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FROM

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF ECONOMICS

THE
South Atlantic Quarterly

WILLIAM P. FEW,
WILLIAM H. GLASSON, } EDITORS

Volume XIII

JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1914

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1914

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Contents of Volume XIII

Number 1, January, 1914

	PAGE
The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Cities, <i>Gilbert T. Stephenson</i>	1
Popular Etymology <i>Reed Smith</i>	19
August Strindberg: Universalist..... <i>Archibald Henderson</i>	28
The Return to Objectivism in Poetry.. <i>H. Houston Peckham</i>	43
The Effect of Scientific Management on Wages, <i>Roland Hugins</i>	51
William Garrott Brown..... <i>William P. Few</i>	69
The Masters of Modern French Criticism, <i>Edwin Mims</i>	75
Book Reviews	81
Notes and News.....	104

Number 2, April, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Rural Com- munities in North Carolina..... <i>Gilbert T. Stephenson</i>	107
The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers, <i>Charles Lee Raper</i>	118
Vital Statistics in North Carolina..... <i>Mabel Parker Massey</i>	129
New Greek Literature..... <i>Charles W. Peppler</i>	134
The Federal Reserve Act of 1913..... <i>D. D. Wallace</i>	146
Sidney Lanier..... <i>Frank W. Cady</i>	156
Some Aspects of American Place Names, <i>Earl L. Bradsher</i>	174
The Poetical Technique of Coleridge... <i>Gilbert Cosulich</i>	189
Book Reviews	194
Notes and News.....	205

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIII

Number 3, July, 1914

	PAGE
Rural Land Segregation Between the Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson..... <i>Clarence Poe</i>	207
The American Pegasus..... <i>John Laurence McMaster</i>	213
Income Tax Discrimination and Differentiation, <i>Roy G. Blakey</i>	220
Dante and His Influence Upon the English Poets, <i>William A. Webb</i>	233
Some Irish Plays and Social Sketches.. <i>Elbridge Colby</i>	248
Lincoln's Interview with John B. Baldwin, <i>Wilmer L. Hall</i>	260
The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund, <i>William K. Boyd</i>	270
The Shape of the First London Theatre.. <i>T. S. Graves</i>	280
Book Reviews	283
Notes and News.....	297

Number 4, October, 1914

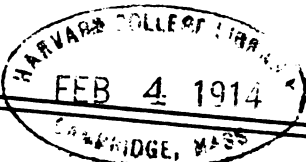
The Eugenic Judgment of War..... <i>Roland Hugins</i>	303
Thomas Jefferson as a Man of Letters.. <i>Max J. Herzberg</i>	310
The European War..... <i>William Thomas Laprade</i>	328
The Black Code of Alabama..... <i>George A. Wood</i>	350
The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund (Concluded), <i>William K. Boyd</i>	361
Some Fallacies Concerning the History of Public Education in the South..... <i>Edgar W. Knight</i>	371
Is American Literature Read and Respected in Europe? <i>H. Houston Peckham</i>	382
Book Reviews	389

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Volume XIII

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EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

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JANUARY, 1914

CONTENTS

THE SEGREGATION OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO RACES IN CITIES	GILBERT T. STEPHENSON	1
POPULAR ETYMOLOGY	REED SMITH	19
AUGUST STRINDBERG: UNIVERSALIST	ARCHIBALD HENDERSON	28
THE RETURN TO OBJECTIVISM IN POETRY	H. HOUSTON PECKHAM	43
THE EFFECT OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT ON WAGES	ROLAND HUGINS	51
WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN	WILLIAM P. FEW	69
THE MASTERS OF MODERN FRENCH CRITICISM	EDWIN MIMS	75
BOOK REVIEWS		81
NOTES AND NEWS		104

DURHAM, N. C.

Founded by the "9019" of Trinity College
Entered May 3, 1902, as second-class matter, Postoffice at Durham, N. C.
Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Published at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., by the
South Atlantic Publishing Company

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

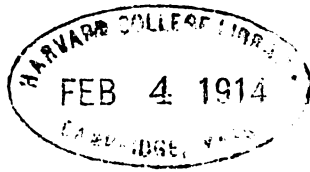
Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

JULY, 1913

The Virginia Mountaineers	John H. Ashworth
Contemporary British Criticism of the Fourteenth Amendment	Charles Wallace Collins
Otto Ludwig—A Centenary Appreciation	Roy Temple House
On the Enjoyment of Poetry	May Tomlinson
The Beginnings of the North Carolina City Schools, 1867-1887	Charles L. Coon
Flower de Hundred	N. P. Dunn
The Function of the College	David Martin Key
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	

OCTOBER, 1913

New Stories of Lee and Jackson	A. R. H. Ranson
Portrait of a Saint	Gamaliel Bradford, Jr.
Our Taxation Problem	Charles Lee Raper
The Hobbies of an Educated Man	William Wistar Oomfort
State, Nation, and the "New Freedom"	Lloyd T. Everett
The New Economic Interpretation of Literary History	Elbridge Colby
England and the Home-Rule Question	Winifred Mahon
The Federation of the World	Alfred Hayes
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	



Volume XIII JANUARY, 1914 Number 1

The
South Atlantic Quarterly

The Segregation of the White and Negro
Races in Cities

GILBERT T. STEPHENSON

Author of "Race Distinctions in American Law."

The latest development of legalized race distinctions is the segregation of the white and negro races as to residence in cities. There has long been a real, but ill-defined, separation of the white and colored residence districts in cities of the country, North and West as well as South. But it was in the fall of 1910 that the first move was made to separate the races as to residence by legal enactment.

The city of Baltimore took the lead. For some years there had been friction between the races in Baltimore, resulting from colored people moving into white blocks. The friction reached its climax in 1910, when a colored man moved into the eighteen hundred block of McCulloh Street, which was a white block. Immediately the white people on that and the neighboring blocks held a series of meetings and determined to take a positive stand against further encroachment of negroes on white blocks. The agitation resulted in the enactment of the West segregation ordinance, which is the first segregation law ever passed. In a test case in the early part of 1911, the ordinance was held invalid. Immediately thereafter the city council passed another ordinance which it thought would obviate the defects of the first one. Some doubt arose as to the regularity of the passage of this ordinance, and the city council passed a third segregation ordinance, this one in almost precisely the same language as the second, on the 15th day of May, 1911. The constitutionality of this ordinance was tested in the case of *State vs. Gurry* which went to the Court of Appeals of Maryland. This ordinance was, in turn, held unconstitutional. Not to be outdone, the city council forthwith passed another

segregation ordinance on the 25th of September, 1913. The city of Baltimore, accordingly, is acting under its fourth segregation ordinance, all four of them having been enacted within the course of less than three years.

The city of Richmond, Va., was the second to enact a segregation ordinance, this on the 19th of April, 1911. The Richmond ordinance has been tested and upheld in the police court, and cases are pending in the Hustings Court of Richmond, but none have yet gone to the Supreme Court.

Just two months later, on June 19th, 1911, Norfolk passed a segregation ordinance which has been amended twice and which is now before the ordinance committee of the city council to make it conform to the state segregation statute. The ordinance has been taken into the courts, but the issue has been the regularity of its passage and not the constitutionality of its fundamental principles.

In September, 1911, Ashland, Va., passed a segregation ordinance which is substantially a copy of the Richmond ordinance. This ordinance was recently tested and upheld by Judge Chichester in the Circuit Court of Hanover County in the case of *Town of Ashland vs. Coleman* (19 *Virginia Law Register*, October, 1913, page 427).

On May 1st, 1912, Greenville, S. C., passed a segregation ordinance, modelled after the Baltimore ordinance of 1911. This has not been tested by any of the South Carolina courts.

On March 12th, 1912, the legislature of Virginia passed a statewide segregation law which permits cities and towns so desiring to segregate the races. The city of Roanoke took advantage of this law and passed a segregation ordinance on the 15th of March, 1913. Portsmouth is now having a census taken with a view to passing a segregation ordinance under the state law.

On June 13th, 1912, the city of Winston, N. C., passed a segregation ordinance. Before this was ever tested, it was superseded by an ordinance of July 5th, 1912, modelled after the Richmond and Ashland ordinances. The Winston ordinance has been upheld by the municipal court of Winston-Salem, and several cases are now pending in the Superior Court.

On the 16th of June, 1913, Atlanta passed an ordinance,

practically copying the Baltimore ordinance of 1911. This has not been tested by the courts.

From the above, it appears that the following cities now have segregation ordinances: Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Ashland, Roanoke, Winston-Salem, Greenville, and Atlanta. Portsmouth, Va., is soon to have one. A segregation ordinance was introduced in the city council of St. Louis but was never passed. The segregation of the races by law has been discussed but not acted upon by Charlotte, N. C., Charleston, S. C., New Orleans, La., Meridian, Miss., and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Segregation of the races is coming to be a live and acute issue in Oklahoma City. Until recently, the people of that city were building rapidly and buying and selling property without thought of the race question. Now that the boom is over and the people are settling down to normal life, the race issue is coming to the front. The latter part of October of 1913, the home of a negro who had moved into a white block was dynamited and destroyed. The people of this new western city are awaiting with interest the outcome of the effort of the cities on the Atlantic coast to segregate the races.

The purpose of the several segregation ordinances may be gathered from their preambles. The purposes of the Baltimore, Atlanta, and Greenville ordinances are to preserve peace, prevent conflict and ill-feeling between the races, and to promote the general welfare of the city. The Virginia statute begins thus: "Whereas the preservation of the public morals, public health and public order in the cities and towns of this Commonwealth is endangered by the residence of white and colored people in close proximity to one another." Under these general heads may very easily be grouped the numerous arguments justifying the segregation of the races—such as the friction that rises from too close association of the races, the endangering of public health by the indiscriminate mixing of the races, and the depreciation of land values when colored people move into white blocks.

THE FOUR TYPES OF SEGREGATION ORDINANCES

There are four types of segregation legislation. We may designate the first one as the Baltimore type because Baltimore was the first city to adopt it. The Baltimore ordinance of

May 15th, 1911, was practically copied by Greenville, S. C., and Atlanta, Ga. The distinguishing characteristic of the Baltimore ordinance and those of its type is that they apply only to all-white and all-negro blocks and do not undertake to legislate for blocks upon which both white people and negroes live.

The second type of segregation legislation is illustrated by the Virginia statute of 1912; consequently we may call this the Virginia type. Under this statute, any city or town in the state so desiring may divide its territory into "segregation districts," designate which districts are to be for white people and which for negroes, and make it unlawful for white people to live in negro districts and for negroes to live in white districts. Roanoke has taken advantage of this law and has divided its territory into segregation districts. Portsmouth is getting ready to do so. While Virginia is the only state that has actually passed a segregation law, at the last session of the General Assembly of North Carolina a bill was introduced similar to the Virginia statute but was not passed.

The third type of segregation legislation takes its name from Richmond, Va., because that was the first city to adopt it. The Richmond ordinance has been copied by Ashland, Va., and Winston-Salem, N. C. The distinguishing feature of the Richmond type is that it undertakes to legislate for the whole city, declaring that a block is white whereon a majority of the residents are white and colored whereon a majority of the people are colored.

The fourth and last is the Norfolk type. The Norfolk ordinance is unique. Like the Richmond type, it undertakes to apply to mixed as well as all-white and all-negro blocks, but unlike the Richmond type, it determines the color of the block by the ownership as well as by the occupancy of the property thereon.

THE BALTIMORE TYPE

The Baltimore ordinance of May 15th, 1911, made it unlawful for any white person "to move into or use as a residence or place of abode any house, building or structure, or any part of any house, building or structure situated or located on any block * * * the houses, buildings, and structures on which

block, so far as the same are occupied or used as residences or places of abode, in whole or in part, shall be occupied or used as residences or places of abode by colored persons." In similar language colored persons were prohibited from moving into or using as a residence any houses or blocks occupied by white people. In a test case (*State vs. Gurry*) a question arose as to whether "in whole or in part" referred to the house or the block. To avoid this confusion and to make its ordinance conform in other respects to the opinion of the Court of Appeals in the case of *State vs. Gurry*, the city council passed a new ordinance on the 25th of September, 1913. This new ordinance simply makes it unlawful for any white person "to use as a residence or place of abode any house, building or structure, or part thereof, located in any colored block, as the same is hereinafter defined," and also makes it unlawful for any colored person to use as a residence any house in a white block.

The Greenville ordinance was originally the same in language as was the Baltimore ordinance of 1911; but on the 9th of September, 1913, it was amended so as to make it unlawful for any white person to move into or use as a residence any house in a block whereon two-thirds of the houses are occupied by colored persons, and making it unlawful for a colored person to move into a house in a block whereon two-thirds of the houses are occupied by white persons. Thus the Greenville ordinance now applies to mixed blocks to this extent and is insofar like the Richmond type.

The language of the Atlanta ordinance is similar to that of the Baltimore ordinance of 1911.

Block Defined.—If a white person must not move into a colored block and if a negro must not move into a white block, it is essential that "block" be defined clearly. The Baltimore ordinance of 1911 defines block as "that portion of any street or alley upon both sides of the same between the two adjacent intersecting or crossing streets." If either of the adjacent streets intersects but does not cross the street upon which the block in question is located, then the houses upon the side of the last mentioned street facing the intersecting street belong to the block lying in the direction towards which the house

numbers recede. Corner houses belong to the block in which they are numbered.

The last Baltimore ordinance does not change materially the definition of block given in the ordinance of 1911.

The Greenville ordinance defines a block as being that portion "of the city included within the lots of land facing upon both sides of any street, lane, alley, park or square within the city limits, between the lines of two streets, lanes, or alleys bounding, crossing or intersecting such street, lane, alley, park, or square; and in case either of such intersecting streets, lanes, or alleys does not cross the street upon which said lots of land may front, then such block shall be considered as bounded by the projections of the boundary lines of said intersecting streets, lanes or alleys, if the same were continued in a straight line." But on September 9th, 1913, this was amended so that now a block includes only the houses upon one side of the street, lane, alley, park or square.

The Atlanta ordinance defines a block to mean "that portion of any street or alley together with the lots abutting on the same, whether or not, and upon both sides thereof, between the two adjacent, intersecting or crossing streets. In case either of said adjacent streets intersects but does not cross the street upon which the block in question may be located, the lots, unimproved or improved, upon the side of the last-mentioned street, to-wit, the street facing the intersecting street, shall be included in the block between the two adjacent, intersecting, crossing streets without reference to the street which runs to said block but does not cross same. Corner lots, improved or unimproved, shall be deemed located in the block upon the street on which they front or are intended to front when improved."

Color of the Block.—Having determined the definition of a block, one must next ascertain how the color of the block is fixed. In Baltimore a white block is one in which, at the time of the passage of the ordinance, white persons were residing, and in which on that date, no colored person was residing; and a colored block is one in which colored people were residing and no white people were residing at the time of the passage of the ordinance. This is, in effect, the definition

of white and colored blocks in Atlanta. No confusion can possibly arise here, because, if there is one colored person living on an otherwise white block or one white person on an otherwise colored block, it is a mixed block, and not covered by the ordinance at all.

In Greenville, under the amendment of September 9th, 1913, a white block is one on which two-thirds of the residences, so far as they are occupied, are occupied by white people, and a colored block is one on which two-thirds of the residences, so far as they are occupied, are occupied by colored people.

Persons Excepted from the Application of the Ordinances.—Domestic servants are excepted from these ordinances. Thus, in Baltimore, a domestic servant employed by a person of the other race may reside upon the premises of which his employer is owner or occupier. In Greenville, a domestic servant may reside with his employer in the house or building where he is employed or in a house appurtenant thereto. And in Atlanta a domestic servant may reside in the house or building wherein he is employed or upon the same lot with the houses or buildings which he serves.

Residents.—Since a white person is prohibited from residing in a colored block and a negro from residing in a white block, it is important to know who is a resident. The last Baltimore ordinance includes as a resident of a block “any person occupying any room therein as a sleeping place, whether as owner, tenant, dependent, boarder, lodger or otherwise, unless it appears that such occupation is merely transitory and that such person has another fixed place of abode.”

Places Included.—In the Baltimore ordinance of 1911, white people were prohibited from moving into and using as a residence or place of abode, as a church or place for conducting religious services, or as a school any house, building, or structure, or any portion thereof, in a colored block; and colored people were prohibited from having residences, churches, or schools in white blocks. But the last Baltimore ordinance does not cover churches or schools; so, apparently, white people, if they so desire, may build churches and schools for their race in colored blocks and colored people, in white blocks. The Atlanta ordinance, like the 1911 Baltimore ordi-

nance, covers schools and churches as well as residences and places of abode. The Greenville ordinance goes farther than either of these and makes it unlawful for a white person to use a house as a residence or place of abode, hotel, boarding house, restaurant, place of public amusement, store, or place of business of any kind in a colored block; and has the same prohibitions as to negroes in white blocks.

Provisions for Building Up Vacant Blocks and for Determining the Color Thereof.—In Greenville, if the owner wishes to build up a vacant lot in a block wherein there are no residences, he must make application for a permit to build to the inspector of buildings. In his application he must declare whether the residence is to be used by white or colored persons. The inspector of buildings thereupon has his application published twice a week for two successive weeks in one or more daily newspapers in the city. Unless, within five days after the date of the last publication of the notice, protest is made in writing to the inspector by a majority of the property owners in said block against the use of the proposed house as a residence by the race mentioned in the notice, then the permit shall be issued. The granting of this permit determines the color of the block for subsequent builders and occupiers. Under the Baltimore ordinance of 1911, however, if the owner of the vacant lot, at the time of making his application, filed with the building inspector the written assent of the owners of at least half the property fronting on the block, then the building inspector might issue the permit without publication. The Baltimore ordinance of September 25th, 1913, makes no provision for building up vacant blocks. The Atlanta ordinance is the same in substance as that of Greenville.

Throwing Blocks Open to Both Races.—Sometimes, in the course of the development of the city, the character of a neighborhood changes. What was once a desirable white residence district may become a negro tenement district. The segregation ordinances make provision for this by allowing all-white or all-negro blocks to be thrown open to both races where the advisability for so doing appears. A majority of the property owners in any block may make application to the building inspector to declare the houses on the block to be

open for occupancy thereafter by either white or colored persons. The building inspector thereupon notifies the police commissioners that the block is no longer subject to provisions of the ordinance. As soon as the application is filed either white or colored persons may move into the block without risk of prosecution. If, however, later the block becomes all-white or all-negro, it immediately becomes subject to the provisions of the segregation ordinance. This provision is to be found in the Greenville and Atlanta ordinances and in the Baltimore ordinance of 1911, but it is not found in the last Baltimore ordinance.

Members of One Race Moving into Houses Formerly Occupied by Members of Other Races.—It has been said that the ordinances of the Baltimore type apply only to the all-white and all-negro blocks, with the exception that the Greenville ordinance covers blocks in which two-thirds of the residences belong to one or the other race. But even in these cities the two races are not permitted to move about in the mixed blocks as they please. In Atlanta, for instance, it is unlawful for a colored person to move into or use as a residence any house that has previously been occupied by white people and where white people are still living in adjoining houses, without the consent of those white people; and, similarly, it is unlawful for a white person to move into a house previously occupied by a negro, without the consent of the negroes in the adjoining houses. This provision seems to obtain only in Atlanta.

Retroactive Application.—Suppose a negro had moved into a white neighborhood before the ordinance was passed. Or suppose he bought a house and lot in a white neighborhood and had not moved into it at the time the ordinance was passed. Or suppose he had a vacant lot on a white block and wished to build upon it and use the house as a residence after the ordinance was passed. Protecting vested rights occasioned considerable difficulty to the framers of these segregation ordinances. The Baltimore ordinance of 1911 made no reference to vested rights, and in *State vs. Gurry* it was declared unconstitutional because it did not protect them. The ordinance of Sept. 25th, 1913, which was passed in conformity with the opinion of the Court of Appeals in *State vs. Gurry*, provides that noth-

ing in the ordinance " shall be construed or operate to prevent any person, who, at the date of the passage of this ordinance, shall have acquired a legal right to occupy, as residence, any building or portion thereof, whether by devise, purchase, lease, or other contract, from exercising such legal right." The Atlanta ordinance was amended while it was pending in June, 1913, by providing that the ordinance should not cause any change in the status of the races as to prevent occupying or ownership, and no member of either race should be forced to move from any present location, but the entire ordinance should be operative as to the future. The Greenville ordinance, which was modelled after the Baltimore ordinance of 1911, has apparently not yet been amended to meet the defect in the Baltimore ordinance found in *State vs. Gurry*. As the Baltimore and Atlanta ordinances now read, the negro who owned property on a white block before the ordinance was passed can build upon it and occupy the house as a residence since the ordinance has passed, but he cannot now sell it to another colored person to build upon and use as a residence.

Penalties.—The last Baltimore ordinance makes the violation of any of its provisions a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not less than \$5.00 nor more than \$50.00 or by imprisonment not less than thirty days nor more than twelve months. Each day that the violation is continued is a separate offense. In the Atlanta ordinance, the one who violates any of its provisions may be fined not over \$100.00 or sentenced to work on the public works for not over thirty days. Here, too, each day's violation is a separate offense. In Greenville, the violation of the ordinance is punished by a fine of not over \$100.00, or imprisonment not over thirty days. Each twenty-four hours during which the violation continues is a separate offense.

THE VIRGINIA TYPE

The Virginia statute, which was passed March 12th, 1912, permits cities and towns so desiring to adopt an ordinance segregating the races after the plan laid out in the statute.

Segregation Districts.—The entire area of the city or town is divided into districts. The boundaries of the districts must be plainly designated in the ordinance. Each district is known

as a segregation district. It must not comprise less than the entire area fronting on any street or alley and lying between any two adjacent streets or alleys or between any street and an alley next adjacent thereto.

Segregation Map.—Within six months after the segregation ordinance is passed, the city council must have prepared a map showing the boundaries of the segregation districts and showing the number of white and colored persons within each district on a date designated in the ordinance; this date must be within sixty days of the passage of the ordinance. This map, when it is certified by the clerk of the council, becomes *prima facie* evidence of boundaries and racial designation of the districts. This map is kept open for inspection; and, if any person feels aggrieved, he may, within sixty days from the completion of the map and within eight months from the adoption of the ordinance give notice in writing to the clerk of the council of the way in which he is aggrieved; and within thirty days of such notice he may bring an action in the corporation court or before the judge in vacation to make such corrections of the map as are needed.

Color of Districts.—A white district is one in which on the date designated in the ordinance there were more residents of the white race than of the colored race; and a colored district is one in which there were on the same date "as many or more residents of the colored race" as there were of the white race. One notices that, if a district has fifty residents and twenty-six of them are white and twenty-four colored, it is a white district; but, if it has twenty-five white and twenty-five colored residents, it is a colored district. This obviates the difficulty that may arise in determining the color of a block or district when the white and colored residents are divided exactly equally.

Prohibitions of the Law.—Under the Virginia law, the races may shift as they please during the first twelve months after the ordinance is adopted. After the twelve months, it is unlawful for a colored person, not then residing in a white district or who is not a member of a family residing in a white district, to move into or occupy as a residence any house or part of a

house in a white district; and, similarly it is unlawful for a white person to move into a colored district.

Residents.—Any person who occupies a room as a sleeping place, whether as a dependent, boarder or lodger, is a resident of the district unless it appears that he has another fixed place of abode, and that his occupancy was transitory. This, it will be noticed, is the same definition of residents as in the last Baltimore ordinance.

Persons Excepted.—The provisions of the law do not apply to servants of the other race residing upon the premises of which their employer is occupier or owner.

Retroactive Application.—The law provides that it is not to be construed or to operate to prevent any person who, on the date of adoption of the ordinance, shall have acquired a legal right to occupy as a resident, any building or part of a building and who shall not on that date have actually moved into such premises.

Penalties.—Any person residing in a district set apart for the other races contrary to law shall be fined for the first week of such prohibited residence not less than \$5.00 nor more than \$50.00, and \$2.00 for each succeeding day of such residence.

Where Virginia Statute Is In Force.—Roanoke, as it has been stated before, is the only city in Virginia that has actually divided its territory into segregation districts according to the state law. It did this on March 15th, 1913. The city is divided into four definitely described segregation districts each of which is designated as a colored district. The fifth district comprises all the balance of the territory in the corporate limits and is designated as a white district.

THE RICHMOND TYPE

The Richmond, Ashland, and Winston-Salem ordinances are in substantially the same language and may be treated as one.

Prohibitions of the Ordinance.—It is unlawful for any person to occupy as a residence or to establish and maintain as a school or place of public assembly any house upon any street or alley between two adjacent streets on which a greater number of houses are occupied as residences by white people than

by colored people; and, similarly, it is unlawful for a colored person to occupy as a residence or to maintain as a school or place of public assembly any house on a street between two adjacent streets on which a greater number of houses are occupied as residences by white than by colored people.

Building Permits.—Before a person can build upon a vacant block, he must state whether the house is to be used by white or colored people, and the proper authority must not issue a permit unless the applicant complies with the law.

Retroactive Application.—Nothing in the ordinance shall affect the location of residences made prior to the approval of the ordinance.

Persons Excepted.—The ordinance cannot be construed to prevent the occupation by white or colored servants or employees on the lots on which they are employed.

Penalties.—The violation of the ordinance in Ashland is punishable by fine of not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars or by imprisonment not less than thirty nor more than ninety days; in Richmond, by a fine of not less than \$100.00 nor more than \$200.00 or imprisonment not less than thirty nor more than ninety days; and in Winston-Salem, by a fine of \$50.00 or imprisonment for thirty days. It is specifically stated in the Winston-Salem ordinance that each day's violation shall be a separate offense.

THE NORFOLK TYPE

The Norfolk ordinance is in one respect, at least, unlike any of the others. It is different from the others in that ownership as well as occupancy of property is considered in determining the color of the block. In other respects, the Norfolk ordinance is nearly like the Richmond type. No colored person is permitted to occupy or use for any purpose any house, building, structure, or premises, or any part thereof, on any white block; and no white person is permitted to occupy or use any house on any colored block. A block comprehends both sides of that portion of any street or alley between two contiguous intersecting streets which cross it, or the end or ends of a street or alley intersecting but not crossing it. This is about the same definition of block as that of Greenville. A white

block is one in which a majority of the aggregate frontage of all land on both sides of the street or alley belongs to land either owned or occupied by white people; and a colored block is one in which a majority of the aggregate frontage of the land on both sides of the street is owned by colored persons. The ordinance does not interfere with the occupation or use of stores by merchants, nor does it interfere with the continued use or occupation of property in the same manner in which it was used or occupied at the time the ordinance went into effect. The ordinance does not prohibit domestic servants or employees from living on the premises upon which they are employed. A violation of the ordinance is punished by a fine of not less than \$1.00 nor more than \$10.00, or by imprisonment not over six months, or both. Each day's violation is a separate offense.

As has been said before, the city council of Norfolk is planning to make the Norfolk ordinance conform to the state segregation statute.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF SEGREGATION LEGISLATION

The most important legal question about the segregation ordinances is that of their constitutionality. If they are violative of the state or federal constitutions, then a discussion of the desirability of segregating the races as to residence is a waste of time. The segregation ordinances have been tested in several instances by inferior courts. The ordinances of the Richmond type, for instance, have been tested in the police courts of Richmond and Winston-Salem; and the Atlanta ordinance has been tested in its city court. But in only two instances have these ordinances been passed upon by a court that rendered a written opinion.

The Ashland ordinance, which is the same as the Richmond and Winston-Salem ordinances, was tested in the case of the *Town of Ashland vs. Coleman*, which was reported in 19 *Virginia Law Register*, page 427, in October, 1913. Judge Chichester held that the town of Ashland had authority to pass a segregation ordinance under its right to "preserve the peace and good order." He held that the passage of the ordinance was a reasonable exercise of the police power, and that it was not oppressive because it did not affect existing contracts

and because it applied to white people and negroes alike. He said that the segregation of the races is desirable because too close associations tends to result in breaches of the peace, in immorality, and endangering health. He said that the ordinance did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment, quoting as follows from the decision of the Supreme Court in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537: "So far, then, as a conflict with the 14th Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness, it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Guaged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, is more obnoxious to the 14th Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned or the corresponding acts of state legislatures. We consider the fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put construction upon it."

The only segregation ordinance that has been carried to the supreme court of a state was that of *State vs. Gurry*, which went to the Court of Appeals of Maryland and was passed upon in a decision handed down on October 13th, 1913. The case started in the criminal court of the city of Baltimore and the attorneys for the defendant demurred to the indictment on the ground that the ordinance was unconstitutional. The court sustained the demurrer on the following grounds: The ordinance made it unlawful for any person to "move into or use as a residence * * * any house * * * located on any block * * * the houses * * * of which block, so far

as the same are occupied or used as residences or places of abode, in whole or in part, shall be occupied or used as residences or places of abode by colored persons." It made similar provisions as to colored people living on white blocks. The state contended that the phrase "in whole or in part" applies to each house distributively. City Solicitor S. S. Field, of Baltimore, in his brief, said: "It was clearly put in to cover a situation which frequently occurs of one or more of the houses in the block being occupied in part—that is to say, for example: a three-story house used as apartments might have only one floor occupied; such a house would be properly described as 'occupied in part.' On the other hand, if one family occupied a whole house, or if a house were used as flats and every flat was occupied, the house would be properly described as occupied in whole, or wholly occupied. The framer of Section 1 wanted to have a general expression which would cover every condition that might exist,—he wished to describe a block in which all the residents were colored. Now it might happen that (1) all the houses would be occupied, or (2) that some might be occupied and some not occupied, or (3) some might be occupied in whole and some in part." The attorneys for defendant, on the other hand, contended that the phrase "in whole or in part" modified the word "block," and that the ordinance prohibited the residence of a white person in a block occupied, in whole or in part, by colored persons, or the residence of a colored person in a block occupied, in whole or in part, by white persons. Inasmuch as most of the blocks of the city are mixed—that is, occupied partly by white people and partly by negroes—the ordinance under this interpretation would prevent the further building up of mixed blocks, and when the persons in a mixed block had died or moved away, the block would be left vacant for all time. The criminal court of Baltimore, accepting the interpretation urged by the defendant, sustained the demurrer, saying " * * * every block in the city containing at the present time both white and colored persons would become at once depopulated, upon any enforcement of the ordinance. When, then, by the definition in the ordinance a block can be at the same time both a block and a colored block, it would seem unnecessary to say that the

ordinance is invalid and unenforceable to punish either white or colored persons."

Upon appeal to the Court of Appeals of Maryland, the court held that the Criminal Court of Baltimore was in error in holding that the phrase "in whole or in part" modified "block" saying, "Upon scrutiny it is clear that the words 'in whole or in part' were used to modify the words 'residences or places of abode.'" The court held that the city of Baltimore had full authority to pass a segregation ordinance and that segregation of the races violated neither the state nor the federal constitutions. The court said, "If the welfare of the City, in the minds of the Council, demanded that the two races should be thus, to this extent, separated and thereby a cause of conflict removed, the court cannot declare their action unreasonable. It was acknowledged by the counsel for the appellee, both in the brief and in verbal argument, that for years there had been more or less friction resulting from the occupancy by colored people of houses in blocks theretofore occupied wholly by white people. With this acknowledgement how can it be contended that the City Council, charged with looking to the welfare of the city, is seeking to make an unreasonable use of the police power, when it enacts a law which, in their opinion, will tend to prevent the conflict?" After declaring that the principle of segregation was constitutional, the court held that this particular segregation ordinance was invalid because it had ignored all vested rights which existed at the time of the passage of the ordinance. "If the traverser, for example, on May 15th, 1911, when the ordinance was passed, owned a dwelling in what was made a white block, he could not, under the ordinance, move into it, although it was perfectly lawful for him to own it when he became owner, and to use it as a dwelling. He might be unable to rent it to a white person, and as a colored person was prohibited from moving into it, he could not rent it to a colored person, and he could not under the ordinance move into it himself. The result would be that his house would remain idle, unless he could sell it, which under the circumstances would likely be at a great sacrifice, although when he acquired it he had the right under the constitution and laws of Maryland to occupy it as his dwelling, or rent it

to any person, white or colored, to be used for legitimate purposes. Or it might be that a white person had a valuable and attractive house in a 'block' which was otherwise occupied by colored people, yet if at the passage of the ordinance it happened to be unoccupied as a dwelling, he could not under the ordinance move into it or rent it to a white person. To deny him such rights would be a practical confiscation of his property, for his house might be of a character he would not rent to a colored person, and if he could not use it himself he would be deprived of not only the income from it, but of such use of it as is guaranteed to every owner of property by the constitution and laws of the land. Of course, the same conditions might exist when the owner of the one house was colored and the other residents of the block were white, although probably not so likely to happen."

After holding the particular Baltimore ordinance invalid for the reason given above, the court made several suggestions as to how an ordinance might be drawn that would satisfy all constitutional requirements. The city council of Baltimore accepted the suggestions of the court and on the 25th of September, 1913, adopted a new ordinance cured of all the defects mentioned by the court.

Thus the matter stands. The Circuit Court of Hanover County, Virginia, has held the Ashland ordinance constitutional; the Supreme Court of Maryland has held the principle of race segregation constitutional, though at the same time it declared invalid a particular ordinance.

What the Supreme Court of the United States will say is the next question. This court has upheld laws separating the races in schools, in railroad cars, in street cars, in places of amusement, and in other public places. It has also, time and again, upheld the laws prohibiting intermarriage. Is there any inherent difference between separating the races in public conveyances and in public places and in separating them in their residences, provided vested rights are properly protected? That is the question which the Supreme Court of the United States has yet to answer.

Popular Etymology

REED SMITH

Professor of English in the University of South Carolina.

Like the character of Molière's who learned with pleased surprise that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it, most people are more familiar with the actual workings of Popular Etymology than with the name. Popular etymology, or folk-etymology, is rather a large term for a very old principle of language, and is simply the process of changing or corrupting the form of an unfamiliar or strange-looking word to make it like, or identical with, a more familiar word. We know that for the most part words go together in groups, as *chronology*, *chronic*, *chronicle*, *chronicler*, *chronometer*, or *fail*, *failing*, *unfailing*, *failed*, *failure*. Whenever a new word is met with, we instinctively tend to connect it with some word or word family already known. This tendency is natural, often unconscious, and frequently gives curious results. It is nearly always the sound rather than the sense or the spelling that counts. Both learning and printing make against it. In one aspect popular etymology is a succession of unconscious collective puns or plays upon words.

The essence of the process is illustrated in the following incident. Three ladies were talking about a conversation they had overheard between a man and his wife.

"They must have been to the circus," said Mrs. A, "because I heard her mention 'a trained deer.'"

"No, they were talking about going away," answered Mrs. B, "for she said 'Find out about the train, dear.'"

"Both of you are wrong," exclaimed Mrs. C, "they were discussing music, for she spoke of 'a trained ear' as distinctly as could be."

Just then the woman herself appeared and was asked to settle it.

"I spent last night in the country," she explained, "and simply asked my husband if it had rained here last night."

Each of the three ladies identified differently the sounds she heard, and thus put her own interpretation upon them. When

this occurs in the case of a community or a whole nation it is called popular etymology. It has exerted no small influence on our vocabulary. A typical instance is found in the familiar history of *humble-pie*. *Humble-pie* has no connection with *humble*. It was first *umble-pie*, that is, pie made from the *umbles* or inferior parts of the stag. Widespread confusion of *umble* with *humble* gave us the word as we have it today.

