¹là for *présent*: Mz.

³⁴²From *Je n'ai rien* through *soyez tranquille* is cancelled in the Ms-S and is consequently absent from all censored editions. TrM and trS are the only translations to have the passage. Compare 321.

³⁴³The Ms-S had first: *aviez un père*, which is changed to *votre père*. Hence *votre* in: Ia (except Di-H; B-N); Ib; Hi; II (except L).

³⁴⁴At this point in the Ms-S (between pages 54-55) are inserted eight pages of smaller size on which one finds the version finally acceptable to the censor for the remaining scenes of Act III. These pages were necessary for the *souffleur* because the regular Ms-S pages 55 to 63 had become very confusing and in part illegible on account of the corrections of the censor. The *souffleur* had, therefore, rewritten the closing scenes in order to have a smooth and easy copy which he could readily follow. He also ran a line through each of the regular pages to complete their cancellation. I give, however, the variants of both these eight smaller pages and also those of the original pages. The latter possess exceptional interest, because they clearly reveal the struggle between Sedaine and the censor. One can trace the struggle by stages as it were, some of the corrections revealing an earlier attempt to satisfy the censor which did not succeed. I indicate the added pages by the symbols: Ms-S, 54 A; B; C; D; E; F; G; H. The first speech of the added pages is Vanderk père's *Hé dans quelle incertitude* etc. See at note 348. There is evidence that this copy was made after the first Paris edition (A), since the second edition (B) follows this copy more closely; see notes 353 c, l, w, y; 362; 394.

³⁴⁵Mz; Ic; O prefix: *Mon père.*

M. VANDERK PÈRE, ³⁴⁶*après* ³⁴⁷*un profond soupir*. Quelle épée avez-vous là?

M. VANDERK FILS. J'ai mes pistolets.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vos pistolets! L'arme d'un Gentilhomme est son épée.

M. VANDERK FILS. Il a choisi.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁴⁸Eh! dans quelle incertitude; dans quelle peine jettiez-vous³⁴⁹ aujourd' hui votre mère et moi!

M. VANDERK FILS. J'y avois pourvu.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Comment?

M. VANDERK FILS. J'avois laissé sur ma table une lettre adressée à vous; Victorine vous l'auroit donnée.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Est-ce que vous vous êtes confié à Victorine?

M. VANDERK FILS. Non;³⁵⁰ mais elle devoit reporter³⁵¹ quelque chose sur ma table, et elle l'auroit vue. <56>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁵²Eh! quelles précautions aviez-vous prises contre la juste rigueur des loix?^{352a}

³⁴⁶This direction not in Ms-S. The next four speeches were cancelled in the Ms-S and the cancellation justified by a marginal note written in another hand, as follows: *Il faudroit passer cela. On a parlé des pistolets* [see at notes 147, 267] *on en parle plus bas* [see note 407-c] *et il faut abréger*. H1; H2; O; trM and all censored editions omit these speeches. It is difficult to understand why Heylli omitted them in both his editions, since they are in the appendices of A and B, also in those of E and B-N, and it is perfectly clear that Sedaine desired their retention

³⁴⁷*avec*: B-Na.

³⁴⁸This is the first speech of the pages 54 A-H of the Ms-S. B-Na; Mo have: *et dans* etc.

³⁴⁹The Ms-S had first: *jettiez-vous* which was cancelled for *auriez-vous jetté*, this in turn yielding to *alliez-vous jeter*. This last is the reading of Ms-S 54A. Hence confusion in the editions:

Ia, c; H1; H2; O have with Ba: *jet(t)iez-vous*.

Aa; BN; BNa have: *jetez-vous*.

Ib; II have: *alliez-vous jeter*.

³⁵⁰Insert: *mon père*: Ic; O.

³⁵¹*rapporter*: Ia, b, c; Mo; O. The errata of A correct to *reporter* which was adopted in C and K.

³⁵²*et quelles précautions* etc: Ic; Di-H; BN; BNa; H1; H2; O.

^{352a}At this point in the Ms-S, p. 56, is a mark # referring across to the similar mark at the speech of Vanderk fils on p. 57 top: *Juste rigueur des Loix*. See note 353j for an interpretation of these marks.

M. VANDERK FILS.³⁶⁸ La fuite.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Remontez à votre appartement, apportez-

³⁶⁸At this point begin the really serious and vital differences between the original and the censored versions. In the censored version Vanderk père makes a strong attack upon the institution of the duel, likening it to murder, and forbidding his son to leave the house. Thus, not only is the father's character altered but the son's also, since he disobeys his father and goes to the duel. To make these differences clear, it is necessary to quote at length the censored version. I have chosen that of B as the basis, and give the variants from B in the sub-notes:

M. VANDERK fils. [Ms-S p. 54B and 57] *La juste rigueur!*^(a)

M. VANDERK père. *Oui*^(b), *elles sont justes, ces lois Un peuple*^(c)
. . . . je ne sais lequel Les Romains, je crois^(d), *accordoient*
des récompenses à qui conservoit la vie d'un citoyen. Quelle punition ne mérite pas
un François^(e) *qui médite d'en égorger un autre, qui projette un assassinat!*

M. VANDERK fils. *Un assassinat!*

M. VANDERK père. *Oui, mon fils*^(f), *un assassinat. La confiance que*
l'agresseur a dans ses propres forces, fait presque toujours sa témérité.

M. VANDERK fils. *Et*^(g) *vous-même*^(h), *mon père, lorsqu' autre fois. . . .*

M. VANDERK père. ⁽ⁱ⁾ *Le Ciel est juste; il m'en punit en vous. Enfin*
quelles précautions aviez-vous prises contre la juste rigueur des lois?

^{a)} *La juste rigueur des lois*: Ms-S p. 57.

^{b)} Ms-S p. 57 omits: *oui*.

^{c)} Substitute: *jadis un peuple*: Ia (except Di-H; BN.); Ic; O variants.

^{d)} Ms-S p. 57 omits: *je crois*.

^{e)} The nationality is not specified in trP; trB. *Ein Christ*: trW. *An Englishman, a Christian*, trO.

^{f)} Ms-S p. 57 omits: *mon fils*.

^{g)} *mais* for *et*: Ic; O variants. On p. 54B of Ms-S *mais* is written faintly above *et*, neither being cancelled.

^{h)} Ms-S p. 57 omits: *même*.

ⁱ⁾ Substitute: *Ah! le ciel est juste*: Ms-S p. 57.

TrG which follows in the main the censored version, here departs radically from it by omitting completely the six speeches above which contain the father's comparison of the duel to murder and the son's reference to his father's former experience. Evidently Gotter did not believe in such a drastic criticism of duelling. Auguste Vitu, *Les Mille et une Nuits du Théâtre* (4th series p. 4) speaking of the *reprise* of September 17, 1875, notes the omission of this comparison of the duel to murder, and erroneously calls the omission an alteration of Sedaine's thought. It was of course not an alteration, but a restitution, since Sedaine made no such comparison originally, but only under pressure of the censorship.

moi cette lettre; je vais écrire pour votre sûreté, si le Ciel vous conserve. Ah! peut-on l'implorer pour un meutre, et peut-être

M. VANDERK fils. *La fuite*.^(j)

M. VANDERK père. [Ms-S p. 54C] *Hé!*^(k) *quelle étoit votre marche? le lieu? l'instant?*

M. VANDERK fils. *Sur les trois heures après-midi,*^(l) *derrière les petits remparts.*

M. VANDERK père. *Eh, pourquoi*^(m) *donc sortez-vous*⁽ⁿ⁾ *si tôt?*

M. VANDERK fils. *Pour*^(o) *ne pas manquer à ma parole. J'ai redouté*^(p) *l'embarras de cette noce, de ma Tante, et de me trouver engagé de façon à ne pouvoir m'échapper. Ah! comme j'aurais voulu retarder d'un jour!*

M. VANDERK père. *Et d'ici à trois heures ne pourriez-vous*^(q) *rester?*

M. VANDERK fils. *Ah! mon père, imaginez* [Ms-S p. 54D].

M. VANDERK père. *Vous aviez raison; mais cette raison*^(r) *ne subsiste plus. Faites rentrer*^(s) *vos chevaux; remontez chez vous. Je vais réfléchir aux*

j)The text of Ms-S p. 57 ends at *La fuite* &c. An asterisk then refers back to another asterisk at "*La fuite*" on p. 56. By observing these asterisks and also the marks mentioned at note 352a, we see that we must insert p. 57 into the text of p. 56 between the phrases . . . "*la juste rigueur des lois*" and "*La fuite*". We would then finish p. 56 and continue on p. 59 (p. 57 being already read and p. 58 being blank). In this manner we have a version which, although it contains the pedantic blame of the duel found on p. 57, yet includes the reëtrance of the son and the father's gift of letters to facilitate his escape. In other words we have what is clearly a first attempt of Sedaine to conciliate the censor without sacrificing too much, without destroying the character of both father and son. Evidently this attempt failed. The censor was not satisfied merely with the attack upon the duel alone, but insisted that the father should forbid his son to go forth from the house, and hence Sedaine had no alternative except to have the son disobey.

k)*et quelle*: Ic; Di-H; BN; O. Ms-S p. 60 has: *et quelle étoit donc* etc. Compare now the original version beginning at note 382.

l)Add: *nous devons nous rencontrer*: Ia; O variants. The first reading of Ms-S p. 60 was: *nous nous rencontrerons* which was cancelled for *nous devrions nous rencontrer*.

m)*et pourquoi*: Ic; Di-H; BN; O; Ms-S p. 60.

n)*sortiez*: Ms-S p. 54C.

o)The Ms-S p. 54C had first: *Je ne sortois de si bonne heure que pour* which was cancelled. The Ms-S p. 60 had first: *Je n'ai voulu sortir de si bonne heure que*, then: *Je ne sors de si bonne heure que*, both these readings being then cancelled.

p)Ms-S p. 54C has: *Je redoutois*.

q)The Ms-S p. 61 had first *ne pouvez-vous* which is cancelled for *ne pourriez-vous*. The Ms-S p. 54C and also Mz have: *vous n'auriez pu rester*.

r)For *cette raison* the Ms-S p. 54D had first *elle* which is cancelled.

s)K has: *Faites entrer*.

pour deux?³⁵⁴

M. VANDERK FILS. Que je suis malheureux!³⁵⁵

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Passez dans la chambre de votre mère; dites-lui Non, il vaut mieux qu'il y ait douze heures³⁵⁶ de plus qu'elle ne vous ait vu. Ah, ciel!³⁵⁷

moyens qui peuvent vous sauver et l'honneur et la vie.(t)

M. VANDERK fils. (*a part*) *Me sauver l'honneur!* . . . (u) *Mon père, mon malheur mérite plus de pitié que d'indignation.*

M. VANDERK père. *Je n'en ai aucune.*(v).

M. VANDERK fils. *Prouvez-le-moi donc, mon père, en permettant que je vous embrasse.*(w)

M. VANDERK père. *Non, Monsieur, remontez chez vous.*(x)

M. VANDERK fils. *J'y vais, mon père.*(y) (*il se retire précipitamment*)(z)

[End of p. 54D of the Ms-S].

t)K has: *sauver l'honneur et la vie*. TrP translates *honneur* both here and in the son's next speech by: *eingebildete Ehre*. This use of "*eingebildete*" is of much interest, since it reveals the wish of Pfeffel to outdo even the French censorship in the condemnation of the duel. Pfeffel contrasts here with Gotter who rejects, as we have seen in i) above, this entire comparison of the duel with murder.

u)Add: (*haut*): *!c*; O variants

v)TrB omits this speech.

w)Ms-S p. 59; Ia, b; O variants have: *Prouvez-le-moi donc en me permettant de vous embrasser*. The Ms-S p. 54D had also this reading at first but it was cancelled in favor of the text above. *!c* has: *Eh bien, monsieur, prouvez-le-moi en me permettant de vous embrasser*. Mz has: *Eh bien, mon père, prouvez-le-moi en permettant que je vous embrasse*. TrO has here: *Oh! convince me of it . . . shew me that you have not, by permitting me to embrace you and depart*.

x)Mz reads: *Non, Monsieur, allez, remontez chez vous. (il s'assied)*.

y)The Ms-S p. 54D had first: *Monsieur! que je suis malheureux* which was cancelled for the above reading. Compare the uncensored version at note 355. Ia has: *Je . . . oui, mon père*. Mz has: *Oui . . . J'y vais, mon père*.

z)Ic adds as follows: (*Il se retire précipitamment, s'arrête, s'aperçoit que son père plongé dans la douleur, ne le suit pas des yeux; il en profite et sort pour s'aller battre*). Mz has practically the same: (*Il se retire, s'arrête, et s'aperçoit etc il en profite pour s'aller battre*). TC has: *pour aller se battre*. AR omits: *s'arrête*.

³⁵⁴The Ms-S p. 56 adds in another hand: *Allez, mon fils*.

³⁵⁵Compare note 353y.

³⁵⁶*douze heures* is the first reading of the Ms-S. It was changed to *quelques heures* which latter reading was adopted by H1; H2; O.

³⁵⁷(*Vanderk fils sort*): H1; H2; O.

< 54E >

SCÈNE IX.

M. VANDERK PÈRE.³⁵⁸

Infortuné! Comme on doit peu compter sur le bonheur présent; je me suis couché le plus tranquille³⁵⁹, le plus heureux des pères, et me voilà. (³⁶⁰*Il se met à son secrétaire, et il écrit.*) Antoine.³⁶¹ Je ne puis³⁶² avoir trop de confiance.³⁶³ < 57, (58), 59 > (³⁶⁴*Antoine entre.*) Ah! pourvu que je le revoie. (*Il écrit.*)³⁶⁵ Si son sang couloit pour son Roi ou pour sa patrie³⁶⁶; mais

SCÈNE X.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, ANTOINE.

ANTOINE.³⁶⁷ Que voulez-vous?M. VANDERK PÈRE.³⁶⁸ Ce que je veux; ah! qu'il vive.ANTOINE.³⁶⁹ Monsieur?

³⁵⁸Ms-S p. 54E begins with "M. VANDERK père, (*seul*)". Ms-S p. 56 also has (*seul*).

³⁵⁹HI omits: *le plus tranquille*.

³⁶⁰P. 54E of the Ms-S has no stage directions in this scene, and they are accordingly absent in all censored editions.

³⁶¹Ms-S p. 56 has a ? in pencil after "Antoine."

³⁶²*peux*: Ms-S p. 54E; II.

³⁶³The word *confiance* is the last on p. 56 of the Ms-S, where it ends Scene IX. Now, pages 57-58 are an extra leaf of the same size and gummed to the inner margin of p. 59. Of pages 57-58, p. 58 is blank and p. 57 contains what is undoubtedly the first copy of the pedantic blame of the duel which the censor forced upon Sedaine, and which was recopied on p. 54B. I have indicated at note 353a-i the variants of p. 57, and at note 353j have suggested what seems to me the most plausible explanation of the presence of this p. 57.

P. 59 of the Ms-S begins Scene X thus: *Wanderk (sans voir Antoine) .Ah! pourvu que je le revoye* etc. The beginning of this scene at this point was not repeated on p. 54E, nor in any edition censored or uncensored.

³⁶⁴All censored editions omit: (*Antoine entre.*) *Ah! pourvu que je le revoie.* (*Il écrit.*)

³⁶⁵Mz; Ic: *Ah! si son sang* etc.

³⁶⁶*et pour sa patrie*: Ms-S p. 59 and 54E; II. *ou sa patrie*: H; BN; O. RF substitutes: *Si son sang coulait pour la défense de sa patrie.*

³⁶⁷TrW omits the first four speeches of this scene and begins: ANT. *Sie haben mich gerufen.*

³⁶⁸The Ms-S p. 59 inserts: (*se croyant seul*).