Frequently the changes due to popular etymology are current only among the unlearned, and never gain a place in the dictionary. Such is the case of *overhauls* for *overalls*, conceived as a garment *hauled* or pulled on over *all* the other clothing. In this instance, as in many others, there is a kind of odd or perverse aptness in the corruption: the change seems logical and makes sense. Such is the case, also, with *very coarse veins* for *varicose veins*, *terrified fever* for *typhoid fever*, *needcessity* for *necessity*, *edge* for *age* in poker, *empire* for *umpire*, *ending* for *inning*, *shoe-make* for *sumac* (a plant used in tanning leather), *Saltcatcher river* for *Salkehatchie river*, a tidewater river of lower South Carolina. These words, as Camden says in his *Remains Concerning Britain*, have been "altered strangely to significative words by the common sort, who desire to make all significative." Indeed, the changes due to popular etymology are so often 'significative' that one is tempted to make the quality of being significative a necessary element of the process. Just as often, however, the change to a more familiar word has not the slightest bearing on the meaning, and makes nonsense. Such are *dandy fever* for *dengue* (pronounced dongay) *fever*, *poorhouse plaster* for *porous plaster*, *steeple* for *staple*, *chicken* for *chicane* in whist, *cowcumber* for *cucumber*, *barnfire* for *bonfire*, *comic* for *comet*, the *Fashion Play* for the *Passion Play*, *Coaching China* for *Cochin China*, *sickle pear* for *seckel pear*, so called after Mr. Seckel of Pennsylvania who first grew it. Sometimes only a part of the change seems to have any bearing on the meaning, the rest of the word being given up as a bad job. *Sparrow-grass* for *asparagus* is a good example of this. Asparagus is indeed a kind of 'grass' but is not peculiarly dedicated to sparrows. The humorous *aunt's-sisters* for *ancestors* shows a farfetched kind of agreement between sound and sense, while the logic of *juice-*

harp for Jews'-harp will be readily recognized by those who have tried to play one. When sound alone is considered, strange results follow, as in the case of the line from the familiar hymn, 'That consecrated cross I'd bear,' which has called up in many a child's mind a startling picture of squinting ursine piety.

Popular etymology, however, has not been limited to words like *needcessity* and *sparrow-grass*. Often its influence was exerted early enough in the history of our language for the changed form to become standard English and to displace altogether the original correct form. *Humble-pie* for *umble-pie* has been already mentioned. *Comptroller* is another case in point. The word was originally *controller*. The first syllable was altered to its present spelling through a mistaken identification with French *compte*, 'account.' Bridal is from *brideale*, the last syllable having been changed by analogy with *espousal*, *betrothal*, and other words in *al*. *Hiccough* has nothing to do with *cough*. It was probably an imitative word and was variously spelled *hickup*, *hicock*, and *hicket*. Its pronunciation has not changed though its spelling has. The little flower commonly known as the *dandyion* (for dandelion) owes its first element to false etymology. It is from the French *dent de lion*, 'tooth of lion.' From the French pronunciation of *dent de* to *dandy* was an easy step. Its botanical family name, *Leontodon*, still shows its true origin, as do its continental names today, Spanish *diente de leon*, Portuguese *dente de leao*, Italian *dente di leone*, German *löwenzahn*.

Occasionally some familiar word will work its way into many places where it does not belong. A good instance of this is *rose* in *primrose*, *rosemary*, and *tuberose*, none of which originally had any connection with *rose*. *Primrose* is from an earlier *primerole*, Old French for *primerola*, a Latin diminutive of *primus*, 'first,' the idea being that the flower blooms early in the *prime* or spring of the year. *Rosemary* is from *rosmarine*, French *romarin*, from Latin *ros marinus*, 'sea dew.' *Tuberose*, which does not in the least resemble a rose, is from Latin *tuberosus*, 'bulbous,' 'tuberous.' Another case of wholesale 'breaking and entering' is that of the word *sand* in *Sand-script* (for Sanskrit), *sand-blind* for *samblind* (literally 'half-

blind'), and *sand-fire* for *samphire*. *Samphire* is itself a corruption of the Old French *herbe de Saint Pierre*.

Foreign place-names, especially those from the French, have undergone many strange transformations before they sounded enough like native English words to feel at home. *Green Bay*, Wisconsin, was originally *la grande baie*, 'big bay.' It was soon altered to *Green Bay*. *Bureau County*, Illinois, was named after *Pierre de Beuro*, an early French trader. The change from Beuro to Bureau was easy and natural. *Fever river*, Illinois, (now known as Galena river) was first named *la riviere de feve* (feve, bean) because of the immense quantities of wild beans which French explorers found growing on its banks. Later the name of the river was corrupted to *Fievre river*, or *Fever river*, though the stream is not unhealthful. *Yankton*, South Dakota, has nothing to do with *Yanks* or *Yankees*. It is a corruption of the Sioux Indian name *Ihanktonwan*, 'the end of the village.' The river *Des Moines*, Iowa, was first called *Des Moins*, 'of the small river' to distinguish it from the Mississippi, the great river. Finally the river became associated with the Trappist monks and was called *la riviere des moines*, 'the river of the monks.'¹

At bottom popular etymology is but one phase of analogy, that great underlying principle of language which tends to sweep away all differences and to bring about general conformity of derivation, inflection, spelling, and pronunciation. Just as analogy long ago reduced the various Anglo-Saxon noun declensions to the prevailing *-s*, *-es* type, so popular etymology is today liable to mistake any word, especially a foreign word, ending in a sibilant for a plural whether it be so or not, and to form a new singular by the simple expedient of dropping the final *-s*. Thus is to be accounted for our useful though historically false singular *asset* from *assets*. *Assets* was not originally plural. It came from the Old French *assetz* (*asses*), 'enough,' from the Latin *ad satis*. Its final *-s* caused it to be felt as a plural and thus gave rise to the singular *asset*, which has established its place in good use. *Burial*, likewise, is an unauthorized formation, though it also has become standard

¹The source of the etymologies in this paragraph is *A History of the Origin of the Place Names Connected with the Chicago and Northwestern and Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha Railways, Chicago, 1908.*

English. It is from the older *burials*, 'tomb.' Although this final -s was not the plural ending, it looked plural, and *burial* was accordingly formed. The -al spelling is probably due to analogy with *manual*, *casual*, and other Latin derivatives in -al. Similar in origin are *shay* for *chaise*, *Fayal* the *Azore*, *Cyclop* for *Cyclops*, *Chinee*, *Portugee*, *Japanee*, *Maltee*, and the monstrosity *corp* for *corps* and 'a nice pant' for 'a nice pair of pants.'

Not always, however, are mistakes in words due to the unlearned. Many an error has been made by scholars themselves and has perpetuated itself in the language. In such cases the process is not popular etymology in the true sense. The two are closely akin, however, and the results are the same. Our spelling *rhyme* is a learned error of this kind. The proper spelling is *rime*, for the word comes from the Anglo-Saxon *rim*, 'measure.' It was falsely associated with the Greek *rhythmos* (which has given us *rhythm*) and the spelling *rhyme* was the result. Of late there has come about a decided tendency to return to simpler (and better) spelling *rime*. *Sovereign* is another example. It is from Old ~~spelling *rime*. *Sovereign* is another example. It is from Old~~ French *soverain* from Low Latin *superanus*. The proper spelling would be *sovrain*, which indeed is the form Milton uses. Because the *sovrain* rules or reigns, the last syllable became confused with *reign* and in that form established itself. Our present spelling of *perfect* is another case in point. Though coming ultimately from the Latin *perfectus*, it came immediately from the Old French *parfit*, *parfet*, and appeared in Middle English as *parfit* or *parfet*. In the century following Chaucer, scholars substituted the form *perfect*. This form gradually gained currency till it displaced *parfet*, though for a long time the pronunciation still followed the earlier spelling. A similar instance of altered spelling which failed, however, to establish itself, was *abominable* for *abominable*. The word is really from the Latin *ab omen*, 'away from or against the omen.' It suggested the unnatural and the inhuman and was for a time changed to *abominable* as if derived from *ab*

homo, 'away from or against man.' Finally, however, the earlier and correct spelling won.²

The words *Welch rarebit* and *touchy* together show a different phase of the kind of word change just spoken of. They are due to the instinct of precision or elegance in speech. *Rarebit* is the 'correction' of *rabbit* in the phrase *Welch rabbit*. This phrase was purely and simply a jocose coinage like the middle western 'fruit and furniture' for hoop-poles and pumpkins, and was not meant to make sense. *Rabbit* seemed illogical and inelegant and *rarebit* was coined to take its place. *Touchy* is due to the same instinct. It is not from *touch* but from *teche*, a word which is now out of use but which is connected with the French *teche*, *tache*, 'spot or blemish.' Its proper form would be *techy* or *tetchy*, meaning 'faulty,' 'blemished.' There was already in the language the word *tetch*, a vulgar form of *touch*; *tetchy* was connected with it in the popular mind and thus felt to be a barbarism. *Touchy* was accordingly substituted for it, and the historically correct *tetchy* banished from good society.

Occasionally popular etymology works out not one but two and even three forms from the same word. Sometimes these forms are independent of each other and quite unrelated, as *Vera Cruz veins*, *very coarse veins*, and *very close veins* (Kipling's *Wee Willie Winkie*) for *varicose veins*. Oftener the second form is a further alteration of the first. Thus, in a Canadian saw-mill the culls or trimmings, which were known as *refuse boards*, came to be called *refuge boards* and that term was further changed to *rough edge boards*. A well known example of this doubling up process is the word *cutlass*. *Cutlass* has no connection with *cut*. The original form was from the French *coutelas*, an augmentative of *couteau*, *coutel*, derived from the Latin *cultellus*, 'knife.' Through obvious association with *cut* the form was altered to *cut lass*. It did not stop there, however. Both parts had to be made significant. As *lass* did not seem logical the sailors changed it to *lash*, making the complete word *cutlash*. Rosalind's 'gallant curtleaxe' (As You Like It, I., iii., 116) is another variation of *cutlass*.

² For some of the etymologies in this paragraph and for others elsewhere in this article, information has been drawn from Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, The Macmillan Company, 1905, and from Weekley, *The Romance of Words*, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1912.

The first element is due to false association with *curtal*, 'short' and the last to confusion with *axe*. Sometimes a loan word is worked in differently by popular etymology in different languages. The Old Norse *hreinn* is an interesting case. *Hreinn* means 'reindeer.' When it was taken over into English it was altered to *rein* through the natural suggestion of driving, and a superfluous *deer*—which meant at that time 'beast'—was added, giving *reindeer*, 'rein beast.' The Germans borrowed the Norse word too, but to them *hreinn* suggested *rennen*, 'to run.' They added, like the English, the unnecessary word *Tier*, 'beast.' Thus *hreinn* has given the English 'rein-beast' and the Germans 'run-beast,' both of which are logical names. The independent specialization of *deer* in English to mean the particular kind of animal family to which the reindeer belongs has made our English word wholly 'significant.' The form *rain-deer* also appeared and for a time gained currency, but *reindeer* finally established itself.

Many of the absurdities in English tavern signs today are traceable to a process closely akin to popular etymology. The sign of the *Leg and the Seven Stars*, for example, is thought to have been formerly the *League and the Seven Stars*, or the seven united provinces. *The Swan with the Two Necks* is presumably for *The Swan with Two Nicks*. The nick was a mark or notch cut on the beaks of swans or cygnets by way of identification, like the notching of pigs' ears or the branding of cattle. The curious combination of *The Goat and Compasses* has been heroically conjectured to be a corruption of *God Encompasseth Us*, a relic of the days of the Commonwealth when scriptural names were fashionable even in tavern signs. *Satan and the Bag of Nails* has been traced to *The Satyr and Bacchanals*. *The Queer Door* is probably a corruption of *Coeur Doré*, 'gilded heart.' *The Goat in the Golden Boots* is ingeniously derived from the Dutch *Goud in der Gouden Boote*, 'the god (Mercury) in the golden boots.' Best of all, and probably authentic, is the history of the sign of *The Four Awls*. An annotator on *Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature* accounts for it as follows: "I remember, many years ago, passing through a court in Rosemary Lane, whence I observed an ancient sign over the door of an ale-house, which was called *The Four Alls*."

There was the figure of a king, and a label, 'I rule all;' the figure of a priest, motto, 'I pray for all;' a soldier, 'I fight for all;' and a yeoman, 'I pay all.' About two years ago I passed through the same thoroughfare, and looking up for my curious sign, I was amazed to see a painted board occupying its place, with these words inscribed:—'The Four Awls.'³

Fiction mirrors life as completely as may be. It is natural, therefore, to find many traces of popular etymology reflected in stories which aim at a realistic air of ignorance or rusticity. Under these circumstances it is not easy to tell whether the author is reproducing actual words he has met in real life or is coining instances of his own. From a wide variety of examples may be noted *Alfred Davy* for *affidavit*, *have-his-carcass* for *habeas corpus*, *stay-at-home-with-us tumor* for *steatomatus tumor* (Charles Lever, *Harry Lorrequer*), *All cakes* for *alcaics* (A. T. Quiller-Couch, *Poison Island*). Huck Finn contributes *dolphin* for *dauphin* and 'Moses among the *bul-rushers*' (*bulrushes*). Negro dialect stories afford many examples. Uncle Remus has *rhynossyhosses* (*rhinoceroses*), *horsepital*, and *broom-sage* for *broom-sedge*. In Thomas Nelson Page's *Marse Chan* occur "De sheriff cum an' levelled (*levied*) on M'ria an' a whole parcel o' urr niggers" and "Marse Chan he *excepted* (*accepted*) de challenge." Irwin Russell in his excellent negro-dialect poem, *Christmas Night in the Quarters*, gives a negro prayer containing the fervent appeal,

"An' let de blessin' stay wid us, untel we comes to die,
An' goes to keep our Christmas wid dem sheriffs in de sky!"

Sheriffs for *seraphs* is beautifully characteristic. Thomas Hardy, who is supremely artistic in his portrayal of peasant life, affords the following examples. They are natural enough to be true whether actually current in Dorset or not: *gurgoyle* for *gargoyle*, 'nick or nothing' for 'neck or nothing,' 'get shot of' for 'get shed or shut of,' *Haymoss* for the proper name *Amos*, *Oliver Grumble* for *Oliver Cromwell*, 'topics of Capricorn,' for 'Tropic of Capricorn,' and best of all, 'We be tinkling *simples*' for 'tinkling *cymbals*.' This last

³ C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings from the Curious*, Baltimore, 1870, p. 429.

is worthy of Mrs. Malaprop herself. The humor of Mrs. Malaprop, by the way, as well as that of her earlier kinswoman Dame Quickly, is built up around just such mistakes. From one point of view both ladies are incarnate popular etymologies running wild. O. Henry's stories abound in plays upon words, ranging from the total depravity of *oil Grease-us* for *oil Croesus* and *Shetalkyou* for *Chatauqua* to the naturalness of *prince concert* for *prince consort*, *Hell's point* for *Hellespont* and *the music of the spears* for *the music of the spheres*.

All in all, popular etymology is an interesting process of language. Although its influence upon standard English has been checked by the spread of learning and printing, it caused in the past no inconsiderable change in our vocabulary. Being one aspect of analogy, the most vital and fundamental of linguistic principles, it will never die out entirely. It has been banished indeed from the highway to the bypaths and hedges of speech, but there the wary hunter can still see traces of it and if he is lucky, even find now and then a new specimen to add to his collection.

August Strindberg: Universalist

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON,

Professor in the University of North Carolina

From the study of the work of August Strindberg, the spiritual autobiography of the pre-eminent subjectivist of modern times, there arises the inevitable conviction that here is, in the spiritual sense, a marvellous tentative at incarnation of the superhuman ideals of contemporary thought and sensibility. Above all the dissonances of that inharmonious and jangled existence sounds the clear strain of persistently lofty idealism. This figure of strenuous mental vitality, of transcendent spiritual energy, thrilled with the towering ambition of the individual will, tumultuous, passionate, unstable. And yet the alluring contours of his art-work are chiselled with the cold, merciless steel of the sculptor-analyst. In conjunction with this towering ambition is discernible the supersensitiveness of the wild, shy, primitive creature, cowering beneath "all the weary weight of this unintelligible world." In inexplicable union are found the arrogant individualist, naïve to very charlatanry, and the intuitive subjectivist, ruthlessly exposing to view the immitigable tragedies of the universe and the anti-nomies of his own soul.

Strindberg is the congenital dualist of the epoch—a dualist in every faintest manifestation of his nature. In him the spirit eternally warred against the flesh, the flesh against the spirit. The incarnation of that pure energy, dionysian in origin, which Blake rhapsodically described as pure delight, Strindberg sought refuge from the storms of life in the haven of mysticism and occultism. As artist, the paradox of his dualism is no less astounding; for the integrity of his intellect, in achieving the realism of fact, is equalled only by the intuitive subtlety of his artistry, in sensing the illusory and the romantic. His whole life was a passionately defiant assertion of the human will; and yet he eternally bore the burden of the disillusioned idealist, sardonically delineating the dread penalties of environment, the inescapable obligations of contemporary civilization. With high, tragic mien he walked the painful path to the scene

of his own self-crucifixion, searching for God if haply he might find Him; and yet this relentless searcher for the good had his gaze irrevocably fixed upon evil and the source of evil. Like another Dante, he haunted the shades of the modern Inferno; but unlike Dante, in searching for God he found the devil. With the melancholy temper of a Holbein, he saw in the bitter comedy of life only a dance of death, while the Hogarthian fiddler hovered dementedly in the wings. In his fixed contemplation of the tragedy of human destiny is felt the strange, sweet pathos of one who is somehow strong and good; yet the knowledge, the fascination of evil so obsessed his consciousness that he stands forth today as that artist of modern times whose power of painting the evil genius of humanity, of turning up the seamy side of the garment of life for our horrified, yet fascinated inspection is unique and incomparable.

As artist, philosopher, thinker, Strindberg sought to annex the entire domain of the human spirit. And yet this search for cosmopolitan culture, this tortured struggle towards the highest flights and deepest reaches of the artistic consciousness, left him as it found him, a plebeian of the soul. It is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that Strindberg is the unconscionable diarist, one had wellnigh said the yellow journalist, of personal consciousness. A supreme artist with all the allure of genius, indeed—tainted with the dross of charlatanry and arrogance. Like another Knute, he bade the waves of life to recede; but for all his categorical imperative, life in the event obdurately refused to do his imperious bidding. Baffled, frustrated, this incarnation of *élan vital* still continued to the very end the process of creative evolution—striving illimitably to “rise above himself to himself,” to attain the supreme, ineluctable purposes of Life. Some words of that happiest of the optimists, Maurice Maeterlinck, might well serve for Strindberg’s epitaph: “There is more active charity in the egoism of a strenuous, far-seeing soul than in all the devotion of a soul that is helpless and blind.” August Strindberg was like a brilliant comet out of the Northern sky, flaming across the contemporary consciousness with radiant coruscations, leaving behind, in its extinguishment, a deeper, more chaotic gloom.

An ardent soul, “wind-beaten, but ascending;” a creative

thinker, essentially fine in character if not always delicate in tone; an investigator with a scientific equipment of no mean order; a seeker, a delver in the mysteries of both matter and soul; essayist, novelist, dramatist, critic, historian, philosophic experimentalist, titan in imagination—such was August Strindberg. This titanic figure, embodying a life of truly protean productivity, mediately expressed in the fifty-odd volumes of his works, has entered into the world-consciousness of modern Europe, bequeathing to criticism the herculean task of elucidating countless unsolved problems, hazards, dubieties, hypotheses, riddles, enigmas.

It is quite true, as Strindberg himself maintained, that at all times "he had three strings to his lyre;" yet despite the subjective revelations of his autobiographical novels, his dramas constitute his supreme artistic work. It is as a dramatist primarily that Strindberg himself preferred to be considered. In his works of fiction, social, autobiographical, polemic, one seems to follow the errant pilgrimages of a soul distraught with the obsession of existence. In the dramatic works, on the other hand, one encounters more or less decisive interpretations of life, surcharged with philosophic import. There is no more crass or false generalization than the presumption that Strindberg was essentially eccentric—swinging off from the central realities of life. Never did artist so persistently hold to the center of his own being, in the effort to project the universal aspects of contemporary existence. Strindberg is the most ego-centric dramatist of our era. If Shakespeare was the Strindberg of the Elizabethan era, giant intuitivist, endlessly autobiographical, by the same token is Strindberg the Shakespeare of the Nietzschean age—a dæmonic bohemian of the soul.

Strindberg embodied in his own personality the affirmative answer to Nietzsche's sinister query: "Why should not life be intolerable?" In the secret recesses of his temperament lurked a spirit of divine discontent, of volcanic denial—raging fiercely against the evils revealed to his searching gaze and giving no quarter to his adversaries. One of the most conclusive proofs of his greatness is that no one has yet succeeded in taking the measure of his stature. He is that miracle in the

hierarchy of genius—an incommensurable force. Strindberg has been called the only dramatist of genuinely Shakespearean order in modern times—assuredly true in the dramatic sense that in the consciousness of no other contemporary dramatist do conflicts, antitheses, crises emanate such trenchant, virile reality. The chief secret of his marvellous appeal is his head-long participation in the destinies of his dramatic characters. It is because he flings himself so vehemently into the arena of struggle and dramatises his own tremendous struggles that his art-works seethe with such vital force and energy.

The primitive force of Strindberg starts into eager life in the early play *The Outlaw*¹ (1872), and foreshadows the leonine genius. The delicate beauty of womanhood, the enduring strength of loyalty, the tenacious rectitude of the primitive Northman—all are rendered with trenchant economy of means in this “dramatic experiment.” Thus early Strindberg employed intensive concentration of treatment—fusing an incohesive, scattered play of five acts into a coherent, organic play of a single act. The heroic Norseman struggles in vain against the evolving spirit of the age, Christianity—; and yielding at last to the pressure of his own emotion, which he regards as the fount of weakness, gives up his heart’s blood in symbol of defeat. Realizing, in death, the divine power of woman’s love, he yields with the words: “Woman thinks, not with her head, but with her heart. That’s why she has a smaller head but a bigger breast than man.”

Upon one occasion I was conducted by Fru Ibsen into her husband’s study at the apartment on the Victoria Terrace in Kristiania; and there above the mantel was hanging a superb oil painting of August Strindberg. As presiding genius of the place, this impressive figure with noble head and haunting eyes seemed to dominate the room. Asked why he gave the place of supreme honor in that laboratory of the dramatic spirit to the titanic Swede, Ibsen—I was told by the querist—replied with characteristic whimsicality: “The man has a fascination for me—because he is so subtly, so delicately mad.” Something far profounder than this effected the electric interaction between these two geniuses—so antipodal in temperament, so

¹ *August Strindberg's Plays*. Vol. I. Translated by Edith and Warner Oland. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912.

cognate in the faculties of intuitive perception and searching introspectiveness. Ibsen, Björnson, Strindberg—the great Scandinavian trio—each felt the mental pressure of the others, and responded to it. Certainly *The Outlaw* was suggested by Björnson's *Between the Battles*; and Strindberg's *Master Olof*, originally entitled, more adequately, *The Renegade*, was doubtless suggested by Ibsen's *The Pretenders*. In this play of Ibsen's, there is something schematic in the psychological basis of the action; Strindberg outstrips Ibsen in the portrayal of a central figure more closely attuned to the temper of modern social feeling. The seer, in whom we discern the spiritual lineaments of Strindberg, holds a renegade he who sacrifices to transient and temporal success the magic, effective force of the ideal. The prototype of the modern woman, shall we say of *Nora* in *A Doll's House*, is found here full-fledged—remarkable evidence of the prophetic modernity of Strindberg's social vision. As further evidence of Strindberg's influence upon the elder dramatist, Strindberg's utilization of the building of the tower as a creative symbol in dramatic technique, in *The Secret of the Guild* (1880) was far more germinative of *The Master Builder*, one surmises, than Ibsen's own early poem, *Architectural Plans*. Mr. Austin Harrison goes so far as to affirm: "Through *Solness* Ibsen spoke directly at Strindberg. The much debated line of the Master Builder, 'It is youth that I fear,' was aimed across the border at the young Swede, in whom Ibsen saw already a peer and a highly dangerous rival." Compliment seldom takes so subtle a form as the bold utilization of an idea, coupled with expressed dread of its originator. There was method in that "subtle, delicate madness" of Strindberg. In *Lady Margit* (1882), with its torrential onslaught upon what he conceived to be the essential defeminization of woman in *A Doll's House*, Strindberg had his revenge.

The most radiant proof of the happy, naïve side of Strindberg's nature, the grace of his fantasy, the delicacy of his imagination, is *Lucky Pehr*² (1883), an allegorical play in five acts. This, the most genuinely popular play of Strindberg's, "to Sweden what Rip Van Winkle is to America," assuredly

² Translated by Velma Swanston Howard. Stewart and Kidd Co., Cincinnati, 1912.

influenced Maeterlinck in writing *The Blue Bird*. Each depicts, in allegorical guise, the spiritual progress of youth in the search for happiness. In fantastic scenes, irradiated with flashes of wise philosophy and kindly humor, *Pehr*, the callow youth, passes from disillusion to disillusion—taking no thought of others in his vain search for a happiness which connotes mere self-gratification. Only when he learns that he who loves only himself can never truly love another, is he on the brink of discovery. Like *Peer Gynt*, he ultimately succeeds in slaying the craving to make of himself the center of the universe; and in the discovery of the divine lesson of unselfishness comes safely into the glad haven of happiness with the tender, faithful *Lisa*. *The Shadow* tolerantly voices Strindberg's view: "Life is not such as you saw it in your youthful dreams. It is a desert, that is true; but a desert which has its flowers; it is a stormy sea, but one that has its havens by verdant isles."

The headlong plunge of Strindberg, from romanticism into naturalism, marked by the appearance of the powerful drama, *The Father* (1887), registers a double turning-point in his life as artist and man. The monographic method of Maupassant and the Goncourts in fiction awoke him to the possibilities of the naturalistic drama; and Zola's dramatised novel, *Thérèse Raquin*, produced by Antoine at the Théâtre Libre in Paris, furnished the clue for the new departure. Ever the innovator, the *Bahnbrecher*, Strindberg not only realised the dearth of creative genius and the sterility of invention in the drama; he actually stood in fear of the threatened abandonment of the drama as a decaying form in our time "when the rudimentary, incomplete thought processes operating through our fancy seem to be developing into reflection, research, and analysis." Like Zola, he was ripe for rebellion against the prevailing artificial comedy, "with its Brussels carpets, its patent-leather shoes and patent-leather themes, and its dialogues reminding one of the questions and answers of the catechism."

Strindberg's revolt was experimental in the technical sense—in the sense in which Zola speaks of the "experimental novel." The dramatist of the era seemed to have become a mere absorptive spirit, who vulgarised his art for the sake of rendering it intelligible to the masses. The reduction of elec-

tric genius to so many candle-power to penetrate the consciousness of intellectual mediocrity, revolted Strindberg. His own ideal was the precise reverse—to express his originality with pristine voltage, and to achieve the most intensive, concentrated effect through bringing his complex and multiplex ideas to a burning focal point.

About him he saw everywhere the predominance of the stereotyped in character-drawing, the prevalence of the static—artificial *automata*, incapable of change, development, growth. The hope for the drama—the drama which Ibsen and Björnson at this time were so triumphantly creating in new, mobile forms—lay in the enlargement of the conception of character, the objectification upon the stage of the dynamic, evolutionary modern soul, such as Strindberg felt himself personally to be. Like Nietzsche before him, like Bergson today, Strindberg intuitively felt the pressure of the concept of creative evolution. In the modern temperament he saw a vast complex of thought-currents, emotive impulses—often self-contradictory, inconsequent, atavistic, yet instinctively vital, fervent, intense. Instead of regarding character as fixed, the age as stationary, Strindberg resolved to show both in flux. His characters may justly be described as the *Uebergangsmenschen einer Uebergangszeit*—transitional beings in a transitional era.

It is characteristic of the subjectivist, Strindberg, that in his effort to portray the most vitally intense form of conflict, he should instinctively find his dramatic theme in the harrowing conflicts of his own family life. *The Father*,³ the supreme drama of its *genre*, portrays a progressively intensive struggle, on the plane of mental suggestion. The characters live with feverish, hectic vitality—transfused into them from Strindberg's own tensely vibrant being. Cut them, and they will palpably bleed—the blood of martyrs and impenitents. We achieve immortality through the transmission of personality and faith to our posterity. The greatest of missions, in Strindberg's eyes, is the mission of paternity. Hence the tragic conflict—between the father, fixed in his determination to control the future of the child, and the mother, endowed with indomitable will, infinitely unscrupulous, diabolically cunning. Through insidious-

³ Translated by N. Erichsen. Duckworth and Co., London, 1898. Also translated by Edith and Wärner Oland, and included in *August Strindberg's Plays*. Vol. I. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912.

ly poisonous suggestion, she implants in the mind of the distraught husband the deranging doubt as to whether he is the father of his child—a doubt which grows into the *idée fixe* of mania. On the symbolic plane, this drama is the terrible plea of the elemental male for the primitive rights of fatherhood, the patriarchal functions of man as ruler of the family with directive control over the future of his posterity.

In this drama of hate, in which Strindberg gives free play to his essentially barbaric feelings, the author appears on superficial inspection as an arrant misogynist. However splenetic Strindberg was in his attitude towards woman at this time, we shall do him a grave injustice not to recognize in *Laura* a symbolic figure—not the universal feminine type, but a super-real personification of the final possibilities of evil in woman. *Laura* is not that “female of the species,” more deadly than the male—an *Everywoman* of a modern morality—, but the embodiment of the principle of evil in feminine form.

“Not long ago,” said Strindberg in his remarkable preface to *Miss Julia*, “they reproached *The Father* with being too sad—just as if they wanted merry tragedies. Everybody is clamoring arrogantly for the ‘joy of life,’ and all theatrical managers are giving orders for farces, as if the joy of life consisted in being silly and picturing all human beings as so many sufferers from St. Vitus’ dance or idiocy. I find the joy of life in its violent and cruel struggles, and my pleasure lies in knowing something and learning something. And for this reason I have selected an unusual but instructive case—an exception, in a word—but a great exception, proving the rule, which, of course, will provoke all lovers of the commonplace.”

Strindberg’s glacial analyses of the feminine soul, often repellent to an abnormal degree, have procured for him the title of the archmisogynist in the post-Schopenhaurist era. It is to do Strindberg a grave injustice to confuse his violent polemics against the “new woman” propaganda of Scandinavia, against the “silly, romantic provincialism of Ibsen’s episcene squaw,” with his personal attitude toward the ideal woman enshrined in his own consciousness. In his attack upon Ibsen’s position, he frankly said: “My superior intelligence revolts against the gynolatry which is the latest superstition

of the free-thinkers." He reacted violently against the woman's emancipation movement, the brute male in him enraged at the thought of seeing the man, the "generator of great thoughts," the creator of modern civilization, displaced by woman whose intellect, as yet undeveloped, still belonged to the bronze age. *Comrades*⁴ is an arraignment, arresting but intellectually cheap, of woman—a sardonic presentment of the thesis that woman, the inferior of man, is incapable of final rectitude, lacking that delicacy of conscience, that "moral elegance" which man wears like a plume! The Strindberg woman—I think the word female is better for this feral type—is captivated by being manhandled—*she would be*.

The abnormal sexuality, which Laura Marholm attributes to Strindberg, resulting in sex-aversion, was probably only an apparent, not an actual, abnormality of nature. Early excesses, as with Tolstoy, blushed the bloom from the surface of erotic life. While Strindberg is essentially clean, his whole attitude towards the subject of sex is subtly plebeian. Consider *Miss Julia*,⁵ one of the most shocking plays of the period—which fascinates principally by its analysis of feminine sexual degeneracy. The famous preface is a tricky instrument for eking out the short-comings of the play. Thus *Julia* would not have yielded had it not been for her condition; yet the play itself gives no hint of this. Again, Strindberg talks grandiloquently about two strata of society; but there is no actual conflict because, though *Julia*, even to death, falls a tragic victim to progressive inbreeding of diseased stocks, *Jean* rises not a single rung upon the social ladder. This type of the half-woman, as Strindberg labels *Julia*, is no total stranger to Americans—not infrequently piqued to morbid curiosity by the news of the elopement of the woman of wealth or culture with her chauffeur.

Strindberg, ranking specialist in modern eroticism, was never able to shake off the disillusionment which came from early excess. Thrice married, thrice divorced, he was unable to

⁴ *August Strindberg's Plays*. Vol. II. Translated by Edith and Warner Oland. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912.

⁵ Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's sons, N. Y., 1912. Translated by Edith and Warner Oland; *August Strindberg's Plays*. Vol. I. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912. Another translation by Charles Recht, Brown Bros. Philadelphia, 1912. For other translations of the same play, compare *A Bibliography of August Strindberg*, by Archibald Henderson. *Bulletin of Bibliography* (Boston), July, 1912.

accept the simplicity and quietude of normal, human love. The idealist, the romanticist in him, from his youth, endowed woman with the supreme virtues—loyalty, faith, devotion, rectitude, moral integrity. When life shattered his ideal and the age threatened to enthrone above man the defeminized woman, the unsexed female, he burst forth in volcanic protest—a secret expression of the vindication of his own ideal of woman. Holding woman the biological inferior of man, Strindberg sees this inferiority counterbalanced by other specific sex-*indicia*—fixity of purpose, endless endurance, subtlety of calculation, tenacity of will.

The duel of sex, in Strindberg's view, I take it, is not fundamentally a contest for sex supremacy. In the neuropathic drama, *Creditors*,⁶ the real contest is that of the wife for illicit gratification of her instincts outside of matrimony and the maintenance of a gross fiction as to her own originality. In *The Link*,⁷ it is mortal struggle for the possession of the child, "for the child's own good." In this play, virtual replica of Strindberg's own suit for divorce from his first wife, the curtains are drawn aside, and the "secrets of the alcove" illumined with lurid glare. In the words of *The Pilgrim* to his former wife, in *Damascus*: "We love. Yes, and we hate. We hate each other because we are linked together; we hate the link, we hate love; we hate what is most lovable because it is also the most bitter, we hate the very best which gives us this life."

Imbued with a genuine ideal of womanhood, an old-fashioned, primitive attitude of veneration for woman solely as mother and mate, Strindberg seems rankly illogical in furnishing us with a gallery of hideous female types—incarnations of beasts of prey, deadly monsters, hyena women, blue-stocking cocottes. He was too arrant a worshipper of man as the creator of all that civilization has wrested from barbarism ever to realize that woman is in large measure the creature of man. Man himself cannot shirk the responsibility for the Strindberg females—assuming their existence in real life. To me, they are

⁶ Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912. Also translated by Francis J. Ziegler. Brown Bros., Philadelphia, 1910. For other translations, compare *A Bibliography of August Strindberg*, by Archibald Henderson, l. c.

⁷ Translated by Edwin Björkman, *Plays by August Strindberg*. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912.

specific types of the degenerate female, symptomatic of the darker phases of our civilization. Woman today seeks to shatter man's absolute control over the processes of civilization—thus, incidentally, to obviate the recurrence of the females, the atypical females, which Strindberg has precipitated into the focus of modern consciousness.

Strindberg's achievement in the field of the one-act drama on the stage of an intimate theater has been nothing short of epoch-making. His method of focal concentration, of magnification of interest through intensiveness of treatment, imparts to even his briefest efforts the most complete illusion of reality. In his esthetic creed, the dramatist is a magician, a hypnotist, weaving about the spectator a spell of atmospheric illusion, and holding the attention therewith in the utmost fixity. Mechanical "stage-business" is virtually eliminated. The play of emotion, the movements in the depths of character, are portrayed less by outcries or violent gestures, than by the mobile play of facial expression. Like Maeterlinck, whom he has studied closely, Strindberg gives us soul-interiors, thrown for a brief space into glaring illumination. In *The Stronger*,⁸ a creation in the dramatic monolog with only two characters, one character remains silent throughout—the thoughts passing through the mind of the silent one as it were mirrored in the words of the speaker. There is the fascination of psychological detection of criminality in *Pariah*,⁹ a dialogue between two men, Mr. X. and Mr. Y.—one, the man of congenital integrity, has killed another and feels no pangs of conscience since he knows it was an accident; the other, coward and black-mailer, has forged a note and cannot find within himself the saving grace of self-exculpation. Crucial in satiric exposure is *Debit and Credit*¹⁰—the protagonist, at the pinnacle of his profession, suddenly encountering all the obligations of his past rising before him with accusing hands: his needy brother demands payment of the long-evaded loan; his fiancée is proven faithless in his absence; his former mistress appears to add the

⁸ Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912. Also in *August Strindberg's Plays*, Vol. I., Translated by Edith and Warner Oland. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912. For other translations, compare *A Bibliography of Strindberg*, by Archibald Henderson, l. c.

⁹ Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912. Also in *August Strindberg's Plays*, Vol. II. Translated by Edith and Warner Oland. Luce and Co., Boston, 1912.

¹⁰ Translation in *Poet Lore*. Autumn Number, 1906.

last drop of bitterness to his cup. In that clear anticipation of Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, though the similarity is believed to be accidental, *Mother Love*,¹¹ Strindberg presents a still darker theme—life turns black before the young girl in face of the hideous revelation that she has no "father," not because he was faithless to her mother, but because her mother, even as his mistress, was faithless to him. In the masterly one-act plays of this magician, life rises up for one dark instant and speaks its dread message—whether in *The Burned Lot*, that sardonic shattering of the ideals of youth; *Simoom*,¹² sinister pæan of revenge in the key of Oriental religious fanaticism; *The Spook Sonata*, with its morbidly fascinating concept of the room where falsity reigns and life's ugly shams are pitilessly revealed; *The Storm*, with its autobiographical ring, search for sanctuary in old age where there shall be no more marrying or giving in marriage.

Strindberg's "Plays of the Seasons"—*Easter*, *Midsummer*, *Christmas*—are fully representative of the three-fold aspect of his nature and temperament. *Christmas*, suggestive of Maeterlinck's influence, is dour in tone, unrelieved by beauty, sweetness and light; *Midsummer*, an almost frivolous comedy, in which the bubble of youthful folly is pricked to the accompaniment of peals of not unkindly laughter; *Easter*,¹³ in the key of Maeterlinck's essay, *The Treasure of the Humble*, which it presumably influenced, a sort of Swedish anticipation of the Emmanuel Movement. The psychic tone-poem of *Easter* reminds us gently of the imaginary character of so many of our woes, and the efficacy of certain much desired induced mental states. A family cowers beneath the shadow of disgrace, embezzlement—the mother is harassed with the obsession of mistaken loyalty to her criminal husband; the son, with brilliant talents, distrusts his friend and his sweetheart; even the little orphan is an indirect victim of the strained outlook of the family. All live in dread of the "old gentleman" to whom they owe "so much money." As *Easter* approaches, the little daughter Eleonora suddenly returns home from the sanitarium — to work the holy miracle of hope, faith, resurrection. Under the ministrations

¹¹ Translated by Francis J. Ziegler. Brown Bros. Philadelphia, 1910.

¹² Translation in *Poet Lore*. Autumn Number, 1906.

¹³ Translated by Velma Swanston Howard. Stewart and Kidd Co., Cincinnati, 1912.

of this gentle spirit, the scales fall from the eyes; beneath the spell of her mystic quotations from the Scriptures, the illusions of convention all vanish away. This, truly, is one of the most impressive dramas of suggestion ever written—a work of genius in anticipation of the later variations on the same theme, of a more conventional symbolism, *The Servant in the House* and *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*. The glad mother exclaims: “Eleonora, the child of sorrow, has come back with joy, but not the joy of this world! Her unrest has been turned into peace, which she shares. Sane or not, for me she is wise; for she understands how to bear the burdens of life as we do not.”

In his series of “fairy plays,” symbolic in method and confessedly written under the influence of Maeterlinck, Strindberg exhibits his genius for appropriating a given *genre* and by a course of experimentation, achieving a final form peculiarly his own. About *The Crown Bride*, a folk-lore play, there is an atmosphere of unreality, the persistent realism and almost grotesque denotement of the grim naïveté and mediæval superstition of the fisher-folk according ill with the symbolic paraphernalia of the piece. *Swanwhite*,¹⁴ more frankly conceived in the Maeterlinck manner, is tinged with faint, delicate beauty; as in *Joyzelle*, love is redemptive, triumphant. A play, truly, for children, the symbolism being of the most obvious, elementary character. Produced by a Gordon Craig, this play might well win popular success in a children’s theater.

Through this experimental and imitative period, Strindberg was slowly forging towards a form of his own, greater and more profoundly original than that of any of his models. The realm of the higher fantasy had always beckoned to him. In *The Dream Play*,¹⁵ his philosophy of life takes mystic form through the enrollment of the panorama of human destiny before the eyes of a daughter of the gods who descends to earth. The infinite sadness of human life, the eternal recurrence of devastating duties, the rhythmic dissonance and discord—all this he has sought to compress within the narrow confines of a single drama. All is inconsequence; thoughts ramble concentrically; strange patterns emerge with startling distinctness

¹⁴ Translated by Francis J. Ziegler. Brown Bros. Philadelphia, 1909.

¹⁵ *Plays by August Strindberg*. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner’s Sons, N. Y., 1912.

from the crazy-quilt patch-work of life. He succeeds in achieving the kaleidoscopic chimera of the dream—in the hazy twilight zone of mystic feeling. Life is hopeless because it is static, immutable—and the daughter of the gods, quivering with the pangs of life, returns to heaven to lay all human grievance before the throne.

The Dream Play ranks next in genius to Strindberg's supreme creations in the dramatic form, *There are Crimes and Crimes*,¹⁶ and *The Dance of Death*.¹⁷ The former is radiant with the seductive brilliance of life at its most effervescent moments. It is a dramatization of the workings of conscience—a realization of the universal phenomenon of conversion, the illumination of the soul through divination of the true dictates of morality. "Only through religion," Strindberg has confessed, "or the hope of something better, and the recognition of the innermost meaning of life as that of an ordeal, a school, or perhaps a penitentiary, will it be possible to bear the burden of life with sufficient resignation." The second of these realistic dramas, transfused with mysticism, is *The Dance of Death*, a work so powerful in detail, so inconclusive in totality, as to leave one with a haunting sense of a masterpiece unrealized. Life, in a setting of hideous, ferocious struggle, is set nakedly before us—in two separate plays, the second but the shadow, the reflection of the first. Strindberg, the de-civilized man, has not read his Darwin in vain—painting here in garish colors the blind, relentless warfare of existence, the lifelong duel of sex. There is no escape from the cyclic rhythm of life: as *The Captain* says: "Wipe out—and pass on." Marvellous, tragic image!—wrought of the incoherence and pitiless monotony of human experience.

August Strindberg is the supreme universalist of our modern era. In doubt, in the questioning, indeed the querulous attitude towards the universe, he found the clue to human progress. Beginning as an individualist, with that colossal arrogance which he happily described as the last trace of man's God-like origin, he answered for a brief period the Socialist call of the era, only to lapse again into a more pronounced individualism, in his struggle to interpret the superhuman ideals

¹⁶ Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912.
¹⁷ *Plays by August Strindberg*. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1912.

of the age of Blake and Nietzsche. A confirmed sceptic, he accepted the doctrine of the relativity of truth, and through experimentation and self-analysis sought those spiritual realities which engender enfranchisement of the soul. Ego-centric, splenetic, moody, he paid the dread penalty in the paranoia of that terrible five-year interval, obsessed with the chimera of the exaggerated ego, the delusions of referential ideas. Emerging with triumphant sanity, he achieved the miracle of resignation and acceptance—abandoning the search for happiness and seeking only the strength to endure his fate. His life-work is essentially moral. His nature was essentially Christian. He was, at his highest, a supreme artist, whose ideal was cultural evolution. Primitive in feeling, reactionary in his attitude towards woman, he was none the less imbued with a love for his mother bordering on reverence, the sentiments of the deepest tenderness for his children. His own words, in one of his plays, might fittingly be applied to himself: “You began life by affirming everything. You continued it by denying everything. End it now with a co-ordination. Therefore, cease to be exclusive. Say not ‘either—or,’ but instead ‘both—and’!” His last words—the ultimate confession of the catholic Christian spirit—, as he pressed the Bible to his heart, were: “Here is to be found the only true expression.”

The Return to Objectivism in Poetry

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM

Instructor in English in Purdue University.

Poetry is the most despised of all the fine arts. That fact is so obvious, so patent, that nobody attempts to dispute it. We may view the fact with sorrow, or we may view it with indifference; but at all events we recognize it. In the comic weeklies the poet is invariably an unkempt, unshorn, unbalanced creature who has no business outside the lunatic asylum. "Poetry," remarked a wag a few years ago, "is not a pursuit: It's a disease." In the slang parlance of the vulgar, the poet is spoken of as an individual who "has bats in his belfry" or who "isn't all there." In real life the poet may or may not be as thus depicted; but at any rate he is so much a *persona non grata* that he is kept busy apologizing for his art or complaining that he is not appreciated. A prominent British bard of our day writes of "The Muse in Exile," and a prominent American contemporary, in a querulous sonnet, finds "every other Art considered more than Song's high holiness." Broadly speaking, nobody loves a poet.

Now beside this fact stand two equally evident facts: first, that the other arts are not despised at all; and secondly, that poetry was not always thus held in contempt. Speaking about the other arts, let us note for instance painting, which is loved by many and respected by all save the vulgar; or music, with its idolized Carusos and Kubeliks; or the novel, with its tons and tons of best-sellers; or acting, an art whose leading exponents are almost as devoutly worshipped as are great military heroes. And speaking of the world's change of attitude toward the poet, we cannot well lose sight of the fact that Vergil and Shakespeare were among the most prosperous and most respected men of their times; that Chaucer and Dante held high public positions; that seven cities are said to have claimed Homer; and that these men were thus honored because of their art, not in spite of it. In this same connection, too, we shall do well to recall the tradition that when Thebes was sacked, once by Pausanias and later by Alexander the

Great, the house of Pindar the poet was each time spared, along with the temples of the gods. The world was formerly more kind to its bards than now.

But instead of complaining about the present situation, instead of repeating the trite and meaningless assertion that ours is an age of prose, had we not better inquire into causes? If we do, our inquiries will lead us to easier deductions than we might at first expect. For instance, we may say that music is popular for the very obvious reason that the whole world loves harmony and melody and rhythm; that painting owes its vogue to the well-nigh universal delight in color and in a pictorial reproduction of life and nature; that the wide acceptance of the drama is to be attributed to the fact that men like to mimic and to see others mimicked; and that the popularity of the novel and the romance is easily to be explained by man's love for the telling of a tale.

And along with this comes another easy deduction: namely, that the comparatively few poets who have tasted the sweets of world-wide applause have been narrative poets. "Why," one might say, "the poets whom you have named as enjoying public esteem—Homer and Vergil and Dante and Chaucer and Shakespeare—were all of them tellers of tales, and they were popular for the same reason that Boccaccio or Fielding or Dickens or any other great story-teller has been popular. That they used meter is of small significance." And one might strengthen one's argument by pointing out that Longfellow, the most popular American poet, is also our greatest narrative poet; and that Tennyson, the most widely honored British poet of the nineteenth century, is to be thought of chiefly in connection with such tales as "Idylls of the King," "The Princess," "Dora," and "Enoch Arden." How easy and plausible such a deduction would be!—yet, unfortunately, how superficial too!

For if we conclude the matter in this way, we shall have to reason that lyric poetry must ever be regarded with contumely, and that the matter with poetry now is that the lyric has been the form most used during the past three hundred years or so. But such a conclusion is obviously too absurd to be accepted for a moment. Note such poems as Pindar's Olympic Odes,

Milton's "L'Allegro,"¹ Gray's "Elegy," and Keats's "Ode on A Grecian Urn;" and you will at once be reminded that the lyric may have as warm a place in the hearts of people as may any other work of art. Surely, then, it is not because he is a lyricist that the modern poet is despised. Some other explanation must be found.

In this connection, has it never occurred to us that the difficulty is not that poetry has been getting too lyrical, but that until a very recent date lyrical poetry has been getting too subjective? In other words, if we examine Victorian lyrical verse, and Romantic lyrical verse, as well as a great deal of Georgian and Jacobean lyrical verse, shall we not find that a wearisomely large amount of *ego* pervades it? "I celebrate myself and sing myself. *I* am sad because my lover spurns me. *I* wish *I* could soar and sing as soars and sings the skylark. *I* cannot see beauty as once I saw it—cannot enjoy life as once I enjoyed it. *My* heart leaps joyously at the sight of a rainbow, and dances with the golden daffodils." That is the tone of the modern lyricist. So thoroughly, indeed, is this true that lexicographers tell us the lyric is the expression of the poet's personal feelings, rather than of outward things. And rhetoricians enthusiastically commend this subjective tone. "If you would be a poet, young man," says the professor of literature; "be subjective, be egoistic. Talk constantly about yourself; for it is human nature to be more interested in one's self than in anybody or anything else, and the subject in which you are most interested you can make most interesting to others. By all means discuss those feelings and experiences which are common to the race, but let those feeling and experiences be your own and be treated from your point of view."

The fallacy, however, of this sort of preachment and practice is this: if it is human nature to be primarily interested in self, it is likewise human nature to be insufferably bored by egoism in others. Let us, for a moment, apply this principle to the other arts. Imagine a painter who executed nothing but portraits of himself! Imagine a romance or a drama or an opera in which the author himself appeared as a lone char-

¹ It may be objected that I am confusing lyrical poetry with idyllic poetry; but in the final analysis all true idyllic poetry is lyrical.

acter! I fancy that Hamlet with Hamlet alone would be quite as unsatisfactory as Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

Now notice some of the great lyrics, some of the lyrics which approach universality in their appeal. Take, for example, Pindar's Olympic Odes, which deal with the victors in some of the great games. Take Milton's "L'Allegro," which has to do with milkmaids and mowers and shepherds, with nibbling flocks and meadows and brooks, with hamlets and country dances and feasting. Take Gray's "Elegy," wherein are recounted the simple annals of the poor and the oblivion that is the lot of the obscure dead. Take Keats's "Ode on A Grecian Urn," wherein we read of Arcadian dales, of the wild ecstasy of pursuing men and fleeing maidens, of soft pipes and happy melodists. And notice, in short, that in each and all of these lyrics the poet is so engrossed in outside things that he says little or nothing about himself.

May we not, then, reasonably assume that the popularity of such singers as Homer and Chaucer and Shakespeare was due only in part to the fact that they were story-tellers? May we not assume that one of the greatest reasons for their wide vogue has been that they dealt not with their little private joys and sorrows, but with outside things, with human activities, with those subjects which interest men in general? Pause for a moment to think of Homer's immortal "Iliad," and I believe you will readily concede that the personal characteristics of Achilles and Hector and Priam, their virtues and their foibles, are almost as significant as their adventures. Think of Chaucer's delightful "Canterbury Tales," and I daresay you will be impressed quite as vividly with the appearance and general behavior of the nun's priest and the miller and the pardoner as with the tales that they have to tell. Ponder on some of Shakespeare's wonderful dramas, and I feel sure that such personalities as Shylock and Falstaff and Lady Macbeth will stand out in your mind more clearly than will any of the great master's plots. A poet does not have to be a story-teller in order to touch those chords which will awaken humanity to a glad response. The sooner we realize that, the better. The sooner, too, that the bard realizes that lyrical poetry does not have to be subjective and egoistic, the better for him. The

all-important thing is that the literary artist, like the painter and the Thespian, shall be concerned with significant objects and experiences, with those objects and experiences that we, racially, perceive and sense day by day.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is that our younger lyrical poets are coming to a realization of this. They are awakening to the fact that man's love of rhythm and beauty should give lyrical poetry a standing with the other arts, and that if lyrical poetry falls short of such standing, the fault is not intrinsic but is due to some cause susceptible of remedy. And they are, I believe, discovering that this remedy lies in objectivism. Look over a representative list of nineteenth-century lyrics, and what do you find? You find such titles as "Come Not, When I Am Dead," "My Star," "Were You With Me," "My Hopes Retire," "I Wandered Lonely As A Cloud," "When I Have Fears That I May Cease to Be," and "Do You Remember Me? Or Are You Proud." If, on the contrary, you examine a few present-day lyrics, you are more likely to meet with such titles as "Lynchers," "The Lights of New York," "The Parade," "Midnight Down Town," "Shop-Girls," "Street-Cleaners," "Sunday in the Park," "The Theatre-Hour," and "The Italian Restaurant." All of which indicates, I think, that our lyrists are becoming less self-centered—are beginning to vie with the genre-painters in their interest in the scenes and activities round about them. Here is a typical objective lyric of the new order, a poem by John Hall Wheelock:

The soft, gray garment of the rushing rain
 Veils in the lonely Sunday streets afar,
 The passengers sit dumb within the car—
 Slow drops drip wearily down the window-pane.

A funeral procession takes its way
 Across the tracks, the car stands still a space,
 All eyes are turned and every anxious face,—
 Save one, that laughs oblivious of delay;

Holding her baby close against her breast,
 The heart of love, too glad to comprehend,
 And Life at War with Death until the end,
 The mother throned serene amid the rest.

And here are "City Vignettes," some equally objective stanzas from the pen of Sara Teasdale:

I

DAWN

The greenish sky glows up in misty reds,
 The purple shadows turn to brick and stone,
 The dreams wear thin, men turn upon their beds,
 And hear the milk-cart jangle by alone.

II

DUSK

The city's street a roaring blackened stream
 Walled in by granite, thro' whose thousand eyes
 A thousand yellow lights begin to gleam,
 And over all the pale untroubled skies.

III

RAIN AND NIGHT

The street-lamps shine in a yellow line
 Down the splashy, gleaming street,
 And the rain is heard now loud now blurred
 By the tread of homing feet.

Notice that these tremendously effective lyrics are entirely objective—that the pronouns *I*, *me*, and *my* do not once occur in either of them. Here the poet forgets himself and his own little joys and sorrows to depict something of universal interest.

That this new objective note in poetry has been inevitable, it may well be contended. For it may be reasonably argued that the increasing relative importance of the city as a factor in our modern civilization means perforce that the city will find a greater and greater place in literature, poetry as well as prose; and that when a writer turns his attention to the strenuous and widely diverse activities of a great metropolis, he can scarcely escape being objective. But, after all, that is neither here nor there. The all-important fact is that a change of attitude has come about.

And what have been the results of this change? Is the poetic art actually gaining, from a public standpoint, in respectability? Or am I merely theorizing? Let us see. Within the past year two magazines devoted exclusively to verse and

verse-criticism have been started in this country;—and both magazines appear to be prospering! Another apparently successful venture of rather recent origin is the poetic prize contest which is annually conducted under the auspices of a leading publisher. And if one will take the trouble to examine a few representative college and university bulletins, one will find that our institutions of learning show an increasing disposition to introduce the study of contemporary poetry into their curricula. So it will be observed that the art of prosody is more than holding its own in this twentieth century of ours.

And who are the present-day singers who are popular in the best sense of the word? Who are the bards most widely esteemed by cultured, discriminating readers? Well, there are Mr. Wheelock and Miss Teasdale, whom I have already quoted. There is Madison Cawein, whose treatment of the natural phenomena of his native Kentucky is notably objective. There is Louis Untermeyer, who was certainly rather subjective in his youthful "First Love," but whose maturing art—particularly in such pieces as "The City"—shows an increasing tendency to deal with those things which lie outside the ego. There is Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, whose enthusiasm for the esthetic development of villages will not permit him to think much about himself. And there is James Oppenheim, who is so much interested in East Side types in the great metropolis, that he has scant time to celebrate himself or sing himself.

But let us take a more shining example. Of all the living poets who use our language as a medium of expression the most popular with cultivated readers is probably Alfred Noyes. And to what does he owe his popularity? To narrative poetry? Well, it must be admitted that with "Drake" and "Tales of the Mermaid Tavern," to say nothing of his play "Sherwood" and some of his minor narrative poems, he has gained notable distinction as a story-teller. But if a vote were taken to decide what is the most appealing, most gripping, most human poem Mr. Noyes has yet written, I doubt not that the verdict would be overwhelmingly in favor of his remarkable lyric, "The Barrel-Organ."

And what have we in "The Barrel-Organ?" Not a poet's solitary exultation at the return of spring; not a sensitive

lover's whining lament that he has been rejected; not a self-occupied soul's wonder whether his individual consciousness is to be eternal: but a London street, teeming with life! A barrel-organ plays airs from the operas of Verdi, and all sorts and conditions of men hear. The music changes and ranges like a prismatic glass, and as it passes from mood to mood, the great multitudes—thieves and clerks and butchers, portly business men and athletic college youths, modish society women and haggard "demi-reps"—are transported to that beautiful land where the dead dreams go.

No wonder such a poem, effectively written, approaches universality in its appeal! For here it is not the man-soul, but the world-soul, that speaks. And when the world-soul speaks, whether it speak in terms of a London crowd or in terms of inanimate meadow and grove and stream, the world responds. This is the new poetic viewpoint. This is the return to that objectivism which glorified the work of Homer and Chaucer and the other old masters. This is the movement which should redeem the divine art of poesy from the ill-favor into which it has fallen during recent centuries. Let the gifted singer of the rising generation learn this. Let him learn that his art is inherently noble, and need not be despised. Let him learn that by fleeing the murky prison-house of self-consciousness, he can stand, with his fellow-artists, in the bright sunshine of renown.

The Effect of Scientific Management on Wages

ROLAND HUGINS

Fellow in Economics in Cornell University

Scientific management, like a handsome man, makes a good impression on first acquaintance. To the person who stands outside of the strife of the labor world, as well as to the employers and scientific managers themselves, this new plan for increasing human efficiency looks very attractive. Observers who skim the surface of this plan are usually transformed into advocates, and become somewhat impatient if others do not join their chorus of praise and insist that scientific management be adopted far and wide. For example, Mr. Frank Barkley Copley, writing in the *American Magazine*, for April, 1913, remarks,—“Why, it is right here that we find disposed of for good and all the seeming conflict of interest between capital and labor.”

The efficiency engineers themselves are fairly jubilant over the prospects. Mr. Henry L. Gantt has said:¹ “The work we are doing has not, as its aim, the development of a series of expedients to promote efficiency. We are trying, so far as we can, to solve the industrial problem, which is the greatest problem before the public today.” Mr. Harrington Emerson, another scientific engineer, gives his opinion that,²—“The greatest opportunity that has ever come to the world’s workers is the one now offering, and if they are wise they will seize it and insist on the immediate adoption of the efficiency ideals, since the inevitable and unescapable result of efficiency is to increase pay and lessen effort.”

But the merits of scientific management do not seem to appeal so strongly to labor leaders and workmen in general. Strange as it may seem, most of them are very stubborn in their opposition. They deny the assertions of its advocates to the effect that it raises wages, shortens hours, lessens effort, and in general elevates the condition of the workman. If one wishes to get a vivid impression of the hatred of some union men toward this scheme, let him read the letter of President

¹ Tuck School Conference on Scientific Management, 1912, p. 60.

² Report of Tuck School Conference, p. 89.

James O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists sent to the various local unions of that trade in the spring of 1911.³ Here scientific management is referred to as a "staggering blow at labor" and its objects defined as an attempt to "reduce the men to virtual slavery," to subject them to "life destroying hard work," and to make a man "work at a terrific pace."

The machinists are not alone in taking this attitude of suspicion. Other unions not merely fear and condemn scientific management, but actively fight it. Strikes are ordered in factories where scientific management is enforced, and bills are introduced at the behest of labor unions in state legislatures and in Congress seeking to bar this system from governmental establishments. Approach almost any labor leader and you will find that although his notions about scientific management are a bit vague, he is certain of one thing,—that here is a clever scheme of the employers to speed up their men and get increased work without additional compensation.

Our attempt shall be impartially to weigh this plan in its effect on the wage earner. We shall ask ourselves the questions,—Is scientific management a boon or a menace to the laborer? What attitude is labor and especially organized labor justified in taking toward scientific management? To the employer scientific management appeals as a profit-getting device which (he says) will benefit his employees at the same time that it enriches himself. To the laboring man, often, it appears as a slave-driving device which benefits only his employer. But to the economist, scientific management is primarily a labor-saving device, and upon an analysis of its points of resemblance and points of contrast with other labor-saving devices and their effects, depends the economist's conclusions as to its relation to wages.

The bare fact that this plan is essentially a labor-saving device is obvious and has received frequent mention. But only a thorough-going examination of the unique points which this particular device exhibits can illuminate the problem of its real effect on labor. In the first place, it should be noticed, scientific management resembles those primary inventions,

³ Letter quoted in Report of Chief of Ordnance to Secretary of War, 1911, pp. 20-21.

such as power machinery, which can be introduced and used in industries of widely differing kinds. A specialized machine, like a burring machine in a comb factory, is of use only in that particular kind of factory, and likewise other specialized machines are of use only in textile mills or in shoe factories or in flour mills. Scientific management, however, would appear to be workable in many portions of the industrial organism. It is true that it has certain limitations of its own. It appears to be advantageous in the interrupted or intermittent industries, such as the building trades,—brick laying and digging,—or machine shops turning out a miscellaneous product. In the continuous industries, such as the milling of flour, the speed of the process depends mainly on machines already highly specialized. Here the principal planning is already completed, and the separation of mental and manual labor which lies at the heart of the Taylor, Emerson and other systems of scientific management is already accomplished to a large degree. Nevertheless there are many continuous industries, such as textile manufacture, shoe making, pulp and paper manufacture where scientific management seems to have a considerable availability.

But in the main this plan is profitable only where men are worked in gangs or in large numbers. Scientific management, for a long time at least, is not likely to find extensive employment in agriculture or in the fields of domestic and personal service: Mr. Frederick W. Taylor sweepingly says: "These principles are applicable to all kinds of human effort." This is exaggerated. These systems tend chiefly to invade those industries in trade, transportation and manufacturing where the labor element is still the major element. These industries are, of course, the ones in which the men are most apt to be unionized; and this explains, in part, why scientific management has already clashed so frequently with the labor unions, despite the fact that but one-tenth of the laborers in the United States belong to a union of any kind, and despite the tiny percentage of plants affected.

Scientific management, like all other labor-saving devices, either general or specialized, has as its purpose the lowering of cost per unit of product. The employer installs the system

because he is convinced that it will increase his profits. For example, in the Bethlehem Steel Works,⁴ the cost of handling materials in the yard fell from \$.07 and \$.08 per ton before Taylor introduced his system there, to \$.03 and \$.04 per ton after the system was in full swing.

Whether we have in this connection economy of capital as well as labor-saving we will consider later. Labor-saving on a large scale there surely is. There is a considerable expulsion of labor at the very start. The labor cost per unit of product falls amazingly. The workmen who are retained work so much more efficiently that their compensation is but a portion of the total amount of wages paid previously. For the moment we may lay aside the question of wages and examine the reasons why laborers retained are so much more productive than they were before they had submitted to time study and motion study and the other methods of the efficiency engineers. Scientific management here again differs from ordinary labor-saving machinery. This system affects labor directly and not equipment directly. Some change is wrought in the laborer himself that makes it possible for him to turn out 60 per cent. to several times more product than previously. Here it is pertinent to inquire, therefore, into the objection of the labor leaders that the workmen are overstimulated.

The methods that scientific management uses in maximizing human achievement are too well known to need detailed description. Time study and motion study are both essential parts of the system and are both developments of ideas which were first broached over a century ago. Terminology has, in this connection, some significance, and Mr. Taylor's suggestion that "task management" is a more accurate term than scientific management points to the nature of the methods used.⁵ The efficiency engineer sets a task for the laborer, having first determined, not by guess work but by painstaking collection of data and scientific analysis, in what ways the manual operations may be most expeditiously performed. Under the older systems of management, the men in the shop were supposed to know collectively more about their tasks than did the management. Under this new type of management, the men in

⁴ Tuck Conference Report, p. 41.

⁵ Principles of Scientific Management, p. 30.

the planning and instructing departments have taken over all the mental work and have found ways expressed in mathematical formulæ that will secure the largest productivity. The workmen's duties are confined to obeying instructions.

Thus, it is said, all waste motion is eliminated. Mr. Frank B. Gilbreth succeeded in reducing the number of movements used in bedding bricks in mortar from eighteen to five. So in the machine shop, the employee is enabled to operate under the best possible conditions. He is provided with the best tools and with machines in the best condition. Delays are eliminated. Puttering is stopped, and the gang boss and the speed boss and the other bosses created by functional foremanship, teach the laborer just how to secure the greatest results with the minimum of movement. All operations are analyzed down to fractions of minutes. Furthermore, in occupations which put the workmen under a severe strain, the practice of enforcing intervals of rest here and there throughout the day's labor is instituted. To give one example from many—it was found by computation that a handler of pig iron must be under load only 43 per cent. of the day in order to do his best work. The other 57 per cent. he is required to consume in periods of recuperation.

Of course in setting these maximum tasks, in getting the most out of human machines that is in them, the efficiency experts found that all men were not equally adapted to the same tasks. Individual differences in strength and intelligence and quickness had to be taken into account. Mr. Taylor calls the selection of especially adapted men—"the use of the first class man." This assorting of human beings according to their individual capacities for special tasks is precisely what Professor Hugo Munsterberg has denominated "economic psychotechnics."

In practice a rigid selection is resorted to. It was found that in a gang of 75 handlers of pig iron, only about one man in eight was physically capable of handling $47\frac{1}{2}$ tons per day, the task set.⁶

Just here it is that the workmen and their champions interpose their objections against over-stimulation. Task management, they say, breaks down all resistance that the workmen

⁶ Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management*, p. 61.

can offer to the speeding up process. It puts in the hands of the boss an infallible measuring rod of the worker's capacity. It neglects the fact that men are flesh and blood and seeks to operate them as if they were automatons. Before such a system is installed, the laborer is protected by the fact that no one knows exactly what he can do. But after he has submitted to stop-watch study, he is at the mercy of the speed boss.

These are the contentions of the wage earners. The efficiency engineers meet the charges with two arguments, one drawn from theory and one alleged to be founded on experience. Theoretically, insist the engineers, the workmen cannot be exhausted under this system, for it is never the object of the scientific managers to energize and speed up workers, but to make them more efficient. Efficiency is said to be the opposite of strenuousness. The persistent endeavor of workmen to slow down their pace and to restrict their output so that they may "nurse their jobs," is alleged to be one of the most universal evils in the industrial field. It will not hurt most workmen to be forced to do their best instead of being allowed to do their worst when they feel like it. Under scientific management, furthermore, rest periods are provided when the strain of the task is severe, and the men or women go only so fast as their strength will allow; for if they should be subjected to strain, efficiency would sag. In other words, contend the scientific managers, it doesn't pay to get more out of employees than they can give without pain and without injury to health.

Theoretically, then, the scientific manager, if he knows his business, will not be tempted to use the methods of the slave driver; and, as a second argument to bolster their contention, the employers point to the conditions that obtain in certain establishments where their systems are running. For example, they would quote the testimony of Miss Edith Wyatt, social worker and investigator, before the special committee of Congress, appointed to investigate the Taylor and other systems of shop management.⁷ Miss Wyatt probed into conditions among the woman workers in a New Jersey cotton mill, in a Rhode Island cloth finishing establishment, and one or two other plants. She reported that the girls have, under this

⁷ Proceedings before House Committee, No. 90 of 62nd Congress, pp. 592-605.

system, better air and more light than before, and shorter hours. Everywhere, it is maintained, this system gives impetus to welfare work. It enlightens the employer and teaches him to couple together in his mind profit and good treatment.

But these counter assertions have not as yet seemed convincing to laboring men. They still fear scientific management in the hands of unintelligent or unscrupulous men. The laborers who testified before the House Committee investigating the subject insisted that the danger of over-stimulation was real. A speed boss in a machine shop operated under scientific management is reported to have said, when asked if it would not be easy to set tasks for his men that would strain their strength: "Sure it would be easy, but why should we? What do we want to make the men sore for? Or drive them out of the shop? Or put them down and out by overworking them?" Not all employers and bosses, however, may feel as did this speed boss. There may be many who still hold to the idea that the most profitable way to use workmen is to wear them out and then draft in fresh ones.

This point certainly is clear; that scientific management robs the laborer, once he has submitted to the system, of much of his power of resistance to overwork. And if the employer has a free hand, unrestrained by collective protest on the part of his employees, he can, if he wishes, exact more than his pound of flesh.

When a set of labor-saving devices is installed in a factory, labor is, of course, to a greater or less extent displaced. This is in itself usually counted an evil, because it results in unemployment, temporary or permanent, for a number of workers and brings on all the ills of industrial readjustment. Furthermore, it often happens that not only is a portion of the labor force expelled, but that a cheaper grade of labor can be employed to tend the new machines. The historical examples of this effect are too thickly scattered through industrial history to require citation here.⁸

What happens when this particular labor-saving device called scientific management invades a factory or is imposed upon a construction gang? How much is the labor force reduced in number, and in what manner is its nature altered?

⁸ Carroll D. Wright, *Relation of Invention to Labor*, 1892.

Usually, it would appear, the reduction in the number of laborers amounts to about 66 per cent; the working force is cut to a third of its former size. This happened among the yard laborers of the Bethlehem Steel Company when scientific management reduced the number from about 500 to about 140. In a factory where girls were employed inspecting steel bicycle balls the cut was from 120 to 35. Of course there is a mitigating factor here in the fact that scientific management cannot be introduced into a factory at one stroke. It sometimes takes as long as five years and seldom under one and a half to get the system in full operation. A system of shop management and of task setting cannot be slapped into place like a row of type-setting machines. In the Tabor Manufacturing Company, further, product multiplying went on during the period in which scientific management was being introduced and the output increased in that time three-fold. The number of laborers fell, therefore, only from 125 to 75. It is often urged that product multiplying compensates in most industries for the harm wrought by the initial displacement of labor. With scientific management there is sometimes a tendency for the two forces to act through the same period of time. This, however, does not remove the evil; it merely in some cases mitigates it.

Besides the dropping of labor, there is a little tendency in the other direction. A few men always are drafted from the labor force up into the planning and instructing departments. These exceptional men, having initiative and discretion, are individually benefited, but their number is few: Probably not more than half a dozen men are recruited thus from the laborers themselves, for a considerable portion of the instructing staff and planning department is composed of especially trained men from outside. And even here we cannot say that there is any gain to labor, because this would seem to be one way in which labor is robbed of its leaders, and a serious drain of ability made from the ranks of the workers into the camp of the employers.

Further, do we find any displacement of high-priced labor by low-priced labor? This point is very seldom raised in discussions of scientific management. But we have indisputable

testimony on the point, that of Mr. Taylor himself. Mr. Taylor acknowledges in an address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers that low-priced men do, under scientific management, take the places of higher priced men. He says: "The full possibilities of functional foremanship, however, will not have been realized until almost all of the machines in the shop are run by men who are of smaller calibre and attainments, and who are therefore cheaper than those required under the old system. The adoption of standard tools, appliances, and methods throughout the shop, the planning done in the planning room and the detailed instruction sent them from this department, added to the direct help received from the four executive bosses, permit the use of comparatively cheaper men even on complicated work. Of the men in the machine shop of the Bethlehem Steel Company engaged in running the roughing machines, and who were working under the bonus system when the writer left them, about 95 per cent. were handy men trained up from laborers. And on finishing machines working on bonus about 25 per cent. were handy men. Of course they were paid more than laborer's wages, though not as much as skilled machinists."⁹

Another trade in which substitution of cheaper labor for dearer has been practiced is brick laying. Here the number of skilled brick layers is greatly reduced and their places taken to some extent by unskilled men who tap the bricks and arrange them on scaffolds. Scientific management separates the mental from the manual. It concentrates planning in the hands of a special department, and consequently in certain trades we find that cheaper men can be trained to follow the minute instructions as easily as high priced craftsmen and mechanics.