³⁶⁹The Ms-S p. 59 had first: *Qu'il vive! qui donc?* which is cancelled in favor of *Monsieur*, the latter being adopted on p. 54E. Mz; Ic have the original reading: *Qu'il vive! qui donc?* Compare notes 446, 487.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁷⁰Je ne t'ai pas entendu entrer.

ANTOINE. Vous m'avez appelé. <54F>

M. VANDERK PÈRE.³⁷¹ Antoine, je connois ta discretion, ton affection³⁷² pour moi et pour mon fils. Il sort³⁷³ pour se battre.

ANTOINE. ³⁷⁴Contre qui? Je vais. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁷⁵Cela est inutile.

ANTOINE. Tout le quartier va le défendre; je vais réveiller. . .

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M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, ce n'est pas. . . .

ANTOINE. Vous me tueriez³⁷⁶ plutôt que de. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ³⁷⁷Tais-toi, il est encore ici; le voici, laisse nous.³⁷⁸

SCÈNE XI.³⁷⁹

M. VANDERK PÈRE, M. VANDERK FILS.

M. VANDERK FILS. ³⁸⁰Je vais vous la lire.

³⁷⁰Ms-S p. 59 inserts: (*revenant de son trouble*).

³⁷¹Insert: *Je l'ai appelé?* (or !): Ms-S p. 59 and 54F; all censored editions; O.

³⁷²Substitute: *ton amitié*: Ms-S p. 54F; censored editions; O.

³⁷³Here naturally the censored version substitutes: *sortait*; Ms-S p. 54F; censored editions; O. Strange to say trO has "is going out".

³⁷⁴Prefix: *Se battre*; H1; H2; O.

³⁷⁵B-Na substitutes: *c'est inutile*.

³⁷⁶Mz has: *perdriez*, written above *tueriez*, but the latter is not cancelled.

³⁷⁷The Ms-S p. 54F-G; all censored editions; O variants substitute the following (variants are from B as a base):

Tais-toi, il est ici; cours à son appartement, dis-lui, dis-lui^(a) que je le prie de m'envoyer la Lettre dont il vient de me parler. Ne dis pas autre chose; ne fais voir aucun intérêt sur ce qui le regarde . . . Remarque . . . [Ms-S p. 54G] vas^(b), qu'il te donne cette Lettre, et qu'il m'attende; je vais le voir.^(c)

^{a)}Omit the second *dis-lui*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; O variants.

^{b)}*va*: editions of the 19th century.

^{c)}Substitute: *je vais voir*: Ib.

³⁷⁸The Ms-S p. 60 adds: *seuls*. H1 adds: (*Antoine sort*); H2; O add: (*Antoine traverse et sort à droite*).

³⁷⁹Naturally this scene is not found in the censored editions nor in their source, pp. 54G-H of the Ms-S, since the son does not return but escapes from the house. Nevertheless several of the speeches of this scene were taken over into the censored version. Compare them at note 353 k-q.

³⁸⁰Insert: *une lettre à la main*: TrM; H1; H2; O.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, donnez;³⁸¹ et quelle est³⁸² votre marche, le lieu, l'instant?

M. VANDERK FILS. Je n'ai voulu sortir³⁸³ de si bonne heure³⁸⁴ que pour ne pas manquer à ma parole. J'ai redouté l'embarras d'aujourd'hui,³⁸⁵ et de me trouver engagé de façon à ne pouvoir m'échapper. Ah! comme j'auerois voulu retarder d'un jour.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Eh bien?

M. VANDERK FILS. Sur les trois heures après-midi; nous nous rencontrerons³⁸⁶ derrière les petits remparts. <61>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Et d'ici à trois heures ne pouviez-vous³⁸⁷ rester?

M. VANDERK FILS. Ah! mon père! imaginez.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Vous avez raison; je n'y pensois pas.

³⁸¹Pp. 60-61 of the Ms-S, by means of cancellations, substitutions, the addition of a speech (see 386), and marginal marks, change the order of the next six speeches in such a way that, by strictly observing the marginal marks, one reaches, except for a few slight variations, the definitive censored version as re-copied on pp. 54C ff. of the Ms-S. The confusion on pp. 60-61 was so great as to make re-copying absolutely necessary, if the *souffleur* were to have a text that he could follow quickly. I have already given at note 353 k-p the few variants of pp. 60-61.

These many corrections made in the midst of the scene of the son's return show very clearly, it seems to me, the great effort which Sedaine was making to preserve the scene and to keep thereby the character of the son as he had originally planned. (Compare at notes 353 j, 382 and 391.)

If one pays no attention whatsoever to the changes made on pp. 60-61, one reaches a version practically identical with that printed in the appendices of A and B, which fact proves again with what tenacity Sedaine clung to his original version.

³⁸²P. 60 of the Ms-S read first: *est*, but this was cancelled in favor of: *étoit donc*, while keeping otherwise the scene of the son's return. This seems to show again (compare notes 353j, 381, 391) that pages 55-62 as corrected represent a first attempt to conciliate the censor without sacrificing the scene of the son's return.

Compare now the censored reading as given in note 353k to r.

³⁸³see note 353° for the appearance of Ms-S p. 60.

³⁸⁴Substitutes: *d'aussi bonne heure*: H1; H2; O.

³⁸⁵Ms-S p. 60 adds here: *de cette noce, de ma tante*, which phrase found its way into the censored version.

³⁸⁶In Ms-S p. 60 above cancelled *rencontrerons* is written: *devrions nous rencontrer*. There is also crowded in: WANDERK. *Et pourquoi donc sortez-vous si tôt*. See 353l-m.

³⁸⁷See 353q.

Tenez, voici³⁸⁸ des lettres³⁸⁹ pour Calais et pour l'Angleterre; vous aurez³⁹⁰ des relais. Puissiez-vous en avoir besoin!

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ah! mon fils! on commence à remuer dans la maison. Adieu.

M. VANDERK FILS. Adieu, mon père, embrassez pour moi. . .

³⁹¹*Son père le repousse avec tendresse, et ne l'embrasse pas. Le fils fait quelques pas pour sortir; il se retourne, et tend les bras à son père, qui lui fait signe de partir.*³⁹²

SCÈNE XII.

M. VANDERK PÈRE.³⁹³

³⁹⁴Ah, mon fils! fouler aux pieds la raison, la nature et les loix.³⁹⁵ Préjugé funeste! Abus cruel du point d'honneur! ³⁹⁶Tu ne pouvois avoir pris naissance que dans les tems³⁹⁷ les plus barbares; tu ne pouvois subsister qu'au milieu <62> d'une nation

³⁹³voilà: Ms-S p. 61.

³⁹⁴de changes (sic): is added above the line of Ms-S p. 61. This passage about the letters and also Vanderk father's next speech is most vigorously cancelled in the Ms-S p. 61. See at note 489 Gotter's passage about the giving of letters.

³⁹⁵avez: HI.

³⁹⁶The Ms-S p. 61 has: WANDERK. *Allez, mon fils, allez. (Il le regarde aller.)* and originally the scene closed thus, but later there was added and then cancelled: *Non restez; ne partez que dans une heure (à part [written over "seul"])* *Peut-être trouverai je des moyens contre cette cruelle affaire.* All this is most vigorously cancelled, and there is no trace of this most interesting variant in any edition censored or uncensored. Unquestionably Sedaine tried with these closing words to modify the scene sufficiently to satisfy the censor, but failed, and was forced to abandon entirely this scene of the son's return. (See at notes 353j, 381, 382.)

³⁹⁷HI adds: *M. Vanderk fils sort.*

³⁹⁸Ms-S p. 61 adds: (*seul*). The scene is numbered eleven in the Ms-S p. 54G.

³⁹⁹There is considerable variation in the opening words of this scene:

Ms-S p. 61: *Cruelle situation! être forcé de fouler etc.*

Ms-S p. 54G; Ib, c; II: *Ah, ciel! fouler etc.*

Ia: *Fouler etc.*

⁴⁰⁰Both p. 61 and p. 54G of the Ms-S had inserted here: *Ah, mon fils!*, but this was cancelled.

⁴⁰¹Ms-S p. 61 inserts: *Oui.*

⁴⁰²Ms-S p. 54G had first: *dans les troupes*, *troupes* being then corrected to *temps*.

vaine et pleine d'elle-même, qu'au milieu d'un peuple dont chaque particulier compte sa personne pour tout, et sa patrie et sa famille pour rien. Et vous, loix sages, mais insuffisantes³⁹⁸, vous avez désiré³⁹⁹ mettre un frein à l'honneur⁴⁰⁰; vous avez ennobli l'échafaud; votre sévérité⁴⁰¹ a servi à⁴⁰² froisser le cœur d'un honnête homme entre l'infamie et le supplice. Ah! mon fils.⁴⁰³

<54H>

SCÈNE XIII.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ANTOINE.

ANTOINE.⁴⁰⁴ Vous l'avez laissé partir.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Que rien ne transpire ici.

ANTOINE. Il est déjà jour chez Madame; et s'il alloit⁴⁰⁵ chez elle. . . .

³⁹⁸mais insuffisantes omitted: Ms-S p 54G; Ia, b; II. Ic is thus the only group of censored texts to retain it. It is found also in RF.

³⁹⁹vous avez cru substituted: Ms-S p. 62.

⁴⁰⁰Ms-S p. 62 had first: *cru mettre un frein, anéantir, avilir l'honneur*, which is cancelled for: *cru mettre un frein à l'honneur*.

⁴⁰¹Ic adds: *cruelle*. RF also adds *cruelle*. TrB has: *la vostra giusta severità*.

⁴⁰²n'a servi qu'à: substituted: Ms-S p. 62; Ic; H1; H2; O. RF. has *ne servait qu'à*.

⁴⁰³The translations have rendered this monologue of the father in various interesting manners: TrW and trM remain the most faithful to the original. TrT and trB are somewhat less exact. TrP which as we have seen (note 353t) condemns the duel even more sharply than the censor in Paris uses the following phrases: *Unseliges Vorurtheil . . . Grausamer Missbrauch der geheiligten Ehre; du konntest blos in den wildesten Zeiten aufkommen . . . Ihr weise Gesetze . . . habt blos die Blutbühne geadelt; eure Strenge bestrafet das Vorurtheil ohne es auszurotten, ohne seinen schrecklichen Folgen vorzubeugen*.

TrG which seems to approve of the duel as a necessary institution (see note 353 i) substitutes the following:

Sein Leben kann ich retten, aber wer thut seiner Ehre genug? Wer anders . . . als Er selbst? . . . Ja, ihr weisen guten Gesetze, ihr könnt ihn nicht vor Verachtung schützen. Das Vorurtheil ist mächtiger als ihr . . . Eure Strenge schreckt den Uebertreter nicht. Tausend Wege stehen ihm offen, sie zu täuschen. Das Beyspiel rechtfertigt ihn. Die Menge nimmt sich seiner an. Und selbst die Richter schätzen ihn hoch, indem sie ihn verdammen . . . Ach, mein Sohn.

⁴⁰⁴TrW: ANTON (*kommt gelaufen*).

⁴⁰⁵Ms-S p. 62 substitutes: *et si Monsieur votre fils alloit . . .* H1; H2; O have: *et s'il alloit monter*.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il est parti. Ah, ciel!⁴⁰⁶ viens, suis-moi; je vais m'habiller.⁴⁰⁷

Fin du troisième Acte.

⁴⁰⁶*Ah ciel!* omitted: H1; H2; O.

⁴⁰⁷The original reading for this scene in Ms-S p. 62 was: ANTOINE. *Vous l'avez laissé partir.* WANDERK. *Que rien ne transpire ici.* ANTOINE. *Il est déjà jour chez Madame; et si Monsieur votre fils alloit chez elle.* WANDERK. *Il est parti.* ANTOINE. *Il est parti! Quoi, vous auriez eu . . .* WANDERK. *Oui, viens, suis moi, je vais m'habiller.* Of this the first two speeches were cancelled for: ANTOINE. *Monsieur, il vient de monter à cheval; il est parti.* WANDERK. *Ciel! il est parti . . . Que rien ne transpire ici.* the rest being kept as before.

In the first of these forms the father knows that his son has gone, and hence shows no excitement when Antoine tells him; in the second the "*Ciel! il est parti. . .*" clearly shows his surprise. Here again we have indications of Sedaine's effort to conciliate the censor, especially if we read the amended scene in connection with the addition mentioned in note 391 where the father asks the son to remain another hour.

The censor however was not satisfied with any half-way measures, but forced upon the author the following which is found on p. 54H of the Ms-S and consequently in all censored editions, (variants are from B as a base):

ANTOINE. *Monsieur, vous l'avez laissé partir?*

M. VANDERK père. *Il est parti! ô ciel! arrêtez...^(a)*

ANTOINE. *Ah! monsieur, il est déjà bien ^(b)loin. Je traversois la cour; il a mis ses pistolets à l'arçon.*

M. VANDERK père. *Ses pistolets!^(c)*

ANTOINE. *Il ma crié: "Antoine, je te recommande mon père", et il a mis son cheval au galop.*

M. VANDERK père. *Il est parti! Ah Dieux!^(d) (Il rêve profondément);^(e) il reprend sa fermeté, et dit.^(f) que rien ne transpire ici^(g) Viens, suis-moi, je vais m'habiller.*

^{a)}TrP amplifies: *Ist er fort? O, Himmel! Ich vergass in meiner Bestürzung ihm die Schlüssel zurück zu fordern; Eile ihm nach, halte ihn auf...*

^{b)}B-N omits: *bien.*

^{c)}This mention of pistols may have been the cause of the cancellation and the remark mentioned at note 346.

^{d)}The Ms-S p. 54H had at first: *Ah Dieux* but it is lightly cancelled with pencil, and *il est parti* is written above. Hence variation in the editions: Ia, b; O variants omit *Ah Dieux*. Ic has: *Il est parti! Ah Dieu! il est parti!*, TC omitting the second *il est parti!*

^{e)}*il rêve douloureusement*: Ms-S p. 54H; Ia, b, c; O variants.

^{f)}The closing words of Ic; O variants are: *Antoine, je t'en conjure, que rien ne transpire ici! Hélas! sa malheureuse mère!...l'iens, suis-moi; je vais m'habiller.*

ACTE IV.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.

VICTORINE *seule*.

Je le cherche⁴⁰⁸ par-tout; qu'est-il devenu? Cela me passe. Il ne sera jamais prêt. Il n'est pas habillé. Ah, que je suis fâchée de m'être embarrassée de sa montre! Je l'ai vu toute la nuit qui me disoit "qu'à moi, qu'à moi, qu'à moi". Il est sorti de bien bonne heure et à cheval; mais si c'étoit cette dispute, et s'il étoit vrai⁴⁰⁹ qu'il fût allé . . . Ah! j'ai un pressentiment. Mais que risqué-je⁴¹⁰ d'en parler? J'en vais parler⁴¹¹ à Monsieur. Je parierois que c'est ce Domestique qui s'est endormi hier au soir; il avoit une mauvaise physionomie; il lui aura donné⁴¹² un rendez-vous. Ah!

SCÈNE II.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, VICTORINE.

VICTORINE. Monsieur, on est bien inquiet. Madame la Marquise dit^{412a}: "Mon neveu est-il habillé⁴¹³? Qu'on l'avertisse. Est-il prêt? Pourquoi ne l'ai-je pas vu⁴¹⁴? Pourquoi ne vient-il pas?"

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M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils?

VICTORINE. Oui.⁴¹⁵ Je l'ai demandé; je l'ai fait chercher; je ne sçais s'il est sorti, ou s'il n'est pas sorti, mais je ne l'ai pas trouvé.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il est sorti.

VICTORINE. Vous sçavez donc, Monsieur, qu'il est dehors?