Here, however, we must make an important distinction, for the immediate effect of scientific management on wages in unskilled trades is different from its effect in skilled trades. In a gang of unskilled workers, such as diggers, or handlers of pig iron, when the men of especial fitness for the work are retained and the others dropped, the men retained are invariably paid a bonus in addition to the flat day rate that all laborers of their class receive. Thus Miss Wyatt found that the

⁹F. W. Taylor on Shop Management. Transactions of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Vol. XXIV, 1903, p. 1395.

wages of the girls working in cotton mills and bleacheries operated under scientific management had been materially raised. The bonuses paid usually run from 20 to 100 per cent. of the former wage, averaging about 30 per cent. Of course this bonus is paid to all workers under scientific management. Some plan of additional pay is an inherent part of the system. Skilled machinists who are retained in machine shops receive bonuses on their former day rate just as do unskilled laborers; but in skilled trades, scientific management brings about at the start a partial decrease in wages, a certain substitution of cheaper for dearer labor, whereas in unskilled trades the expulsion of labor and the selection of an especially adapted body of men always means at the start an increase of wages, the adding of bonuses to the common laborer's hire. The wages of a shoveller in the Bethlehem Steel yard were increased from \$1.15 per day to \$1.88 per day. It is increases of this sort that the efficiency engineers regard as one of the glorious benefits that this system confers on workingmen.

In seeking to cast a balance between the total wage gains and losses to labor from scientific management, it is of course necessary to take into account the effect, direct and indirect, of the expulsion of labor from an industry as well as the recompense of the laborers retained. Confining our attention for the moment, however, to the men actually working under this system, we may ask: Why should bonuses, or premiums of any sort, be paid at all?

Wherever scientific management is introduced the men set to work under it, be they skilled or unskilled, are given a bonus averaging about 30 to 40 per cent. of their former pay. He who reaches the standard imposed by the efficiency engineer after time study and motion study have established the pace, receives, in the degree of his proficiency, extra compensation for so doing. That is to say, the bonus is merely extra pay for extra effort. The workman has agreed to work more expeditiously, has relinquished his privilege of setting his own pace, and has exposed himself to the chance of being overstimulated. He has been "selected" because of his especial fitness for the special task. There is, in fact, nothing altruistic about these bonuses. They are paid because they are the necessary lever

that elevates the efficiency of the workman to a higher plane. The scientific managers themselves¹⁰ answer very frankly the query—"What is the proper bonus?" They say it is such a bonus as will make the workman feel compensated for any extra exertion that he puts forth,—and that workmen feel compensated usually by a bonus that runs from 20 to 50 per cent. of the day rate.

A great deal has been made of the "spirit of co-operation" which scientific management is supposed to bring about between employer and employee. And in truth the system cannot be operated unless the wage earners work in harmony with the planning departments and the instructing staff. Co-operation means really just willingness to submit to the system and follow obediently the many instructions that are given. A labor-saving machine may be put into a factory despite violent labor opposition, but scientific management, by its nature, requires consent on the part of the laborers. The bonus, then, is a payment for acquiescence in the rules of the game. It is a functional necessity of scientific management.

Consequently this "co-operation," this "community of interest between capital and labor," which is acclaimed one of the blessings that scientific management confers, is really another way of saying that the laborer must be willing to concede all his bosses ask. It is fair, however, to add that there is apparently some gain in mutual goodwill in factories where the workmen have embraced the system, for they, on their part, surrender their right to "soldier on the job," and the men in the management on their side find that to stimulate interest in the work, they must abandon military methods of supervision.

Such being the reason for the bonus—extra pay for extra effort—it stands a better chance of being sustained than if it were in any way gratuitous. Employers may always find that they must pay men 20 to 30 per cent more than the current rate of wages for similar laborers in order to induce men to work under this system. But while the bonus is likely to be a permanent feature, there is no guarantee that the day rate on which it is calculated will not be lowered. Competition will, without doubt, tend to cut down wages, once this labor-saving device

¹⁰ Henry L. Gantt, *Work, Wages and Profits*, p. 22.

has spread throughout a whole industry. Workmen have had harsh experience with piece work rates, finding again and again that, although a man may earn higher wages at first, in the end his pay is cut to the former level. To judge from the tone of many labor discussions of this frequent experience one would think that employers could be properly blamed for these cuts, as though due to their moral iniquity. But we know that really most cuts of this sort have been forced by competition.

What will prevent competition from scaling down the laborer's wage, day rate plus bonus, under scientific management when that plan is generally adopted? Ought we not rather to ask: Can anything stop such a reduction except organized action and collective bargaining on the part of the wage earners? It must be admitted that laborers under schemes of scientific management do invariably receive extra compensation above their previous wage, whether it has been that of skilled or unskilled workmen, and so find themselves in a favored position relative to other laborers. But it cannot be maintained that their favored position will be permanent if they trust merely to the action of economic forces or the good intentions of their employers.

We may now take the final step in our analysis of the effect of scientific management upon the wages of laborers and consider how the income of labor as a whole is likely to be changed by the introduction and spread of a labor-saving device of this sort, involving a large expulsion of labor, and the substitution of cheaper laborers for dearer.

In most discussion of labor-saving devices written from the point of view of economists, it is maintained that always in the end these improvements in technique redound to the benefit of the laboring class. At first, it is admitted, there may be expulsion of labor and the evils of readjustment in economic friction. But ultimately, product multiplying recalls labor into the industry and competition, through the reduction of price, slices off the profits that the original user of the device made, and we have a general diffusion of benefit through the consuming public on account of the greater abundance of cheap products. And to bolster up this contention history is appealed to, and the record of the textile industries and the printing

industries and the shoe-making industries submitted as evidence.

While we may admit at the start that there is a sound basis for this conclusion in a broad way, we must also note that the factors here are much more complex than they appear on the surface. The gains to labor are by no means inevitable. If the income of wage-earners is raised by labor-saving devices, it is only because certain factors of advantage offset other factors of disadvantage.

The expulsion of labor itself is always a loss to the wage-earners. Some of the labor displaced may result in social wreckage or go to swell the ranks of the army of tramps. Most of it, however, it is safe to say, finds employment elsewhere. We are justified in assuming that it will be employed under less favorable circumstances than formerly; and furthermore that it will intensify the competition of laborers in the industries to which it is forced to resort. Thus labor is bound to lose on that score.

Here it is that the possible compensating factors have to be taken into account. The three most important circumstances to consider are: first, whether the industry expands rapidly or not; second, whether or not the effect of the device is to substitute a capital charge for a labor charge; and third, whether the cheapened product enters into the consumption of laborers or not. For a thorough examination of these conditioning circumstances the reader is referred to the article of Professor Johnson.¹¹ The important point here is that the factors may, and undoubtedly sometimes do combine in ways unfavorable to labor. Probably the types of labor-saving devices which tend, in the long run, to elevate the position of labor are more frequent than the types that tend to degrade it; but in the case of any particular device we are not justified in assuming its beneficence to labor until after we have examined its individual characteristics.

It is worth our while, therefore, to determine if possible to which type scientific management belongs. The first question is whether or not an industry passing under the régime of scientific management will expand rapidly or not. The defenders of

¹¹ Alvin S. Johnson, *The Effect of Labor Saving Devices upon Wages*. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XX, p. 86.

labor-saving nearly always stress the results of product multiplying, pointing out that thus is labor drawn back into the industry and the competition in other labor markets relaxed. Obviously prediction is here impossible. The expansion of an industry depends on its nature and the demand for the particular commodities produced, more than upon the cost of the production. To avoid straining a point, however, let us admit that if costs are lowered the industry will expand, and prices be cut by competition.

Next it is pertinent to inquire whether scientific management economizes capital or not. If it does, there emerges an influence tending to counteract the harm done to labor by increased competition and congestion in other labor markets. To quote from Professor Johnson (p. 101): "Capital saving attending labor saving manifestly tends to extend the range within which labor saving is beneficial to labor, and the greater the degree of capital saving, the wider that range." If capital is expelled it lowers the productivity of capital in the industries it invades, relative to labor.

The answer to the question,—Does scientific management economize capital as well as labor?—must be somewhat ambiguous: yes and no, depending on the kind of establishment adopting the system. In all cases there is an initial capital cost, the expense, namely of the consulting experts, of an enlarged planning department, of a reorganized management including extra bosses and an instructing staff, of cards, telephones, records. Where a gang of outdoor laborers, for example, is placed under this system, there is no capital saving, but a large initial and continuing capital cost. Here, then, units of labor are expelled and units of capital attracted.

But in the case of a factory, machine shop, or large mill, the initial capital cost is to some extent compensated. After the system is in full swing, there follows a better and fuller utilization of machines, plant and materials. An efficiency engineer may, as did Mr. Gantt, spend a year and a half in a plant, routing the work, cutting waste processes by merely scheduling each part of the product properly, putting machines into order, and never directly affecting the workmen. There might be a quibble as to whether this is really scientific man-

agement if the heart of that system is taken to be the separation of mental and manual labor with the accompanying time and motion studies. Nevertheless, since this sort of efficiency engineering always accompanies the labor-saving side of scientific management, it is only fair to include it in the results of this system. This is unquestionably capital saving, because it more than compensates the owner for the initial cost of having the work of systemization performed.

Therefore, while we cannot give a definite answer to the question: Does scientific management economize capital, we may at least be assured that at the best and the worst it has little effect in this direction. Primarily, although not purely, scientific management is a labor-saving device, and there is not enough capital-saving involved to act as a counterbalance to any harm which may have been done the workmen by the operation of any other one factor.

Therefore, if we find any final gain to laborers as a whole, we must depend on the cheapening of products. If articles are multiplied and the prices cut, and if these products enter into the consumption of laborers, they may reap a benefit. But, if, on the other hand, the product is consumed by capitalists alone, its cheapening means nothing to labor. For example, suppose that scientific management is introduced into a factory making automobile tires. If, by the expulsion of labor and its entrance into other industries, a thin slice of the wages of labor is shaved off, the fact that automobile tires are somewhat cheaper is no consolation to the wage earners. The capitalists in this case alone gain. We must admit, however, that industries producing for capitalists alone are comparatively rare. Most products are consumed partly at least by laborers and many products chiefly by them. So in most cases they would gain and probably in greater degree than they had suffered.

Yet even at this point we must enter a few qualifications. Scientific management can be used in monopolistic concerns as well as in competitive industries. Imitation may spread the use of this system as well as competition. It promises big profits to the large-scale producer, and large-scale production is, in these days, frequently associated with monopoly. In a case of this sort we have no assurance that the initial losses to labor

will be offset by lower prices of product. Or again, is the laborer certain to gain when scientific management is introduced in any of the numerous industries making, not consumption commodities, but products midway in a series of production. Suppose that this system cheapened the cost of steel rails (assuming the manufacture of steel rails to be a competitive business) would the public benefit through lower railroad fares? Would not this gain rather be absorbed as profit and go to increase the dividends?

This, again, suggests a qualification of the opposite character. In these days when higher wages are sometimes secured by forced arbitration, labor unions might be enabled to take a share of the profits made possible by scientific management. The fact that railroads were paying unusually high dividends would weaken their case in a fight against the collective demands of their employees.

The factors then are very complex. Cocksure assertions have no place in this controversy. However, after analyzing the factors that must determine the effect of scientific management on wages, labor does not need to be pessimistic over the prospects: for probably wage-earners will ultimately gain through the widespread adoption of the system. This optimism from the labor standpoint rests, indeed, upon a belief that our present industrial system has the capacity to absorb, in effect, a vast additional supply of labor without material reduction in the productivity of each unit. This condition probably obtains in the United States. Imagine scientific management applied everywhere; imagine workers everywhere sorted, as Professor Münsterberg suggests, into their proper physical and psychical planes, thereby increasing their efficiency; imagine all the readjustments made, all the laborers re-employed, and the processes completed with products cheapened. Efficiency and physical productivity will be greater. Money wages will be somewhat higher, and real wages much higher. Such an advance is possible and even probable, although the end is not assured, and there are pains in the process.

In conclusion, it is but fair to say that the labor unions do not appear to be entirely unjustified in their opposition to this plan. Certainly there are wide zones within which collective

action and collective bargaining can be helpful to labor under a scientific management régime. The assertions of certain efficiency engineers that we are here offered "a solution of the labor problem" are, of course, absurd. Labor leaders are not blind to their own best interests, as often maintained, in refusing to welcome the proposals of the managers and employers with open arms. And it cannot help but prove exasperating to laborers to find among the advocates and sponsors of this system an undoubted antipathy to collective bargaining, and an insistence that they "deal with one man at a time."

On the other hand, the attitude of the unionists is sure to prove galling to the efficiency engineers and to employers. The latter feel that labor union opposition is largely due to unreasoning suspicion, rather than to observation of the effects of scientific management itself. Hostility is said to dissipate itself when the system is once set going, and the first indignities of stop-watch study and distaste for new methods have been forgotten. There are at present in this country between 50,000 and 100,000 men working in gangs and factories where this system is used. A number of these shops are closed shops, operating under unionized conditions, and the machinists, printers and bricklayers who are union men and also bonus men under scientific management, seem as contented as do other workmen.

Organized labor has two alternatives: either to fight the system or to control it. If the unions offer no obstacles to the widespread adoption of scientific management, yet firmly insist that it be restrained by collective bargaining they would appear to be following a moderate and wise course. Both the flat day rate and the amount of bonus could very well be fixed by mutual agreement between employer and employees. The unions could demand that there be no substitution of cheaper labor and that the employer be contented with the profits which the system would yield where skilled men are retained. They could safeguard against cutting of wages by holding as tenaciously to the new rates as to the old, and they could check any tendency to overstimulation by a collective insistence that discharge be for reasonable cause. In these and in other zones the unionists could ward off some of the possible injuries that

scientific management, propelled by blind economic forces, might inflict, and they could soften the shock of transition.

It is true that they, too, would have to make concessions. It would appear that they must abandon the lump of work theory, and give up the idea that it is to their advantage systematically to limit output. Unless they are willing to concede this much, they can scarcely be said to be submitting to the system at all. Certainly, labor leaders will appear to be shortsighted if they merely stand stubbornly against the spread of a system whose spread is inevitable, and do not seek intelligently to mitigate its possible damage to labor and to increase and conserve the benefits that it might confer.

William Garrott Brown

WILLIAM P. FEW

President of Trinity College

William Garrott Brown in the exile of a long illness died at New Canaan, Conn., October 19, 1913. In his untimely death the cause of letters in America sustained a serious loss; for while his field was American history and politics rather than literature he yet possessed in a remarkable degree the equipment of a man of letters. It is idle to speculate concerning his achievement had the circumstances of his life allowed the full development of his talents. One thing is certain: he had to a degree rare in our time and country the ability to think clearly and to write with distinction.

The facts of his life are easily recited. He was born at Marion, Ala., April 24, 1868, the youngest son of Richard Wilson and Mary Cogswell (Parish) Brown. His father's family had come from Virginia, and his mother's from North Carolina. He graduated from Howard College in 1886 and afterwards served as instructor in the Marion Military Institute, both institutions being at that time located in his native village. In 1889 he entered the junior class at Harvard University. He took his A. B. at Harvard with the highest honors in history in 1891. He continued his university studies in history and allied subjects. He received the degree of A. M. in '92 and for the eight following years he held a position in the Harvard Library. During the year 1901-02 he was lecturer in American history.

An inherited tendency to deafness and growing ill health were a bar to an academic career; and writing became his profession. Never really sound of body, he ten years ago developed tuberculosis. Before he discovered it the disease had so strong a hold on him that it could not be overcome, and henceforth he had to fight for his life.

Brown was born and spent his early life in Alabama, before that state had had time to recover from the bad effects of the Civil War, the worse effects of reconstruction, and the long convalescence that had to follow these. He thus shared in

this "saddest fact in all the world;" and he felt himself to be, as he once wrote, an heir to all the sorrow and all the tortured pride of it. In a very peculiar sense, then, for him the time was out of joint; and it was the cursed spite of his life that he, like any other serious-minded man, felt a call to set it right.

One of the most remarkable pieces of writing he ever did is his essay called "The Foe of Compromise," in which he makes a finely scrupulous enquiry into that something which "forever rises up in men, as men like Garrison and Morley and the radicals of other times, have risen up in all societies, to fight with compromise, whatever form it takes." In this essay is embedded a great deal of Brown's own character. He had within himself the same sort of longing for a completeness which life cannot give. He too wanted better bread than was ever made of wheat. This straining to see life whole kept him from "that peace for which mankind, in all lands, all languages, to all their gods, forever pray."

These circumstances and the response of his temperament to these circumstances were in his case peculiarly unfortunate. "For," as he wrote in his well-known preface to the "Lower South in American History," "my true task like many another task of many another man, must wait for better days: for days of confident mornings and calm evenings. Such his days and nights must be, and firm his will must be, his mind at peace, his silence undistracted, who would enter into the body of this civilization which I have tried to intimate with outlines, and make it live again through these and other of its times and seasons, he also living in it, and dying in it and rising in it again."

These confident mornings and calm evenings never came; and yet Brown achieved results of lasting significance. His published volumes include "Official Guide to Harvard University," 1899; "A History of Alabama," 1900; "Andrew Jackson," 1900, and "Stephen Arnold Douglas," 1902, in the Riverside Biographical Series; "The Lower South in American History," 1902; "Golf," 1902; "A Gentleman of the South," a novel, 1903; "The Foe of Compromise and Other Essays," 1903; "Life of Oliver Ellsworth," 1905.

During the last decade most of his writing was for such periodicals as the *Youth's Companion*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Atlantic Monthly*. And for six years he wrote the political paragraphs for *Harper's Weekly*. He kept this up until the sale of the *Weekly* to Norman Hapgood a few weeks before his death; and he made a national reputation for that paper, although his hand in it was unknown to the public. When the worst came and he had to do his reading and writing in bed, neither Robert Louis Stevenson himself nor any other knight of the pen ever gave himself to his work with more whole-hearted resignation or heroic devotion. When his health broke down Brown was engaged in writing a life of General Grant. He was also at work on a "History of the United States in Our Own Times." Several striking chapters from this were printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The material for both these works was destroyed in the burning of Kenilworth Inn at Asheville, where he was at the time living.

Brown and I lived together at Harvard College during the years from 1893 to 1896, and we have been intimate life-long friends. I feel that I have perhaps been too close to him to speak justly of his talents, his character, or his achievements. I am going to quote recent statements from three men of national reputation. Bliss Perry, for many years editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and well-known author, closes a short tribute to Brown in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for October 26 with this striking paragraph:

"The men who knew him tried to define his indescribable charm of speech and behavior, but they fell back helplessly upon some such word as 'thoroughbred.' His courtesy was exquisite. He bore his handicap of deafness with the finest dignity, and with a deprecatory humor which was delicately perfect. But his deafness was a serious obstacle to an academic career, and he turned finally to literature,—only to discover that he had to battle, and as it proved, in vain, against tuberculosis. He made for ten years a gallant fight, which has just ended. No one can say what he might have accomplished with unimpaired health and a longer opportunity, but those who knew him believe that William Garrott Brown would have gone very far. And if he had never accomplished anything, they would have loved him none the less."

Edward S. Martin, literary editor of *Life* and author of many books, in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for December has written :

"Brown's loss of health was a national misfortune. His historical and political equipment was very unusual indeed, and coupled with his talent as a writer and his very noble and disinterested character, made him a rare man for whom distinguished employment was certain to have sought if only he had had the physical powers to undertake it. It is surprising what scarcity there is in our time and country of men qualified to undertake such employments as offered to him. A contemporary speaks of him as "the man of most promise as a historian turned out by Harvard's Historical Department in the last 25 years."

In the recently published letters of Charles Eliot Norton there is reference to Brown in a letter to Samuel G. Ward, of Washington, the friend and correspondent of Emerson.

"I was interrupted the other day, and had no chance to resume my letter before the arrival of three interesting guests who came from Colorado Springs, from Chicago, and from Alabama (by way of Cambridge) to take part, on last Thursday, in our Annual Dinner. I have sent to you a report of the speeches on that occasion, and, though you will not approve altogether of their doctrine, you will be interested in the manner in which it is set forth, and especially in the substance of the speech (which was not delivered) of my young friend, Mr. Garrott Brown, of Alabama. Perhaps you have seen some of his recent articles in the *Atlantic* and other magazines, or his lately published volume on 'The Lower South in American History,' a volume well worth reading.

"He is a man of refined nature, sensitive, modest, of high character, and a strong and a cultivated intelligence. His studies of the South have special value from his intimate knowledge of the field, and from his inherited sentiment for the old conditions, and his clear appreciation of the new. He is greatly hampered in social relations by deafness, but he is so entirely a gentleman that his disability stands little in his way. I commend his book to you."

Mr. Perry's words suggest something of Brown's remarkable personality. Something of this "thoroughbred" quality

is found ingrained in all his writing. His style has distinction; and when on occasion it rises to the height of some great argument it becomes charged with a sort of eloquence that is rarely equaled in the writing of any other man of our time.

Mr. Martin speaks of Brown's historical and political equipment as having been very unusual indeed. He inherited keen interest in politics. He had been steeped in it in youth in his native Alabama and went to Massachusetts just at the time of the national resurgence of the Democratic party. He was actively engaged in the organization and management of the Harvard Democratic Club in the Cleveland campaign and did a great deal of speaking throughout Massachusetts for Cleveland. He was an ardent supporter of William E. Russell, for four terms the Democratic governor of Massachusetts. He made in one of his essays the keenest analysis of American parties that has ever been written. In *Harper's Weekly* during recent years Brown espoused the cause of Woodrow Wilson both before and after his election to the presidency.

Mr. Norton remarks that Brown's studies of the South have especial value from his inherited sentiment for the old conditions and his clear appreciation of the new. His "inherited sentiment for the old" and "clear appreciation of the new" gave him an extraordinary fitness for writing about Southern history. He hoped eventually to write an adequate history of our Civil War setting forth the human forces at play in this greatest tragedy of modern times. I have frequently heard him speak with the utmost enthusiasm and conviction about this, declaring that the man who could do it fitly would live as long as Thucydides. We are not likely to have soon among us another man so well fitted for this task; and the ending of his life before the completion of the task makes his death a national misfortune.

I wish to bear this personal tribute to the memory of my departed friend: he had sheer intellectual honesty as I have never observed it in any other man; he had the rare courage to face life squarely, to lead forlorn hopes and to die in last ditches, and when he could see no hope, even the "courage to despair;" he had a genius for friendship, and he was loved

by all high-minded men who ever came within the range of his winning personality. America has lost a man of talent, maimed and dead ere his prime. But above and beyond this loss, those of us who loved William Garrott Brown have felt that in his death something of tenderness and beauty and glory has passed from the earth.

The Masters of Modern French Criticism*

EDWIN MIMS

Professor of English in Vanderbilt University

Professor Babbitt's volume on modern French criticism has an interest for a much wider circle of readers than special students in that field. It illustrates the point of view from which all literature should be studied and taught, and as such it has lessons of real value to those intent upon making literature a more vital factor in the lives of individuals and in the life of society. It is a suggestive volume for students of English literature, and especially of English criticism; for the comparisons between Chateaubriand and Byron, Joubert and Emerson, Edmond Scherer and Arnold, Renan and Pater, Sainte-Beuve and Dr. Johnson, and many other side glances at the various periods of English literature, are especially valuable. Professor Babbitt reveals the method and spirit that should characterize the study of comparative literature—not in relation to origins and sources, as has so often been the case with such studies, but to the most characteristic tendencies of modern literature and thought. The book has an appeal yet wider than to students and teachers of modern literature, however; for it is the contention of the author that to study the leading French critics of the nineteenth century is to get very close to the intellectual center of the century, and at the same time to build up the necessary background for the proper understanding of the ideas of our own day. Accordingly there are scattered throughout the volume illuminating discussions of Romanticism, of Positivism, of Science, and of the necessary reaction therefrom in such philosophers as William James and Bergson. Creative literature, criticism, philosophy and even theology are thus considered as manifestations of the same time-spirit.

From the first point of view suggested, we see a brilliant realization of the ideas expressed in Professor Babbitt's "Literature and the American College," published some five years ago. One of the author's main points of attack in that rather

* The Masters of Modern French Criticism. By Irving Babbitt. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—xi, 427 pp.

revolutionary book was the fetich of much modern productive scholarship—the emphasis laid in the teaching of ancient and modern literature upon minute research in comparatively insignificant fields of learning rather than upon extensive reading and assimilation. He said at that time: “What is wanted is a training that shall be literary, and at the same time free from suspicion of softness or relaxation; a degree that shall stand for discipline and ideas, and not merely for a discipline and facts. Our language instruction needs to emphasize more than it is now doing the relationship between literature and thought, if it is to be saved from Alexandrianism. Alexandria had scholars who were marvels of æsthetic refinement, and others who were wonders of philological industry. Yet Alexandrian scholarship deserves its doubtful repute because of its inability to vitalize either its æsthetism or its philology,—because of its failure on the whole, to make any vigorous and virile application of ideas to life. What is disquieting about our teachers of language is not any want of scientific method or æsthetic appreciation, but a certain incapacity for ideas.” To those who might have been inclined to look upon this first book of Professor Babbitt’s as an ineffectual protest characterized by the spirit of the “knocker,” his “Masters of Modern French Criticism” is a very effective answer. He threw down the challenge to what he called the “philological syndicate,” and he now shows himself furnished with an almost invincible armor. Here is a book that shows the result of voluminous and assimilative reading and at the same time the discipline of ideas, and as such it is one of the triumphant achievements of American scholarship and criticism.

If the method and spirit displayed in this volume should prevail in the teaching of French literature, we should not have the strange phenomenon of men with the doctor’s degree who have laid disproportionate emphasis upon the study of old French and have produced theses altogether philological, without giving any evidence of being conversant with the French literature of the nineteenth century. It would be difficult to find so many French scholars and teachers who are almost altogether ignorant of the writers and the ideas interpreted in this volume, or who by accident, or by the impulse of their own

temperaments, have waked up late in life to the fact that French literature of the nineteenth century, or even of the seventeenth, is apt to be of most concern to the college student of today and certainly to thoughtful men. One may well imagine the effect on graduate students of courses of study and of reading pursued under such scholars as Professor Babbitt.

Aside from this perhaps incidental feature of the volume—and yet from the pedagogical standpoint vastly important—it is scarcely necessary to say that it shows a first hand knowledge of the critics who are under special consideration and a power of criticism that is of the first order. One cannot find in English any more appreciative or judicial criticisms of French critics than are to be found in this book. One of the main contentions of the author is that the greatest need of contemporary criticism is judgment rather than impressionistic or scientific criticism—the judgment of “the keen-sighted few” rather than the indiscriminating “appreciations” of the many. Of this balanced judgment, looking before and after, and at the same time of a sympathetic interpretation of each critic every chapter is a striking illustration. Space does not allow extensive quotation of the many felicitous and—one likes to think—final estimates of these writers, ranging from Madame de Staël to Anatole France. Chateaubriand, Joubert, Scherer, Taine, Brunetière and others have found an adequate interpreter and critic. After all that has been written about Sainte-Beuve, we have in the two chapters devoted to him a fresh and original presentation of his abundant writings and of his many-sided personality. The author does not allow his undoubted enthusiasm for this greatest of French critics, nor his sympathetic portrayal of the various periods of his literary career, to blind him to the fundamental defects of this “doctor of relativity.” He finds in him a lack of the genuine humanism that one finds in Horace or Montaigne; nor has Sainte-Beuve the religious elevation of Emerson. His sense of the illusions of life is that of one who has seen the Many and not the One; something is lacking in him as in his century. “If he may be considered the most representative man of his century—its magnificent widening out of knowledge and sympathy and its lack of adequate central aim—this may in the long run turn

out to be not to his discredit, but to the discredit of the century. It may become apparent that something was omitted in the whole nineteenth century view of life and that this something is the keystone of the arch." What this "Keystone of the Arch" is is revealed in the concluding chapter of the volume.

After a very acute analysis of Renan—a skeptic who instead of doubting every thing affirms every thing—after showing that he is a strange combination of impressionism, scientific positivism, and the Catholic imagination, Professor Babbitt thus summarizes the confusion of thought which mars his writings, and those of his followers: "But with the loss of this faith in scientific progress, the last safeguard against skepticism tends to disappear, and the world resolves itself into a flux of meaningless phenomena * * * * * Man is thus deprived of all standard of certainty, either within or without himself. He is doomed to a hopeless subjectivity, and might as well give over the attempt to get beyond the prison walls of his own personality." For English and American readers, however, it is better to insist not on what is lacking in such critics as Renan: for the very excess of Renan may serve as "a corrective of what is correspondingly deficient in ourselves." Such writers will serve to round out what is narrow, and counteract what is inadequate in our national culture. Especially worthy of note is Renan's style, for he had "a finish of form that is rare in French prose and still rarer in English." "Our total judgment of Renan may be summed up by saying that, though he is a great intelligence, he has few of the qualities of the great philosopher, but many of the qualities of a great historian, and nearly all the qualities of a great artist. He is a consummate master of prose style in a language that easily surpasses in the general excellence of its prose all other modern literatures."

Such examples will suffice to suggest Professor Babbitt's views of French critics. Aside from any detailed criticism, however, the book is full of discriminating considerations of general tendencies in modern literature and criticism. One can scarcely find anywhere else a more searching analysis of the Romantic movement, or of various forms of naturalism and

humanitarianism and positivism, both as found in literary criticism and in creative writing. All these manifestations of the modern spirit are considered in the light of the higher standard of humanism, of which term the author has in other writings given adequate definition and which he here interprets as the proper blending of individualism and standards of good taste. "One becomes humanistic in proportion as he grows aware of that law of order and measure and decorum that, according to Cicero, distinguishes man from other living creatures, and in proportion as he imposes the discipline of this law upon his ordinary or animal self; in proportion that is, as he aims not merely to express his own idiosyncrasy, but to be a normal man." If one combines with this sense of ideal standards insight or intuition, he has the proper point of view from which to judge the Romantic movement, which magnified the emotions and impressions of the individual, and scientific naturalism, which tended to reduce all phenomena to a chain of cause and effect. The escape from these two main tendencies of modern thought would seem to be, then, not the authority of the church as Brunetière thought, nor intuition of the Many, as James and Bergson would lead us to think, but the intuition based upon the knowledge of the One, that changeth not, amid all the passing shows of things.

This very brief statement can give at best but an inadequate idea of the many noteworthy passages throughout the entire volume and especially of the concluding chapter, which comes very near being an expression of the author's ideas of the ultimate things. We may well say "very near;" for while the discussion of Emerson and Goethe suggests the limitations of French critics, yet these two writers are themselves subjected to such a penetrating criticism that the reader is in doubt at the end as to what the ultimate truth of the whole matter is. The chapter, however, leads one to hope that at some future time Professor Babbitt may, as the result of his singularly comprehensive study of the intellectual and spiritual aspect of modern literature, write a volume that would realize the idea expressed in his preface that while philosophers have recently been growing literary, "the time would seem to have

arrived for the men of letters to return the compliment and become to the best of their ability philosophical."

In lieu of such an ultimate philosophy, we may be well satisfied with the presentation in this volume of the characteristics of the ideal critic. If modern French critics have carried to the last point the qualities of appreciation, historical sympathy, and scientific analysis, the time would seem to have arrived when there is a demand for a re-assertion of the claims of absolute standards. If the impressionist—the logical result of Romanticism—and the scientific critic—the logical result of the scientific spirit and method—have taught us the value of what is "suggestive" and "significant," if literary criticism has tended to become but a form of history or biography, or gossip, it is apparent that either the ideal critics of the future should bring to us a criticism that combines the virtues of the past century with those of a Boileau, or a Dr. Johnson, who had the power to condemn with masculine vigor what was inferior or mediocre. "What we are seeking is a critic who rests his discipline and selection upon the past without being a mere traditionalist; whose holding of tradition involves a constant process of hard and clear thinking, a constant adjustment, in other words, of the experience of the past to the changing needs of the present."

"What is most needed just now is not great doctors of relativity like Renan and Sainte-Beuve, but rather a critic who, without being at all rigid or reactionary, can yet carry into his work the sense of standards that are set above individual caprice and the flux of phenomena."

If Goethe had many of the characteristics of this ideal critic, Emerson had others and especially serves as a corrective of the relativity of Sainte-Beuve because he had a feeling for absolute values, a sense of inner standards as opposed to outer standards; for he believed in the "keen-sighted few"—"the court of the angels" to whom we must look for ultimate judgments of both literature and life. The final word then of this remarkable book—remarkable both for substance and style—is that the ideal critic would need "to combine the breadth and versatility and sense of differences of a Sainte-Beuve, with the elevation and insight and sense of unity of an Emerson."

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

By James Schouler. Volume VII, 1865-1877. New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1913.

The year 1913 has witnessed the completion of two monumental works on American history each one of which has occupied thirty years or more in the making. McMaster's eighth and concluding volume appeared earlier in the year, and now the seventh and concluding volume of Schouler has come to hand. Although the period of American history covered by these two authors is not altogether identical yet a comparison of the two is inevitable in the mind of the reader. McMaster shows deep research, exhaustive on the side of newspaper and pamphlet material, but yet writes in an impersonal way that often disappoints. In fact, one cannot help wondering at times just what conclusion the learned author has reached as a result of his profound research. On the other hand, while Schouler, careful as he is, may not have reached equal depths of historical investigation, yet he discusses his facts, expresses his personal opinions, and in consequence often leaves a much deeper impression upon the reader.

The last volume of Schouler's History, the one now under discussion, covers the portentous years 1865 to 1877 and well deserves the careful attention of the student of American history. The volume is really divided into two parts. The first, one hundred and forty-three pages in length, treats of Andrew Johnson's stormy administration, and the second, containing about two hundred pages, narrates the story of the presidency of Grant. These two divisions of the volume are uneven in value. While a generous use of the monumental work of Rhodes frankly has been made throughout, and then reinforced by other more primary material, yet the first part of the volume shows thorough and exhaustive investigation of such original sources as the Johnson papers, Gideon Welles's diary and Hugh McCulloch's "Men and Measures." As a result of this study Schouler has produced a defense of Andrew Johnson,—strong, vigorous, fair and in great measure convincing.

The much-maligned Johnson was, says Schouler, "despite all defects of temperament or character, among public men of his own section in that day, truly remarkable" (page 37). "He was stubborn in political opinions where he thought himself right, defiant, ready to fight for them; yet those opinions were just, enlightened, and such as only a sound and independent statesman could have formed" (page 142).

I am inclined, however, seriously to doubt the correctness of Mr. Schouler's opinion that, as regards Johnson, "we may pronounce him the man best fitted to cope with the new problem [of reconstruction], so far as a Southern man's influence could go with fellow-Southerners. But Northern trust was wanting * * * This was Johnson's serious misfortune rather than his fault" (page 46). It is this last statement that I question, and I feel it necessary to offer in disproof only Mr. Schouler's own statement that "a combatant by temperament and largely wanting in those delicate arts of tactful management which ensure co-operation, this President created difficulties for himself at every step, while trying to carry out ideas often of themselves sound and useful" (page 142). On the other hand, I believe that Mr. Schouler comes nearer what undoubtedly will be the judgment of posterity on Andrew Johnson than did most of the writers who, irrespective of sectional bias, have attempted to chronicle the events of the years of Reconstruction.

Grant's administration is handled "without gloves," but there is lacking the firm and confident treatment by the author so characteristic of the pages devoted to Johnson. Schouler agrees with most historians of authority that Grant was a man of absolute honesty and integrity but one who was "used" by men in public life for their own purposes,— "used" by men who were either dull in moral perception or downright thieves and robbers. It is a sorry page in American history, and the author portrays it as such.

Schouler adopts the view held by thoughtful people of today that military reconstruction and negro suffrage proved an absolute failure, but he evidently comes to this conclusion with regret for he expresses the pious hope that "our XVth Amendment, now looked up to by the heart-sick like the brazen ser-

pent in the wilderness, may prove in every state its healing and health-giving properties, through gradual and salutary stages of recognition, if not indiscriminately and at once" (page 179). Those people still living, who went through the experience of negro suffrage in the South, will hardly agree with this, and their children today are sustaining their parents' judgment.

Altogether the volume is very free from prejudice, unexceptionable in tone, and a worthy crowning of a long task finally completed. Mr. Schouler well merits the appreciative thanks of present-day students and readers of American history.

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

Princeton University.

THE INFLUENCE OF RECONSTRUCTION ON EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. By Edgar Wallace Knight. Teachers' College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 60. New York, 1913.

In this little volume of one hundred pages, Dr. Knight has undertaken, through a process of rigidly scientific investigation, to answer two questions, "What contribution was made during the years from 1868 to 1876 to public education in the South?" and "Who made the contribution?" In view of the fact that since 1867 there has been a constant repetition, by those who do or should know better, of "the lie agreed upon" to the effect that prior to the period of congressional Reconstruction not a single southern state had a system of free public schools, and in view of the fact that it has come to be accepted as truth by those who have had no opportunity of knowing better, the study under review is particularly timely and interesting.

Only the two Carolinas are studied in detail in the volume, a system of tables being presented for the nine other southern states by which conditions in each are made entirely clear for the *ante-bellum* period and that of Reconstruction. This is an entirely satisfactory arrangement for a doctoral dissertation, but it is to be regretted, nevertheless, that each of the other states could not have received the same careful study

that the author has given the Carolinas, and it is to be hoped that he has in mind such a continuation of the present work.

In his study of the educational systems of the Carolinas which fills six of the seven chapters of the volume, Dr. Knight not only very satisfactorily and convincingly disproves the multitude of loose statements that have been made as to *ante-bellum* conditions, but in a most illuminating way he outlines the history of the Reconstruction systems. A possible criticism may be mentioned here, namely, that he fails, to some extent, to show what a blighting effect the political and financial saturnalia in progress at the time had upon any enthusiasm felt by native-born citizens on the subject of education.

Dr. Knight's findings are interesting. In respect to North Carolina, he rightly says that the constitution of 1868 was much in advance of the earlier instrument so far as educational requirements were concerned, but the provisions for state, county, and local supervision and control, as found in 1860, were not improved by the law of 1869, and the administration of the earlier law was more efficient. In the matter of school support the two systems were not strikingly unlike, though the earlier provision for schools was chiefly permissive. How well it worked can be gathered from the fact that the expenditure for schools was about as large in 1840 as in 1870. So far as general results are concerned, he finds the old system superior in respect to length of term, attendance, salaries of teachers, and administrative efficiency.

The case is somewhat different as regards South Carolina. The constitution of 1868 and the law of 1870 made a notable improvement. State supervision now came for the first time, but little advancement was made in local supervision and control. As the author phrases it, "Local school commissioners were probably as efficient in 1860 as during the period of Reconstruction and certainly more faithful and businesslike in the handling of school money." A decided step forward was also taken in school support. General results the author finds more difficult to estimate, but there is scarcely any doubt that in attendance there was a great gain.

After an analysis by table of the conditions in the other states, Dr. Knight concludes that southern ante-reconstruc-

tion, educational conditions were more nearly similar to educational conditions found in other sections of the nation than is generally supposed. "This is to be seen along at least three lines: in provisions for general administrative organization, in provisions for support, and, to a large extent, in results, so far as results may be ascertained." "And the evidence seems on the whole to indicate that had there been no outside interference, practically the same educational policies would have been outlined as were made by the reconstruction régime."

The study is a distinct contribution not only to educational history, but also to the larger history of the period of Reconstruction.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

University of North Carolina.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE STATES. A Study of the Operation of the Restraint Clauses of Section One of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By Charles Wallace Collins. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1912—xxi, 220 pp. \$2.00 net.

Mr. Charles Wallace Collins of the Alabama bar during the winter of 1910 prepared a paper on the operation of the Fourteenth Amendment for the Government Club of Harvard University. Since that time he has written on various aspects of the same theme for the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* and for other academic and legal journals. These papers with additional material now appear in book form.

In the early chapters of his volume Mr. Collins explains the circumstances under which the Fourteenth Amendment was made a part of the constitution of the United States. Federal protection for the negro race was an object primarily in view, but the framers of the amendment were willing to go farther, and to nationalize all civil rights. They were willing "to make the Federal power supreme; and to bring the private life of every citizen directly under the eye of congress." Mr. Collins also maintains that another purpose of the amendment was to destroy the power of the Democratic party in the South and in its place to build up the Republican party.

The congressional program for the scope of the amendment was soon ended as the result of decisions of the United States Supreme Court. It was held that the restraint upon state activity provided by the amendment could be exercised only through the judicial branch of the federal government. It was decided also that the amendment operated to restrain the states and their officers and not private citizens.

Mr. Collins's study has to do particularly with the actual operation of the first section of the amendment. Since the protection of the negro race was primarily sought, the author, early in his book, reviews in chronological order each of the cases specifically involving the race question. He finds that in twenty-eight cases appeals have been made under the amendment for federal intervention in behalf of the negro race, and that in twenty-two of these the federal courts decided adversely. In six cases the decision was in favor of limited federal intervention. These favorable decisions had reference to the right of negroes to sit on juries in the state courts. But even here there has been no substantial provision for the enforcement of the right of jury service, provided that a state is not shown to have made discrimination solely on the ground of race or color. In short, the protection of the amendment to the negro has practically been very slight.

The author performs an important service in making evident the extent to which the amendment has been used for another and very different purpose, that of securing federal intervention to set aside state action in the regulation and control of corporations. Up to 1910 there were 312 cases under the amendment in which corporations sought relief from state activity. About five-sixths of these cases have come before the federal courts since 1896. The "due process of law" clause and the "equal protection of the laws" clause have been invoked to preserve rights of property against state interference. Thus a measure originally designed to safeguard the rights of human beings has become "the Magna Charta of accumulated and organized capital."

Mr. Collins believes that the states should possess wide powers and should be subject to less interference in the regulation of their local affairs. He deplores the paralyzing force

upon the power of the state possessed by five men, a simple majority of the Supreme Court of the United States. He suggests that a wise reform might require the Supreme Court to be unanimous in its opinion when declaring a state law unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. Other remedies proposed are the limiting of the right to writs of error to the state courts, and the prohibition of federal injunctions under the amendment. One of the benefits to be derived from these or similar proposals would be the relief of the Supreme Court from a great burden of litigation. On the part of the states there would be a restoration of much of the power of home rule which they have lost.

Whatever one may think of the concrete reforms proposed by Mr. Collins, hearty praise should be given him for his exhaustive and illuminating study of this important part of the federal constitution. His work should receive the close attention of all who are interested in the efficient and harmonious operation of our governmental system, and especially of those who champion the right of the states to exert vigorous governmental powers within their boundaries.

W. H. G.

AMERICAN IDEALS, CHARACTER AND LIFE. By Hamilton Wright Mabie. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—ix, 341 pp. \$1.50 net.

American Ideals, Character and Life, a selection from a series of lectures which were delivered before the universities of Japan by Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie as exchange lecturer, presents, in part, his efforts to bring about a more sympathetic attitude between the two nations by doing away with their mutual ignorance—the true source of their distrust of each other. The book represents a new departure in literature. Hitherto most of the information of nations concerning civilizations foreign to their own has been gained through returning citizens who reported what they had seen or misseen in an alien land. An official native interpreter and missionary of international amity is something which has only lately begun to appear.

Mr. Mabie has, on the whole, successfully accomplished two very difficult things. Out of necessarily general addresses to a

foreign audience he has made a book which has in it nevertheless enough of the new to be stimulating to an American audience. He has succeeded, by judicious choice and condensation, in really interpreting American life, in spite of the fact that it does not run in channels so fixed as that of other nations and that its excess of individualism in many cases baffles all attempt at generalization.

Over some chapters of the book we can pass lightly, for the historical part is generally known. It is in those chapters dealing with the literature and the education of the United States that we find most of interest and most to question. To the observer it seems that two principles should guide a lecturer in his choice of authors who would express to a foreign audience what our literature means. They should represent the great basic traits of our life, as does Franklin, in a large measure, or they should be examples of the best and finest of original American genius, as is Poe, for example. If this be true, Irving and Longfellow might well receive less stress and Franklin, Emerson, and Lowell more.

The emphasis between "Sectional Literature" and "National Literature" is an unfortunate one to make before a foreign audience. Our "National Literature" begins, according to Mr. Mabie, after the Civil War. Passing over the fact that Mr. Mabie's chronology for the work of Prescott and of Motley (and in a measure for Parkman) is wrong as not being produced in "the last forty years," we are inclined to wonder if, either in manner or in matter, there be any reason for impressing upon an audience that Poe, Longfellow, Cooper, and Bryant were "sectional" while Whitman, Parkman, and Lanier stand upon the broader basis of nationalism.

It is the closing chapters of the book ("The American and His Government" and "Country and People") that one reads with deepest pleasure. Neighborliness Mr. Mabie points out as one of the dominant characteristics of American life. Helpfulness and hope it has been phrased by a British writer. One point well worth pondering is what he says about the effect of the size of our country upon the imagination. So vast is its scale that the human atom, rendered insignificant in its pinpoint of physical space, is driven to assert its spiritual superiority.

Bryant, for example, in "To a Waterfowl" ends with this note. We have produced no trim garden poets, like Marvell, but rather do we tend to produce epics of nature unsubdued, interfused with spiritual assertion.

Mr. Mabie has been long before us as one of the most prominent writers and as a scholar of repute. Ease and accuracy of style, varied information and maturity of judgment one might expect to find, and does find, here in this admirable survey of our marvelous American life.

EARL L. BRADSHER.

University of Texas.

COLLECTED POEMS. By Alfred Noyes. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 2 volumes. \$3.00 net.

To predict literary immortality for any contemporary author is always dangerous business, yet the writer of this review is willing to venture the opinion that future generations will place the name of Alfred Noyes beside such names as Shelley and Keats and Tennyson and Browning. That is why the reviewer regards the recent publication of Mr. Noyes's "Collected Poems" as a literary event of prime importance.

There is little to be said about this new collection, for little has been left unsaid. Practically all of the poems in it have appeared in some earlier collection or in some magazine. Yet this new publication serves one important purpose: it reminds us, as individual poems and small collections cannot remind us, of Mr. Noyes's wonderful fecundity, his magical command of rhythm, his amazing versatility, his wealth and felicity as a creator of images, his childlike spontaneity, his mature vigor of thought, and his whole-souled optimism.

It is regrettable that even this comprehensive collection is not quite complete, and it is still more regrettable that among the pieces which Mr. Noyes has seen fit to omit as "unimportant" are such admirable poems as "Silk of the Kine," "De Profundis," "Venus Disrobing for the Bath," and "The Trumpet Call."

A charge brought against Alfred Noyes by a few critics is that he is a poet without a message. If this charge were

sustained, it would not be very damnatory—such shining geniuses as Keats and Poe and Swinburne were not deeply obsessed with the idea of writing “purpose” poems—yet the critics who find no definite message in Noyes have overlooked the clear, ringing notes which he has sounded as a prophet of universal peace. And if anybody believes Mr. Noyes’s songs of peace to be merely perfunctory, he should note the following vigorous lines from “The Dawn of Peace”:

Have ye not heard it, far and nigh,
 The voice of France across the dark,
 And all the Atlantic with one cry
 Beating the shores of Europe?—hark!
 Then—if ye will—uplift your word
 Of cynic wisdom! Once again
 Tell us He came to bring a sword,
 Tell us He lived and died in vain.

Dreams are they? But ye cannot stay them,
 Or thrust the dawn back for one hour!
 Truth, Love, and Justice, if ye slay them,
 Return with more than earthly power:
 Strive, if ye will, to seal the fountains
 That send the Spring through leaf and spray:
 Drive back the sun from the Eastern mountains,
 Then—bid the mightier movement stay.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

Purdue University.

KENTUCKY IN AMERICAN LETTERS, 1784-1912. By John Wilson Townsend. With an introduction by James Lane Allen. Two volumes. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: 1913,—xxxii, 368 and 394 pp.

In his introduction to Mr. Townsend’s handsome volumes on Kentucky letters, James Lane Allen felicitously says: “He has thus fenced off for the lovers of New World literature a well watered bluegrass pasture of prose and verse, which they may enter and range through according to their appetites for its peculiar green provender and their thirst for the limestone spring. This strip of pasture is a hundred years long; its breadth may not be politely questioned!”

At the beginning Mr. Townsend has to decide the question,

What is a Kentucky book? He includes all works written by Kentuckians or by citizens of other states or countries while living in Kentucky, but he excludes writings relating to Kentucky whose authors never lived for any appreciable period in the state. Among the better known writers accorded representation are Henry Clay, John J. Audubon, Jefferson Davis, Theodore O'Hara, Stephen C. Foster, Henry Watterson, Nathaniel S. Shaler, James Lane Allen, John Fox, Jr., Madison Cawein, George Madden Martin, Abbie Carter Goodloe, George Horace Lorimer, Alice Hegan Rice, Olive Tilford Dargan, Cale Young Rice and Hallie Ermine Rives. In all about 200 authors are represented. The reviewer notes that Abraham Lincoln, who was born in Kentucky, is not included. Perhaps this is because the Lincoln family moved from the state while the future statesman was of tender years. Yet birth and a brief residence in early life have caused several less famous men to be claimed for Kentucky letters. Many readers would find the collection more interesting if the important writers were represented by more extensive extracts from their works, and the minor writers were in some cases dismissed with a short note. However, the method of Mr. Townsend has been to give a biographical sketch of each writer, and at least one extract from his writings. Probably this plan will give more general satisfaction to the different families and localities of the state represented in the volumes.

The work is printed in a limited edition with attractive paper and type. Every care seems to have been given to its mechanical execution. Without doubt the volumes will form a valued record of the important literary activities of talented Kentuckians and will find a useful place in many public and private libraries.

THE LIFE OF LYMAN TRUMBULL. By Horace White. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913,—vii, 458 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. White's biography of Lyman Trumbull is of more than passing interest. It reflects that reactionary attitude toward Reconstruction which is a notable feature of the more recent histories of the period. Not only did Trumbull join the Lib-

eral Republican Party, later the Democracy, but his course wins the sympathy, if not the approval, of his biographer, whose career as editor and publicist covers almost as long a stretch of time as that of Trumbull himself.

Other reasons make the study of Trumbull timely. Research in the civil war period has disclosed to the most ardent nationalists the very questionable nature of some of the measures by which the conflict was carried on by the North. Trumbull's character and ideals are very suggestive for this newer view of the war powers exercised by the President and Congress. Moreover recent investigations have shown how aggressive and real was the pro slavery cause in the northwest prior to 1850. Here again Trumbull is typical of the times. Finally, the present generation has witnessed a nation-wide revolt against traditional party lines and party policies. Trumbull's last appearance in political life was that of adviser to the leaders of the People's Party. Few indeed are the men of national importance who were in touch with so many vital movements in American politics from 1845 to 1894.

In Mr. White's presentation of these phases of Trumbull's public life, approximately eighty pages are devoted to the anti-slavery movement. Two incidents illustrate Trumbull's position. He was counsel for the prosecution in the case of *Jarrot vs. Jarrot* by which slavery *de facto* was abolished in Illinois. The other was the senatorial election of 1855, when the anti-slavery whigs, in order to defeat a proslavery candidate of the Democrats, dropped Abraham Lincoln, joined the anti-slavery Democrats, and brought about the election of Trumbull. How important was the victory is realised when we read Trumbull's speeches on the Kansas question and when we remember that Lincoln remained at home to curb the power of Douglas.

The account of Trumbull's influence in the councils of the Republican party prior to 1865 is illuminating. In 1860 he favored the nomination of Mr. Lincoln but saw little chance for it; he believed that Seward, if nominated, could not swing the country and favored McLean as a compromise. After the election Trumbull, enjoying Lincoln's confidence, opposed compromise of the slavery question, while Seward favored

such a course. In negotiations concerning the cabinet he was clearly opposed to Seward and Cameron and took a prominent part in the investigation which forced the resignation of the latter. Gradually he lost confidence in Lincoln, criticising the policy of arbitrary arrests, the confiscation of property, and was one of those who sought to bring about the dismissal of Seward from the cabinet. In 1864 he did not think that Lincoln could be renominated, yet he did not ally himself with the cause of any other candidate.

Trumbull's part in Reconstruction is by all odds the most interesting phase of his political life. He has long been known as the author of the Thirteenth Amendment. His course after that document was submitted to the states is made clear for the first time by Mr. White. He followed Johnson until the vetoes of the Civil Rights and Freedmen's Bureau bills, then followed the majority of his party, even voting for the reconstruction acts, although in caucus he opposed negro suffrage. The impeachment revealed to him how dangerous was the course of the radicals, and he was one of the "seven traitors" who made conviction impossible. Once started in revolt, he went the whole limit; opposed the force acts and in 1872 took a prominent part in the Liberal Republican movement. In 1876 he voted for Tilden and represented his cause before the electoral commission. Possessing a legal type of mind and a rugged conscience, his course was thus far logical. His later life revealed a new trait of character, sympathy with economic discontent. He was counsel for Debs in the Pullman strike cases and wrote resolutions which were adopted by the People's Party in 1894.

Sympathetic but never defensive is the biographer. His remarks, injected here and there, are particularly striking. Two the reviewer is constrained to quote. Concerning the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by the south he says: "The common people refused to accept better terms than were accorded to their leaders. This was true chivalry and is not to be condemned." Again, speaking of the electoral commission of 1876: "It is fair to presume therefore that Tilden was justly entitled to the electoral vote of Louisiana. That is my belief although I voted for Hayes." Altogether in content

and manner of presentation the biography of Trumbull is of unusual excellence.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

SIDNEY LANIER AT ROCKINGHAM SPRINGS. Where and How the *Science of English Verse* was written. A new chapter in American Letters. By John W. Wayland. Dayton, Virginia: Ruebush-Elkins Co., 1912. 44 pp., 22 illustrations. \$1.00

Dr. Wayland presents in a very interesting manner incidents in the life of Sidney Lanier connected with the writing of the *Science of English Verse*—incidents of the summer of 1879, the year in which the poet began his lectures at Johns Hopkins University.

FRANK C. BROWN.

SENTENCE-MAKING. The Commonest Constructions and How to Master Them. By J. Rowe Webster. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Published by J. Rowe Webster, 1913. 48 pp. 35 cents.

This very practical treatment of the sentence makes a valuable supplement to any text-book on composition; it is packed full of excellent examples illustrating the various kinds of phrases, clauses, and sentences in their different positions, and it contains helpful suggestions concerning unity, coherence, and emphasis in the sentence. The pamphlet should be in the hands of every high school student; it would be a great help to most Freshmen in college and to many Sophomores.

FRANK C. BROWN.

FOLK-SONGS AND FOLK-POETRY. As found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes. A Study in Folk-Thought and Folk-Ways. By Howard W. Odum. Reprinted from the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. XCIII and XCIV, July-September and October-December, 1911. 1913.

In this study Dr. Odum divides all secular songs of the negro into three general classes: "first, modern 'coon-songs' and the newest popular songs of the day; second, such songs as are included in the first, but adapted and greatly modified;

third, songs originating with the negro adapted so completely as to become folk-songs." In his very interesting work only songs of the third class are included; the discussion is concerned largely with the origin and growth of the songs of the third class, their subject-matter, use, meter, and music.

A bibliography of negro folk-songs is appended.

The work is an interesting contribution to the study of folk-lore.

FRANK C. BROWN.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT TOOMBS. By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—ix, 281 pp. \$2.00.

The influence of the monograph on biography is very perceptible in Professor Phillips's treatment of Robert Toombs. The central theme is Toombs's part in the sectional controversy concerning the extension of slavery and the correlation of his views with those of his contemporaries, rather than the personality of the man, his letters, or his place in state history—matters which have so often overshadowed all others in American biographies. Such a presentation of Toombs has a two-fold value as showing that the language and manner of Toombs were such that misunderstanding of him has been too common, and also that his experience was that of thousands of southerners. A lover of the union as well as of his section, he resisted radical measures as long as possible, until the logic of events drew him into the vortex of secession.

By far the best generally known phase of Toombs's career was his defense of the Compromise of 1850 in the lower South. Professor Phillips, however, has successfully traced his attitude prior to the enactment of that measure, showing very clearly his opposition to Calhoun on the one hand and the free soilers on the other, and his intense efforts to bring about the compromise. Clearly Toombs's place in the South about 1850 was similar to that of Clay in the West and of Webster in the North.

While events connected with the Compromise of 1850 form the main interest of the volume, certain other phases of Toombs's career are elucidated. This is notably true of his

position in 1860. He was very conservative toward secession, deprecating the division of the Democratic party and believing the defeat of the Republicans to be the paramount need. He did not despair of compromise until late in December, several weeks after the celebrated letter of southern congressmen to their constituents. For these very reasons, as well as incidental matters, Davis and not Toombs became President of the Confederacy.

Professor Phillips dwells on the contrast between the character of Toombs and that of Davis. It was natural that Toombs should oppose the civil policy of the Confederacy and that he should become a supporter of Joseph E. Brown. However, it is doubtful if any one could have preserved unanimity among the people during the war.

While the monographic ideal dominates the matters presented, the style has none of the qualities so often found in that type of writing, being uniformly clear, attractive, and readable. Georgians are indeed fortunate in having adequate biographies of two of that triumvirate who gave their state such prominence in southern politics from 1840 to 1860—Mr. Pendleton's *Life of Stephens* and Professor Phillips's *Life of Toombs*. When the biography of Cobb is written the political history of the state prior to 1860 will be well nigh complete.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

THE COLOR LINE IN OHIO. A History of Race Prejudice in a Typical Northern State. By Frank U. Quillin. University of Michigan Historical Studies. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1913,—xvi, 178 pp.

Professor Quillin of Knox College has here brought together the results of many years of investigation of the attitude toward the negro of the people in his home state of Ohio. The book is divided into two parts, the first giving the history of the feeling toward the negro, and the second showing present day conditions. For his knowledge of present conditions Professor Quillin has depended upon a personal investigation made while travelling about for months and interviewing hundreds of white and colored men. His historical investigation

has also been extensive and is supported by numerous references to the sources. The distribution of the negro population in Ohio at different times is graphically shown by maps. Professor Quillin finds that in the counties with considerable negro population there has usually been an unfavorable attitude on the part of the whites toward propositions intended to favor the negro. On the other hand the counties with least colored population were most likely to furnish support for the claims of the negro. After examining a period of more than a century in the history of Ohio, the author concludes "that there has ever been the strongest antipathy manifested toward the colored people by the white people of the state."

Dr. Quillin's investigation of present day conditions leads him to think that this antipathy is increasing rather than diminishing. Interesting chapters are devoted to conditions in Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield, Columbus, Cleveland and the small town of Syracuse. Cleveland is the only city in which was found among the whites general fairness and good feeling toward the colored people. There the great majority of the whites are foreign-born or the children of foreign-born people.

The conclusion is reached that the average negro is worse off in the North than in the South because he is more completely shut out from advantageous industrial opportunities; that actual discriminations are just as numerous in Ohio as in any southern state; and that prejudice against the negro race is on the increase. As Professor Quillin sees it, the outlook for harmonious relations between the races is most discouraging. The saving quality in such a study is its urgent challenge to the best members of both races to face the truth frankly, and to meet a difficult situation in the light of a full revelation of the discouraging factors in the problem. In this connection the comparatively favorable conditions prevailing in Cleveland present food for thought and a field for further investigation.

W. H. G.

A CONFEDERATE GIRL'S DIARY. By Sarah Morgan Dawson. With an Introduction by Warrington Dawson. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, 440 pp.

"A Confederate Girl's Diary" is the work of Mrs. Sarah Morgan Dawson, the widow of the late brilliant editor of the

Charleston News and Courier. The daughter of a prominent and wealthy Baton Rouge judge of distinguished family and as a girl displaying great common sense and unusual fair-mindedness and insight, Mrs. Morgan had a good opportunity to observe the effects of the war at close range. She has given us a frank account of her observations and experiences along with those of her defenseless family from 1862 to 1865, just while these experiences were fresh in her mind. And as we have the word of her son, who prepared the manuscript for publication, that the volume contains essentially what his mother wrote as her diary, the book has a distinct historical value. Naturally this value lies not so much in the way of corrected false impressions as to events of the war or even of new information concerning military operations. It is rather as a vivid and evidently true picture of family and social life in the South—especially the lower South—in the immediate war zone, and as an impressive account of the experiences, both joyful and sad, of those left at home by the men, that Mrs. Dawson's book should interest both the student of history and the general reader.

The narrative of the sacking of the Morgan home by federal soldiers, as given on pages 191 and following, illustrates the interesting contribution the book makes to an understanding of "home" experiences during the war. And the climax of suffering and sorrow for the Morgan family is told with real power on pages 426 and following, when we learn of the death in quick succession of two of her Confederate soldier brothers.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

ARTIFICIAL FLOWER MAKERS. By Mary Van Kleeck. Illustrated. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913,—xix, 261 pp. \$1.50 postpaid.

Fine feathers are a matter of considerable thought and planning to the most attractive half of the human race. But ordinarily such thought is confined to the wearing of them. Miss Van Kleeck has sought in this careful study to present the facts with regard to the flower and feather makers. New

York produces three-fourths of all the artificial flowers made in the United States. The workers are for the most part young women and children. Their trade is a concrete illustration of large industrial problems—seasonal work, child labor, lack of skill, home work,—which are common to many occupations in many communities. First-hand information has been secured from employers and workers, and attention has been focused on the well-being of the girls employed as measured by wages, hours of labor, regularity of employment, opportunity to acquire skill, chance to advance, and general conditions of living.

Many excellent illustrations supplement the text and give to the reader a knowledge of the actual surroundings under which the industry is carried on. The average wage paid is found to be little over \$6.00 a week. Home work under squalid conditions is frequent. A comparison between the trade in Paris and in New York is unfavorable to the New York workers. Among Miss Van Kleeck's suggestions for bettering conditions are the prohibition of home work in tenement houses and the establishment of some sort of a minimum wage plan. The volume is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the employment of women in American cities.

ON THE SEABOARD. By August Strindberg. Translated by Elizabeth C. Westergren. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1913,—300 pp. \$1.25 net.

The Stewart and Kidd Company have added a third volume to their series of Strindberg's works in English translation. "On the Seaboard," translated by Elizabeth Clarke Westergren, is a novel in striking contrast in every way to the other two volumes in the series. It shows the author in a gloomy and pessimistic mood, and is by no means either pleasant or light reading. But it is distinctly interesting, and the evident earnestness of the author and the apparent conviction with which he presents his views and attitudes demands our respect at least, even though we heartily disagree with him.

The story depicts the bitter experiences of a brilliant individualist who, in spite of the envy and snobbishness of official

superiors, and in spite of the dense stupidity of the lower classes among whom he has temporarily cast his lot, works on for a worthy cause until wreck and ruin come over him through his association with a woman. Toward its end the book becomes a diatribe against woman, although many things and beliefs, both sacred and profane, are bitterly inveighed against along with the weaker sex. Of course the author selected a most untypical woman. But only a most unusual man, a genius, could have written this book, and it is distinctly worth reading.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

OUR SOUTHERN HIGHLANDERS. By Horace Kephart. Illustrated. New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1913, 395 pp.

THE CAROLINA MOUNTAINS. By Margaret W. Morley. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1913, ix, 397 pp. \$3.00 net.

The almost simultaneous appearance of these two substantial books is a sign of the increasing interest of the American people in one of the most picturesque and delightful, but in many respects undeveloped, regions of the United States. As Miss Morley's title suggests, her central theme is the mountain land, and her chapters are a guide book to its most favored regions. She does not fail to observe both the more obvious and the more intimate beauties of nature, and her facile pen is entirely adequate to the task of description. To read her graceful pages will surely fill many a dweller of the plain with eager desire to follow the highways and byways of the Appalachians and to climb their windswept heights. Those who fall short of the summits of the blue hills and tarry in restful mountain retreats will find Miss Morley's book an informing and helpful companion of their hours of leisure.

It must be added that Miss Morley's interest in nature's varied charms does not cause her to neglect the people of the mountains. She writes of their history, speech, customs and occupations in a spirit of appreciation and friendliness. As one who has lived much among them, she is even able to indulge us in some of the neighborhood gossip about certain branches of the corn products industry for which her moun-

tain friends do not court publicity. But what she has to say about the highland people is not entirely confined to those of the more backward districts. She finds examples of progress and tells us about them.

While giving a share of attention to nature in the mountains, Mr. Kephart's book is chiefly concerned with the mountain people among whom he chose to live for a number of years. He was not content to stay in pleasant towns or on prosperous valley farms. He went south to seek a "Back of Beyond" and had no trouble in finding it. This particular "Back of Beyond" was far from the railroad at the "upper settlement of Hazel Creek." The author has vividly portrayed the life of the more remote mountain settlements. Humanity, unkempt and primitive, is in his foreground against a setting of rough nature. He writes with an evident desire to be fair and with appreciation of the sterling qualities of the people among whom he lived. He has much information to impart and many a good story to tell. His vigorous and spirited chapters hold the reader's sustained attention. The value of the work has met recognition at the hands of an able committee of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina who recently awarded it the Patterson Cup as the best literary product of the state for the year 1913.

The award was doubtless merited. Yet one feels that the picture Mr. Kephart presents to those who have never visited the southern highlands may be to a certain extent misleading. "Our contemporary ancestors" of the mountain coves and backwoods settlements are not the only inhabitants of the 650 miles of southern highlands. In Mr. Kephart's "mysterious realm" there dwell in growing cities and towns and on fertile farms many thousands of Americans, *prime* rather than primitive. They are not so picturesque as the folk of upper Hazel Creek. But a complete picture of the southern highlanders must include the progressive and the prosperous as well as the poor and belated. The reader of Mr. Kephart's book ought also to read the article by Mr. Ashworth in the July, 1913, number of the *QUARTERLY* on "The Virginia Mountaineers." Each writer presents a half truth; what both have to say is necessary to a fair description of the southern highlanders.

W. H. G.

SONGS OF THE SOUTH. Collected and edited by Jennie Thornley Clarke. With an introduction by Joel Chandler Harris. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913,—xix, 333 pp.

A third edition of Miss Clarke's interesting collection of southern poetry has recently come from the press. The work was originally published in 1896. The demand for this new edition is evidence of the considerable popularity the collection has enjoyed among lovers of southern literature. Two or three poems, which were wrongly attributed to southern authors in the first edition, have been omitted. A number of verbal errors have been corrected. Doubtless some readers will feel disappointment upon finding that no additions have been made to the poets represented in the original edition. Has no poetry worthy of inclusion been written in the South in the last score of years? Do not such writers as Cale Young Rice, Olive Tilford Dargan, and John Charles McNeill deserve recognition? However it is a matter for congratulation that there continues to be a call for this collection of the verse of poets who have won popularity in the South, and of some few who are known and esteemed in the whole country and beyond.

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND. An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. By Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913,—x, 121 pp. \$.75 net.

In this little volume President Butler has gathered together five of his addresses on behalf of the cause of international peace delivered at the Lake Mohonk Conferences. His subjects are "The Progress of Real Internationalism," "The World's Armaments and Public Opinion," "Are We Our Brothers' Keepers?", "The Education of the World for Peace," and "The International Mind."

Nowhere can one find a clearer and more forceful statement of the basis in modern political and social conditions and in enlightened public opinion for the peace movement. Perhaps the most trenchant of the addresses is that on the international mind in which President Butler pays his respects to senators who opposed the arbitration treaty with Great Britain.

The late Secretary of State, John Hay, is quoted as saying that American diplomacy has but two controlling maxims, the golden rule and the open door. This attitude President Butler finds to be characteristic of that internationalism of mind which gave to the brilliant administrations of Secretary Hay and Secretary Root their distinction and their success. Because of the lack of it failure and friction have often been the results of other administrations of foreign affairs both at home and abroad.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture has recently published two bulletins of value to those engaged in tobacco growing and manufacturing. Bulletin No. 244, by E. H. Mathewson, deals with "The Export and Manufacturing Tobaccos of the United States, with Brief References to the Cigar Types." This bulletin is accompanied by maps of the various tobacco growing regions of the country, and gives much information regarding the preparation of the crop for the market and its amount and value in the various localities. A more recent bulletin of the same bureau is No. 268, by Mr. Mathewson, on "Tobacco Marketing in the United States." This deals with the systems of marketing in the different tobacco growing sections and with the annual amount produced. Both of these bulletins on the tobacco industry are profusely illustrated. Tobacco and cotton manufacturers in the South will also find important matter applicable to their own and other lines of business in bulletin No. 127 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics at Washington on "Dangers to Workers from Dust and Fumes, and Methods of Protection." While this bulletin deals directly with the cotton industry, it will have a value to the tobacco industry in the line of important suggestions. The pamphlet is admirably illustrated with pictures showing defective conditions in the various dust producing industries as contrasted with conditions in the same industries where improved machinery affords the greatest possible protection against injurious dust.

One of the recent publications of Doubleday, Page and Company is "Jack Chanty" by Hulbert Footner. This is a story of the Canadian Northwest, combining love and adventure. It is rather crude but might be made the basis for a thrilling melodrama. The same publishers have issued Harriet Comstock's "A Son of the Hills." This is a story of the Virginia mountain people. While it deals with inertness and

backwardness, it strikes a hopeful note in its account of the evolution of Sandy Morley. Each book, \$1.25 net.

Miss Mary Johnston's latest novel is "Hagar," the story of a girl born in Virginia in the years following the War, when woman was still a being set apart on a pedestal, content for the most part to be more worshipped than understood. Her awakening and development are told with the understanding, the romantic fervor, and the richness of style of which Miss Johnston is master. The author's position as one of the chief woman writers of the time and as a leader in the feminist movement will give this absorbing story a wide reading. (The Houghton Mifflin Company, \$1.40 net.)

An article by Mr. Leroy Hodges, of Petersburg, Virginia, on the Winston-Salem plan of training for citizenship has recently been published as a United States Senate document. The paper gives an interesting account of the method of the superintendent of the Winston-Salem city schools in interesting the high school students in practical economic and political questions through co-operation with the city Board of Trade.

The University of Texas has published a bulletin containing a model charter for Texas cities by Dr. Herman G. James, who is at the head of the University's Bureau of Municipal Research. This charter provides for what is practically the "city manager" plan with an unpaid commission of five members and a well-paid executive called the mayor chosen by and responsible to the commission.

Alabama is a southern state that has real factory inspection. Dr. W. H. Oates, the state factory inspector, makes in his report for 1912 a statement of conditions met with in his state which exposes many of the evils connected with the employment of young children, and also shows the difficulties experienced in enforcing even moderate legislation. However, the report gives evidence that factory inspection in Alabama is being conducted with such energy and intelligence as to afford hope of decided improvement in conditions.