⁴⁰⁸B-N has *recherche* for *cherche*.⁴⁰⁹Ic has *si c'était vrai*⁴¹⁰Ms-S: *que risquai-je*.⁴¹¹*je vais parler*: Ma.⁴¹²*il aura donné*: Ma.^{412a}RF substitutes *Madame votre sœur dit*.⁴¹³*Mon neveu est habillé?* B-N.⁴¹⁴This sentence omitted in Ia, b, c.⁴¹⁵Add *Monsieur*: Ic; H1; H2; O.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui, je le sçais. Voyez si tout le monde est prêt; pour moi, je le suis. Où est votre père?

VICTORINE *fait un pas, et revient.*⁴¹⁶ Avez-vous vu, Monsieur, hier un Domestique qui vouloit parler à vous ou à Monsieur votre fils?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Un Domestique? c'étoit à moi; j'ai donné parole⁴¹⁷ à son Maître aujourd'hui; vous faites bien de m'en faire ressouvenir.

VICTORINE *à part.* Il faut que ce ne soit pas cela; tant mieux, puisque Monsieur sçait où il est.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Voyez donc où est votre père. <65>

VICTORINE. J'y cours.

SCÈNE III.

M. VANDERK PÈRE *seul.*

Au milieu de la joie la plus légitime. . . . Antoine ne vient point. . . . Je voyois devant moi toutes les misères humaines. Je m'y tenois préparé. La mort même. . . . Mais ceci. Hé, que dire! . . . Ah! ciel!

SCÈNE IV.

LA TANTE, M. VANDERK PÈRE.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, *ayant repris un air serein*⁴¹⁸. Hé bien, ma sœur, puis-je enfin me livrer au plaisir de vous revoir?

LA TANTE. Mon frère, je suis très en colère; vous gronderez après, si vous voulez.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'ai tout lieu d'être fâché contre vous.

LA TANTE. Et moi contre votre fils.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'ai cru que les droits du sang n'admettoient point de ces ménagemens, et qu'un frère. . . . <66>

LA TANTE. Et moi, qu'une Sœur⁴¹⁹ comme moi mérite de certains égards.

⁴¹⁶*faisant un pas et revenant*: Ib.

⁴¹⁷*donné ma parole*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; H1.

⁴¹⁸This direction omitted: Ia, b, c.

⁴¹⁹The Ms-S has: *tante* with *sœur* written above it, the *tante*, however, not cancelled. No edition has *tante*. In fact the contrast between *frère* above and *sœur* is better.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Quoi! vous auroit-on manqué en quelque chose?

LA TANTE. Oui, sans doute.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Qui?

LA TANTE. Votre fils.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils! Eh, quand⁴²⁰ peut-il vous avoir désobligé?

LA TANTE. A l'instant.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. A l'instant!

LA TANTE. Oui, mon frère, à l'instant; il est bien singulier que mon neveu, qui doit me donner⁴²¹ la main aujourd'hui, ne soit pas ici, et qu'il sorte.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il est sorti pour une affaire indispensable.

LA TANTE. Indispensable, indispensable, votre sang-froid me tue. Il faut me le trouver mort ou vif; c'est lui qui me donne la main.

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M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je compte vous la donner, s'il le faut.

LA TANTE. Vous! Au reste, je le veux bien; vous me ferez honneur. Oh, ça, mon frère, parlons raison; il n'y a point de choses que je n'aye imaginé⁴²² pour mon neveu, quoiqu'il soit malhonnête à lui d'être sorti. Il y a près mon château⁴²³ ou plutôt près du vôtre, et je vous en rends grâce⁴²⁴; il y a un certain fief qui a été enlevé à la famille en 1574,⁴²⁵ mais il⁴²⁶ n'est pas rachetable.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁴²⁷ Soit.

LA TANTE. C'est un abus; mais c'est fâcheux.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ^{427a} Cela peut être; allons rejoindre. . .

⁴²⁰*Et quand*: Ib, c; Di-H; B-N; O.

⁴²¹*me doit donner*: F.

⁴²²*imaginées*: in all 19th century editions.

⁴²³*près de mon château*: Ms-S; Ib; P2; H2; O.

⁴²⁴*grâces*: Ia, c; H1; H2; O.

⁴²⁵Ms-S: 1570; Ia, c; Mb; 1573. Ma: *quinze cent soixante quinze. TrP: im dreysigjährigen Kriege. TrG2: 1773.*

⁴²⁶*mais qui*: Ma.

⁴²⁷TrG: (*spöttisch*) *Das grosse Unglück.*

^{427a}RF substitutes: *Oui, les fiefs sont un abus, mais allons rejoindre.*

LA TANTE. Nous avons le teins; ⁴²⁸il faut repeindre les vitraux de la Chapelle; cela vous étonne.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Nous parlerons de cela.

LA TANTE. ⁴²⁹C'est que les armoiries sont écartelées d'Arragon, et que le lambel. . . . <68>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ^{429a}Ma sœur, vous ne partez pas aujourd'hui?

LA TANTE. Non, je vous assure.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Hé bien, nous en parlerons demain.

LA TANTE. C'est que cette nuit j'ai arrangé pour votre fils, j'ai arrangé des choses étonnantes; il est aimable, il est aimable.⁴³⁰ Nous avons dans la province la plus riche héritière; c'est une Cramont Ballière de la Tour d'Agon⁴³¹; vous sçavez ce que c'est; elle est même parente de votre femme; votre fils l'épouse, j'en fais mon affaire; vous ne paroîtrez pas, vous; je le propose; je le marie; il ira à l'armée, et moi, je reste avec sa femme, avec ma nièce, et j'élève ses enfans.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Eh! ma sœur.

⁴²⁸The Ms-S had first: *il faut repeindre des vitraux*; then *d'abord* was written in other ink above *repeindre* only to be subsequently cancelled; *de la Chapelle* was then crowded into the line above *vitraux*, and *des vitraux* was altered to *les vitraux*.

⁴²⁹TrP substitutes: *Man sieht in dem Wappen eben unsern geviertheilten Schild mit den rothen...* TrG undoubtedly here took the same thought and amplified it: *Du erinnerst dich vielleicht nicht mehr, dass unsre Ahnentafel auf diesen Fensterscheiben gemalt ist, und dass, unter andern, in einem dieser Wappen das geviertheilte Schild mit dem rothen Pferde...* Here again Gotter copied from Pfeffel.

^{429a}RF inserts here: *Armoiries!*

⁴³⁰Only one *il est aimable*: H2; O.

⁴³¹The Ms-S had a marginal note in another hand, which note was subsequently cancelled: *On ne peut mettre ces noms sans le consentement des familles.* The Ms-S had first *Caumont*, then *Carmont*, but both were cancelled for *Cramont*. The Ms-S has: *Belliere*. It appears to have had first *Agon* or *Agore*, and then *Agon*, this place being very illegible. The editions differ: *Agor* Ia (18th century editions). *Argon* Ma. *Argor*: Ic; Di-H; Mb; B-N. TrW gives the one name: *Feldstädtinn*. TrP represents this heiress as the owner of the "fief" mentioned above: *Die Besitzerinn dieses Ritterlehns ist zugleich die reichste Erbinin des fränkischen Kreises; es ist eine Freyin von Altenhelm auf Blitzheim und Hagelsburg* [!]

LA TANTE. Ce sont les vôtres⁴³³, mon frère.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Entrons dans le salon; sans doute, on nous y⁴³³ attend. <69>

SCÈNE V.

LES MÊMES, ANTOINE.

M. VANDERK PÈRE à Antoine qui entre. Antoine, reste ici.⁴³⁴

LA TANTE⁴³⁵ en s'en allant. ⁴³⁶Je vois qu'il est heureux, mais très-heureux pour mon neveu que je sois venue ici. Vous, mon frère, vous avez perdu⁴³⁷ toute idée de noblesse et⁴³⁸ de grandeur; ⁴³⁹le commerce rétrécit l'âme, mon frère. ⁴⁴⁰Ce cher enfant! ce cher enfant! Mais c'est que je l'aime de tout mon cœur.⁴⁴¹

⁴³³TrG seems not to have understood the pleasantry of this *vôtres*: VANDERK V. (*schmerzhaft*) *Ach Schwester!* GRÄFIN. *Es sind ja deine Enkel, Bruder!*

⁴³⁴Hi omits y.

⁴³⁵Ic transfers this speech to follow that of the aunt, and omits: (*à Antoine qui entre*). Mz adds: (*il lui parle bas*).

⁴³⁶Mz substitutes (*à part*) and inserts (*haut*) before *Vous, mon frère*.

⁴³⁷The final reading of the Ms-S is written over and crowded into another reading which was cancelled, was incomplete and is almost illegible. This first reading seems to have been: "*Je vous dirai que (d'un ton fuyant) dans la Province...*

SCENE 6e."

Crowded over and around this are subsequent readings where the following corrections are to be seen:

- 1) From *très heureux, mais très heureux* to *heureux, très heureux*.
- 2) From *Son Père a perdu* to *Vous, mon frère, vous avez perdu*.
- 3) *perdu toute idée de noblesse et de grandeur* is cancelled, but a "B..." [=Bon] in the margin restores it.
- 4) After *grandeur* is found *Sa nature [?] est indolente* which is heavily cancelled. Then *Le Commerce* etc.

⁴³⁸F omits *perdu*, a manifest misprint.

⁴³⁹Omit *et*: Ia, b, c; Hi.

⁴⁴⁰Ic; Mz insert *Ah*. The reading of Mz is then: *Ah, le commerce rétrécit l'âme, c'est une chose sûre, Ce cher neveu, ce cher enfant* etc."

⁴⁴¹Mo has: *Cet enfant, ce cher enfant*. Ic; Mz have: *Ce cher neveu! ce cher enfant!* TrG adds the thought: *Aber meinen Neveu sollst du mir nicht verderben*.

⁴⁴²TrM *Ich habe ihn zum Fressen lieb. [!]*

SCÈNE VI.

ANTOINE *seul*.

Oui, ma résolution est prise; comment! peut-être⁴⁴² un misérable, un drôle. . . .

SCÈNE VII.

VICTORINE⁴⁴³, ANTOINE.

ANTOINE. Qu'est-ce que tu demandes?

VICTORINE. J'entrais.

ANTOINE. Je n'aime pas tout cela, toujours sur mes talons; c'est bien étonnant, la curiosité, la curiosité. Mademoiselle, voilà peut-être⁴⁴⁴ le dernier conseil que je vous donnerai de ma vie; mais la curiosité⁴⁴⁵ dans une jeune personne ne peut que la tourner à mal.

VICTORINE. Eh! mais je venois vous dire. . . <70>

ANTOINE. Va-t-en, va-t-en; écoute,⁴⁴⁶ sois sage, et vis toujours⁴⁴⁷ honnêtement, et tu ne pourras⁴⁴⁸ manquer.

VICTORINE, *à part*. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire?

SCÈNE VIII.

LES MÊMES, M. VANDERK PÈRE.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Sortez, Victorine; laissez-nous, et fermez la porte.

SCÈNE IX.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, ANTOINE.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Avez-vous dit au Chirurgien de ne pas s'éloigner?

⁴⁴²*peut-être* added above the line in Ms-S. Hence omitted in Ia, c. The Ms-S had first: *un coquin, un misérable, un drôle* but *coquin* was cancelled.

⁴⁴³TrW: *Julchen kommt sachte herein*.

⁴⁴⁴The Ms-S had first: *Voilà Mademoiselle le dernier*, etc.

⁴⁴⁵Substitute *dans une fille*: Ms-S; Ia, c; H1.

⁴⁴⁶*ma fille* inserted above the line in the Ms-S; found also in Ic; Mz. Compare at note 369 a similar place where Ic; Mz alone agree with the Ms-S. See also 487.

⁴⁴⁷Av; Ma omit *toujours*.

⁴⁴⁸*jamais* inserted above the line in Ms-S; found also in Ic; Mz; H2; O. See notes 369, 446. Compare 525.

ANTOINE. Non.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non!

ANTOINE. Non, non⁴⁴⁹. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Pourquoi?

ANTOINE. Pourquoi? C'est que Monsieur votre fils ne se battra pas.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire? <71>

ANTOINE. Monsieur, Monsieur, un Gentilhomme, un Militaire, un Diable⁴⁵⁰, fût-ce un Capitaine de Vaisseau de Roi⁴⁵¹; c'est ce qu'on voudra; ⁴⁵²mais il ne se battra pas, vous dis-je; ce ne peut être qu'un assassin; il lui a cherché querelle; il croit le tuer; il ne le tuera pas.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Antoine.

ANTOINE. Non, Monsieur, il ne le tuera pas; j'y ai regardé . . . je sçais⁴⁵³ par où il doit venir; je l'attendrai, je l'attaquerai, il m'attaquera⁴⁵⁴, je le tuerai, ou⁴⁵⁵ il me tuera; s'il me tue, il sera plus embarrassé que moi; si je le tue, Monsieur, je vous recommande ma fille. Au reste je n'ai pas besoin de vous⁴⁵⁶ la recommander.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Antoine, ce que vous dites est inutile, et jamais. . . .

ANTOINE. ⁴⁵⁷Vos pistolets, vos pistolets; vous m'avez vu,

⁴⁴⁹Only one *non* in the Ms-S.

⁴⁵⁰Omit *un diable*: B1; O.

⁴⁵¹*du roi*: Ic; H2; O.

⁴⁵²The first reading of the Ms-S was; *mais ce ne peut être qu'un coquin, un assassin*; then *coquin* was cancelled for *malhonnête homme* written in other hand and ink; then all the above was cancelled for: *mais il ne se battra pas, vous dis-je. Ce ne peut être qu'un assassin*, the last phrase *Ce...assassin* being written over *assassin* of the first reading which is heavily cancelled. It is the only group to have the final reading of the Ms-S. Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O have: *mais il ne se battra pas, vous dis-je, ce ne peut être qu'un malhonnête homme, un assassin*.

⁴⁵³TrP and TrG agree in saying that Vanderk's father had told Antoine where the duel was to take place.

⁴⁵⁴*il m'attaquera* omitted: Ic; Mz.

⁴⁵⁵Ms-S omits: *je le tuerai, ou*.

⁴⁵⁶Ms-S omits: *vous*.

⁴⁵⁷Mz changes thus: *Ses pistolets, ses pistolets, je me soucie bien de ses pistolets. Vous m'avez vu* etc.

TrP again was followed here by trG, both having: *Ihre Pistolen her! Ihre Pistolen her!*

vous m'avez vu sur ce vaisseau, il y a long-tems. Qu'importe? morbleu⁴⁵⁸, en fait de valeur, il ne faut qu'être homme, et des armes.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Eh! mais Antoine. <72>

ANTOINE. Monsieur . . . ah, mon cher Maître, un jeune homme d'une aussi belle⁴⁵⁹ espérance; ma fille me l'avoit dit, et l'embarras d'aujourd'hui, et la noce et tout ce monde; à l'instant même . . . les clefs du magasin, je les emportoï. (*Il remet les clefs à M. Vanderk.*⁴⁶⁰) Ah, j'en deviendrai fou! Ah, Dieux!⁴⁶¹

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Il me brise le cœur; écoutez-moi, Antoine⁴⁶², je vous dis de m'écouter.

ANTOINE. ⁴⁶³Monsieur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Antoine,⁴⁶⁴ croyez-vous que je n'aime pas mon fils plus que vous ne⁴⁶⁵ l'aimez?

ANTOINE. Et c'est à cause de cela, vous en mourrez.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non.⁴⁶⁶

ANTOINE. Ah, Ciel!⁴⁶⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Antoine, vous manquez de raison; je ne vous conçois pas aujourd'hui; écoutez-moi.

ANTOINE. Monsieur.⁴⁶⁸ <73>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Écoutez-moi, vous dis-je, rappelez toute votre présence d'esprit; j'en ai besoin; écoutez⁴⁶⁹ avec attention ce que je vais vous confier. On peut venir à l'instant, et je ne pourrais⁴⁷⁰ plus vous parler. . . . Crois-tu, mon pauvre Antoine,

⁴⁵⁸*morbleu* omitted: Ia, b, c; O.

⁴⁵⁹*d'une si belle*: Ib; H1; H2; O. TrG again waxes sentimental: *den ich auf diesen Armen getragen habe, den ich aufwachsen sah.*

⁴⁶⁰(*il remet les clefs sur une table*): Ia, b; (*il remet les clefs sur la table*): Ic; O.

⁴⁶¹*Ah Dieux!* omitted: O. *Ah Dieu* substituted: Ic. TrG adds (*geht ausser sich umher*).

⁴⁶²Omit *Antoine*: Ia, b, c; H1.

⁴⁶³*Oui, Monsieur*: Ic; H2; O.

⁴⁶⁴Omit *Antoine*: Ia, c; H1; H2; O.

⁴⁶⁵*No ne*: Ms-S; Ia (except B-N); Ib, c.

⁴⁶⁶⁻⁴⁶⁷⁻⁴⁶⁸These speeches omitted in Ic.

⁴⁶⁹*exécutez* in the Ms-S.

⁴⁷⁰*pourrai*: Di-H; B-N; O.

crois-tu, mon vieux camarade, que je sois insensible? N'est-ce pas mon fils? ⁴⁷¹n'est-ce pas lui qui fonde dans l'avenir tout le bonheur de ma vieillesse? Et ma femme . . . ah, quel chagrin! sa santé foible . . . mais c'est sans remède; ⁴⁷²le préjugé qui afflige notre nation rend son malheur inévitable.

ANTOINE. ⁴⁷³Eh! ne pouviez-vous accommoder cette affaire?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. L'accommoder! Tu ne connois ⁴⁷⁴pas toutes les entraves de l'honneur: où trouver son adversaire? ⁴⁷⁵où le rencontrer à présent? Est-ce sur le champ de bataille que de ⁴⁷⁶pareilles affaires s'accommodent? Hé! n'est-il pas et ⁴⁷⁷contre les mœurs et contre les loix que je paroisse en être instruit? ⁴⁷⁸. . . Et si mon fils eût hésité, s'il eût molli, si cette cruelle affaire s'étoit accommodée, combien s'en préparoit-il dans l'avenir! Il n'est point de demi-brave, il n'est point de petit homme qui ne cherchât

⁴⁷¹Substitute: *n'est-ce pas lui l'avenir, le bonheur de ma vieillesse?*: H1; H2; O.

⁴⁷²TrP does not translate *le préjugé . . . inévitable*. TrB changes thus: *il pregiudizio che affligge il secolo e la nostra nazione lo [=the son] ha affascinato*.

⁴⁷³Ic; Mz substitute: *Mais, Monsieur, ne serait-il pas possible d'accommoder cette affaire?*

⁴⁷⁴The Ms-S had first *sçais* for *connois*. TrP does not translate the phrase: *tu ne connois . . . de l'honneur*.

⁴⁷⁵TrP adds: *dessen Namen ich nicht einmal weiss*.

⁴⁷⁶*des*: F.

⁴⁷⁷*et* omitted: Ia, b, c; O variants.

⁴⁷⁸The Ms-S in its original form did not have the passage between the first word of this speech, *L'accommoder* and *Et si mon fils etc.* This passage is an addition grafted upon the original, and each word of it is underlined. Then Sedaine himself recopied the entire speech of the father, including the addition, upon a half sheet of his paper which was then attached by means of five sealing-wafers to the bottom of p. 73 of the Ms-S in such a way as to cover the original reading. Three of these wafers have since been removed thus bringing to light the original version. It is the longest specimen of Sedaine's own handwriting in the Ms-S, and it seems clear that he intended it as a permanent change, since otherwise he would most surely have expressed his wish to have it omitted in the appendix of A and B. Here, however, there are no variants whatsoever for the fourth act. Inasmuch therefore as there is no evidence that Sedaine desired to suppress this passage, and since also it is in all editions including the carefully corrected B, I can see no justification for the omission of the passage in both H1 and H2. O and G give it only as a variant.

à le tâter; il lui faudroit dix affaires heureuses pour faire oublier celle-ci. Elle est affreuse dans tous ses points, car il a tort.⁴⁷⁹

ANTOINE. Il a tort! <74>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Une étourderie.

ANTOINE. Une étourderie!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui. Mais ne perdons pas le⁴⁸⁰ tems en vaines discussions. Antoine.

ANTOINE. Monsieur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁴⁸¹Exécutez de point en point ce que je vais vous dire.

ANTOINE. Oui, Monsieur.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁴⁸²Ne passez mes ordres en aucune manière; songez qu'il y va de l'honneur de mon fils et du mien; c'est vous dire tout.

ANTOINE. ⁴⁸³Ah, Ciel!

⁴⁷⁹The translations treated this speech of the father in different interesting ways:

TrW, trM, trT, trG are quite faithful to the original. TrP adds the idea that the father does not even know the name of his son's adversary, paraphrases freely the whole passage and ends thus: *Ist es nicht vielmehr gegen den Wohlstand, ist es nicht selbst wider die Gesetze, dass ich von diesem grausamen Vorfall unterrichtet scheine, sobald ich nicht eben diese Gesetze zur blutigen Rache gegen mein Kind anrufen will. Denn, ach! er hat Unrecht.* Compare also notes 474, 475.

It is to be noted that Pfeffel fails to emphasize with Sedaine the danger of later duels for the son if he does not now fight, and that Pfeffel's omission is strictly in line with his attitude toward the duel as revealed in notes 353t, 403, and elsewhere.

Similarly trB shortens and changes thus: *Accomodarlo! Non parliamo punto degli ostacoli del preteso onore (secondo i miei principj le legge sono al di sopra di questo falso onore); non parliamo che io non so chi sia questo suo avversario, che non saprei dove trovarlo, dove incontrarlo; che simili affari non si accomodano sul campo di battaglia, non parliamo di questo e d'altre simili cose, il maggior male si è che mio figlio va a commettere un assassinio, e che se anche non fosse dalle leggi proibito, ha torto.*

This emphasis upon *preteso...falso onore* and upon *assassinio* is noteworthy. ⁴⁸⁰*pas de temps*: H2.

⁴⁸¹TrB omits from here to the equivalent of Vanderk père's *Je ne peux me confier qu'à vous* below. This omission of the idea of honor is a distortion of the original similar to that already noted in 479. TrB wishes to outdo the French censor in a way similar to trP.

⁴⁸²*Ne passez pas mes ordres en aucune manière*: D; Ib.

⁴⁸³Omit this speech; Ic; H1; H2 (G has it however); O.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je ne peux me confier qu'à vous, et je me fie à votre âge, à votre expérience, et je peux dire, à votre amitié. Rendez-vous au lieu où ils doivent se rencontrer⁴⁸⁴; déguisez-vous de façon à n'être pas reconnu;⁴⁸⁵ tenez-vous-en le plus loin que vous pourrez⁴⁸⁶; ne soyez, s'il est possible, reconnu en aucune manière. <75> Si mon fils a le bonheur cruel de tuer⁴⁸⁷ son adversaire, montrez-vous alors; il sera agité, il sera égaré, il verra mal⁴⁸⁸; voyez pour lui; portez sur lui toute votre attention; veillez à sa fuite; donnez-lui votre cheval⁴⁸⁹; faites ce qu'il vous dira; faites ce que la prudence vous conseillera. Lui parti, portez sur le champ tous vos soins à son adversaire⁴⁹⁰, s'il respire encore⁴⁹¹; emparez-vous de ses derniers momens⁴⁹², donnez-lui tous les secours qu'exige l'humanité; expiez autant qu'il est en vous le crime auquel je participe, puisque . . . puisque . . . Cruel honneur!⁴⁹³ . . . Mais, Antoine, si le Ciel me punit autant que je dois l'être, s'il dispose de mon fils . . .

⁴⁸⁴Add: *derrière les petits remparts* Ic; H1; H2; O. This addition seems necessary since, without it, Antoine has no indication of the locality.

⁴⁸⁵TrB substitutes now as follows: *Calcolando il tempo in cui mio figlio è precipitosamente e contro la mia intenzione uscito di casa, considerando l'esattezza con cui si eseguiscono nel prefisso momento questi assassinj, a quest'ora tutto sarà già compiuto*, etc. Compare 479, 481.

⁴⁸⁶This phrase *tenez-vous pourrez* is underlined in the Ms-S.

⁴⁸⁷The Ms-S had first *tuer* which is cancelled for *renverser*, a reading found in Ic; H2; O. Mz writes *renverser* above *tuer*, cancelling neither. Compare 369, 446.

⁴⁸⁸*il sera égaré, verra mal*: Ic; Di-H; BN; H1.

⁴⁸⁹TrG inserts here, another proof of its independence: "*Gieb ihm diese Briefschaften (Ihm ein Taschenbuch gebend)*". Compare the giving of letters at note 389. In trO also the father sends "bills" to his son.

⁴⁹⁰*rival* for *adversaire*: Ms-S; Ia, c.

⁴⁹¹The punctuation varies here. The Ms-S, Ic, P have: *à son adversaire, s'il respire encore; emparez-vous etc* as adopted above. Ib, Av, H2 have: *à son adversaire: s'il respire encore, emparez-vous etc*. Other editions, including B have commas after both *encore* and *adversaire* which is uncertain and unsatisfactory. Since B is in this last class, I have preferred the punctuation of the Ms-S.

⁴⁹²TrB has no equivalent for the words *s'il respire encore derniers momens*.

⁴⁹³TrB still further distorts the original: . . . *il delitto al quale io stesso ho parte, perchè non ho tosto messo in opera tutti i mezzi per impedirlo, e perchè ho forse incoraggiato mio figlio coll' innocente racconto della mia prima gioventù*.

je suis père, et je crains mes premiers mouvemens; je suis père . . . et cette fête, cette noce . . . ma femme . . . sa santé⁴⁹⁴, moi-même; alors tu accourras⁴⁹⁵; mais comme ta présence m'en diroit trop, ais cette attention, écoute bien, ais-la pour moi, je t'en supplie: tu frapperas trois coups à la porte de la basse-cour⁴⁹⁶, trois coups distinctement; ⁴⁹⁷ et tu te rendras ici, ici dedans, dans ce cabinet; tu ne parleras à personne; mes chevaux seront mis; nous y courrons.⁴⁹⁸ <76>

ANTOINE. Mais, Monsieur^{498a}. . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Voici quelqu'un, et c'est sa mère⁴⁹⁹.

SCÈNE X.

LES MÊMES, MME VANDERK.

MME VANDERK. Ah! mon cher ami, tout le monde est prêt; voici vos gants. Antoine⁵⁰⁰, eh, comme te voilà fait! Tu aurois bien dû⁵⁰¹ te mettre en noir, te faire beau le jour du mariage de ma fille; je ne te pardonne pas cela.

ANTOINE. C'est que . . . Madame . . . Je vais en affaire, oui, oui . . . Madame.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Allez, allez, Antoine; faites ce que je vous ai dit.

ANTOINE. ⁵⁰²Oui, Monsieur.

⁴⁹⁴ma santé: B-N.

⁴⁹⁵Add: *mon fils a son domestique, tu accourras*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c. The *tu accourras* of this addition in the Ms-S was cancelled but subsequently restored.

⁴⁹⁶cour-basse: H2; O. *Hinterthür*: TrP; trG.

⁴⁹⁷Substitute *tu te rendras ici, dedans ce cabinet*: H1; H2; O.

⁴⁹⁸TrB does not translate: *mes chevaux . . . courrons*.

^{498a}Mz substitutes *Ah ciel!*

⁴⁹⁹*Voici quelqu'un; eh! c'est sa mère!*: Ic; Di-H; BN; H1; H2; O.

⁵⁰⁰The reading *voici vos gants, Antoine* of Ia, H1, H2 is not correct because Mme. Vanderk always addresses Antoine with "tu"; moreover she would not be likely to bring Antoine gloves but only her husband. Mz omits the phrase *voici vos gants*.

⁵⁰¹Substitute: *dû te parer . . . te faire beau* etc, Mz; *dû te faire parer, te faire beau*, Ic.

⁵⁰²This *Oui, Monsieur* and the following *N'oubliez rien!* are omitted in Ia, c; O. The omission is explained by the appearance of the Ms-S where these two speeches were crowded in, to all appearances, afterwards.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. N'oubliez rien !

ANTOINE. Oui, Monsieur.

MME VANDERK. Antoine.

ANTOINE. Madame.

MME VANDERK. ⁵⁰³Ah, si tu trouves mon fils, je t'en prie, dis-lui <77> qu'il ne tarde point.⁵⁰⁴

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Allez, Antoine, allez. (*Antoine et M. Vanderk se regardent.*⁵⁰⁵ *Antoine sort.*)

SCÈNE XI.

M. ET MME VANDERK.

MME VANDERK. Antoine a l'air bien effarouché.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Tout ceci l'échauffe⁵⁰⁶ et le déränge.

MME VANDERK. Ah, mon ami, faites-moi compliment, il y a plus de deux ans que⁵⁰⁷ je ne me suis si bien portée. . . . Ma fille . . . mon gendre, toute cette famille est si respectable, si honnête;⁵⁰⁸ la bonne robe est sage comme les loix; mais, mon ami, j'ai un reproche à vous faire, et votre sœur a raison; vous donnez aujourd'hui de l'occupation à votre fils; vous l'envoyez je ne sçais en quel endroit; au reste, vous le sçavez; il faut cependant que ce soit très-loin, car je suis sûre qu'il ne s'est point⁵⁰⁹ amusé, et⁵¹⁰ lorsqu'il va revenir, il ne pourra nous rejoindre⁵¹¹. Victorine a dit à ma fille <78> qu'il n'étoit pas⁵¹² habillé, et qu'il étoit monté à cheval.

M. VANDERK PÈRE (*lui prenant*⁵¹³ *la main affectueusement*)

⁵⁰³In the Ms-S this *Ah* was cancelled, but it was restored later in the margin and in Sedaine's own hand; after "*mon fils*", "*Antoine, ah*" is written above the line, and of this "*Antoine*" alone is cancelled. Hence the reading of Ia, c; O; *Si tu trouves mon fils, ah! je l'en prie*, and of Ib; *Si tu trouves mon fils, je l'en prie*.

⁵⁰⁴*ne tarde pas*: H1; H2. H1; H2; O then add: ANTOINE. Oui, madame.

⁵⁰⁵TrG adds: ANTON (*vor sich*) *Ach, dass es mein letzter Gang wäre!* (ab).

⁵⁰⁶*Tout cela l'échauffe*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; *Tout ceci l'occupe*: H1; H2. *Tout cela l'occupe*: O.

⁵⁰⁷H1 omitted *que*, but Mo restores it.

⁵⁰⁸TrP adds: *Die halbe Regierung ist unten versammelt*.

⁵⁰⁹Ms-S: *ne s'est pas amusé*.

⁵¹⁰Omit *et*: Ia, b, c; O.

⁵¹¹The Ms-S inserted here but cancelled: *Il est en Redingote*.

⁵¹²*point habillé*: Ms-S; A; C; D; E; Ib.

⁵¹³*lui présentant*: Ib.

Laissez-moi respirer, et permettez-moi de ne penser qu'à votre satisfaction. Votre santé me fait le plus grand plaisir; nous avons tellement besoin de nos forces; l'adversité est si près de nous; la plus grande félicité est si⁵¹⁴ peu stable, si peu⁵¹⁵. . . . Ne faisons point attendre; on doit nous trouver de moins dans la compagnie. La voici.⁵¹⁶

SCÈNE XII.

LES MÈMES, SOPHIE, LE GENDRE, LA TANTE (*dans le fond*)⁵¹⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Allons, belle jeunesse.⁵¹⁸ Madame, nous avons été ainsi. Puissiez-vous, mes enfans, voir un pareil jour, (*à part*) et plus beau que celui-ci!⁵¹⁹

Fin du quatrième acte.

⁵¹⁴H₁ (but not Mo) omits *si*.