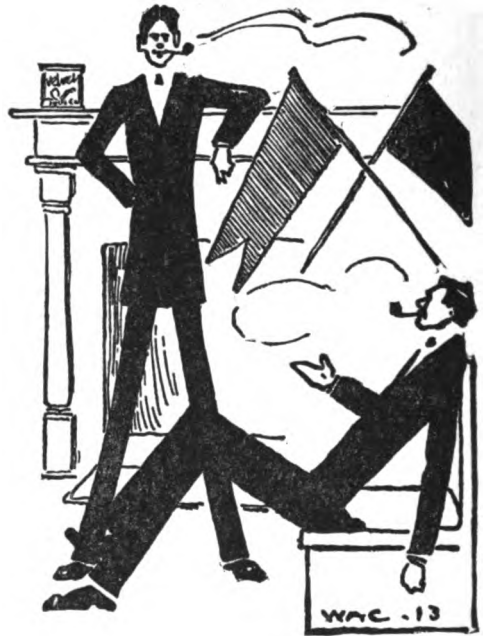
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Volume XIII

Number 2

The

South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

APRIL, 1914

CONTENTS

THE SEGREGATION OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO RACES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES OF NORTH CAROLINA	107
GILBERT T. STEPHENSON	
THE USE OF CREDIT BY THE NORTH CAROLINA FARMERS	118
CHARLES LEE RAPER	
VITAL STATISTICS IN NORTH CAROLINA	129
MABEL PARKER MASSEY	
NEW GREEK LITERATURE	134
CHARLES W. PEPLER	
THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT OF 1913	146
D. D. WALLACE	
SIDNEY LANIER	156
FRANK W. CADY	
SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN PLACE NAMES	174
EARL L. BRADSHER	
THE POETICAL TECHNIQUE OF COLERIDGE	189
GILBERT COSULICH	
BOOK REVIEWS	194
NOTES AND NEWS	205

DURHAM, N. C.

Founded by the "9019" of Trinity College

Entered May 3, 1902, as second-class matter, Postoffice at Durham, N. C.
Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Published at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., by the
South Atlantic Publishing Company

OFFICERS:

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

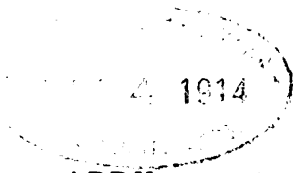
Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

OCTOBER, 1913

New Stories of Lee and Jackson.....	A. R. H. Ranson
Portrait of a Saint.....	Gamael Bradford, Jr.
Our Taxation Problem.....	Charles Lee Raper
The Hobbies of an Educated Man.....	William Wistar Comfort
State, Nation, and the "New Freedom".....	Lloyd T. Everett
The New Economic Interpretation of Literary History.....	Elbridge Colby
England and the Home-Rule Question.....	Winifred Mahon
The Federation of the World.....	Alfred Hayes
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	

JANUARY, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Cities....	Gilbert T. Stephenson
Popular Etymology.....	Reed Smith
August Strindberg: Universalist.....	Archibald Henderson
The Return to Objectivism in Poetry.....	H. Houston Peckham
The Effect of Scientific Management on Wages.....	Roland Hugins
William Garrott Brown.....	William P. Few
The Masters of Modern French Criticism.....	Edwin Mims
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	



Volume XIII

APRIL, 1914

Number 2

The South Atlantic Quarterly

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Rural Communities of North Carolina

GILBERT T. STEPHENSON

Author of "Race Distinctions in American Law."

Mr. Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, has lately been advocating the enactment of a statute by the General Assembly of North Carolina providing that, wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say that in the future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race, provided such action is approved or allowed by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners.

The statute that Mr. Poe suggests would not impose segregation upon any district but, like the Virginia city segregation statute, would simply enable any given district so desiring to promote the segregation of the races. Nor would action by any district under this enabling statute necessarily mean actual segregation. Suppose, for instance, a given district should vote that no additional land should be sold to negroes. The negro land owners in that community would be permitted to hold on to their property during their life and leave it to their heirs at death. The colored tenants could, in so far as the law provided, remain indefinitely on the land, and the white land owners might still rent their land to colored tenants. There is no intimation as to the size of the district, whether it would be the size of a local school tax district or of a township or of a county or of a larger area. This, presumably, would be left entirely with the voters.

Though the letter of the statute as suggested by Mr. Poe would apply equally to both races and would enable the colored people in any given district, if they so desired and if they had a majority of the votes and of the land acreage, to declare that no white person should buy any more land in that district,

still the avowed purpose of such a statute, according to Mr. Poe, would be to enable white farmers to keep negroes from buying land in a given district. Mr. Poe says, for instance, in a pamphlet which he has issued, "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust because, with the government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white, but the negroes would rarely or never be able to use it to make a community wholly negro. All of which I admit, and yet I believe it is just." Again, explaining his proposed statute in the columns of the *News and Observer*, Mr. Poe said, "I am simply saying that, where they desire it, our small white farmers of the South should have the right to live and build worthy homes for themselves and their children and children's children, with the assurance that the community will remain predominantly white. * * * * And if this matter can be constitutionally settled by law by leaving its application to voters (which means in white hands) it will be better than if left to private agreement." In the article from which the above quotation was taken, Mr. Poe advances seven reasons for segregation, in every one of which he is considering what will be to the advantage of the white people and in only one of which does he consider the interests of the colored people at all, that one involving the moral conditions in the relations of the races.

The legal and constitutional issues involved in segregation are not to be considered in this article. The constitutionality of the Winston-Salem and Greensboro ordinances will probably be determined by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in the case of State against Darnell by the time this article reaches the public. It must be said, however, that in leaving it to given districts to decide whether or not they will have segregation and in leaving it to a board of county commissioners to say whether or not segregation in a given district is advisable, the statute would give rise to constitutional questions that do not appear in the ordinances of Winston-Salem and Greensboro. If rural segregation after the plan suggested is right in principle, then it will be possible to frame a statute that will conform to constitutional limitations. If, on the other hand, it is not right in principle, then the fact that a statute can be drawn to satisfy the constitution

would not justify its adoption. In other words, the more important question about a segregation statute is not whether it is constitutional but whether it is just.

If in the matter of segregation one had only to consider the industrial and social welfare of the white farmers, then one set of issues would arise. But segregation has a moral aspect as well as an industrial and social aspect, and the welfare of the colored people as well as of the white has to be considered, which considerably modifies these issues. If segregation cannot be justified as being morally right and for the best interests of both races, then it cannot be justified as being sound, in the long run, either in its economic or in its social aspects. Bishop Kilgo, addressing a graduating class at Trinity, said, "The race question is a moral question, it is the question of the right of a human being to rise from the lower points of life to the higher levels of it * * * This race issue will test the moral quality of this nation, and, if it finds no settlement, the failure will be a moral failure, and show the point at which our civilization broke down for the lack of moral strength."

If the race question is a moral question, then the white people of North Carolina cannot afford to adopt a policy of neglect or of *laissez faire* towards the negro. The distinctive teaching of Jesus in the parable of the Good Samaritan is that opportunity to help and need of help create an obligation to help even where different races are involved. There is no doubt that the negro of the South, with his lower economic and ethical standards, is in need of help from every source. Nor is there any more doubt that the white people of the South, with their higher standards and with their accumulated wealth of things, of ideas, and of ideals through the long ages of civilization, have an opportunity to help the negroes who live in their midst. This conjunction of opportunity to help and of need of help creates an obligation upon the white people of North Carolina towards the colored people which cannot be ignored—*noblesse oblige*.

Governor Aycock once said,¹ "We hold our title to power by tenure of service to God, and if we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the negro whom we deprive of suffrage, we shall in the fullness of time lose power ourselves, for we must

¹ The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, p. 243.

know that the God who is Love trusts no people with authority for the purpose of enabling them to do injustice to the weak."

A policy of repression would make the negro a very dangerous element in the life of the South. On this point, Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy said,² "A thwarted and perverted capacity is a peril both to the individual and to the state. Repression is not a remedy for anything. The repression of the capacities of our greatest negro would have made him the most dangerous factor in Southern life. Such capacities may be seldom found. Where, however, these capacities exist, there is neither joy nor safety nor right nor common sense in the belittling of a thing which God has given, or in the attempted destruction of a power which has entered into the experience of the world as one of the nobler assets of the nation and of humanity."

Roscoe Conkling Bruce, speaking to the Grand Army of the Republic in Sanders Theatre of Harvard University on Memorial Day, 1906, said, "Remember, gentlemen, a rose cannot bloom under a mill-stone, but a cactus can." The finer qualities of the negro race—sympathy, the spirit of co-operation, fidelity, loyalty—cannot thrive under a policy of repression adopted by the white people; but the ignoble qualities—envy, selfishness, treachery—thrive best in just such an atmosphere.

It is not intended here to imply that those who favor rural segregation would consciously adopt a policy either of neglect or of repression towards the negroes of the South. But if the ultimate effect of segregation would be to cause the white people to neglect or to repress the colored people, then the harmful results as indicated by Governor Aycock, Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, and Roscoe Conkling Bruce would inevitably follow.

Inasmuch as rural segregation by legislation has never been undertaken in this country or in any other country whose race relations are parallel with ours, we cannot be guided by precedents. And one arguing either for or against segregation cannot cite the experience of other communities.

If the next General Assembly were to enact an enabling statute and then some community in North Carolina were to take action under it, one of two things would happen as regards the negroes already on the land. As land owners or as tenants, they would either live on there as heretofore or else they would

²The Present South, p. 60.

move into some other community. The latter course is what the advocates of segregation would expect the negroes to adopt. Mr. Poe, for instance, says, "What would happen very surely, however, would be this: once a neighborhood has said, 'We want this to be a white community, and no more land here shall be sold to a negro,' it would be easy to bring pressure to bear upon landlords, even absentee landlords, to get a better class of tenants. If the people took enough interest in the matter to say to a landlord, 'We are trying to make a white community, and here is a chance for you to put in a white tenant,' he would be mighty likely to listen to them. Moreover, these communities would attract white settlers to them in increasing numbers. Wouldn't people from other sections begin to say, 'I want to get into a permanently white community, with its better white social life, better white schools and churches, and better chances for a co-operation'—and wouldn't white people soon be willing to offer so fair a price for the absentee landlord's land that he could better afford to sell it rather than to continue renting it to shiftless, soil-destroying tenants? In this way we should expect the white communities to become steadily whiter and gradually solve even the problem of the negro renter."

If the removal of the negroes from the segregation district would mean the coming of desirable white settlers, then the industrial advantages claimed would, no doubt, follow. But it is very doubtful if even the removal of the negro altogether from the South would attract an appreciable number of desirable white settlers. The immigration statistics show that the majority of our immigrants now are not such as would be absorbed into the white life of the South. The immigrants actually coming are more illiterate and, in many cases, as superstitious as the negroes themselves. Would such immigrants, whom we do not need, or better ones, whom we do need, be willing to move into a community that had by legislation said that one element of its population could not buy or own land except under certain conditions? Would they not reason thus: "If the white people of North Carolina thus prohibited negroes from owning land in given communities, how do we know but that, in the course of time, should we become economic rivals of the native white stock, they will not undertake by legislation

to segregate us, too?" The opinion has been expressed by thoughtful men that race legislation in the South and the agitation incident thereto have done more to keep immigrants out than has the presence of the negro. If segregation should mean the withdrawal of all negroes from white communities and if this new departure in race legislation should still further dissuade immigrants from coming to the South, then industrial conditions would be all the more complicated by segregation.

But suppose segregation did not result in the negro's withdrawal from the white community. Suppose the negro land owner determined to live the balance of his days on his land and then hand it down to his children and the negro tenant gave up any idea he might have had of acquiring land of his own. Such an action on the part of the resident negroes in the white community would absolutely frustrate the efforts of the white people to obtain the benefits argued for segregation. The social life of the white people would not be more satisfactory. The co-operative efforts would still be handicapped. Every harm that the presence of the negro in the community now causes would be augmented then because the negro tenant, with all incentive to accumulate property taken away from him, would become more thriftless and trifling than ever.

The effect of segregation upon the moral life of the white people would be different according as the negro withdrew from the community or, accepting with resignation the conditions imposed upon him, remained in the community. If the negro left, then the white people would suffer from the weakening of moral fibre which always accompanies the shirking of a moral obligation. If the negro stayed on the land, then the same moral problems unchanged would be encountered. There would still be the bad colored man and the bad colored woman as an incubus to the moral welfare of the community.

One may grant that segregation would be both to the industrial and to the moral advantage of the white farmer without admitting that segregation is wise or expedient. Unless the advantages to the white people equal or overbalance the disadvantages to the colored people, then segregation is a shortsighted policy. The colored tenant who remained in the segregation districts would probably become less trustworthy than ever because he would realize that he was a discredited ele-

ment in the community and there would be no inducement to him to raise his station in life. If, on the other hand, the negroes did leave the white community and go off into a district by themselves, from an industrial standpoint they would suffer severely. The negro still sorely needs the example and advice of the white man. This fact is recognized by the negro leaders, one of whom has said that it will take a hundred years for the negro to stand alone. Two communities in the eastern part of North Carolina within thirty miles of each other show the need that the negro has of the advice and example of the white man. In one of these communities there are no large plantations. The negroes have bought small farms alongside the white people and have followed the example of their white neighbors. The result is that the negroes in that community are thrifty, prosperous, and are taking a pride in their farms. In the other community the land is owned by a few white men. The negroes have made practically no advancement from the condition in which they were during slavery. They live from hand to mouth the year round and are satisfied if they "come out" at the end of the year. A more shiftless and thriftless lot could hardly be found. This is what would probably follow if the negroes were urged at this time by legislation to settle in communities to themselves. They are not yet ready to stand alone. It must be remembered at all times that these black districts would be parts of the state the same as the white districts, and that the increased productiveness of the white community might be off-set by the diminished productiveness of the colored community and the state, as a whole, might be no better off.

The moral life of the negro would suffer more from segregation than his industrial life. Booker T. Washington says,³ "I have found, as a rule, that the negro in any community is very much what the white man is. If you find in any community a class of intelligent, high-toned, law-abiding white people, there you will find the negro in some degree trying to follow the example of the white man. If, on the other hand, in any community you find the white man a drunkard, a gambler, carrying pistols, breaking the law, there you will find a larger element of the negroes trying to imitate the white

³ *The Tuskegee Student*, February 22, 1918.

race in these respects." Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey, of this state, who has made a special study of criminality among the negroes, says, "It cannot be denied that the increased criminality of the negro is due in a large measure to the increased estrangement of the two races." Every one of the negro leaders is advising his race to remain on the land and to escape the demoralizing effect of herding in cities. The segregation of the races in the country would, in the first place, probably cause still more of the negroes, smarting under the discrimination of segregation, to move to the city. In the second place, the creation of colored districts in the country would give rise to centers of negro vice similar to those which now exist in the city.

The effect of segregation by legislation upon the relations between the races would probably be more portentous than that upon the industrial or moral life of either race. Race prejudice would certainly be aroused by the agitation that would be necessary to get an enabling act passed by our General Assembly. The larger landholders of the state, who deserve some consideration even if not as much as the more numerous class of small farmers, would oppose it on the ground that it would interfere with their labor supply. Other white people would oppose it because they would believe it morally wrong in that it would not be giving the negro a square deal. The whole country outside of the South would side with the negro and put the state in the light of having disfranchised the negro in order to perpetrate discriminations against him.

A different sort of race feeling would be aroused by rural segregation agitation than by any previous legislation. Heretofore race legislation has been statewide. Witness the suffrage amendment, the separate school and Jim Crow laws. But in the case of segregation each community would have to take action for itself. The white farmers of a neighborhood would decide that they would not let any more colored farmers buy land in that neighborhood. Thus the white people and negroes who had been living side by side in amicable relations all their lives would find themselves arrayed in opposing camps. The most bitter feeling in the world is that of one individual against another individual. The next most bitter feeling is that of one family against another, as shown by the Kentucky feuds that last for generations. And the next in the order of intensity is

a neighborhood hostility. So long as the white people as a race have their feelings aroused against the colored people as a race, this impersonal hostility is not apt to cause any combustion. But when the white people and the colored people of any single neighborhood are arrayed on opposite sides in a race issue, then a consuming flame of race feeling is apt to start. The truth of this is shown by every race riot and every instance of mob violence in the history of the country. It has started by some individual or some group of individuals doing something to displease the other race. Because segregation would, in the end, be a neighborhood affair, race feeling would be all the more bitter. If segregation meant that the negroes were to be taken bodily out of the community and carried to a place where they would never be heard of any more, the race feeling might be tolerable. But under the suggested plan, the negroes would simply be urged to congregate in a community to themselves lying alongside the white community where the passions of the criminal and vicious element of both races would be fed by the sight of each other.

It is a very serious thing to arouse the spirit of hatred and revenge in any person. It is also serious to arouse it in a race. Before we risk increasing the race prejudice and arousing the worst passions of both races by a segregation campaign, let us count the cost and make sure that the benefits of segregation will outweigh the harm that will result from arousing race prejudices.

It must be clear to the impartial observer that this plan of segregation involves a policy of repression of the negro in that it is withholding from him an equal showing in the distribution of the land of the state. If the white people are to select the segregation districts, then they will naturally select for themselves the most desirable districts and leave the negro to take the balance. This is exactly what has been done in Roanoke, Va. That city was divided into five segregation districts. Four of those districts were definitely laid off and described by metes and bounds and set apart for the white people. The fifth district, which comprised all the balance of the city that the white people did not want for themselves, was set apart for the negroes.

The segregation advocated also involves the policy of neglect.

When the negroes are congregated into colored districts the white people are not going to give them the benefit of their example and advice. It is an attempt to create, as has been said, a nation within a nation.

As the negroes accumulate property and show an inclination to develop a community life of their own, they ought to be encouraged. The experience of the negroes at Mound Bayou, Mississippi, shows that they may reach a stage in their development when they are sufficient unto themselves. Mr. W. D. Weatherford in his latest book, *Present Forces in Negro Progress*, says that two of the present forces in the progress of the negro are the development of race leadership and the creation of race pride. The white people must help to lift the negro from the lower levels of life to the higher levels, "not that he may go into the society of other races, but that he may be fit to associate with himself." "The true and permanent way to lead the negro race to keep wisely to itself is to make it sufficient within itself. The race which is to be forever forced to go outside of itself to touch the broadest and richest life of its generation will never be consciously and finally anchored in the doctrine of race integrity. The true basis of race individuality is not in race segregation, not in race repression, but in race sufficiency."⁴ A child ought to be taken out of the go-cart as soon as it is strong enough to stand alone. But it is heartless for the adult and dangerous for the child to take it out before then. The negro race ought to be encouraged to develop its own leadership and to increase in self-sufficiency; and voluntary segregation is to be encouraged on this account. But it is dangerous for the race to be left to itself until it knows how to develop the right sort of leaders and appreciate the right sort of race pride. Because I do not believe that the race has yet reached the stage in its development where it can stand alone, I am opposed to the segregation of the races in the country by legislation.

This is probably the most delicate race issue that has arisen since Emancipation because it involves fundamental rights. Voting, for instance, is a privilege; but the right to hold property is inherent in citizenship and should not be tampered with without great caution.

⁴ *The Present South*, p. 64.

I am heartily in favor of the next General Assembly's creating a commission to investigate rural race problems. Such a commission would probably have been created by the last legislature if the bodies urging its creation had not already unanimously committed themselves to the policy of segregation. In other words, they announced their conclusion before they had waited for an investigation. An impartial investigation may show that the white people are not leaving their farms because of the presence of the negro or that segregation is not the best way of reducing race relations to a proper and permanent basis. Let us, therefore, have a complete and accurate diagnosis before we prescribe such a drastic remedy as rural segregation by legislation.

The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers

CHARLES LEE RAPER

Professor of Economics in the University of North Carolina

The farmer, or any other man who buys and sells products or services, has vital need for the cheapest money and credit that are possible within the limits of safety. His money must be a sufficiently accurate standard of the measure of his valuables; and of such a form and size to enable him to exchange it for commodities of all qualities and quantities. It must be sufficiently stable in its value to cause both the creditor and the debtor to feel full confidence that all their credit transactions rest upon a foundation that is solid. It should be used as many times in a year as possible, so as to make its expense the minimum. It will be fortunate for all when many more of us recognize the truth that money brings returns by the number and frequency of its services—never by mere hoarding. The farmers' credit institutions—his banks and other deposit or loan agencies—should be so effectively and economically located and managed as to make it practically impossible for them to fail to meet his demands for as excellent and as cheap a service as possible. Money stimulates and creates trades; it makes them more economical. Credit—the power and the opportunity to borrow the use of another's goods or capital—promotes trades to a still greater degree.

Does the North Carolina farmer have as effective and cheap money and credit as his own prosperity and that of those who consume his products demand? Does he cause his money to perform the greatest possible number of services in a year? Can he borrow money, credit, or goods at a rate sufficiently low and for a time sufficiently long for him to make his crop or improve his soil, buildings, machinery, or stock, in the most effective manner? Does the fact that we have in the United States approximately three and a half billion dollars of reasonably sound and efficient money, a large part of which is ready for constant use, necessarily make the farmer of North Carolina able to obtain as much as he needs, just when he needs it?

Does the fact that we have more than 29,000 banks and as much as twenty-five billion of banking resources really enable the North Carolina farmer to borrow from these as much as he needs, at rates small enough to be attractive to him?

In order to answer these most vital questions in a reasonably satisfactory manner, the Rural Organization Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has made an investigation in a large number of the North Carolina counties. While this examination has not covered every county in the state, it has covered a sufficient number in every section to make its findings fairly representative of the real conditions prevailing throughout the commonwealth. The larger part of this investigation has been made in the field by Professor William R. Camp, of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, and by myself. The facts as to the credit conditions of the North Carolina farmers, and farmers of other states, many of which were obtained in confidence, have been tabulated and studied at Washington. A digest of them is now public for the use of the national government and that of the states. It is not at all my purpose, in this paper, to give the details of these facts. Nor could I with fairness mention by name any of the institutions or individuals with whom these facts have the most vital relationship. It is my desire to give only my own personal impressions—those impressions that have driven themselves into my mind and heart as I have carried on investigations in the field, or as I have made a study of the facts and estimates obtained by the other men who have worked directly or indirectly for the Rural Organization Service.

Our investigation quickly confirmed the notion that the merchant plays a large part in the credit of the farmer. The merchant has been, in fact, from the beginning of life in North Carolina, one of the farmer's chief credit agencies. This is as true today as it has been in the past, though the relative amount of time purchases as compared with cash purchases made by farmers has had during the past decade a considerable change. Just what part of the purchases are time and what cash, it is impossible for me to state with exactness; it can only be estimated. The estimates made by bankers and others who possess more or less accurate information cover a very wide range. In the counties of the northeastern section of the state

the range of the time purchases is from 95 to 20 per cent of the total purchases made by the landowning and landless farmers. A fair average may be, I think, approximately 60 per cent. In the counties from the middle part of the state to Buncombe and along the North Carolina-South Carolina border, the range is from 80 to 25 per cent. with a possible average of 45 to 50 per cent. The larger percentage of time purchases prevailing in the northeastern counties is, perhaps, due to the greater proportion of tenant farmers, many of whom are negroes, as compared with landlord farmers. These averages may be too large, but when a big share has been taken away from them the fact still remains that a very important percentage of the purchases of food, feed, stock, implements, or fertilizers, which the farmer must have, is bought on time.

The tenant farmer, of all classes, is the largest user of this form of credit. He possesses no land and very little other property, which can be used as security for loans from banks; and his personal note has, almost without exception, no power at a bank. He may at times secure from his landlord an endorsement of his note and upon it be able to borrow a small amount from the bank. This is, however, the case in the fewest instances. Our investigation proves, with the greatest clearness, that the tenant farmer of North Carolina—and as many as 42 percent of the farms are operated not by the landlord but by the tenant, a class of people deserving the best consideration that our minds and hearts have to give—had practically no power at any of the banks of the present type. And I see no possibility of his possessing this power in the future, unless he can cooperate more closely with his landlord and thereby secure his endorsement to a greater degree—perhaps a very remote possibility.

The small landlords are also, as a rule, slight users of bank credit and, consequently, large users of store credit. Their failure to make use of bank credit or their incapacity to obtain it are, I believe, due in part to their lack of business knowledge or to their disposition to keep aloof from their neighbor in matters of business. Many of them do not really know the exact difference between their time prices and their cash prices at the store. So slight is their knowledge of the mercantile business, that they are oftentimes unaware that they are buy-

ing credit from the store at from 12 to 20 per cent a year, while they might obtain it from a bank at from 6 to 8 per cent. Their suspicion of a bank and of their neighbors, whatever may be its cause, is another reason for their failure to borrow credit at a bank. Any movement that can persuade the average small farmer of North Carolina that his real prosperity is tied up closely with that of his neighbor, that they should always co-operate with each other in borrowing the use of credit, in marketing many of their products, etc., would bring the greatest possible benefit not alone to the farmer but to every one who lives in North Carolina. Many a small farmer does not obtain his credit from a bank simply because he will not secure the signature of his neighbor to his note.

A large ratio of time purchases to cash purchases made by the farmer is, however, in itself not a disadvantageous thing for him or for his community. It depends fundamentally upon the difference between the time prices which he actually pays and the cash prices at which he might buy all of his supplies. This point was, of course, a vital one in our investigation, though it could not be reduced, in a manner that would gratify the heart of the mathematician, to a very exact statement of fact. Here, too, we could only obtain as many estimates as possible from the people most intimately concerned. The estimates of the greater size of time prices as compared with cash prices paid by farmers and tenants cover the wide range of from 3 to 33 per cent, depending upon the nature of the commodity bought, the general reputation of the purchaser, the volume of his business with one store, and the location. An average of 12 per cent is, I am convinced, not too high; and this is for a period of from six to eight months. When the North Carolina farmers come to the understanding that this is buying credit at a rate of approximately 20 per cent. a year, they will put forth greater effort to buy it from a bank at a very much smaller rate. Such a rate for the use of another's goods is almost as large as that charged by the famous Jewish money shark of the middle ages, while the risks of today are insignificant as compared to his. The farmers, notably the tenants, who have poor reputations for paying their credit obligations are practically unable to buy until they have made a contract, of some form or other, whereby they transfer to the merchant

practically all of their legal right to their chattels, crops, stock, if not indeed their babies, until their debts are paid; and it not infrequently happens that their debts possess a remarkable capacity to live after burial.

But what are the relationships of the North Carolina farmer to the banks? As I have said, the tenant farmer has practically no standing as a borrower at the banks, and deposits from him are most rare. The small farmer as a class has comparatively little power to borrow from a bank, and his deposits are primarily made, not as the result of a loan from the bank but to obtain the small savings interest—four per cent. The larger farmers are, on the other hand, important depositors, borrowers, and even shareholders.

Our investigation revealed the fact that the holdings of bank stock by farmers are very considerable in most of the small towns of the state. In a few of the larger towns, they hold practically none of the stock; in the others, they own from five per cent in some places to fifty per cent or more in other places. Since the capital stock of the great majority of the banks in the state is small, ranging from five to twenty-five thousand dollars, the farmers' ownership of bank shares does not give them as a class much banking power. The number of farmers who hold stock in any one county is insignificant as compared with the total number in that county.

As depositors in the banks, the North Carolina farmers are worthy of the bankers' best consideration. In a large number of the banks, the farmers' deposits make up an important percentage of the total deposits. Some of these deposits originate in the loans which the farmer obtains from the bank; he borrows from the bank and leaves the amount on deposit, to be checked out as he has need. Our investigation gave point to the unfortunate fact that the larger part of the loans made by banks to farmers is taken in cash—not left as a current deposit. Others of these deposits come from the desire of the farmer to obtain the four per cent. savings interest on his time deposits. The farmers who make such deposits, as a rule, are not borrowers from the banks. In many cases they rarely withdraw their interest accumulations or principal, unless the "Ford Machine" habit fixes itself upon them. Such depositors are more generally, I think, small farmers, who are for

the most part thrifty but unprogressive. A far more profitable thing for them to do would be for them to invest their small savings of a life time in the improvement of their soil, equipment, stock, etc.; from this form of investment they would, upon the whole, realize a much larger interest than four per cent.

Loans made to farmers are of two general classes—short time notes with personal endorsement and long time notes secured by mortgages on farms. From the very nature of the business carried on by the present type of our bank, it is the short time note, secured by the signature of its giver, oftentimes by that of one or two additional persons, which the banker prefers. It is much more readily convertible into cash—into something which enables him to meet the demand of his depositors. The larger share of the loans made by banks to farmers is of this class; and I feel sure the banker is sincere when he says that he would be glad to make the volume of such loans much larger than it now is, should the farmers ask for it and present the required personal security. Such loans are advantageous to the banks. Are they best for the farmer who borrows? The range of their duration, including renewals, is usually from five to nine months, with an average of perhaps six or seven months. This is a sufficient term when the proceeds of the loans are invested in making a crop or holding it for an advantageous market, but it is entirely too short for the purpose of buying land or improving it or its equipment. For these purposes, it is generally necessary for the farmer to offer as security for his note a mortgage on his farm and to ask for a long time loan.

Does the farmer obtain from the bank as much credit of this type as he needs or calls for? The national banks have not hitherto enjoyed the legal right to make such loans directly or in the first instance. The state banks and trust companies have the power to make such loans, and make them, though the relative amount of the mortgage loans as compared with the personal security loans depends very largely upon the policy of the officers of the bank—as to whether they prefer to invest their funds for longer or shorter periods. In a number of places the banks have a decided preference for the short time

loans—for a period of three, six, nine, or twelve months, with an average of actual time of perhaps six months—whether made to a farmer or to a business man. They consequently do only a slight business in farm mortgage loans. In other localities, the banks make from 60 to 80 per cent of the farm mortgage loans. The policy of short time or long time loans seems to have no sectional distinction. The banks in the northeastern section have practically the same policy and practice as those in the western and southern boundary sections. The size of the town has something to do with this, though here the distinction is not sharp. In the largest towns the bank funds are naturally much more largely invested in loans to industrial and business men than to farmers.

Whenever the farmer can borrow credit from a bank, he can usually do it to at least 50 per cent. of the estimated value of his farm—in some places and in some cases to 60 or 75 per cent. The bankers, almost without exception, declare that they would make such loans up to 50 or 60 per cent of the value of the farm, occasionally to 75 per cent, though in our examination of many hundred mortgage notes we found very few with a proportion of loan to value of farm above 60 per cent, in fact few above 50 per cent. But the farmers do not, I think, make complaint against such a proportion.

For what length of time can they borrow from banks on such mortgages. Can they borrow for a term sufficiently long to stimulate the greatest possible use of credit in the enlargement of the farm or in its improvement? Our investigation proves that in many instances they actually obtain the loans for a period of three to five years, in a few cases as long as eight to ten years. In most places they get the loan for only ten to twelve months, but it is more generally renewed to two, three, four, or five years. The renewal may, however, not be granted by the bank; it depends entirely upon the condition of the bank's funds and upon the general estimate its officers may put upon the borrower's disposition and condition. The average term of the great majority of farm mortgage loans obtained from the banks is—at least it may be—too short for the farmer to make the maximum use of them for the permanent enlargement or improvement of his farm. And loans for at least ten

years, in some cases for thirty or forty years, seem absolutely necessary for such improvements. The North Carolina farmers must, therefore, go to other lenders than the banks for the majority of their long time loans. They go to insurance companies, to individual capitalists, or to lawyers who act as agents of trust funds.

In the eastern counties of the state, and in the western, the farm mortgage loans made by insurance companies seem not to be very important. In the central, southern, and southeastern counties, their business in such loans is very considerable, if not indeed large. One Greensboro company makes, in fact, a speciality of farm mortgage loans; and it carries a big volume of them, in nearly fifty counties of the state.

Individuals—local capitalists, merchants, or farmers—and lawyers acting as agents of funds do in practically all the places covered by our investigation an important business in farm mortgage loans. In the eastern counties they make, the estimates indicate, from 25 per cent to 75 per cent of all such loans, and from 25 to 60 per cent in the central, western, and southern border counties. A point of large significance is that this business is carried on under no state regulation. The banks and insurance companies are more or less effectively examined by special state officials; the individual lenders are never so examined. We have, to be sure, a general usury law, but it, like many other laws, has only the shadow of a real existence. A violation of it—and there are a good many such transgressions, in the main by individual lenders, not banks, every day in the week save the Sabbath—can be brought to trial only by that slow and most uncertain process of an indictment by a grand jury.

The cost of loans to farmers is, of course, a most vital point, so vital, in fact, that it practically determines the volume of the loans and their effects—the prosperity of the farmer and of the consumer of his products. When the cost is high, few loans are made, while the real conditions of agriculture may demand many. The public should, therefore, be deeply interested in how much it costs a farmer to borrow other people's capital or goods. The cost of farmers' credit at the store has already been given. The short time credit which the farmer

obtains from the bank upon personal endorsement sells, for the most part, at the prevailing bank rate—at 6 per cent most generally, occasionally as high as seven or eight per cent. That which he buys from individuals on the strength of personal endorsement sells at whatever price he is compelled to offer. It is upon the cost of long time or mortgage credit, that it is necessary to speak with some detail.

The cost of making an official record of the mortgage, and such record must be made, always falls upon the borrower. This item in the purchase price of mortgage credit is, however, only slight. The official charge for recording a farm mortgage ranges from \$1.00 to \$2.50, with an average of approximately \$1.50—an amount insignificant when the loan is fairly large. It is the charge made by the lawyer for examining and abstracting the farmer's title which constitutes a much larger item of expense. In practically all of the counties under investigation this item amounts to from \$5 to \$100—an average of perhaps about \$10. In a very few cases, where the title is remarkably clear and its description very brief, the fee is as small as \$2.50. The bank officials may not, of course, demand a new examination of the title in case they are lending to one of their regular customers; and in some cases they do not. Such practice is, however, the exception. An average cost for abstracting the title of \$10 per loan makes the rate important for small loans. Our investigation made it remarkably clear that a system of official description and registration of each piece of land, like the Torrens System or its modification, would be of great benefit to the North Carolina farmer as a borrower. When his land is so described, he can always show proof of his possession without delay or cost. And the banker would be pleased, whatever the lawyer who makes part of his income out of abstracting titles might say of it.

Not only must the farmer pay the cost of recording his mortgage and that of abstracting his title to his farm, but he must pay the current rate of interest on his loan. This is more generally six per cent when the loan is obtained from a bank; in some cases as much as seven or eight per cent. It may be at a higher rate when the loan is obtained from an insurance company or agent, from an individual, or from a lawyer, as an agent of funds. The insurance companies

charge, as far as we could discover, the legal rate, six per cent, but they make practically all their loans to those who purchase insurance from them. The loan very frequently is made solely upon the condition of the borrower becoming a policy holder, and the amount of the loan more generally has a definite ratio to the size of the policy bought. This is excellent business for the insurance company but it often causes the farmer to pay for his loan from one to three per cent above the legal rate. Individuals and lawyers acting as agents charge the legal rate and not infrequently a commission which makes the actual rate from one to four per cent—at times six per cent—higher.

The actual rates which the North Carolina farmers pay for their loans, especially their long time mortgage loans, have important variations—from six to twelve per cent; and these variations are due for the most part to the commission which is charged by the lender or the bonus which is offered by the farmer who is under pressing need of more capital. Banks do not resort to the use of the commission as a general rule. Trust companies, on the other hand, maintain a more general practice of charging a commission. Some of them collect one per cent yearly, in addition to the current rate of interest; others, one per cent for the first year of the loan and one-half of one per cent for each succeeding year. The insurance companies do not directly charge a commission upon their loans to farmers, but the insurance policy which they sell as a prerequisite to the loan in the great majority of cases brings indirectly a commission. It is the individual money lender, who, of all classes of sellers of credit, most systematically transgresses the usury law. He most frequently of all lenders charges, in addition to the legal rate, a commission, or accepts a bonus from the borrower in exchange for the accommodation in the form of a loan at the current rate. And his commission or bonus most frequently amounts to an important percentage of the size of the loan. He comes nearer being in the class of the famous Jewish shark of old than any other of our sellers of credit to farmers, save the merchant who charges a time price 20 per cent and more above his cash price.