⁵¹⁵TrG adds: *ich werde ernsthaft*.

⁵¹⁶TrG substitutes: *Siehst du, wir werden abgeholt*. TrB: *vedete che vengano a prenderci*.

⁵¹⁷Omit *dans le fond*: Ia, b, c; instead: *et un groupe de compagnie de femmes et d'hommes, plus d'hommes de robe que d'autres*. P₁ has: *Le gendre dans le fond*. P₂ and T: *Le gendre, la compagnie composée d'hommes et de femmes, plus d'hommes de robe que d'autres*. Mo also omits *dans le fond*.

⁵¹⁸TrG: *Liebes junges Paar!*

⁵¹⁹H₂ adds: NOTA. *Le rideau ne baisse que lorsque Victorine est remontée au centre du théâtre*.

ACTE V.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.

VICTORINE *se retournant vers la coulisse*⁵²⁰ *d'où elle sort.*

⁵²¹Monsieur Antoine, Monsieur Antoine, Monsieur Antoine! . . .
Le Maître d'Hôtel, les Gens, les Commis, tout le monde demande M. Antoine. Il faut que j'aie la peine de tout. Mon père est bien étonnant; je le cherche partout, je ne le trouve nulle part. Jamais ici il n'y a eu tant de monde, et jamais⁵²² . . . Eh?. . . .
Quoi?. . . . Hain?. . . . Antoine, Antoine. Hé bien, qu'ils appellent! Cette cérémonie que je croyois si gaie; grands Dieux⁵²³, comme elle est triste . . . Mais lui, ne s'être pas trouvé⁵²⁴ au mariage de sa sœur: Et d'un autre côté aussi, mon père avec ses raisons: "Sois sage, sois sage, et tu ne pourras⁵²⁵ manquer . . ." Où est-il allé? Je. . . .

SCÈNE II.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE, ⁵²⁶*Officier décoré de l'Ordre du Mérite.*

VICTORINE.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Mademoiselle, puis-je entrer?

VICTORINE. Monsieur, vous êtes sans doute de la noce. Entrez dans le salon.

⁵²⁰*vers le lieu* substituted in some of the B edition, and in L. *se tournant*: Ia, b, c; Ib having *seule, se tournant*.

⁵²¹The Ms-S had at first merely *Antoine* and *Mr.* was crowded in later before each of the four *Antoines*.

⁵²²O omits *et jamais*.

⁵²³Substitute: *Grand Dieu*: Ic; H1; H2. *Hélas*: O.

⁵²⁴Substitute: *ne pas se trouver*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; H1; O.

⁵²⁵*jamais manquer*: Ic; H2; O. Compare note 448.

⁵²⁶Since the elder Desparville enters here and remains to the end of the play, I have added the *Officier décoré de l'ordre du mérite* found in the first mention of his presence in the appendix of B whose variants begin only with Scene iv. See 535. See also 186, 548.

In trP his name is *Der Obriste von Palmfeld*; in trW it is *Herr von Blankenfeld*.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Je n'en suis pas, Mademoiselle, je n'en suis pas. <80>

VICTORINE. Ah, Monsieur, si vous n'en êtes pas, pour quelle raison? . . .

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Je viens pour parler à Monsieur Vanderk.

VICTORINE. Lequel?

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Mais le Négociant. Est-ce qu'il y a deux Négocians de ce nom-là? C'est celui qui demeure ici.

VICTORINE. Ah, Monsieur, quel embarras! Je vous assure que je ne sçais comment Monsieur pourra vous parler au milieu de tout ceci; et même on seroit à table, si on n'attendoit pas quelqu'un qui se fait bien attendre.⁵²⁷

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Mademoiselle, Monsieur Vanderk m'a donné parole ici aujourd'hui à cette heure.

VICTORINE. Il ne sçavoit donc pas l'embarras. . . .

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Il ne sçavoit pas, il ne sçavoit pas; c'est hier au soir qu'il me l'a fait dire.

VICTORINE. J'y vais donc, si je peux l'aborder, car il répond <81> à l'un, il répond à l'autre. Je dirai. . . . Qu'est-ce que je dirai?

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Dites que c'est quelqu'un qui voudroit lui parler; que c'est quelqu'un à qui il a donné parole à cette heure-ci, sur une Lettre qu'il en a reçue. . . . Ajoutez que . . . Non . . . dites-lui seulement cela.

VICTORINE. J'y vais . . . Quelqu'un . . . Mais, Monsieur, permettez-moi de vous demander votre nom.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Il le sçait bien peu. Dites, au reste, que c'est Monsieur Desparville⁵²⁸, que c'est le Maître d'un Domestique. . . .

VICTORINE. Ah, je sçais, un homme qui avoit un visage . . . qui avoit un air . . . Hier au soir . . . J'y vais, j'y vais.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁷TrW adds: (*sie seufzet*). This is in line with the desire of trW to have a more romantic ending. See later notes, especially the closing scenes.

⁵²⁸In trW he does not give his name.

⁵²⁹Only one *j'y vais* in Av; Ma.

SCÈNE III.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE *seul*

Que de raisons! parbleu, ces choses-là sont bien faites pour moi! Il faut que cet homme marie justement sa fille aujourd'hui, le jour, le même jour que j'ai à lui parler; c'est fait exprès; oui, c'est fait exprès pour moi⁵³⁰, pour moi⁵³¹; ces choses-là n'arrivent qu'à moi. <82> Peste⁵³² soit des enfans! Je ne veux plus m'embarrasser de rien; je vais me retirer dans ma province. "Mais, mon père . . . mon père⁵³³." Mais mon fils, va te promener⁵³⁴; j'ai fait mon tems; fais le tien. Ah! c'est apparemment notre homme; encore un refus que je vais essayer.

SCÈNE IV.⁵³⁵M. VANDERK PÈRE, M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE.⁵³⁶

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Monsieur, Monsieur, je suis fâché de

⁵³⁰Only one *pour moi*: Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.

⁵³¹Add: *enfin*: H1; H2; O.

⁵³²The Ms-S had *diable* first, which was cancelled for *peste* in different ink. O substitutes: *Voilà ce que c'est que d'avoir des enfans*. TrG again agrees with trP with: *Der Henker hole die Kinder!*

⁵³³Mz cancels this second *mon père*. The Ms-S inserts the *Mais mon fils* that follows, above the second *mon père* without cancelling the latter.

⁵³⁴Here the Ms-S had inserted but subsequently cancelled: *laisse moi écouter le vent qui souffle*. TrG again imitates closely trP: TrP has: *Der Junge mag mir schreyen und winseln, so lange er will; ich werde nicht mehr hören; er soll mich ungeschoren lassen. Ich habe das Meinige gethan, er mag nun das seinige thun*. TrG has: *Der Junge mag betteln und wehklagen, so viel er will; ich habe keine Ohren. Er soll mich ungehudelt lassen. Ich habe das Meinige gethan, lass ihn nur das Seinige thun.*"

⁵³⁵From here to the end of Scene IX, note 606, our text is now that of the variants of the appendix of B, which begin at this point. See 526. In the copy which is designated RF, Sedaine wrote at this point: "Voir les changements que la police d'alors me força de faire; remettez comme cela devait être". Now, the only change which the *police* forced upon Sedaine in this scene was the omission of the contrast of the blue and red ribbons (see note 548). Other changes in this scene were made because of the criticism of the public. (See notes 556, 576, 578; also for similar changes in later scenes: 593, 638.)

⁵³⁶The Ms-S adds (*un Domestique*) close to the margin. This is found only in II. Mz cancels it.

vous déranger. Je sçais tout ce qui vous arrive. Vous mariez votre fille⁵³⁷; vous êtes à l'instant en compagnie; mais un mot, un seul mot.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Et moi, Monsieur⁵³⁸, je suis fâché de ne vous avoir pas donné⁵³⁹ une heure plus prompte. On vous a peut-être fait attendre. J'avois dit à quatre⁵⁴⁰ heures, et il est trois heures, seize minutes. Monsieur, asseyez-vous.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Non, parlons debout; j'aurai bien-tôt dit. Monsieur, ⁵⁴¹je crois que le Diable est après moi. J'ai, depuis quelque temps⁵⁴², besoin d'argent, et encore plus depuis hier pour la circonstance la plus pressante et que je <83> ne peux pas dire.⁵⁴³ J'ai une lettre de change, bonne, excellente; c'est comme disent vos Marchands, c'est de l'or en barre; mais elle sera payée quand⁵⁴⁴? Je n'en sçais rien; ils ont des usages, des usances⁵⁴⁵, des termes que je ne comprends pas. ⁵⁴⁶J'ai été chez plusieurs de vos Confrères, des Juifs, des Arabes, pardonnez-moi le terme; oui, des Arabes. Ils m'ont⁵⁴⁷ demandé des remises considérables, parce qu'ils voient que j'en ai besoin. D'autres m'ont

⁵³⁷Add *aujourd'hui*: II.

⁵³⁸In trG Vanderk always addresses Desparville as *Herr Baron*.

⁵³⁹*de ne pas vous avoir donné*: B-N.

⁵⁴⁰Vanderk had not actually said four o'clock but "*entre trois et quatre heures*". See note 187 (Act II, Scene V). The Danish translation trS and the English adaptation trO change here four to three.

⁵⁴¹O omits *je crois que le diable est après moi*.

⁵⁴²*jours* for *temps*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II.

⁵⁴³TrB has no equivalent for *et que je ne peux pas dire*.

⁵⁴⁴Repeat *quand*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II.

⁵⁴⁵TrG and trP have *Monatssichten*.

⁵⁴⁶The Ms-S had first: *J'ai été chez plusieurs de vos Confrères, des coquins, des coquins, pardonnez-moi le terme, oui des coquins*. There was then crowded in the following correction: *J'ai été chez plusieurs de vos Confrères, mais tout (sic) ceux que j'ai vu jusqu'à présent sont des Arabes, des Juifs, pardonnez moi le terme, oui des Juifs*. This latter reading is in Ia, b, c; II; O with "*vus*" for "*vu*" in 19th century editions and "*oui des Arabes*" for "*oui des Juifs*" in O. Here strange to say H1; H2 follow the appendix of A and B, which was repeated in that of B-N.

TrG follows trP in having: *Juden, Mameluken*.

⁵⁴⁷*Ils m'ont* was the first reading of the Ms-S. This was cancelled for *Les uns m'ont* in other ink and hand, which is found only in II.

refusé tout net. ⁵⁴⁸Devineriez-vous pourquoi un homme hier⁵⁴⁹ m'a refusé?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, Monsieur.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Parce que ce ruban-là est bleu, et parce qu'il n'est pas rouge. Vous ne pensez pas de même peut-être?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Monsieur, les honnêtes gens n'ont besoin que de la probité de leurs semblables, et non de leurs opinions.

⁵⁴⁸The passage *Devinez-vous to Mais que je ne vous retarde point* four speeches below, was cancelled in the Ms-S and appears only in the appendices of A, B, E, and B-N. It is certainly strange that both of Heylli's editions omit this passage and all others that mention the "ordre du mérite" and its "ruban bleu". Even if it may seem wise to omit these passages when the play is performed, because modern audiences would not readily catch their significance, it is certainly necessary to include them in any edition that professes to be critical and to follow the manuscript of the Comédie Française. In addition to the argument of the presence of these passages in the appendix of A and B, we have, à propos of this particular passage, a most interesting letter from Sedaine himself to "*Messieurs du Théâtre de la Nation*". This letter was received November 26, 1791, and is now in the archives of the Comédie Française. Among other interesting matters discussed in this letter, Sedaine begs "*Messieurs Vanhove et Desessarts*" the actors then intrusted with the rôles of Desparville père and Vanderk père "*de vouloir bien apprendre deux répliques inhumainement retranchées par les cruels ciseaux de la police*". He then adds: "*Je joins à cecy l'imprimé de ce que je demande à leur complaisance*". This "imprimé" was a fasciculus of the appendix of the second Paris edition (B), being signature I, pp. 9-16. Here on p. 10 Sedaine had surrounded with a heavy line the passage "*Devinez-vous Puis-je la voir*"; in the margin he had written the following note, portions of which were removed by some subsequent cutting of the fasciculus: "[Co]uplets que [je] prie [de] remettre, [M]r Desparville [porte]ra l'ordre [du] mérite." See at note 535 another word from Sedaine regarding this passage.

One may well ask why Sedaine did not at this time request the complete restoration of his original text, instead of merely this small passage; perhaps the strict laws of the Republic against duelling led him to fear the refusal of such a petition; see in this connection the changed reading of RF at note 673a. It is not known whether the actors restored the above passage or not, but it is most interesting to find Sedaine so persistent about its insertion and still so sensitive to the treatment which he had undergone at the hands of the censor twenty-six years before.

We have in Sedaine's letter an explanation of the omission of previous pas-

⁵⁴⁹The Ms-S had first *pourquoi hier un homme*. This was cancelled for the above.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Ce que vous me dites⁵⁵⁰ est juste, et l'univers ne seroit qu'une famille, si tout le monde pensoit comme vous. Mais que je ne vous retarde point. Pouvez-vous m'avancer le payement de ma lettre de change, ou ne le pouvez-vous pas?

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M. VANDERK PÈRE. Puis-je la voir?

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. La voilà. . . . (*Pendant que M. Vanderk lit.*) Je payerai tout ce qu'il faudra. Je sçais qu'il y a des droits. Faut-il le quart? Faut-il . . . J'ai besoin d'argent.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. (*Il sonne*⁵⁵¹) Monsieur, je vais vous la faire⁵⁵² payer.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. A l'instant?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui, Monsieur.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. A l'instant! Prenez, Monsieur⁵⁵³. Ah, quel service vous me rendez! Prenez, prenez, Monsieur.

(*Le Domestique entre*⁵⁵⁴)

sages concerning the *ordre du mérite* and its blue cross or ribbon. See at notes 186, 526, 535. The *ordre du mérite* was founded by Louis XV in 1759 for distinguished officers of Protestant faith who could not be admitted to the "*Ordre royal et militaire de Saint Louis*" since the members of the latter organization were obliged to take oath to live and die in the Apostolic Roman Catholic faith. The color of the insignia of the *ordre du mérite* was blue, that of the *ordre de Saint Louis* was "couleur de feu". All orders of knighthood were abolished by the Revolution, but in 1814 Louis XVIII restored many, and among them the order of Saint Louis and the order of merit. He stipulated however that both orders should have the same color, and chose "*couleur de feu*" which had formerly been restricted to the order of Saint Louis.

It is extremely probable that the censor struck out all passages referring to these orders because of the fear of exciting religious animosities. Perhaps, however, his reason was his opposition to the new *ordre du mérite* which had only been in existence six years.

Although trM has many passages of the original version, it here omits the passage contrasting the two ribbons, and begins again with Vanderk's *Puis-je la voir*.

⁵⁵⁰Ms-S: *Ce que vous dites.*

⁵⁵¹Ms-S: II. substitute: (*sonne. On entend la sonnette*). Ib; P2 have: *en sonnant.*

⁵⁵²II omits *faire.*

⁵⁵³Substitute: *Prenez, prenez, monsieur*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c.; II; Hr.

⁵⁵⁴Ms-S; II substitute: *au domestique qu'il a sonné*; Ia, b, c; O: *au domestique qui entre.*

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Allez à ma caisse, apportez le montant de cette lettre, deux mille quatre cents livres⁵⁵⁵.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. ⁵⁵⁶Faites retenir, Monsieur, le compte, l'à-compte⁵⁵⁷, le⁵⁵⁸. . . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, Monsieur, je ne prends point d'es-compte; ce n'est pas⁵⁵⁹ mon commerce, et, je vous l'avoue avec plaisir, ce service ne me coûte rien. Votre lettre vient de Cadix⁵⁶⁰; elle est pour moi une rescription; elle <85> devient pour moi de l'argent comptant.

⁵⁵⁵TrP: *von tausend Thalern*. TrT: *2400 Pfund*.

⁵⁵⁶The Ms-S presents here a very confused appearance due to the later transfer to this point of the request for, and the granting of, gold which Sedaine had originally written as occurring after Vanderk knows that Desparville is the father of his son's antagonist. See at note 578.

Above *faites retenir* etc of the Ms-S is written in another hand: +*Mr. Encore un service, pourriez vous me donner la somme en or*". This is not cancelled. After "or" is a mark + which carries the eye to the left hand margin where one finds: VANDERK. *Volontier, Mr. aported la somme en or*. DESPARVILLE. Then there is a line to carry us back to the *faites retenir* mentioned above. At the very bottom of the page (84), there is a further insertion: *Mr. au service que vous me rendez pourriez vous ajoutez celui de me faire donner de l'or*. This is manifestly a substitution for the *Mr. encore un service etc* given above. The same mark precedes both phrases. Mz has *precisely* the reading of this substitution at the bottom of the page, this being an additional link connecting Mz with the Ms-S.

The text of the censored versions is as follows (variants being from B as a basis):

M. DESPARVILLE père. (a) *Monsieur, au service que vous me rendez, pourriez-vous en ajouter un second, celui* (b) *de me faire donner de l'or?*

M. VANDERK père. *Volontiers, Monsieur. (au Domestique) Apportez la somme en or.*

M. DESPARVILLE père (*au Domestique qui sort*) *Faites retenir etc.*

a) TrW has Blankenfeld catch the sleeve of the servant as the latter is about to go out.

b) *pourriez-vous ajouter celui etc.*: Ia, b, c; compare also the readings at notes 578, 579 where the request for gold originally stood, and where it is far more dramatic. Note further that Desparville does not state here *why* he wishes gold. At note 579 he does.

⁵⁵⁷*l'escompte, l'à-compte*: Ms-S: Ia, b, c; H; H1; H2; O.

le compte, la compte: Aa, Ba.

⁵⁵⁸Omit *le*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II.

⁵⁵⁹*point*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; O.

⁵⁶⁰*Hambourg*: TrP.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Monsieur⁵⁶¹, voilà de l'honnêteté, voilà de l'honnêteté⁵⁶²; vous ne sçavez pas⁵⁶³ toute l'étendue du service que vous me rendez.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Je souhaite qu'il soit considérable.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Ah, Monsieur! Monsieur! ⁵⁶⁴que vous êtes heureux! vous n'avez qu'une fille⁵⁶⁵?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. J'espère que j'ai un fils.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Un fils! Mais il est sûrement⁵⁶⁶ dans le commerce, dans un état tranquille; mais le mien, le mien est dans le service; à l'instant que je vous parle, n'est-il pas occupé à se battre.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. À se battre!

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Oui, Monsieur, à se battre. Un autre jeune homme dans un caffè, un petit brutal⁵⁶⁷ lui a cherché querelle, je ne sçais pourquoi, je ne sçais comment; il ne le sçais pas lui-même.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Que je vous plains⁵⁶⁸, et qu'il est à craindre!

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M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. À craindre! Je ne crains rien; mon fils est brave, il tient de moi, et adroit, adroit; à vingt pas⁵⁶⁹ il

⁵⁶¹Add a second *Monsieur*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; O.

⁵⁶²Mz has *l'humanité* written over the second *l'honnêteté*, but the latter is not cancelled.

⁵⁶³Insert *toute l'obligation que je vous dois*: original reading of Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1. *toute l'obligation que je vous ai*: corrected Ms-S; II; H2; O. This change from *dois* to *ai* was undoubtedly due to Grimm who, in criticising the first Paris edition, said: "On ne dit pas 'les obligations que je vous dois'; il faut dire 'que je vous ai'" (*Correspondence Littéraire*, edition Tourneux, v. 7, p. 24). See also note 103, for the only other correction which Grimm makes.

⁵⁶⁴Insert *ah*: Ms-S; II.

⁵⁶⁵Add *vous*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O. At first the extra *vous* was written in the margin of the Ms-S so as to read: *vous, vous n'avez qu'une fille*. This *vous* was then removed and another written at the end of the line.

⁵⁶⁶The Ms-S kept *sûrement* but wrote *apparemment* above it in other ink. *apparemment* is in Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁵⁶⁷The Ms-S had first *brutal* which is not cancelled. However *étourdi* is written above it. Hence *un petit étourdi* in Ia, b; II; H1; H2; O. Ic has *un étourdi*.

⁵⁶⁸TrM: *Wie beklage ich ihn*.

⁵⁶⁹Here another striking dependence of trG upon trP: TrP has: *er würde Ihnen auf fünfzig Schritte einen halben Gulden aus der Hand schießen*. TrG has: *er schießt Ihnen auf fünfzig Schritte einen Thaler aus der Hand*. TrW has: *Er schießt Ihnen auf 20 Schritte das Ass aus der Karte heraus*.

couperoit une balle en deux sur une lame de couteau; mais il faut qu'il s'enfuye, c'est le diable⁵⁷⁰; c'est une mauvaise affaire⁵⁷¹, vous entendez bien, vous entendez bien⁵⁷²; je me fie à vous; vous m'avez gagné l'âme.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Monsieur, je suis flatté de votre. . .

(Pan.⁵⁷³ *On frappe un coup à la porte.*)

Je suis flatté de ce que . . .

(Pan, *un second coup*).

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Ce n'est rien⁵⁷⁴; c'est qu'on frappe chez vous.

(Pan, *un troisième coup*)

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁵⁷⁵Ah, Monsieur! tous les pères ne sont pas malheureux.

⁵⁷⁰O omits *c'est le diable*. TrB: *è un diavolo*.

⁵⁷¹*c'est une mauvaise affaire* is found only in the appendix. The Ms-S had first: *c'est un duel* but this was cancelled and nothing was substituted. H1; H2; O restore: *c'est un duel*.

⁵⁷²H2; O do not repeat *vous entendez bien*. AC; B1 have *vous entendez bien, vous entendez*. Ha has: *vous entendez, vous entendez bien*. TrG with *Er soll die Hälfte des Geldes mit auf den Weg haben* again copies trP which has *Ich will ihm die Hälfte des Geldes mit auf den Weg geben*.

⁵⁷³The Ms-S has merely *Pan* each of the three times.

⁵⁷⁴*C'est [sic] n'est rien* is an error common to A, C, F, and Av. but corrected in B, D, E, and K. The error was not corrected in A's errata.

⁵⁷⁵The Ms-S is again very confusing for the next three speeches. The first reading written on the regular lines was as given above. Then Desparville's *Vous ne vous trouvez pas indisposé?* and Vanderk's *Non, monsieur* were cancelled and the following in another hand was crowded in immediately after the third "*Pan*": (*Mr. Wanderk tombe sur un siège* [replacing a previously cancelled '*Wanderk tombe*']). Mr. D'ESPARVILLE. *Mr. vous ne vous trouvez pas indisposé?* Then follows: WANDERK. *Ah, monsieur, tous les pères etc.*

From this changed reading we get the version printed in Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O:—

(*on frappe*) *un troisième coup*. Monsieur Vanderk (père) tombe sur un siège) (Monsieur), Vous ne vous trouvez pas indisposé?

M. VANDERK (père). Ah, Monsieur, tous les pères ne sont pas malheureux (*Le Domestique entre avec etc.*)

In all this we have another proof that the appendix of A and B restores the original appearance of the manuscript. TrM here follows the appendix absolutely.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Vous ne vous trouvez pas indisposé?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, Monsieur. (*Le Domestique entre avec les 2400 livres*⁵⁷⁶.) Ah⁵⁷⁷! voilà votre somme; partez, Monsieur, vous n'avez pas de tems à perdre.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. ⁵⁷⁸Ah! Monsieur, que je vous suis

⁵⁷⁶The Ms-S read first: (*Le Domestique entre avec deux sacs de 1200 ₣ [=livres]*). When, however, Sedaine transferred the request for gold to an earlier part of the scene (see 556 and 578) it became necessary to say *avec des rouleaux de Louis* which is the reading of all the censored versions. H1; H2; O follow the appendix with *avec les deux mille quatre cents livres*.

⁵⁷⁷The Ms-S had cancelled this *ah!* It is found only in the appendices of A, B, E, and BN.

⁵⁷⁸The Ms-S originally read thus: *Je pars; vous avez raison. Que je vous suis obligé, Monsieur! Monsieur, auriez vous de l'or? c'est que je vais donner à mon fils* [p. 87].

WANDERK. *Oui Monsieur* etc. These variants are found in no edition. Indeed the Ms-S is here cancelled from *Je pars* clear through to Vanderk's *Permettez moi de ne vous pas reconduire* six speeches below.

This cancellation is due to the removal of the request for gold coin to an earlier part of the scene when Vanderk does not yet realize that Desparville is the father of his son's antagonist, and before the fatal three knocks have been given (see at note 556). As originally written, the scene proved too powerful for the French audiences of the earlier performances. It seemed to them almost superhuman that Vanderk knowing who Desparville was, and thinking that his own son was dead, could still give this other father the means to facilitate young Desparville's escape. Sedaine yielded to public opinion regarding this strong scene and transferred it for later performances to the position it occupies in all censored editions. His own dramatic instinct, however, was not satisfied with the change, and in the appendices to A and B he restored the incident to its former place and also replaced the scenes of the musicians' arrival and the episode of the bullet-hole in the hat. He did not deny that the public judged these scenes correctly. In fact he admitted that, owing to the changes in the third act forced upon him by the censor, the character of Vanderk father had been so weakened as to render these incidents of Act V too heavy a burden for him to carry. Sedaine's own words found in the preface to the appendix of A and B are most interesting in this connection: ". . . j'ai même remis ce que le Public m'a forcé de supprimer, l'or donné après la reconnaissance, l'arrivée des Musiciens, &c. Ce n'est pas que le public n'ait bien vu & bien décidé. J'avois diminué la force, le nerf, la vigueur de mon Athlète, & je lui laissois le même fardeau à porter; les proportions étoient ôtées."

In Vol. 2, p. 197 of *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* (Leipzig (Dyck) 1766) one finds an account of the play as performed in Paris before Sedaine made the above changes. Regarding the incident of the

obligé! (*Il fait quelques pas, et revient.*) Monsieur, au service que vous me rendez, pourriez-vous en ajouter un second? Auriez-vous de l'or? ⁵⁷⁹C'est que je vais donner à mon fils. . . <87>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Oui, Monsieur.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Avant que j'aie pu rassembler quelques louis, je peux perdre un tems infini.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. *au Domestique.* Retirez les deux sacs⁵⁸⁰ de douze cents livres.⁵⁸¹ Voici, Monsieur, quatre rouleaux de vingt-cinq louis chacun⁵⁸²; ils sont cachetés et comptés exactement,

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Ah! Monsieur, que vous m'obligez.⁵⁸³

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁵⁸⁴Partez, Monsieur, permettez-moi de ne pas vous reconduire.⁵⁸⁵

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. ⁵⁸⁶Restez, restez, Monsieur, je vous en prie. Vous avez affaire. Ah, le brave homme! Ah, l'honnête

request for gold we read: "Walter (*sic*) wird bestürzt, doch lässt er sich nicht hindern, auf die Bitte des Marquis, ihm das Silbergeld, das er ihm gegeben, wieder gegen Gold umzusetzen." I have not yet been able to find how many performances were given before Sedaine made these transfers and omissions.

Although trM follows in the third act the original uncensored version, it does not do so in the fifth act. In fact it omits *entirely* any request for gold and passes directly to the next scene. TrP keeps the request in its changed position for the technical reason merely that Vanderk otherwise would have to speak too long a time and that the scene thus becomes unduly lengthened. The other German translations follow without comment the censored reading. In the English translation, trO, Melville (Vanderk) *offers* to give Sir Dermot (Desparville) gold or bank-notes, *before* he knows his identity.

⁵⁷⁹Compare the version at note 556 especially 556b. Notice particularly the dramatic feature that Desparville explains why he wishes gold coin. At note 556b he did not so explain. See at note 572 the reading of trP and trG.

⁵⁸⁰Compare the Ms-S reading at note 576.

⁵⁸¹The Ms-S adds: (*Le Domestique les prend et sort.*)

⁵⁸²These are doubtless the "rouleaux de vingt-cinq louis" which Antoine had given him in Act I scene IV. See note 24a.

⁵⁸³In Ia, c; this speech is merely: *Que vous m'obligez!* II has: *Que je vous suis obligé, Monsieur.* Ib has: *Je vous suis obligé, Monsieur.* Compare the text at note 578.

⁵⁸⁴Omit *Partez, Monsieur*: Ia, b, c; II.

⁵⁸⁵Ms-S: *de ne vous pas reconduire.*

⁵⁸⁶Omit *Restez, restez, Monsieur, je vous en prie* and begin *Ah, vous avez affaire*: Ms-S: Ia, b, c; II.

homme! Monsieur, mon sang est à vous; restez, restez, restez, je vous en supplie.⁵⁸⁷ Ah, l'honnête homme!⁵⁸⁸

SCÈNE V.

M. VANDERK PÈRE⁵⁸⁹

Mon fils est mort . . . je l'ai vu là⁵⁹⁰ . . . et je ne l'ai pas embrassé . . . O, Ciel! Antoine tarde bien.⁵⁹¹ Que de peine⁵⁹² sa naissance me préparoit! Que de chagrin sa mère! . . . <88>

SCÈNE VI.⁵⁹³

M. VANDERK PÈRE, DES MUSICIENS, DES CROCHETEURS *chargés de basses, de contrebasses.*

L'UN DES MUSICIENS. Monsieur, est-ce ici?

⁵⁸⁷Substitute *Je vous en prie*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; O. TrK has *don't get up, don't, don't*.

⁵⁸⁸Omit *Ah, l'honnête homme*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁵⁸⁹Add *seul, assis à son bureau*: H2; O.

⁵⁹⁰TrG renders: *Ich sah ihn fallen . . . Da! . . . Da!*

⁵⁹¹The Ms-S had cancelled: *O Ciel! Antoine tarde bien*, and it is thus not in Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O. II omits only *O Ciel*.

⁵⁹²*peines*: Ms-S; AC; B1; B-Na; Mo.

⁵⁹³Scene VI and scene VII were originally in the Ms-S and were actually played. The public, however, found them too powerful and in obedience to this criticism Sedaine cancelled these scenes. They do not, therefore, appear in the censored editions. Sedaine felt, however, that, in case his play were ever produced as he had originally written it, these scenes should be restored, and accordingly he included them in the appendices of A and B. See at note 578 his own words in justification of the public criticism of these scenes.

TrP which normally follows the censored text, here exceptionally includes the scenes of the musicians. See the description of this translation in the Introduction on the editions and translations, paragraph 51.

TrM on the contrary which we have seen follows the uncensored version in the third act, no longer does so in the fifth and omits these scenes. Compare at the end of note 578 the omission by trM of the request for gold coin.

The original reading of these scenes in the Ms-S is as follows:

UN des MUSICIENS. *Monsieur, est-ce ici?*

WANDERK. *Que voulez-vous?*

LE MUSICIEN. *On nous a dit de mettre ici nos instruments; et nous allons*

WANDERK. *Passer les dans cette chambre.*—[continued next page].

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Que voulez-vous? Ah, Ciel! (*Il les regarde en frémissant, et se renverse dans son fauteuil.*)

LE MUSICIEN. C'est qu'on nous dit⁵⁹⁴ de mettre ici nos instrumens, et nous allons. . . .

SCÈNE VII.

ANTOINE, LES ACTEURS PRÉCÉDENS.

ANTOINE *entre, les prend, les pousse, les chasse avec fureur.* Hé, mettez votre musique à tous les diables⁵⁹⁵! Est-ce que la maison n'est pas assez grande?

LE MUSICIEN. Nous allons . . . nous allons.⁵⁹⁶ <89>

SCÈNE VIII.