How may such an unfortunate situation in farmers' credit be remedied? How may their prosperity be stimulated and

enlarged? It is not my purpose to give, in this paper, a specific plan of relief. That is a topic sufficiently big to demand the space of a separate paper; and, too, I prefer not to give at this time my own plan. Whatever plan the national government may finally decide upon, whatever the legislature of North Carolina may attempt to do, this situation in rural life will not, I am convinced, be greatly changed or improved unless the farmers themselves take the leading and vital part. Many of the farmers are in their present condition largely because of their own disposition or their lack of business knowledge and method. Some of them have not yet learned how to use the banks which they have near their doors; they keep their savings buried at home instead of in the care of a bank, from which they could be loaned to the profit of their owner, the bank, and its borrowers. Some of them, who never buy credit from a bank, could easily do so by combining their personal endorsement upon a promissory note. Until the farmers themselves come to know their own credit problems, until they are willing to have a confidence in each other that is strong enough to cause them to endorse each other's notes, until they are ready to join into a co-operation among themselves that will tie them together more closely in their responsibilities as well as in their opportunities, any plan of relief which the nation or the state may see fit to provide will, in my judgment, fail to make a vital change in the present ineffective condition of rural life in North Carolina.

I do not, by any means, deny the need of governmental action in the matter of farmers' credit. Our investigation has made clear the necessity for a change in our banking system—either an important modification of the present bank, or the creation of a type designed distinctively for farmers. The North Carolina farmer as a class is today an ineffective user of credit. This is in part due to his own fault and in part due to the lack of a banking facility which his own peculiar business demands.

Vital Statistics in North Carolina

MABEL PARKER MASSEY

Deputy State Registrar of Vital Statistics

The rapid development of sentiment in favor of birth and death registration in the southern states has been watched with interest by the statisticians of the country. The first practical vital statistics law in the South, says Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, was that passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1909. This law, providing for the registration of all deaths in towns of one thousand or more inhabitants, was not the first effort made in this state to collect vital statistics. A search of the records would reveal statutes on the subject dating from colonial days, and there seems to have never been a time when the state was without a statute bearing on vital statistics. Recently there has been a new interest in the subject. In less than five years Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee have all adopted registration laws, and bills are now pending before the legislatures of South Carolina and Georgia. The stigma of lack of vital statistics will soon be removed from the South.

The law of 1909, which required a death certificate to be filed by the undertaker within three days of the date of death, and allowed no interments without a burial permit, secured in this state the first records of deaths of real value. This law, applicable to a limited area, embraced about one-sixth of the population of the state. The General Assembly of 1911 increased the area covered by the statute to include all towns of five hundred or more population.

The General Assembly of 1913 enacted a law which required not only the registration of all deaths but also of all births that occurred in the entire state. This law went into effect July 1st. The "Model Law," patterned in main after the Pennsylvania law, and endorsed by the Census Department of the United States Government, the Section on Hygiene and Sanitary Science and the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Statistical Association, the Committee on Uni-

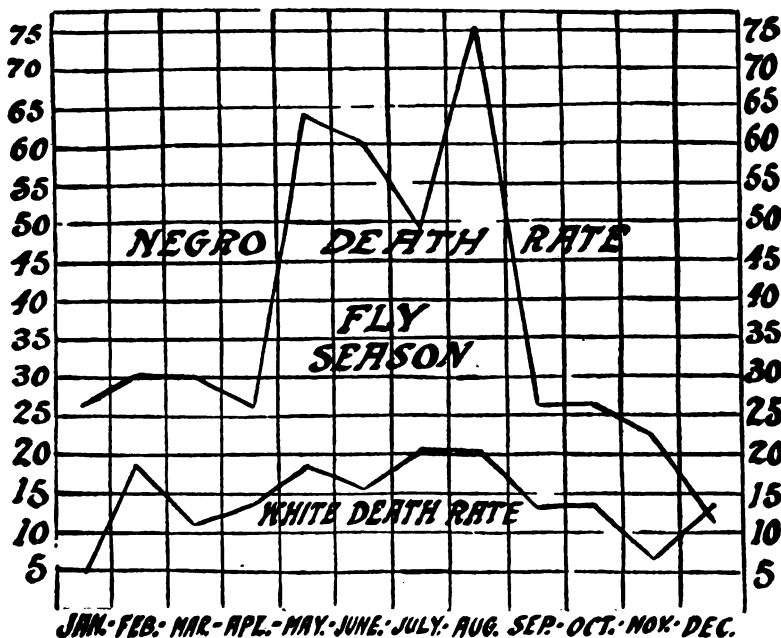
form Laws of the American Bar Association, the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, and the general offices of the American Federation of Labor, was adopted. Under this law every incorporated town and every township comprises a registration district, making fourteen hundred and seventy-three districts in the state. The registrar in a township is appointed by the chairman of the board of county commissioners, and in the towns by the mayor of the town.

That a law requiring the registration of all births and deaths is primarily a health measure is well established by the fact that in the majority of the states the enforcement of the vital statistics law is entrusted to the State Board of Health. Without vital statistics the health officer is handicapped, for, as the Secretary of the North Carolina State Board of Health has said:

“Real public health work can be recognized only by its effect in reducing a high death rate, a death rate over 16 per thousand, or in maintaining a low death rate, a death rate under 15 per thousand. Health work that does not have the above effect on death rates is of questionable value. A health officer is one who reduces high death rates or maintains low death rates. It is not the course that one pursues, the road one travels to a department of health, nor which of the various methods used in sanitary work he adopts that makes a real health officer; a health officer in deed as well as in name, has but just *one* quality, to-wit, ability to favorably influence death rates. Public health work either favorably influences death rates or all this talk and agitation about public health is an empty dream. We *believe* in the glorious, unlimited, and undreamed of possibilities of public health work, and are willing that our faith shall be tested by our works.”

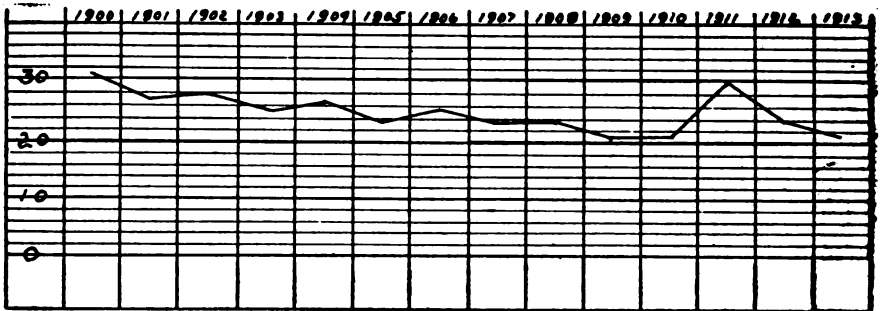
With a law requiring the collection of vital statistics the State Board of Health stands committed to a policy of reducing death rates or acknowledging its failure to do effective work.

The method used by the health officer in investigating high death rates, when he has reliable records at his command, is well illustrated by Chart 1.



The crude death rate in the town studied was 22.8 while the average for the United States is 15 per thousand. The death rate by races showed 16 for the white (a little more than normal) but 37 per thousand for the colored race. Bearing these figures in mind Chart I, showing seasonal variations, was made. This told the story, as it showed an exceedingly high death rate among the colored race during the fly season. This information taken in conjunction with a high typhoid and diarrhoeal death rate revealed to the health officer the exact spot at which to direct his efforts, thereby saving time, money and lives. Another illustration:

A certain city a few years ago had an epidemic of typhoid fever. When the epidemic was at its height a health officer was employed to put into effect rules and regulations bearing on the health conditions of that town. At the end of two years the health officer called attention to the great reduction in the death rate of the town. Chart II was drawn and a close study of the crude death rates based on accurate records kept for fourteen years showed the death rate had been reduced only to the normal rate of that town prior to the epidemic.



The law requiring the registration of all births and deaths in North Carolina will not only help the health officer in his work but the lawyer, the underwriter, in fact men engaged in every phase of business will soon appreciate the benefits derived from accurate birth and death returns. To quote Dr. Hurty:

"Besides the general importance of vital statistics to a nation as a nation, they also have an importance of the greatest moment to the individual. For instance, by vital statistics must be determined the right to attend school, to enter certain occupations, to vote, to marry, to hold or to dispose of property, to employment by the state or country in military or civil service; responsibility for crime or misdemeanor; exemption from military or jury duty; qualifications or disqualifications for certain public offices; and privileges and immunities of a public nature; also private contracts in great variety, as in insurance and partnership. Indeed, there is hardly a relation from the cradle to the grave in which the evidence furnished by accurate vital statistics may not prove of the greatest individual and general, social or governmental value. The two great important events in the lives of men are birth and death; the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. For a state not to make these events of accurate record for each individual is to neglect to keep abreast of practical civilization; yes, to be really civilized."

Is it not worth while to secure to every child in North Carolina a record of its birth, since a record may be urgently needed in the future, "not only for what may be called the sentimental purposes of establishing his family descent, but as evidence in court for the proof of claims to inheritance, for proof of age and the like?"

Has the reader ever desired to know those of whose lives he is a part and found this knowledge unobtainable? If so you will be able to appreciate the value of accurate records. In Kentucky they speak of the State Registrar's office as the

"State's Family Bible." North Carolina is to have just such a Family Bible. Records can be made under the statute in this Family Bible of births and deaths that occurred before the enactment of the statute, and the law provides for the preservation in fire-proof vaults of all records entrusted to the care of the State Registrar.

We of the South desire immigration of the highest type, but enlightened persons always inquire regarding health and sanitary conditions. When such questions are directed to the United States Bureau of the Census, they can only say there are no reliable data. The natural question then is, "Is disease so prevalent that they are afraid to record their deaths?" Undoubtedly there is a prejudice regarding the healthfulness of the South, and such a prejudice can only be dissipated by accurate mortality records. The representative of the Baron Hirsch fund of millions of dollars called on the State Health Officer in Raleigh not long since for accurate information regarding the health of certain sections of the state, with a view to planting desirable colonies, each of which would have represented an investment of \$1,000,000.00, but the information he desired was not obtainable. Last week the representative of one of the leading life insurance companies called on the State Registrar for information regarding health conditions in five eastern counties, as they wished to extend their business so as to embrace that area. The information could not be supplied.

Such instances as these will soon cease. The first month's returns under the new law showed a registration of more than two-thirds of the normal rate, and the State Registrar confidently expects the returns for the year to reach ninety per cent of the average rate in the United States. Such a death rate would admit North Carolina to the registration area of the United States, which means recognition by the registration offices of the leading countries of the civilized world.

New Greek Literature

CHARLES W. PEPPLER

Professor of Greek in Trinity College

The last decade of the past century and the first of this one were so rich in the discovery of papyrus manuscripts containing hitherto unknown portions of Greek literature that our histories of the literature must be revised or rewritten every few years. Christ's *History of Greek Literature* has now reached its sixth edition. The prolific source of these new finds is Egypt, where for two thousand years they have lain buried either in the rubbish-mounds of her ancient cities or in the cartonnage of mummy-cases or within the coffin by the side of the dead to serve for his delectation in the other world. Here in their various hiding-places they have been preserved from disintegration and decay through the remarkable dryness of Egypt's almost rainless climate. The dates at which the different papyri were written extend from the middle of the fourth century before Christ down to the fourth century of our era, the time when papyrus gave way to parchment as the usual writing material for literature. One of them comes from the age of Demosthenes and Aristotle, and therefore shows us how books were written as far back as the end of the classic period. The value of these new discoveries is not only the intrinsic worth of the literature of a highly talented people; they also reveal to us in some cases new literary types, like the pæan and the nome, that before were virtually unknown.

Six orations of Hyperides more or less complete came to light in Egypt between 1847 and 1890. Before their discovery Hyperides was merely a name; of his fifty-two speeches only a few short fragments survived. Yet his fame in antiquity was so great that many placed him above Demosthenes, the Rhodian school of oratory took him as its model, and Cicero mentioned him by the side of Demosthenes as an example of finished and polished eloquence. "If merits were to be counted, not weighed," says the author of the tract *On the Sublime*, "Hyperides would stand far above Demosthenes." Though he has grace and charm, beauty and simplicity of style, a natural and easy manner, and other oratorical excellences, yet

he lacks the mighty power and grandeur of Demosthenes, and so must yield first place to him, but to him only among political orators. We are told that there was in Budapest in the sixteenth century a complete manuscript of Hyperides with scholia, which disappeared when the city was captured by the Turks in 1526. All the more gratifying therefore is the recovery of some of his orations in recent years. One is a speech *Against Demosthenes* in which he accused the great orator of having received a bribe from Harpalus. The most important discovery is his *Funeral Oration*. This has a special interest and value because it is the only one of the extant funeral orations that was actually delivered; and, furthermore, it was esteemed by an ancient critic as perhaps the highest achievement of panegyric oratory. The only complete speech is the one *For Euxenippus*. The offhand and informal way in which it begins, "Well, gentlemen, as I was just now saying to those sitting near me, I am surprised that you are not already sick of such impeachments," and its free and easy close, "Now, Euxenippus, I have done the best I could for you. It remains for you to entreat the jury, summon your friends, and bring your children into court," illustrate the "careless grace" of Hyperides. In this speech and in his defense of Lycophron, he was pitted against the orator Lycurgus, one of the Attic Ten. The oldest and best of the manuscripts of Hyperides, and almost the last to be found, is a plainly written and attractive papyrus in the Louvre which contains his first speech *Against Athenogenes*, one of his masterpieces. His client had been tricked by the Egyptian Athenogenes, with the help of the beautiful courtesan Antigone, into buying Athenogenes' perfumery business for the sum of forty minas, and found later on to his sorrow that he had taken over along with the business debts to the amount of five talents. He therefore sought to annul the sale.

The year 1891 was the banner year for the publication of new finds of Greek literature. Then were published for the first time another speech of Hyperides, the one *Against Philipides*, Euripides' *Antiope*, Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and the *Mimes* of Herodas. The last two were discoveries of first importance; the recovery of either alone would have been a triumph. In the necropolis of the village of Gurob in the

Fayum some mummy-cases made of layers of papyri pasted together came to light, and on being separated the papyri were found to contain, along with many non-literary documents of the third century B. C., a fragment of the *Phaedo* of Plato and four columns of the lost *Antiope* of Euripides, going back in all probability to the same early date. Antiope, the daughter of King Nycteus, bore to Zeus two sons, Amphion and Zethus, whom she exposed at birth. They were, however, reared to manhood by a shepherd to whose hut she came in flight after many years. Her sons did not recognize her, and were on the point of tying her to the horns of a wild bull at the command of Dirce, when they learned from the shepherd who she was, and they accordingly meted out this fate to Dirce. Their slaughter of Dirce's husband, Lycus, the usurping king of Thebes, was prevented by Hermes, who, as the *deus ex machina* of the play, turned over the kingdom to Amphion.

The most extraordinary literary discovery of recent years is Aristotle's treatise on the *Constitution of Athens*, so highly reputed and widely known in antiquity. It was found on the back of a waste papyrus containing some old farm accounts of the year 78-79 A. D., written not by the hand of professional scribes but probably by private individuals. It is one of a series of one hundred and fifty-eight constitutions of ancient cities which the philosopher studied and described, and the only one of this number that has survived. It falls into two parts: the first is historical and records the successive changes that took place in the development of the Athenian constitution from the beginning down to the return of the democrats after the rule of the Thirty Tyrants; the second part is a description of the government of Athens as it was in Aristotle's own time and of the machinery by which it was operated. The first part is nearly complete and makes large additions to our store of knowledge; the second, though more fragmentary, has behind it the authority and trustworthiness of the great Aristotle for the account of contemporary institutions of government, such as the council, the archons, and the law courts in Athens, and this first-hand evidence is of the greatest value to the student of constitutional history.

Eight *Mimes* of Herodas amounting to some seven hundred verses came to light in Egypt. These are little pictures of

Greek life, sketched vividly and realistically. They usually take the form of a lively conversation between two or three characters. The personages belong to the middle and lower classes—the gossiping women, the fashionable shoemaker, the pander, the go-between, the scolding mother, the jealous mistress. The *Schoolmaster* will serve as a specimen. Scene, a school for boys. Lampriscus is the master. Enter Metrotima, dragging her unwilling son, Kottalos.

“*Metrotima*. Drub this boy of mine, Lampriscus, till the soul of him, drat it, is left nowhere in his body but the lips. He has ruined me by playing pitch and toss. Where the door of the school-teacher stands, he cannot tell; but the gambling-place, where street-porters and runaways take up their quarters, is so well known to him that he will point it out to strangers. His unhappy tablets lie neglected, but his dice are shinier than our oil-flask which we use for everything. As for spelling out a word, he does not even know his alpha, unless one shouts it five times in his ears. I am driven to call myself a fool for not making him a donkey-boy, instead of putting him to study in the hope of having a support for my declining years. But it’s no use scolding, for if we go on, he runs away from home, stays out three days and nights, sponging upon his grandmother, a poor old blind woman and destitute; or else he squats up there upon the roof, with his legs stretched out, like a tame ape, peering down. Just fancy what his wretched mother suffers in her heart when she sees him there. I don’t care so much about him indeed. But he smashes all the roofing into broken biscuits; and when winter comes, I have to pay two shillings for each tile, with tears of anger in my eyes. All the neighbors sing the same old song: ‘Yonder’s the work of Master Kottalos, that boy of Metrotima’s.’” (Abridged from Symonds.)

The schoolmaster then proceeds to “lam into” him with a cutting switch of bull’s hide, and the boy cries to him to stop. Metrotima would have the flogging continue as long as the whip holds out or until the sun goes down. “I’ll shut your mouth up with a gag,” says the schoolmaster, “if you go on bawling.” “Nay, then, I’m silent,” says the boy, “please don’t murder me.” And here the whipping ceases.

The next notable event was the discovery of poems of

Bacchylides that had been lost for fourteen centuries. Previously only forty short fragments of his works were known; in 1896 fourteen odes of victory like Pindar's and six dithyrambs or narratives about the Greek heroes, aggregating nearly 1400 verses, were found in Egypt in a papyrus of the first century B. C. They add about 100 new words to the Greek dictionary, 90 of them being ornamental epithets. On two occasions Pindar and Bacchylides were commissioned to write triumphal odes in celebration of the same victory of Hieron at the national games, and the Syracusan tyrant seems to have preferred the simpler poetry of the easy and graceful Bacchylides to the rich splendor and lofty grandeur of Pindar's odes. The sounder judgment of the author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, however, ranks Bacchylides below Pindar, ascribing to him uniform excellence and an elegant and polished style but denying to him the genius and imagination of a poet of the first rank like Pindar. He is nevertheless a charming poet with an easy, flowing style, and he was numbered by the Alexandrians among the nine best lyric poets of Greece. Besides giving us another writer of odes of victory to put by the side of Pindar who previously stood alone here, the new find reveals to us the dithyramb, a species of lyric poem known before only from fragments. The dithyramb *Theseus* is in the form of a dialogue. This gives it a special interest, because in the evolution of Greek tragedy from the dithyramb there was one stage of the development in which the single actor carried on a conversation with the chorus, just such a conversation as we have between Aegeus and the chorus in the *Theseus*. Hence this, the only extant dithyramb in dialogue form, has high value in the study of the origin of the drama. Another poem, *The Youths or Theseus*, though broadly speaking a dithyramb, is in fact a choral paean to Apollo. It narrates an incident that occurred on shipboard when Minos was carrying off to Crete the seven Athenian youths and seven maidens to be the prey of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth—Athens' tribute after her subjugation. Minos made advances to the maiden Eriboea, she cried out to Theseus for help, and he stood forth as her champion, setting his own descent from the sea-god Poseidon over against Minos' claim to be sprung from Zeus, the god of the heavens. To prove his parentage Minos called

on Zeus to send the lightning, and when it came he challenged Theseus to jump into the sea and in token of his kinship to Poseidon recover the ring that he threw overboard. Theseus obeyed at once, was carried quickly by dolphins to the beautiful abode of his father Poseidon, was there clad in purple and crowned with a wreath, and soon reappeared with the gifts of the god at the side of the swiftly speeding ship.

Six new odes of Sappho have been recovered in a fragmentary condition. The first after much conjecture and restoration proves to be a prayer to the Nereids for the safe return of her brother, and a yearning for his moral reformation and his reconciliation with her. This brother Charaxus had been bewitched in Egypt by the beautiful courtesan Rhodopis, Rosy Cheek, and had lived with her after ransoming her at a great price. Herodotus reports that Sappho rebuked him bitterly for his profligate life and for this stain upon the family honor, and we may perhaps have a part of this rebuke in another fragment recently found. In the ode first mentioned she makes reference to the cutting words she used in this poem, and she is ready to welcome him back with open arms, if he will turn away from his past and from Rhodopis. The remaining poems have to do with her pupils and girl-friends. In one she laments the departure of Mnesidice who has gone to live in Sardis, there to shine among the Lydian ladies as the rosy-fingered moon among the stars. Sadder far to Sappho, as she tells us in another fragment, was the going of her beloved Atthis who left the poetess for a rival teacher. In another poem, that may have been written in anticipation of death, she has a vision in which Hermes, the conductor of the souls of the dead to the nether world, appears to her, and she tells him how she longs to die. In the opinion of editors and translators the new fragments have lines and stanzas that are equal to anything we have of Sappho, but even if they should not reach up to the high level of her best, they are at least Sappho's, and that is high praise.

The year 1897 marked the beginning of a series of unusually productive excavations in the ancient town of Oxyrhynchus, modern Behnesa, situated on the west bank of the Nile, 120 miles south of Cairo. Some low mounds here were found to

be ancient rubbish-heaps that contained large quantities of Greek papyri, both literary and non-literary, dating from various periods from the first to the seventh century. The non-literary pieces include official and private letters, contracts, wills, proclamations, petitions, census returns, court records, and documents of every sort that belong to the daily life and public administration of a town—a part, no doubt, of the archives of the government record-office that were cleared out from time to time, as they became valueless, and thrown on the rubbish-heap by the basketfull, sometimes basket and all. So plentiful was the yield that five more seasons, from 1902 to 1907, were devoted to this lucrative field, and in the whole period the excavators, Grenfell and Hunt, dug up and gave to the world much new literature in addition to valuable manuscripts of works already known. One evening they came upon a basketful of broken literary papyrus rolls at sunset, too late to get them out that day. A strong guard was set over the precious treasure for the night, and next morning it was found to contain among other things three new pieces of literature. First, there were paeans of Pindar, that is, songs of supplication or thanksgiving—a class of Pindar's poems that was virtually unknown to us before, since only 12 short lines had survived. The new papyrus, the largest one extant of a lyric poet after that of Bacchylides, contains parts of nine paeans in forty columns of 280 complete verses. The second discovery was a part of the *Hypsipyle*, a tragedy of Euripides. The third was a new history of Greece for the years 396 and 395 B. C., containing much additional information not recorded by Xenophon and Diodorus and an interesting digression on the Boeotian constitution. It plainly formed part of a large historical work of first rank, which some ascribe to Cratippus, others to Theopompus. No greater discovery has been made in the field of history since the finding of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. At another time during this season the excavators brought to light about 75 lines of the poems of a practically unknown poet Cercidas, and fragments of the *Acts of Peter* and of the *Acts of John*; and in other seasons they found parts of two plays of Sophocles, the *Eurypylus* and the *Trackers*; fragments of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, written in a popular style and,

strange to say, in the form of a dialogue; and portions of the lost *Origins* (*Aetia*) of the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, containing in part the well-known love story of Acontius and Cydippe, and also a fragment of his *Iambs*, which tells of an altercation that took place between the laurel and the olive as to the merits of each.

A discovery made soon after the beginning of the excavations is of more than ordinary interest. It is a page from a papyrus book containing a collection of sayings of Jesus, unconnected in thought and each introduced by the words "Jesus saith." Some of them are familiar, like that about the mote and the beam; others combine a new with an old passage, like "Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him;" and others are entirely new, as, for example, "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father." Another papyrus leaf of the same date, the second century, containing other sayings¹ of our Lord was found in February, 1903. These bear a general resemblance to the former series, and, since they have an introduction—"These are the words which Jesus the living Lord spake to . . . and Thomas"—they are in all probability the beginning of an extensive collection, to which the sayings first discovered also belong. One of them, an uncanonical saying, "Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest," has special interest because it is found in Clement of Alexandria as a quotation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and Harnack regards it as in substance a true saying of Christ. Besides these *Logia* or *Sayings of Our Lord*, two fragments of uncanonical gospels² were found at Oxyrhynchus, the one containing among other things the question "When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee?" and Christ's answer "When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed . . . ;" the other relating a conver-

¹ See the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* (Atlanta, Ga.) of August 18, 1904 for a translation and discussion of these *New Sayings*.

² See the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* of July 20, 1905 and January 16, 1908.

sation between Jesus and a Pharisee in which our Saviour emphasized inner purity in contrast to outer cleanliness—plainly an effort of some late writer to illustrate the teachings of Christ in Matthew XV 1-20 and Mark VII 1-23.

Drama is well represented in the recent finds. About 500 new lines of Sophocles, nearly as many of Euripides, and more than 1500 of Menander have been recovered. Foremost among the fragments of Euripides is the *Hypsipyle*, a story connected with the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Hypsipyle saved her father, King Thoas of Lemnos, and helped him escape at the time when the other women of the island killed the men. Later the Argonauts stopped at Lemnos on their way to Colchis, and by their leader Jason Hypsipyle became the mother of twin sons, Euneus and Thoas. But upon the discovery of her deception in secreting her father she was compelled to flee for her life, and being caught by pirates she was sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea. Some years later when the play opens she is the nurse of Lycurgus' infant son. From her words we learn that her heart still yearns for Jason. Two travelers arrive at the palace in Nemea seeking shelter for the night; they are in fact her own sons, Euneus and Thoas, searching for their lost mother, though she does not recognize them. Notwithstanding the absence of the king they gain admission. Meanwhile, events of great moment are transpiring: the Argive king, Adrastus, and the other captains who with him are marching against Thebes to restore Polynices to the throne have reached Nemea, and now the seer Amphiaraus comes upon the scene and asks to be directed to running water, so that he may make libation to the gods on crossing the frontier. Hypsipyle consents to show the way, and leaves the baby on the grass. In her absence a snake kills the child. For this she must suffer death, for, though she pleads that she is innocent of any evil intent, the queen turns a deaf ear to her. On her way to her doom, hopeless and alone, she calls on Jason, on her children, on Amphiaraus. At that moment the seer re-enters and pleads her cause. He does more: he both convinces the queen of her innocence and he makes Hypsipyle and her sons known to each other. Furthermore, he proposes that the army give the royal child a public burial and institute the Nemean games in his honor. In his death the seer finds a

presage of the failure of the expedition against Thebes. Such is the probable course of the plot of the *Hypsipyle*, as indicated by the fragments which are scattered throughout the whole extent of the drama. Of the *Cretans*, the *Imprisoned Melanippe*, and the other Euripidean plays that were brought to light, much smaller portions were recovered.

It was a great piece of good fortune to find in Egypt a satyr-drama, the *Trackers* of Sophocles, especially as there was previously only one extant specimen, the *Cyclops* of Euripides. The satyr-drama took its name from its chorus of satyrs or goats. It was a species of drama between tragedy and comedy, resembling the former in its structure and in having for the most part the same dignified characters, but approaching the latter in the liveliness of treatment and in handling such subjects as suited the coarser and more jovial natures of Silenus and the satyrs. In the exhibition of tragedies it was the custom to add to a trilogy or group of three tragic plays a satyric afterpiece, which was both closer to the primitive type of drama and more pleasing to the people by reason of its happy ending and its less serious nature—a “frank concession to mere mortal levity,” says Browning. Such a play is the *Trackers*. The 400 lines that were found, perhaps as much as one-half of the play, are enough to enable us to make out the plot fairly well. Its subject is the theft of Apollo's cattle and the invention of the lyre by Hermes when only six days old—the well-known story that is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. The prologue is spoken by Apollo, who is engaged in the search for his stolen cattle and offers a reward for the capture of the thief. The god's display of gold induces old Silenus to speed forth on the quest accompanied by the chorus of satyrs, the “Trackers.” These with heads to the ground like dogs on the hunt soon find the tracks of the cattle and follow the trail to a cave, but are surprised to find the foot-prints reversed. At the cave's mouth they hear an unearthly sound and are panic-stricken; it is the music of Hermes' newly invented lyre within. Silenus reproaches them for their cowardice. Again the sound is heard, and the satyrs are about to flee in terror. Presently after repeated knocking, the nymph Cyllene appears and tells them of a new-born son of Zeus within who, though only six days old, has by a marvelously

rapid growth already attained the maturity of boyhood, and who in a single day invented a lyre from the shell of a tortoise and strips of cowhide. The chorus maintains that the cowhide came from Apollo's cattle, and charges the boy with the theft; Cyllene resents the accusation and stoutly defends him. The second half of the play being lost, one is left to conjecture, but it is safe to assume that Silenus and the chorus informed Apollo and claimed the reward, and that, as in the *Hymn to Hermes*, when the infant faced the angry god, he appeased him by giving him his lyre. In the plot as outlined humorous scenes are not lacking: satyrs playing the part of hunting dogs; the mischievous pranks of the youthful god in stealing the cattle and backing them into the cave; and the young thief face to face with the angry Apollo and ready to square accounts with him by the gift of the lyre. Besides the *Trackers*, small fragments of Sophocles' *Assembly of the Achaeans* and of another of his plays, probably the *Eurypylus*, were found, but not enough to give a satisfactory knowledge of their plots.

The comic poet Menander is undergoing a gradual resurrection in Egypt. Fourteen newly found lines of his comedy, the *Flatterer*, were published in 1891, and sixty more in 1903. This is the play from which Terence admits that he took the characters of the parasite and the braggart soldier in his *Eunuch*. A continuous passage of 87 verses from Menander's *Countryman* came to light in 1897. Of his play entitled the *Girl with the Shorn Locks* 51 lines were found the same year, and two parchment leaves of 61 and 60 verses a decade later. But the crowning discovery was made in July, 1905, when large parts of four plays, amounting to more than 1200 lines, were uncovered in the foundations of an old Roman house on the site of ancient Aphroditopolis. In this papyrus there are 52 verses of the *Hero*, 517 of the *Arbitrants*, 320 of the *Girl with the Shorn Locks*, all but 48 being new lines, and 344 verses of another play, conjecturally the *Samian Girl*. Previously we had only disconnected short fragments, now we have complete and consecutive scenes; and, whereas the old fragments were preserved in most cases because they contained some general truth neatly expressed or some fine saying that suited the purposes of the anthologist, the new finds furnish us the material for estimating Menander's ability in the construction

of plot and the delineation of character. As was to be inferred from the plays of Terence, who borrowed from him so extensively, Menander wrote comedies of love and intrigue with plots that have little variety. As a rule they tell a story of illicit love or rape, of the exposure of infants who are later rescued, of separation and suffering, and, in the end, of the discovery of unsuspected relationships, often through the device of trinkets, then a general recognition and a happy solution, and finally marriage. It is rather in the delineation of character that Menander excelled, perhaps one should say, in the delineation of types of character, for, while some of his personages have a distinct individuality, we are not surprised to find this friend and pupil of Theophrastus, the author of the *Characters*, painting types like the stock characters familiar to us from Latin comedy.

No survey of Greek literature unearthed in recent years is complete that does not include a mention of the *Persians* of Timotheus, the poem on the sea-fight of Salamis, whose discovery in what proved to be the oldest extant Greek manuscript revealed to us the character of the nome, a species of poetry of which no example had hitherto survived. Since, however, an article was written on the subject in this magazine soon after the publication of the *editio princeps*, a repetition of the discussion here is unnecessary.³

The British Museum had the good fortune to acquire in Egypt many of the papyri which contain the new portions of Greek literature that have been under consideration. Several of these treasures—all the more valuable because in most cases there is no other copy in existence—are placed on exhibition by the authorities of the Museum in a prominent place in the Manuscript Room, and may easily be read by any one who wishes to examine them. Here may be seen Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*; the very part of the Herodas manuscript that has in it the *Schoolmaster*, of which an outline has been given; Hyperides' *Speech against Philippides* in a papyrus written in the first century before Christ; the *Paeans* of Pindar; the *New Sayings of Jesus*, those found in 1903; and, what is most striking of all, a long sheet of papyrus, perhaps 20 inches long, containing six of the twenty new odes of Bacchylides, one of those on exhibition being *The Youths or Theseus*.

³ See a translation and discussion by the present writer in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* of July 1904, pages 221 to 231.

The Federal Reserve Act of 1913

D. D. WALLACE

Professor of History and Economics in Wofford College

The present life and institutions of a people are wonderfully influenced by their past, however ignorant of these silent forces may be the busy men who, in a certain limited sense, direct the activities of today. Just about a hundred years ago the Farmers' Exchange Bank of Gloucester, R. I., was organized with a capital of \$3,000; it accumulated deposits to such an extent that one director was able to borrow \$760,000, and, when it failed after enriching various interested parties and damaging or ruining thousands of honest citizens, the autopsy revealed specie assets of \$86.46; and yet some persons speak as though high finance was a recent invention. This event, happening almost a hundred years ago, and many others of the same sort for the next few decades, are the reason why we have suffered for the past half century with a banking and currency system marked in some respects by such serious defects, and the reason why the mighty financial institution brought into being by the act of Congress of the 23rd of December just past is in many respects as it is. The sad *ante-bellum* experience of the United States with wild cat banks and bank notes of every conceivable degree of value and no value was ended by the national banking act of 1863; but so set was the country on remedying one defect that in making the bank note absolutely secure it also makes it absolutely inelastic. Incidentally another serious defect was woven into the very texture of our system of national bank notes: In being based upon a required security of United States bonds, a powerful influence was created to prevent the payment of the national debt. Yet another fault: Half the banks of the country were set up in a position of special privilege which the other half were denied, a privilege moreover which many of those banks thus denied needed more keenly than many of those to which it was granted, namely the privilege of expanding their loanable assets at crop seasons for the accommodation of the fundamental industry of the country, its agriculture.

A bank note which can only say for itself that it is safe is very much like a white man who can boast of nothing except that he is white. What are the proper character and functions of the bank note? It should not form any very considerable part of the regular circulating medium of the country from year to year, like its gold or silver coins; for then it surrenders all its distinctive character and advantages and really has very little reason for its existence beyond the private profit of the issuing bank. The bank note circulation, if it is of the inelastic character of our national bank notes, simply does the work of ordinary metal money (and under some very critical circumstances does that very badly) and drives out of the country a corresponding amount of gold.

Bank notes appear in their proper character as the elastic portion of the currency. The business of the country is not of fixed, unchanging size. With different seasons of the year it expands and contracts, and sometimes at irregular intervals it undergoes violent and spasmodic irregularities. At these times the regular forces of competition and comparative international prices will not quickly enough adjust the supply of standard metallic money to the needs of the country. When there comes such a financial stringency, either on account of the yearly demand to move the crops or because of a financial panic, we should turn to the bank note to the extent that the business needs of the country demand. I admit that there was a time in the youth of this country when, because of the imperative demand for a circulating medium for the development of its resources and the refusal of the conservative and distrustful moneyed capitalists of Europe and the Atlantic coast to supply hard money, the bank note as ordinary current circulating medium did a good service; but that time is long past.