ANTOINE, M. VANDERK PÈRE.⁵⁹⁷

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Hé bien?

ANTOINE. Ah, mon maître, tous deux; j'étois très-loin⁵⁹⁸; mais j'ai vu, j'ai vu. Ah, Monsieur.

[⁵⁹⁶ continued]

SCENE 7e.

LES MÊMES, ANTOINE.

ANTOINE. *Hé, mettez votre Musique au Diable. Est-ce que la Maison n'est pas assez grande?*

LE MUSICIEN. *Nous allons, . . nous allons . . .*

ANTOINE. *Est-ce qu'on entre sans savoir? Il est bien impertinent de . .*

LE MUSICIEN. *Monsieur . . . (Les musiciens et les crocheteurs sortent).* [p. 89.]

A noteworthy difference between this original version and that of the appendices is the calmness of Vanderk who himself directs the musicians to place their instruments in the next room. There is no hint of his trembling or of his falling back in his chair. Antoine is also less excited in the former version. It would seem as if the older reading were more consistent with the firmness of character of Vanderk, but Sedaine here desired evidently to meet the criticism of the public at least in part. See in this connection the opinion of these scenes by Sarcey in the "Temps" of Aug. 23, 1875, portions of which are also quoted on p. 83 of Gisi's edition. Noteworthy is the fact that Heylli in both editions here abandons the Ms-S completely and follows the appendix of A and B!

⁵⁹⁴a dit: Ms-S; H1; H2; O.

⁵⁹⁵votre musique ailleurs: O.

⁵⁹⁶H1; H2; O add: (*ils sortent*).

⁵⁹⁷TrG: (*sehen sich sprachlos an*). TrW: *Anton ganz ausser Athem*.

⁵⁹⁸TrG wishes Antoine to justify himself more fully: *das Schrecklichste . . . ich stand ferne, und meine alten Augen. . . und die Sonne und die Angst . . . Die Sinne vergingen mir etc.*

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils!

ANTOINE. Oui, ils se sont approchés à bride abattue. L'Officier⁵⁹⁹ a tiré, votre fils ensuite; l'Officier est tombé d'abord, il est tombé le premier. Après cela, Monsieur, ah! mon cher maître, les chevaux se sont séparés, je suis couru . . . je. . .⁶⁰⁰

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Voyez si mes chevaux sont mis; faites approcher par la porte de derrière; venez m'avertir⁶⁰¹; courons-y; peut-être n'est-il que blessé.

SCÈNE IX.

LES ACTEURS PRÉCÉDENS, VICTORINE.

ANTOINE. ⁶⁰²Mort, mort; j'ai vu sauter son chapeau, mort!

VICTORINE. ⁶⁰³Mort! Son chapeau! Le chapeau de qui donc? Mort! Ah, Monsieur!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Que demandez-vous? <90>

ANTOINE. ⁶⁰⁴Qu'est-ce tu demandes? Sors d'ici tout⁶⁰⁵ à l'heure.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Laissez-la. Allez, Antoine, faites ce que je vous dis. Que voulez-vous, Victorine?⁶⁰⁶

⁵⁹⁹The Ms-S had first *coquin*, which was cancelled for *Officier*. Compare the cancellation of *coquin* at notes 442, 452.

⁶⁰⁰*je suis couru, je, je*: Ms-S; censored editions of 18th century; P; Ma. *je suis accouru, je, je*: other censored editions of 19th century; H1; H2; O. *je suis couru, j'ai*; B-Na.

⁶⁰¹B-N omits: *venez m'avertir*.

⁶⁰²This speech ends the preceding scene in the Ms-S, in all censored editions, and in H1; H2; O. By its rearrangement of scenes Mz, however, makes this speech begin the following scene (Scene IX) as in the appendices of A and B. It is of course necessary that Victorine hear her father's speech here.

⁶⁰³The Ms-S has instead: *Mort! Eh, qui donc? qui donc?* which becomes the reading of Ib; II; H1; H2. Ia, c; O merely change the *eh* to *ah*. TrP translates literally the text of the appendix.

⁶⁰⁴Prefix *Oui*: H1; H2; O.

⁶⁰⁵*toute* in Ms-S.

⁶⁰⁶The text of the appendix ceases here temporarily. We have been following it since note 535, and shall again follow it at note 637 to the end of the play. We now return to the text of B. In Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O the *Que voulez-vous Victorine?* begins the next scene. Ic has *Eh bien, que voulez-vous, Victorine?*

SCÈNE X.

M. VANDERK PÈRE, VICTORINE.⁶⁰⁷

VICTORINE. Je venois demander si on doit faire servir, et j'ai rencontré un Monsieur qui m'a dit que vous vous trouviez mal.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, je ne me trouve pas mal. Où est la compagnie?

VICTORINE. On va servir.⁶⁰⁸

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Tâchez de parler à Madame en particulier; vous lui direz que je suis à l'instant forcé de sortir, que je la prie de ne pas s'inquiéter, mais qu'elle fasse en sorte qu'on⁶⁰⁹ ne s'aperçoive pas de mon absence; je serai peut-être. . . . Mais vous pleurez, Victorine.

VICTORINE. Mort! Eh, qui donc⁶¹⁰? Monsieur votre fils?

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁶¹¹Victorine.⁶¹²

VICTORINE. J'y vais, Monsieur, j'y vais⁶¹³; non, je ne pleurerai pas, je ne pleurerai pas. <91>

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Non, restez, je vous l'ordonne; vos pleurs vous trahiroient. Je vous défends de sortir d'ici que je ne sois rentré.⁶¹⁴

VICTORINE, *apercevant M. Vanderk fils*. Ah! Monsieur⁶¹⁵!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Mon fils!

⁶⁰⁷Add: (*Antoine dans l'appartement*): Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁰⁸In the first reading of the Ms-S this *on va servir* formed a part of Vanderk's speech which began with *Non, je ne me trouve pas mal* and ended with *Mais vous pleurez, Victorine*. Then Victorine was given the *On va servir* but the latter was cancelled for *On demande si l'on doit faire servir*. No edition has this reading which was too similar to Victorine's previous remark.

⁶⁰⁹*que l'on*: H2.

⁶¹⁰*et qui donc*: Ic; Mo.

⁶¹¹The Ms-S had first here: (*son père l'appelle de dehors: 'Victorine'*) *Ah, Monsieur! (à son père) J'y vais, j'y vais*. This was stricken out and Sedaine himself wrote the text substantially as it appears above.

⁶¹²Here the Ms-S added a *restez* but cancelled it later.

⁶¹³Omit the second *j'y vais*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.

⁶¹⁴In Mz the scenes are so rearranged that Vanderk son enters alone at this point, the Desparvilles entering later at Vanderk father's *je l'embrasse*. This is more dramatic.

⁶¹⁵TrP: *Ach, Gottlob*.

SCÈNE XI.

LES MÊMES, M. VANDERK FILS, M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE,
M. DESPARVILLE FILS.

M. VANDERK FILS. Mon père!

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁶¹⁶Mon fils! . . . je t'embrasse . . . je te revois sans doute honnête homme.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Oui, morbleu, il l'est.⁶¹⁷

M. VANDERK FILS. Je vous présente Messieurs Desparville.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Messieurs.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Monsieur, je vous présente mon fils. N'étoit-ce pas mon fils, n'étoit-ce pas⁶¹⁸ lui justement qui étoit son adversaire.

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M. VANDERK PÈRE. Comment! est-il possible que cette affaire? . . .

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Bien! bien! morbleu bien⁶¹⁹! Je vais vous raconter.

M. DESPARVILLE FILS. Mon père, permettez-moi de parler.

M. VANDERK FILS. ⁶²⁰Qu'allez-vous dire?

⁶¹⁶The Ms-S is here much corrected. The first reading was: *Mon fils . . . Mais vous revois je honnête homme?* then the last sentence was cancelled and above in Sedaine's hand appears *puis-je me féliciter de vous revoir* (to which the *honnête homme*' of the first reading seems to have been left as object); finally all this was cancelled and we have the final reading: *Je l'embrasse . . . et je te revois sans doute honnête homme.* Here the *et* is noteworthy, since we also find *et* in Mz, another link between Mz and Ms-S.

TrG seems more expressive of the emotion of this scene:

"VANDERK V. *Mein Sohn! (ihm mit offenen Armen entgegen eilend).*

VANDERK SOHN (*ihn umarmend*) *Mein Vater!*

VANDERK V. *Mein lieber Sohn! Hab' ich dich wieder in meinen Armen!"*

In the Petitot editions (1804 and 1817) a frontispiece engraving represents this scene.

⁶¹⁷*il l'est* was the first reading of the Ms-S; this was cancelled for *vous le pouvez* in Sedaine's hand, this being the answer to the *puis-je me féliciter* etc. noted above in 616. This *vous le pouvez* was finally cancelled in favor of a second *il l'est*.

⁶¹⁸This second *n'étoit-ce pas* omitted: Ms-S; Ia, c.

⁶¹⁹Omit *morbleu bien*. O.

⁶²⁰Here a curious misprint in D and E both of which have:

M. VANDERK FILS. *Qu'allez-vous dire?*

M. DESPARVILLE FILS. *Qu'allez-vous dire?*

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. *Souffrez de moi cette vengeance?*

In the copy of D from the Dresden Royal Library the two last speakers are

M. DESPARVILLE FILS. Souffrez de moi cette vengeance.⁶²¹

M. VANDERK FILS. Vengez-vous donc.

M. DESPARVILLE FILS. Le récit seroit trop court, si vous le faisiez, Monsieur, et à présent votre honneur⁶²² est le mien.⁶²³ (*à M. Vanderk père.*)⁶²⁴ Il me paroît, Monsieur, que vous étiez aussi instruit que mon père l'étoit. Mais voici⁶²⁵ ce que vous ne sçavez⁶²⁶ pas. Nous nous sommes rencontrés, j'ai couru sur lui, j'ai tiré; il a foncé sur moi; il m'a dit: "Je tire en l'air", et il l'a fait.⁶²⁷ "Écoutez",⁶²⁸ m'a-t-il dit en me serrant la botte, "j'ai cru hier que vous insultiez mon père en parlant des Négocians. Je vous ai insulté; j'ai senti que j'avois tort; je vous en fais excuse⁶²⁹. N'êtes-vous pas content? Éloignez-vous, et recommençons." Je ne peux⁶³⁰, Monsieur, vous <93> exprimer ce qui s'est passé en moi; je me suis précipité de mon cheval; il en a fait autant, et nous nous sommes embrassés. J'ai rencontré mon père, lui,

changed by a pencil correction of "fils" and "père" to "père" and "fils" respectively. No such correction was made in the Hamburg Public Library copy of E.

The translator of trT evidently used either D or E, since trT has the same error.

⁶²¹In trP this is rendered *Vergönnen Sie mir diese Sache*. This "Sache" should apparently be "Rache" since the answer is *So rächen Sie sich denn*. All copies of trP seen thus far have however "Sache". By a strange error trW gives the same speech *Vergönnen Sie mir diese Roche* to Vanderk fils.

⁶²²*bonheur* is the reading of B, L, and P₁, but *honneur* is in the Ms-S, Ia, b, c; P₂ and T of group II; H₁; H₂; O. I have preferred "honneur" despite the fact that it is not in B. It should, however, also be noted that Mz retains "bonheur".

⁶²³*votre honneur et le mien*. Di; Ty; AC; B₁:

⁶²⁴Here in D and in F the insertion of another "MR. DESPARVILLE FILS" although what follows is only the continuation of the same speech. I found in one of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies of A (call-number 8° Yth 14, 130) the same peculiarity. Therefore some of the copies of A had this error and these copies caused the repetition of the same error in D and F.

⁶²⁵The Ms-S had first *Voilà Monsieur* which is cancelled for *Mais voici*.

⁶²⁶*saviez*: Ic; Di-H; B-N; H₁.

⁶²⁷The Ms-S had first *a tiré* cancelled for *l' a fait*. Ic; Di-H; B-N; H₁; H₂; O omit the *et* of *et il l' a fait*.

⁶²⁸The Ms-S had first *Écoutez moi*, but *moi* was cancelled.

⁶²⁹*mes excuses*: Ia, b, c; O.

⁶³⁰*puis*: Ic; Mo.

à qui pendant ce temps-là, ⁶³¹lui, à qui vous rendiez service. Ah, Monsieur!

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Hé, vous le sçaviez, morbleu⁶³², et je parie que ces trois coups frappés à la porte⁶³³. . . Quel homme êtes-vous! ⁶³⁴Et vous m'obligiez⁶³⁵ pendant ce temps-là! Moi, je suis ferme, je suis honnête, mais en pareille occasion, à votre place j'aurois envoyé le Baron Desparville à tous les Diabes.⁶³⁶

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁶³⁷Ah! Messieurs, qu'il est difficile de passer d'un grand chagrin à une grande joie!

VICTORINE ⁶³⁸*se saisit du chapeau du fils.* Ah, Ciel!⁶³⁹ ah, Monsieur!

⁶³¹Mz continues: *lui, à qui vous rendiez le plus important service.* Ic of this retains only: *vous rendiez le plus important service.*

⁶³²O omits *morbleu.*

⁶³³à la porte in the Ms-S was cancelled but rewritten above.

⁶³⁴The Ms-S presents here an appearance that is most interesting but almost illegible: The original reading appears to have been "*Le Philosophe le plus*" to which in Sedaine's own hand is added "*ferme, le plus . . .*". All this is cancelled and above "*Philosophe*" appears in Sedaine's hand "*L'homme*", as if the phrase were then to be "*L'homme le plus ferme, le plus*". Finally above this appears "*et vous m'obligiez pendant ce temps là! Moi*" and above Sedaine's "*le plus*" is "*Je suis ferme*". The phrase "*en pareille occasion*" is crowded above "*à votre place*".

⁶³⁵Mz has *Vous le saviez* written above *Et vous m'obligiez.* TrM uses the phrase here *verdoppelten Sie meine Verbindlichkeit* as if in reference to the giving of gold coin; and this despite the fact that trM omits entirely that episode. See 578 end.

⁶³⁶*le baron d'Esparville se promener: O.*

⁶³⁷From here to the end of the play we now follow the text of the appendix. Compare notes 606, 535. H1; H2 begin a new scene here, although there is no exit or entrance of an actor. Victorine has been on the stage since Scene X.

TrM adds the stage business: (*indem er [Vanderk père] ihn [Desparville père] bey der Hand nimmt*).

⁶³⁸The episode of the bullet hole in the hat to Vanderk père's "*Messieurs, j'entends du bruit*" was stricken from the Ms-S, it being doubtless one of the scenes which public criticism forced Sedaine to omit. With the strange exception of K, the incident is omitted, therefore, from all censored editions. It is found in trP where it is introduced by the stage direction: "*(reisst dem Fähndrich seinen Hut aus der Hand)*". In trW the episode assumes greater importance due to the wish to prepare the betrothal of Victorine with young Vanderk which comes in trW's

⁶³⁹Repeat *ciel*: H1.

M. VANDERK FILS. Quoi donc, Victorine?

VICTORINE. Votre chapeau est percé d'une balle!

M. DESPARVILLE FILS. D'une balle! Ah! mon ami. (*Ils s'embrassent*⁶⁴⁰).

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Messieurs, j'entends du bruit. Nous allons⁶⁴¹ nous mettre à table; faites-moi l'honneur d'être de la noce.⁶⁴² Que rien ne transpire ici; cela troubleroit la fête. <94>⁶⁴³ Après ce qui s'est passé, Monsieur, vous ne pouvez être que le plus grand ami⁶⁴⁴, ou le plus grand ennemi de mon fils, et vous n'avez pas la liberté du choix.

last scene. To understand better this additional element in TrW it seems best to transcribe the scene as there given:

JULCH[en]. (*zum jungen Vanderk*) Grausamer! keinem als mir . . .
keinem als mir. (*Sie thut einen starken Schrey und reisst dem jungen Vanderk den Hut weg*) O, Himmel!

VANDERK V. Was ist dir, Julchen?

JULCH. (*zeigt ihm den Hut, durch den eine Kugel gegangen ist*) O, mein Herr! wie nahe der Gefahr? Ein guter Engel hat den Schuss gelenkt. (*zum Blank[enfeld] Sohn*) Unbarmherziger Mann! Wie konnten Sie so lieblos zielen? Sie mussten ihm wohl recht feind seyn.

BLANK. S. Eben so sehr als ich ihn jetzt liebe. Und nun urtheilen Sie aus dem Schusse. . .

VAND. S. (*umarmt ihn*) O mein Freund . . . Mein liebes Julchen!

VAND. V. (*Indem er auf den Hut zeigt, zum Blank, Vater*) Herr Baron, dass Ass aus der Charte [Karte in trW2] (see note 569) . . . Als Sie mir es erzählten, war ich nicht so ruhig.

BLANK. V. Das hätte Ihnen der Henker ansehen mögen. Nein, ich bleibe dabey. So ein Mann ist auf der Welt nicht mehr zu finden als Sie. So standhaft. So grossmüthig. Wenn alle Kaufleute so wären, auf den Knien wollt ich Abbitte thun, dass ich sie Juden geheissen habe.

VAND. S. Meine Mutter. (*Er läuft ihr entgegen und küsst ihr die Hand*).

SCENE X [=XII].

⁶⁴⁰B-Na has: (*il embrasse M. Vanderk fils*) which removes all possible ambiguity.

⁶⁴¹allions: Ms-S; II.

⁶⁴²Through "*d'être de la noce*" in the Ms-S is a pencil mark and above is a very faint pencil correction which has been almost erased. Remnants of this correction suggest the "*d'être du dîr r*" that is found in Ia, b, c; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁴³Insert (*à M. Desparville* f.s.): Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁴⁴The Ms-S had changed "*ami*" and "*ennemi*" into "*ennemi*" and "*ami*" respectively. Hence the same change in Ia, b, c; II; Mo (but not H1).

M. DESPARVILLE FILS ⁶⁴⁵*baise la main de M. Vanderk père.*⁶⁴⁶
Ah, Monsieur!

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE⁶⁴⁷. Bien, bien⁶⁴⁸, mon fils; ce que vous faites là est bien.

VICTORINE. ⁶⁴⁹Qu'à moi, qu'à moi; ah, cruel!

M. VANDERK FILS. ⁶⁵⁰Que je suis aise de te revoir, ma chère Victorine.⁶⁵¹

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Victorine, retirez-vous.⁶⁵²

SCÈNE XII.

MME VANDERK, SOPHIE, LE GENDRE, ET LES ACTEURS PRÉCÉDENS.

MME VANDERK. Ah! te voilà, mon fils. (*à M. Vanderk père*).
⁶⁵³Mon cher ami, peut-on faire servir? Il est tard.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Ces Messieurs veulent bien rester.

⁶⁴⁵In the Ms-S there is crowded in, written by Sedaine himself: (*en baisant la main de Vanderk Père*) and DESPARVILLE PERE *à son fils. Mon fils, ce que vous faites là est bien.* Noteworthy is the spelling Vanderk; compare notes 12 and 44.

⁶⁴⁶A, D and E have here "*filz*" for "*père*", an error that went into trT and trG. TrM is vague, and trW compromises thus: *Er kusst dem Vanderk Vater die Hand und umarmt den Sohn.* TrG is as follows: (*Vanderk Sohn unarmend*) *Sein Freund! sein bester Freund!*

The error of A was corrected in its errata and the correction to "*père*" went into C, F, K, and Av as usual. Also into Ib, c; Di-H; B-N. See note 152.

⁶⁴⁷M. DESPARVILLE *père à son fils*: Ms-S; II. A, C, E have a common misprint: MM. DESPARVILLE *père et fils*.

⁶⁴⁸Omit "*bien, bien*": Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II.

⁶⁴⁹Insert *à M. Vanderk fils*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁵⁰Insert *à Victorine*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II, H1; H2; O.

⁶⁵¹Omit *ma chère Victorine*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II. O makes a separate phrase of it: *Ma chère Victorine.* TrP has *meine gute Victorine*, which shows that it is still following the appendix of A. TrG has: *Liebe Viktorine! Wie ist es dir seit gestern gegangen?* VIKTORINE. *Ja fragen Sie noch!* See 638 end, for trW.

⁶⁵²Substitute *taisez-vous*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O. TrM has both: *gehe hinweg, schweige.*

⁶⁵³No (*à M. Vanderk père*): Ms-S; Ia, c; hence in most of Ic we read *mon fils, mon cher ami*, although it is clear that "*ami*" is addressed to her husband.

⁶⁵⁴Voici, Messieurs, ma femme, mon gendre, et ma fille que je vous présente.

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Quel bonheur mérite une telle famille!

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SCÈNE XIII.

LA TANTE ET LES ACTEURS PRÉCÉDENS.

LA TANTE. On dit⁶⁵⁵ que mon neveu est arrivé. Hé! te voilà, mon cher enfant.⁶⁵⁶

M. VANDERK PÈRE. ⁶⁵⁷Madame, vous demandiez des Militaires; en voilà.⁶⁵⁸ Aidez-moi à les retenir.

LA TANTE. Hé! c'est le vieux Baron Desparville.^{659a}

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Hé! c'est vous, Madame la Marquise. Je vous croyois en Berri.^{659b}

LA TANTE. Que faites-vous ici?

M. DESPARVILLE PÈRE. Vous êtes, Madame, chez le plus brave homme, le plus, le plus⁶⁶⁰. . .

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Monsieur, Monsieur. Passons dans le

⁶⁵⁴Insert (à Messieurs Desparville): Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁵⁵On m'a dit: Ib. m'han detto: trB.

⁶⁵⁶There is added to the Ms-S, crowded in between the lines, the following in the hand of Sedaine: *Je n'ai eu qu'un cri après toi. Je t'ai demandé, je t'ai désiré. Ah, ton père est singulier, très singulier, te donner une commission le jour du mariage de ta sœur!*" This addition appears (with slight modification noted below) in Ia, b, c; trS; II; O. Heylli omits it in both editions, being probably governed, as myself, by the fact that the addition is not in the appendix. The following variant occurs:

• A; D; E; F have: *est si singulier, très singulier*; this is changed in the errata of A to *est singulier, mais très singulier* which latter reading is in the rest of Ia, in Ib, c; II; O. In Mz *comment!* is written above *très singulier, te donner*. Compare 670.

⁶⁵⁷Mz inserts: *à la tante*.

⁶⁵⁸Substitute *en voici*: Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

^{659a}In RF the aunt says: *Hé! c'est le vieux colonel d'Esparville*, and he replies: *Hé! c'est vous, madame de Marsillac*.

^{659b}Franken: trP; *auf ihrem Gute*: trW; in *provincia*: trB.

⁶⁶⁰Omit one *le plus*: D.

sallon, vous y⁶⁶¹ renouerez connoissance. Ah! Messieurs, ah! mes enfans⁶⁶², je suis dans l'ivresse de la plus grande joie. ⁶⁶³Madame, voilà notre⁶⁶⁴ fils.

(*Il l'embrasse⁶⁶⁵; le fils embrasse sa mère*)

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SCÈNE XIV ET DERNIÈRE.

ANTOINE ET LES ACTEURS PRÉCÉDENS

ANTOINE. Le carrosse est avancé, Monsieur, et. . . Ah, ciel! Ah, Dieux⁶⁶⁶! Ah, Monsieur!⁶⁶⁷

MME VANDERK. ⁶⁶⁸Hé bien, hé bien, Antoine! hé!⁶⁶⁹. . . mais la tête lui tourne aujourd'hui.

LA TANTE. Cet homme est fou.⁶⁷⁰

(⁶⁷¹*Victorine court à son père, lui met la main sur la bouche, et l'embrasse.*)

⁶⁶¹Omit y: D.

⁶⁶²B-Na omits *ah! mes enfans*.

⁶⁶³Add (*à sa femme*): Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; H1; H2; O.

⁶⁶⁴The Ms-S had first *votre* which is cancelled for *notre*. H1 has *mon fils*, trG has *deinen Sohn* and adds: "*umarm' ihn, umarm' ihn ja von Herzen! MADAM VANDERK Von ganzem Herzen (umarmt ihren Sohn).*"

⁶⁶⁵Substitute (*il embrasse son fils* etc): Ms-S: Ia, b, c; II; H1; O.

⁶⁶⁶*Ah Dieu*: Ic; H1. O omits *ah, dieux*.

⁶⁶⁷In one of the copies of A at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one reads the following note in handwriting at this point: *Il[Antoine] embrasse Vanderk fils avec passion*. This may be the stage business which some spectator observed at this point. It is here in H1; H2; O that the direction (*Victorine court* etc) is inserted.

⁶⁶⁸This speech is clearly Madame Vanderk's in the Ms-S. It is, however, assigned to "*M. Vanderk père*" in Ia, b, c; P; H1; O. In Aa; Ba; Ea; B-Na; L; trW; trS; trM it is Madame Vanderk's. In B it is given to "*Mde Vanderk père*" (sic), and this curious error is not corrected in Mz.

⁶⁶⁹Ib omits *hé*.

⁶⁷⁰In the Ms-S there is added written, first in Sedaine's hand and then gone over in heavier ink and in another hand: *il faut le faire enfermer*. This addition is found in Ia, b, c; II; trS; H1; H2; O. H1 even says it twice. This is, like that noted at 656, an effort to enhance the rôle of the aunt in the closing scenes.

⁶⁷¹Compare 667. In trG the direction is totally lacking.

M. VANDERK PÈRE. Paix, Antoine. Voyez à nous faire servir.^{672, 673}

ANTOINE. Je ne sçais si c'est un rêve. Ah, quel bonheur! Il falloit que je fusse aveugle. . . ^{673a}Ah! jeunes gens, jeunes gens, ne penserez-vous jamais que l'étourderie même la plus pardonnable peut faire le malheur de tout ce qui vous entoure?⁶⁷⁴

*Fin du cinquième acte.*⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷²H1; H2; O insert arbitrarily here: VANDERK fils, (*en souriant à d'Esparville fils*) Il est fou! il est fou! (*ils sortent*).

⁶⁷³The Ms-S; Ia, b, c; II; O have the following: (*La compagnie fait un pas [in II 'La compagnie se retire'] et cependant Antoine dit*). Mz changes thus: (*La compagnie se retire*) SCENE XX. ANTOINE, (*seul*). *Je n'y conçois rien. Eh! Comment cela s'est-il pu faire? Je ne sçais si c'est un rêve. Ah quel bonheur! Il falloit donc que j'eusse la berlue . . . Ah! jeunes gens, jeunes gens etc.*

^{673a}RF concludes the play as follows: . . . *Ah! jeunes gens, jeunes gens, ne penserez-vous jamais que votre sang est à la patrie et ne doit être versé quel pour elle? Oui, tout citoyen qui, pour une querelle particulière, veut plonger ses armes dans le sein d'un autre citoyen, est un scélérat, qui attaque un des défenseurs de la patrie. Hé! si la prévention, la colère, la vengeance, la déraison vous insulte et vous provoque, les lois ne sont-elles pas là pour vous venger?*

⁶⁷⁴In trW the various indications of a stronger affection between Julchen (Victorine) and young Vanderk reach their climax in the last scene, which thus becomes so changed that I must quote it in its entirety in order to show these changes thoroughly:

ZWÖLFTER AUFTRITT.

DIE VORIGEN . . . ANTON

ANTON. Die Kutsche ist vorgefahren, mein Herr (*er wird den jungen Vanderk gewahr*) O Himmel . . . O mein Herr (*er springt ihm auf den Hals, und umarmt ihn*).

M. [Madame] VANDERK. Nun, nun, Anton! du bist ja ganz ausgelassen. BARON[essin]. Der Mensch ist verrückt, man muss ihn einsperren lassen. (*Julchen läuft auf ihn zu, und hält ihm den Mund zu*)

M[adame] VAND. Nun Anton! so hör doch einmal auf.

VANDERK V. O meine Kinder! stört ihn nicht in seiner Freude. Ihr wisst nicht, er weiss es selbst nicht, wie gut er ist . . . Anton! Ich werde dir den heutigen Tag nie vergessen! Wie kann ich dich belohnen?

ANT. Belohnen? O mein Herr! wenn ich nur nicht so alt wäre . . . dass ich Ihnen meine Schuld abtragen könnte . . . aber ich hoffe, die soll es einst

an meiner Stelle thun (*er zeigt auf Julchen*) Julchen! (*in einem ermahnenden Tone*).

JULCH. O mein Vater! (*Sie läuft zu dem Herrn und Mad. Vanderk, und küsst ihnen die Hände*) O mein Herr . . . O Madame (*Sie will sich ihnen zu Füßen werfen*).

VAND. V. (*hält sie zurück, und zeigt sie seinen Kindern*) Kinder! . . . das ist die Tochter des Antons . . . das ist die Tochter meines Freundes . . . Mehr darf ich euch nicht sagen.

SOPHIE und VAND. S. (*zugleich*) Liebster Vater. (*der junge Vanderk sieht Julchen an, und seufzet*).

VAND. V. (*der es gewahr wird*) Dieser Seufzer liess mich in das Innerste deines Herzens sehen—Ich verstehe dich—Erwarte alles von meiner Liebe. (*der junge Vanderk küsst ihm die Hand*.) O meine Freunde! O meine Kinder! (*er reicht ihnen die Hände, sie kommen von beyden Seiten, und umarmen ihn; er hält sie in den Armen bis an das Ende*.) Dieses ist der schönste Tag meines Lebens. (*zu seiner Frau*) Mein liebstes! Da ist unsre Tochter. Da ist unser Sohn . . . Unsre Kinder sind glücklich . . . Ich bin trunken für Entzücken . . . Für den Schmerz hatte ich Standhaftigkeit genug, aber für die Freude habe ich zu wenig.

ENDE des SCHAUSPIELS.

In *trO* there is a rather abrupt betrothal of young Melville (Vanderk) with Maria (Victorine). Maria is not, however, the daughter of Hargrave (Antoine) but the daughter of a deceased friend of the elder Melville who had, in gratitude for that friend's service to him, brought up the young girl in his own house. There is, therefore, not the same difference in social rank as in *Sedaine's* play. Moreover, the love of the young people is much more strongly marked than in the French original.

That other contemporary critics desired a greater emphasis placed upon the love episode is seen in a criticism of the play as first performed in Paris, which appeared in Vol 2 (p. 197-198) of *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der Freyen Künste*, Leipzig 1766 (Dyck): ". . . durch eine leichte Veränderung hätte er den jungen Walter (*sic*) zum Bräutigam machen können. Wie weit interessanter wäre es geworden, wenn dieser am Tage seiner Verbindung sich seiner Geliebten hätte entreissen müssen!"

¹⁰⁸At the bottom of page 96 of the Ms-S there appears the official permission of the police to stage the play. This runs as follows:

J'ai lu par ordre de monsieur Le lieutenant général de Police le | *Philosophe sans le Sçavoir* comédie et je crois qu'on peut en | permettre la représentation. à paris ce 10 9bre 1765 [signed] MARIN. |

Vu L'approbation. Permis de représenter | [signed] de SARTINE | ce 13 9bre 1765.

See in the introduction under the several earlier French editions a similar official permission to print the play.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 13, last line, insert "557" after "526".

Page 32, paragraph 24, line 5, change "a" to "à".

Page 76, paragraph 65, line 3, change "Group II" to "group II".

Page 78, paragraph 66, line 12, change "mentionée" to "mentionnée".

Page 93, foot-note 61, change the period after "*servante*" to a comma.

Page 114, foot-note 230, change "*frère*" to "*frère*".

Page 133, insert <54G> before "SCÈNE XI". For the exact position of this <54G> in the Ms-S see foot-note 377.

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