This is a strict definition of the nature and function of the bank note, and perhaps no country completely realizes it in practice; for we must remember that all countries have their past just as we have ours, and they, as we, must struggle long to loosen the grip of many a by-gone error.

What, then, are the objects at which the framers of the Federal reserve, or currency, act, have aimed? First, the emancipation of the business and industry of the country from

the fear of periodic panics, like that of 1907, which so seriously menace our prosperity; second, the relief of the yearly autumnal strain for money to move the crops, and intermedially to reduce the evil consequent upon the accumulation of the reserves of a rigid and inelastic circulating medium in New York, where for want of a better use they are lent out on call for gambling in stock, cotton and produce futures to an extent unexampled in any other country in the world; third, the emancipation from Wall Street control, in other words, the breaking of what is somewhat loosely for want of a better name termed the money trust; and fourth, to make the money resources of the country most largely and effectively available. These objects can only be accomplished by concentrating bank reserves and creating a note issue which is both elastic and safe, under the control of a body animated by motives of public interest and not of private gain. The system just being established by us introduces no new or untried principles, but only adapts with remarkable skill to American conditions methods which have proved successful in the great countries of Europe. The final retirement of all the present national bank notes, though facilitated by the present measure, will require twenty or thirty years and may take longer.

The first impressions of our Federal Reserve Act are of the sweeping nature of the changes which have been introduced and the powerful character of the system which has been created. The business world has taught us the lesson of huge enterprise and mighty power, and in this case the government has well learned the lesson. The very phraseology of the law is with the air of sureness and authority, and yet at the same time it offers such inestimable advantages to the member banks that it is hard to see how a large financial institution could afford to be outside. It is a power of helpfulness and not of oppression.

Many of the details of the bill are themselves of great interest. The act creates not less than eight nor more than twelve Federal Reserve Banks, to be located in as many cities the centers of districts whose bounds are to be prescribed in the most serviceable manner throughout the country. The entire system is under the well nigh absolute control of the

Federal Reserve Board of seven men, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five presidential appointees, at least two of whom must be men of banking experience. The details of administration of each of the eight to twelve Federal Reserve Banks are managed by its own board of directors, though their acts are subject to review and they themselves to removal by the Federal Reserve Board. The Federal Reserve Board is thus left free for the direction of the great general policies of the institution; for though there are eight to twelve regional banks, they are in effect merely the branches of one thoroughly federated bank. It is understood, of course, that there is no central bank in Washington; the Federal Reserve Board in Washington simply controls the eight to twelve banks which are placed in the cities where they will do the most good and which are not so much branches of a *central bank*, as the parts and members of one widely extending national bank in the true sense of the word, whose members reach into every part of the country and whose head or directing center rests in Washington. The Federal Reserve Board revises or fixes the rates of discount the Reserve Banks may charge, supervises their business in every way it sees fit, forces one of them to rediscount the discounted paper of another if that other should be in a condition of such need, and inspects not only the Reserve Banks whenever it pleases, but also any member bank. Though the Federal Reserve Board may remove any officer or director of a Reserve Bank, it appoints only three of the nine directors; but it also appoints one of these three to the double position of chairman of the board of directors of that bank and of Federal Reserve Agent at that bank.

This officer, the Federal Reserve Agent, forms a convenient nexus by which we may pass from the supreme Federal Reserve Board of seven men in Washington to the eight to twelve separate Reserve Banks in the various parts of the country. The Federal Reserve Agent is not only the chief executive officer of his bank but is also the direct personal representative of the Federal Reserve Board, and indeed his office in the bank building is called their office. While he stands as a part of that bank, he is also set strictly to watch it, to issue circu-

lating notes to it, to hold in his custody certain of its securities, and to keep constantly in touch with the supreme Federal Reserve Board in Washington.

The other six of the nine directors of the Reserve Bank are elected by the banks of the district, each having one vote. For this purpose the banks of the district are divided into three as nearly similar groups as possible, and each group chooses two of the six men, this arrangement and that of one vote equally for every bank making impossible any kind of ring rule or big stick methods. Every national bank in the United States must become a stock holder in the Federal Reserve Bank of its district to the exact amount of six per cent of its capital and surplus, which must be paid in gold. This alone will supply \$106,000,000. State banks may become members on the same terms, and thereby become amenable to the same system of inspection. If banks do not take a sufficient amount of stock to suit the managers, the public may be invited to buy or the United States Government may take any amount necessary for cash and the unwilling national bank will be closed at the end of a year; but these contingencies are too remote to detain us. No bank may sell or hypothecate its stock, for the institution is strictly a bankers' bank, owned solely by bankers, administered in large part by their elected directors, but controlled by the government's Federal Reserve Board of seven men in Washington.

Six per cent dividends go to the stock holding banks; above this, half the profits go to the government as a franchise tax and half to the surplus fund until that augments to 40 per cent of the capital, after which the entire dividends above six per cent go to the government. This is a principle which should be applied to every monopoly in existence, since, where competition cannot restrain the amount of profit drawn from the people, and a reasonable compensation upon the capital, the government, their only possible defender, should.

Having briefly sketched the organization, let us examine the functions of the Federal Reserve Banks. Besides being allowed to establish foreign branches, which under some circumstances might be of extreme value to the government and people of the United States, we can notice only the four func-

tions of receiving deposits, holding reserves, making discounts, and issuing notes.

The Reserve Banks may receive deposits only from member banks or the United States government, which is authorized to deposit all the general revenues there, thus departing from the mediæval strong box system into which we were driven in 1846 by the wild cat bank system alluded to in the first part of this paper. Tens of millions of dollars which have been drained from the channels of commerce will thus be poured into their proper circulation with an effect altogether beneficial to enterprise and business. Against its deposits the reserve bank must maintain a cash reserve in its vaults of 35 per cent. (The Bank of England keeps between 40 per cent and 50 per cent.)

Regarding the reserves of ordinary national banks, the concentration which the new law accomplishes makes safe their reduction to the following figures: For country banks, 12 per cent of their demand deposits; of which 4 per cent must be in their own vaults, 5 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 3 per cent in either; for banks in the present reserve cities, 15 per cent; 5 per cent to be in their own vaults; 6 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 4 per cent in either; for central reserve cities (at present New York, St. Louis, Chicago, but to which the Federal Reserve Board may add others at its discretion), 18 per cent; 6 per cent to be in their own vaults, 7 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 5 per cent in either. Thus the reserves of the entire country will be concentrated like eight great armies in eight strategic points, and will moreover be under the absolute command of the Federal Reserve Board to order by a vote of five of its seven members to be concentrated still further to such extent as the circumstances may demand by means of requiring any reserve bank to rediscount the discounted paper of any other reserve bank. Those who object to this forget that we have not created eight or twelve separate banks, but eight or twelve limbs of one great body. In the German phrase, "Eine hand wäscht die andere."

We now pass to the functions of discount. Here, as in every other activity save in open market operations consisting

of the mere buying and selling of certain securities, etc., the reserve bank may do business only with its member banks. One of the shortcomings of the American banking system has been the lack of an adequate system of rediscounts, which would make financial capital so much more fluid, available and widely serviceable. It is almost unbelievable to an American that half the commercial paper in the German Empire is rediscounted by the Imperial Bank; and there are three other great banks that do a great deal of the same business. In Europe the notes of small tradesmen of good standing are rediscounted hundreds of miles away from home, and even in foreign countries. With our Federal Reserve Bank the great business is to be the discounting of the already discounted paper of the member banks. The process is carefully guarded by the following provisions: No bills or notes shall be rediscounted except such as have originated in actual commercial, industrial, or agricultural operations; and specifically none shall be dealt in which were made in connection with stock gambling, future dealings or speculation.

Should the reserve bank not have sufficient cash for making advances to the member banks, it will advance its circulating notes. I can only say incidentally that the system looks to the retirement through a considerable series of years of the present national bank notes and the payment of the bonds now securing them and the more and more complete displacement of these notes by those of the reserve banks. A reserve bank must buy the bonds of any member bank which so desires and may itself issue notes on their security; but the idea is that the main note issues will be of another character, as follows: The reserve bank presents to its head and overseer, i. e., the gentleman holding the double office of chairman of its board of directors and Federal reserve agent, gilt edge commercial collateral which it has rediscounted or proposes to rediscount in the shape of notes, bills of exchange, drafts, etc., of the character described above, to the face value of the notes which it wishes to obtain from that officer. If this official approves of the collaterals, he keeps them in his custody and hands over the amount of notes to the Federal Reserve Bank, which proceeds to lend them out in the course of business to its member banks.

The Federal Reserve Bank must, however, keep in its vaults a reserve in gold against the notes which it issues equal to 40 per cent of their face value. These notes constitute a first lien upon all the property of the bank, but they also are a claim against the United States Government, since they do not have, like the present national bank notes, the security of a specific body of United States bonds. They must be cashed either by the United States Government or any reserve bank. In view of the fact that the reserve banks will probably have within the first year of operation cash resources of almost \$800,000,000, it is not likely that they will need to issue more notes than can conveniently be done under the 40 per cent gold reserve limitation. But if unusual demands should require, the Federal Reserve Board may authorize the issue of notes in excess under the penalty of a certain complicated tax, which must be paid to the government by the reserve bank and added as increased interest above the regular rate charged to the member banks whose paper is rediscounted with the excessive note issues. The simple imposition of a tax, even a small amount in excess of the profits to be made upon the notes, would supply ample reassurance that they would be retired as soon as the danger of panic, to allay which they had been issued, had passed.

We may sum up in the words of Senator Owen, that the "fundamentals" of the currency act are, "the concentration of bank reserves, the mobilization of bank reserves, the establishment of an open discount market, the establishment of an elastic currency in the form of Federal reserve notes as against commercial bills, and the establishment of foreign branches to handle the foreign business of the United States." It is indeed a great measure, a statesmanlike measure.

The credit for it is due to many persons; to the leaders of the American Bankers' Association, who for many years have unweariedly agitated for some such reform, when few outside their own ranks paid any heed; to a few eminent professors and writers of political economy who perhaps by their teachings during the years when the underground work was being done have helped to send men to Congress who have now brought the structure above ground. The reform did not come in just

the form which the bankers hoped, for Congress would not consent to grant them the control which they desired, but none the less their influence made for progress. The services of Chairman Glass and Owen and President Wilson were all that their positions of high responsibility demanded. No partisan prejudice should permit us to deny credit to the man of the opposite party who for years stood among the leaders for currency reform—Nelson W. Aldrich, chairman of the Monetary Commission and author of the Aldrich-Vreeland bill which failed of passage. His ambition was to round out his career with a great measure of this kind; but his unblushing championship of the vested interests and the sins of his party in the same direction robbed his ideas of the force which they otherwise would have had with the American people, who feared the Greeks even when they came bearing gifts. Whether the gift in this instance concealed a secret peril opinions will differ; but there seems no doubt that the great preponderance of responsible opinion is that the Aldrich plan left too great a power in the hands of men beyond the public control, and moreover that under any circumstances his plan of one great central bank could not serve a country of such vast extent as ours so intimately and well as the plan which has been adopted in which there is the equal power of doing good but far less power of doing harm.

The currency, or Federal reserve act, is much the best and most momentous step which we have taken in banking since the War of Secession. What its exact effects will be the most experienced and able bankers or economists cannot exactly predict. So much depends on the intelligence, aims and spirit in which a system is administered. It is undeniable that the Federal Reserve Board by systematically fostering the reckless expansion of unsound business ventures could occasion an inflation of the currency which would be followed by very serious injury; but no system can be constructed which is free enough to be of service without also being susceptible of being used for harm. We have learned much during the past fifty years; let us hope we have learned, like the rest of civilized mankind, how to use but not abuse the powerful weapons of modern finance. The men who conduct either the Bank of

England or the Bank of France could wreck the financial structure of their countries in a few weeks or honeycomb them with weakness within a few months; and yet they perform their functions with an intelligent devotion to the public good which is the finest political product of civilization. Let us hope that the same may be true of the men who shall conduct our system.

Sidney Lanier

FRANK W. CADY

Assistant Professor of English in Middlebury College.

Immaturity is the key to any analysis of the work of Sidney Lanier. Yet, in using that word as descriptive of the poet, one must safeguard himself against being misunderstood. It connotes no callow youthfulness. Rather, it is intended to represent an attitude of mind best explained perhaps, in the figure of the explorer, who bends all his energies toward the distant goal, of which, doubtless, he did not dream at first, but which has, during the passing years, become more and more clearly the object of his life's purpose. It is only when that purpose is accomplished that he reaches his maturity. Such was the purpose which grew to inspire Lanier. As his life progressed he saw himself coming more and more to direct it by aspiration toward a definite goal. But he was cut off before the goal was reached. For this reason I say that the key to any understanding of his life is this word immaturity.

The strands of his life are three: first, the poet; second, the musician; third, the scholar. As a poet he was gifted with poetic imagination, a truly intuitive perception of the truths of life. As a musician he was instinctively constrained to sing these truths. As a scholar he applied to all of life the unending curiosity about things which is the poet's dower.

Inevitably he did his clearest thinking upon questions concerned with music and poetry. It was there his heart lay, so that there his mind worked most eagerly and most successfully. We see him early endeavoring to explore, with the growing curiosity of an alert and willing mind, the affinities between music and poetry. And it soon developed that beyond this field of exploration there was to appear before him in imagination the fascinating goal of throwing open to the world through his own verse new and as yet undiscovered fields of poetic melody. Scholarship was, for him, but the handmaiden of opportunity. He had just touched the borders

of this wonderland when death claimed him. His latest poems show aspiration but not achievement. He never reached maturity.

It is in his literary criticism that the evidence for this view of Lanier's life is most obviously presented; but it runs through all his work. For the truth probably is that the last years of his life represent the seed time of which a complete harvest was never to follow. Then for the first time he found himself in a place congenial to his every interest. During that period came his first opportunity for study since college days. He went at the work with untiring enthusiasm. The result was so great an enrichment of his own resources that he must needs impart at once to others the fruits of his own labors in every field. He was exploring everywhere and recording his explorations. But some fields were found more congenial than others and in these his labors bore the most substantial fruit, as there he found the path which was to lead him to the goal of his imaginings.

The critical work which is a result of this study makes a somewhat uneven impression. For instance, a distinctly better quality is apparent whenever he is within the field of music, as an art in itself, or in its relation to poetry. His opinions are more matured. There is an atmosphere of assured scholarship about them that the more purely literary criticism lacks. It was, of course, through his studies of the relation between music and verse-melody that he began to see his goal.

Not so satisfactory is the effect upon the candid mind of the purely literary criticism. The subject matter is treated in a delightful manner, for Lanier has a luminous and strong prose style. But his attitude toward it is peculiarly immature. He faces his problem with the naive delight of the youth to whom the tritest bits of knowledge are fresh and new. He breaks old paths with all the delight of a discoverer. He often says the familiar, the obvious thing, with the zest of one proclaiming a new found truth. This is probably because he was writing lectures more or less popular in form. But it is also to be explained by the fact that he was writing in the midst of his own research; was himself still a learner, not fully oriented in the problems he was attacking.

Of *The English Novel* this is particularly true. It is not, as its title would indicate, a discussion of the English Novel in the accepted meaning of such a discussion; but an essay upon the developing consciousness of personality from remote antiquity to the writings of George Eliot in whose characters it received its final expression. George Eliot, in his mind, but epitomized the consciousness of personality inherent in her generation. As one reads it is with a feeling of disappointment that a thesis so obvious has usurped the attention of a writer upon the novel. It does not appear to need the patient elaboration which it receives. That the true measure of personality was never known until these latter times is bound up in our whole conception of the growth of the race. It is an accepted corollary of that conception. It impresses the reader as a commonplace of life which needs little attention because of its obviousness. And Lanier's book as a whole strikes one as the effort of a man who is in the act of exploring this very theory and recording his explorations; but has not paused to muse over his results and find their true relations. It is a record of explorations in an old field, not recognized as old by the explorer, but sure to be so recognized by him in time.

The Shakespeare volume does not make quite the same impression because it has no such definitely stated thesis to maintain. Indeed, it reveals charmingly what a host of little known facts about the time Lanier had gathered together. It illustrates the fascination which the period had for him. It is an interesting record of much extensive research. But the emphasis placed upon the work of some of the poets considered indicates hasty or ill-formed judgments due to the lack of true perspective which would have come from a more matured consideration of the evidence attained by his research. He was unable to give himself time for perfect assimilation. Both books show the same fresh interest in old problems, the same atmosphere of discovery in well-mapped fields. In short, they radiate the simple enthusiasm of the guide personally-conducting for the first time. In the bulk, then, we are tempted to discount his purely literary criticism. He has not found his

way in this field. In it he is to develop no path of original discovery.

Yet we must remember that we are dealing with a poet, a man greater than a critic. Thus it happens that, although the critic's logic often leads him astray, the imagination of the poet leads him straight to what he seeks. The poetic imagination is essentially an intuitive, illogical, inspired handling of the facts of life. It reaches out after them and combines them in new and amazingly true ways. It is the most audacious thing in the world, but it is also the truest. An imagination of this sort Lanier had. He was a poet; and wherever in his criticism he allows his imagination sway, he speaks with the inevitableness of poetic insight. There are flashes of keen criticism here and there, incidental to the main theme, but none the less indications of the qualities of his mind, as when he remarks of Shelley:

"In truth, Shelley appears always to have labored under an essential immaturity; it is very possible that if he had lived a hundred years, he would never have become a man: he was penetrated with modern ideas, but penetrated as a boy would be crudely, overmuch, and with a constant tendency to the extravagant and illogical; so that I call him the modern boy."

Or of Whitman:

"But what age of time ever yielded such a dandy as the founder of this school, Whitman himself? The simpering beau who is the product of the tailor's wit is certainly absurd enough; but what difference is there between that and the other dandy-up-side-down, who from equal motives of affectation throws away coat and vest, dons a slouch hat, opens his shirt, so as to expose his breast, and industriously circulates his portrait, thus taken, in his own books. And this dandyism—the dandyism of the roustabout—I find in Whitman's poetry from beginning to end."

Such criticism demands imaginative insight. It is the product of intuition; and when he indulges in it we find Lanier moving with assured and oriented powers.

His biographer speaks truly when he says:

"Suppose we cease to think of the first two [the Shakespeare lectures and the *English Novel*] as formal treatises on the subjects they discuss and rather select from them such passages as the discussion of per-

sonality, the relation of music, science, and the novel, the criticism of Whitman's theory of art, the discussion of the relations of morals to art, the best passages on Anglo-Saxon poetry and the Elizabethan sonneteers, and the finer passages on Shakespeare's growth as a man and as a dramatist. Such a volume would, I believe, confirm one in the opinion that Lanier belongs by right among the best American critics. Certainly the *Science of English Verse* entitles him to that distinction."

The *Science of English Verse* is another matter, to which we shall come immediately. Suffice it to say that it is only by a selection somewhat like that above, that we can overcome the impression of immaturity made upon us by the two works mentioned; and that in all these selections it is Lanier, the poet, who has come to the aid of Lanier, the critic, and saved him from himself.

So much for the purely literary criticism. Our next group of writings, *Music and Poetry* and *The Science of English Verse*, especially the latter, show more assurance of the path of discovery opening before him, and a more mature and exacting scholarship. We are here in the field of critical study which was Lanier's especial province, and in which he remains supreme. He was thoroughly at home in the realm of music, particularly orchestral music, and profoundly interested in the physics of sound. Consequently we find him speaking with a more assured voice than elsewhere. He has gone further toward explaining the subtle relations between music and poetry than has any other investigator. There breathes through the whole treatise on *The Science of English Verse* the spirit of the poet illumining the findings of the scientist, but the investigation is carried on in the true scientific spirit amongst a group of facts which are capable, as far as one is able to obtain evidence in their support, of the most exact scientific exposition. The fundamental conception of the work is that the English language is essentially rhythmic; that through all the variations of tone-color and intensity there runs this rhythmic quality which insists that the syllables of any spoken group of words stand to each other in definite time relations and are thus grouped by the speaking voice as the result of habit. Lanier had no use for the system which bases English verse upon accent. Accent is simply a device for marking

somewhat complex rythms. The basis of all poetry is, to him, the natural and universally recognized rythm of the language. As a matter of fact, Lanier does not stop long enough in his argument to support this most important premise by sufficient examples. But when his critics, in commenting upon Lanier's doctrine, speak of the "normal unrhythmical enunciation of the language" they are making a statement as unsupported as Lanier's and against which it is certain the poet could bring a host of examples in refutation. Much, indeed, seems to show that, as Lanier says, the normal enunciation of the language is rythmical; and that, if we had instruments delicate enough to register, for any sentence spoken, the relations between the time consumed in pronouncing different syllables, these relations would be found to constitute a definite rythm. It is, of course, true that the rythm of poetry does not show the rigidity of musical rythm. But to state this fact is not to deny rythm to poetry. The difference, indeed, can be easily shown. While the author clearly indicates at the start, as does the composer, the rythmic relation of his sounds, as two, three, or four, to a foot, it is the privilege of the interpreter of his rythm to arrange the syllables within the foot in whatever relation of time he desires; provided this in no respect violates the rythmic system indicated at the beginning. This the interpreter of music cannot do. In other words, the composer binds his interpreter to a definite sequence of measures of a definite rythm, and assigns the time within each measure; while the poet, indicating the measure he desires, allows his interpreter all the richness of time variation he can throw into each measure, provided its fundamental time value is not violated. It is here that the rythm of poetry is infinitely varied and becomes vastly richer than that of music in its delicate subtleties; just as the speaking voice is able to register many more subtle variations in pitch than does the singing voice, while retaining the tone-color of the syllables as the singing voice can never do.

But while all this may be felt to be true, it is also certain that in spoken language the melody does not make the primary appeal. We are willing to sacrifice words to music when we hear a wonderful singer, because the music has an appeal quite

beyond that of the words that are sung. This is not true of poetry. The melody of the verse must always be subordinate to the thought the verse expresses. The bald, unimaginative denotation of the words as signs of ideas is the thing of fundamental importance. But when these ideas are in themselves poetic, when they are surrounded with the thousand associations by which life's experience ennobles and exalts them, then it is that the melodies of verse, those subtle and beautiful things of which Lanier speaks with such evident understanding, illumine and intensify their most wonderful connotations; blessing them with a newer and richer significance. The melodies of prose and verse are the handmaidens of the thought. They never can ennoble the thought that is base. In its presence their radiant beauty becomes the false sparkle of mere tinsel. But the imagination of the true poet seizes upon them to adorn its most delicate fancies, and they take on a beauty never before suspected and a radiance as of the dawn. The great danger to Lanier's poetry from his study of the science of verse is that he may emphasize unduly what should always remain part of the background; and in his search for new and beautiful melodies in verse forget how essential to their true effect are thoughts as poetic and as beautiful. That this danger is a real one a paragraph of recent criticism will reveal. The quotation is from Mr. Long's discussion of "The Marshes of Glynn" in his recently published *American Literature*.

"The same poem serves to illustrate the quality of Lanier's thought which most appeals to us, and that is a certain indefiniteness. This is not due to any failure on the part of the poet to think or speak clearly; it is rather the recognition of the fact that some things, like the sunset, are unbounded, and that certain human emotions have no adequate expression. There comes a time when words fail, when we must leave poetry and take up music, if we are to express what is in us. So in most of Lanier's verse there is a sense of failure, of incompleteness. He takes us as far as he can go and says, Your own heart must finish the poem. Some have said that Lanier failed because he followed rules or a mistaken theory of poetry, and at times one might wish that he had never heard of the 'science' of verse; for his theory often interfered with his spontaneity,—which is the first grace of a bird song or a poem. Then all such criticism is hushed by the reflection that

music also is incomplete, that the best music invariably leaves us unsatisfied or sad, and that Lanier's art may be more perfect than even his admirers have supposed. It is possible that he intended his verse to have the haunting, saddening quality of a symphony; that he deliberately left it incomplete in order to make it harmonize, not with his own theory, but with the known facts of human experience."

We here find a grave defect of the later poems put in as favorable a light as possible. It would seem according to Long that Lanier was trying to express that which mere words could not convey and used the words simply as a kind of musical notation. Rather, the true path of his progress would appear to lie along the way which would lead him to express in poetry only those thoughts which poetry could express, with his wonderful melodies duly subordinated as servants of the words which convey the thoughts. The indefiniteness to which Long calls attention so pleasantly is thus seen to be another indication of the immaturity which we have noted as characteristic of Lanier. He was experimenting in form and would have succeeded had he been given time.

For there is little doubt that the discussion undertaken in *The Science of English Verse* was but one manifestation of the new purpose which came into his poetry; the fulfillment of which was to be the goal of his endeavor. He felt the rhythmic possibilities of verse to be a field practically unexplored. He saw in the simple rhythms and simpler melodies of our poetry only the beginnings in a field which seemed to him to be practically limitless. This feeling he expresses at one point in his discussion of *Shakespeare and His Forerunners*.

"When a poet publishes a poem he must depend entirely upon the known accentuation of English words to guide his readers to a proper conception of his rhythm. Unfortunately this guide is often ambiguous. A number of English particles—the prepositions, the conjunctions, and other short words of one syllable—can take the strong accent of a trochee or a dactyl or the weak unaccented portions equally well: and consequently the poets confine themselves to a small number of such simple rhythmic measures as immediately suggest themselves to the average reader.

"For this reason, every child who is taught to read ought to be taught the musical system of notation: and in this way a public could

be prepared to whom the poet could intelligently present those magnificent rhythmic combinations of which the English language is so amply capable."

It is the implication in the last of the last sentence to which I wish especially to call attention. Lanier was convinced in his own mind after careful study that the rhythmic possibilities of the language were capable of vaster development than they had ever received. It is a somewhat more difficult matter to point out just the direction which he thought the development ought to take. There is plenty of indication in his poems that he wrote with loving attention to details of rhythm and melody even those poems expressed in conventional meters. Only in a few of the longer poems do we see him attempting to work out his elaborated theories.

In this connection there are two things which are significant in addition to his *Science of English Verse*. One of these is his connection with the Peabody Orchestra in Baltimore, where he became fascinated with the wonderful possibilities of orchestral music; and the other is the writing of the Centennial Cantata. It is evident that he believed it to be possible to imitate in poetry the various movements of a symphony; that he conceived the possibility of varying rhythm to suit the thought and of suggesting the thought of each movement not alone by the words composing it, but by the music of the movement as a whole. He raised the music to its highest connotative possibilities. He dwelt upon the background of the thought, and any sense of incompleteness one may feel arises out of incompleteness of thought, not incompleteness of melodic utterance. The only normal way of progress for Lanier was to learn the due subordination of his background. As the gorgeous setting of these modern days often dwarfs and weakens the impression of the finest acting, so Lanier's gorgeous setting of melody dwarfs and weakens the impression which his thought ought to make.

Just the nature of his theories in regard to this whole matter may be discovered from a quotation out of a letter written by him to the *New York Tribune*. This letter was called forth by the controversy which had grown up around his cantata. He says:

“ Inasmuch as only general conceptions are capable of such interpretation [by orchestral instruments] a poem for (say) a cantata should consist of one general idea, animating the whole; besides this it should be composed of subordinate related ideas; each of these subordinate ideas should be the central idea of a separate stanza, or movement; each stanza should be boldly contrasted in sentiment with its neighbor stanzas in order to permit those broad outlines of tone-color which constitute the only means known to music for differentiating ideas and movements from each other; and finally, the separate central ideas of these subordinate stanzas, or movements, should not run into each other, but begin and end abruptly.”

These two quotations when taken in connection with his latest poems show definitely the direction in which he thought poetry ought to move to find freedom in those “magnificent rhythmic combinations of which the English language is so amply capable.” A poem like *Sunrise* is a poetic symphony. It carries Lanier’s prophecy to as adequate fulfillment as he could give it, in separating the ideas into stanzaic groups in each of which the thought is given the rhythmic background which would in the poet’s mind best express it. And it falls into the obvious defects of such an attempt. The attention of the poet is so much upon the background that at times it becomes obtrusive, and there is the resulting haziness in impression which Long notes. To say that this is an impression consciously striven for by Lanier, is to give him the benefit of the doubt with a high hand. It is rather a defect of his immaturity. *Sunrise*, the last of his poems, is in its promise the greatest; and its promise lies in the ability Lanier shows in certain parts to overcome this very haziness which has been noted. The movement which has for its thought basis the effect of the leaves upon the poet shows this haziness in its worst form. The poet has lost his thought in the midst of his melody. As he so often does in his use of figures, he here indulges in all sorts of conceits of melody. It is Lanier, the improviser upon the flute, turned melodist in words.

Ye lispers, whisperers, singers in storms,
 Ye consciences murmuring faiths under forms,
 Ye ministers meet for each passion that grieves,
 Friendly, sisterly, sweetheart leaves,
 Oh, rain me down from your darks that contain me
 Wisdoms ye winnow from winds that pain me,—
 Sift down tremors of sweet-within-sweet
 That advise me of more than they bring,—repeat
 Me the woods-smell that swiftly but now brought breath
 From the heaven-side bank of the river of death,—
 Teach me the terms of silence,—preach me
 The passion of patience,—sift me,—impeach me,—
 And there, oh there
 As ye hang with your myriad palms upturned in the air
 Pray me a myriad prayer.

On the other hand the same poem contains a stanza which expresses a more beautiful movement with all the restraint of a master, whatever figurative conceits it may contain.

Yet now the dew-drop, now the morning gray,
 Shall live their little lucid sober day
 Ere with the sun their souls exhale away.
 Now in each pettiest personal sphere of dew
 The summ'd morn shines complete as in the blue
 Big dew-drop of all heaven: with these lit shrines
 O'er-silvered to the farthest sea-confines,
 The sacramental marsh one pious plain
 Of worship lies. Peace to the ante-reign
 Of Mary Morning, blissful mother mild,
 Minded of nought but peace, and of a child.

The immature Lanier we have, knew how sometimes. Therein lay the promise, for the mature Lanier would have known always.

Out of all this it is but a step to a discussion of Lanier's poetry in the aspects of significance to us. I must confess that I find that much of the poetry makes upon me an impression unsatisfying and baffling. Part of this is due to the haziness of thought for which I have tried to account. Lanier's musical genius had led him astray. He sees life with the poet's eye, thinking the thoughts of a poet about what he sees. But he expresses his thoughts as naturally in music as in words and here and there confuses the two notations. It is this confusion which he must overcome before he can come into his heritage

as a poet. But its result in his poetry is to baffle and confuse, for he dares to defy a law of expression, that thought in poetry must be denoted through words, and that the office of verse melody is merely connotative. The verse is but the background. Lanier, however, finds himself constantly tending to throw it out of perspective and intrude it upon his foreground. It is in these poems, indeed, that we see him struggling toward his goal. But when he retains the old time perspective, when his imagination expresses itself at its best in words, and enriches the meaning of the words with fitting melodies in verse; when there is about the poetry the exquisite restraint of genius; then we find him speaking in the simplicity of the great poets, a message every man can understand. He is no longer a baffling poet writing for the elect, but a man among men. If we had these poems alone the impression made by his poetry would be neither unsatisfying nor baffling. Fascinating to his music-loving soul as seem to have been the possibilities of verse melody for conveying thought beyond and besides the words, it was along the other line that he would have found his ultimate success. One lesson of his progress would have been that poetry must be kept distinct in this respect from music. Here, also, it is true that no man can serve two masters. Poetry never has and never can convey the subtler emotions that music alone can compass. Lanier could never have succeeded in shifting the weight of thought from words to melody, much less in making both bear at once the same burden. There is nothing but confusion in attempting to speak in two languages at once. But he could, with his musical imagination, increase and enormously vary the connotative possibilities of verse-melody, reaching far out into the realms of music, as long as he never forgot the due relation and subordination of the melodies he sang to the words that formed both their notation and the symbols of the thought which he is trying to express.

To trace adequately the development of his imagination is an impossible task. It is indeed a question whether imagination ever does at heart develop. It is God given. It may be enriched, but essentially it remains the same. From the beginning Lanier's was remarkably sensitive to two influences. Nature uplifted him, men called to him. He delighted to ex-

press the struggles of man in the terms of nature. And he expressed in the same terms the highest and most beautiful aspiration of his own soul. In the earlier poems the meters exert their wholesome restraint upon him. He uses simple forms and binds his thought within them to its great advantage. His imagination, truly poetic, expresses itself in terms whose emotional appeal we can understand. From such a poem is the following :

Sometimes in morning sunlights by the river
 Where in the early fall long grasses wave,
 Light winds from over the moorland sink and shiver
 And sigh as if just blown across a grave.

And then I pause and listen to this sighing.
 I look with strange eyes on the well-known stream.
 I hear wild birth cries uttered by the dying.
 I know men waking who appear to dream.

In the same way his tender poem, *Raven Days*, brings us a vivid picture of the sad times of Reconstruction :

Our hearths are gone out and our hearts are broken,
 And but the ghosts of homes to us remain,
 And ghastly eyes and hollow sighs give token
 From friend to friend of an unspoken pain.

O Raven days, dark Raven days of sorrow,
 Bring to us in your whetted ivory beaks
 Some sign out of the far land of To-morrow
 Some strip of sea-green dawn, some orange streaks.

Ye float in dusky files, forever croaking.
 Ye chill our manhood with your dreary shade.
 Dumb in the dark, not even God invoking,
 We lie in chains, too weak to be afraid.

O Raven days, dark Raven days of sorrow,
 Will ever any warm light come again?
 Will ever the lit mountains of To-morrow
 Begin to gleam athwart the mournful plain?

As time goes on Lanier shows increasing certainty both in thought and in expression. His comments upon the problems

of the day are always interesting and original. Two things, however, are noteworthy. There is a constantly increasing reference to music in the poetry, and a constantly increasing tendency to imitate the symphonic form in what he writes. In *The Symphony* he draws his basic figure from the orchestra, making the instruments the speakers, each after his own nature. In the *Psalm of the West*, written the following year, 1876, the structure is evidently symphonic; a succession of metrical movements, varied to suit the thought. The centennial cantata, dated that same year, aroused a storm of criticism because it so evidently embodied in its form the conception of symphonic treatment where the voice was but one of many orchestral instruments. These poems show Lanier on the highway to his final conception of new melodic possibilities; expressed immaturely, I am sure even he would say, in the longer two of the *Hymns of the Marshes*, written just before his death. Indeed, it might be possible to argue that the four poems composing this series were simply four larger movements of the same poem; but it is at least reasonable to believe that within the two longer poems we have a succession of movements in which melody and thought vary together. These poems it is which are the last records of his explorations toward the goal of his ideals. The keynote of their structure is that they are the record of a series of moods as the poet watches the sun rise and set over the marshes, moods in which the most elusive feelings find a place and yet are bound in a way truly characteristic of Lanier to the struggles of every day. He reads the meaning of the mood in conduct. The ideal of expression toward which he was striving is evident. The record of his mood was to be made not alone in words. The words were to be arranged in movements, marvelously melodious, which would by their subtle expression of the mood itself, assist and enrich their connotation. He wished us to feel the sweep of the symphonic movement as we grasped the meaning of the words. This was his ideal. It was this he attempted in these poems. Nor did he come far short of success. We can feel their promise, but the two-fold method of communication sometimes clogs our understanding, for the words often denote little, though the melody may connote much. We are baffled and confused.

The great defect is that Lanier is without restraint in melody. He is still experimenting. If he had lived to discover how to restrain his melodies to their true function; if he had learned, that is, to use them only to enhance and enrich the meanings of his words, he would have attained his goal. That there are in the field of his experimentation wonderful possibilities his own work has proved. That he has been so successful even in these initial attempts shows the power and reach of his imagination. He has the exuberance of immaturity, the eagerness of youth.

Yet I cannot help feeling that there are among his poems others, greater than these, not in promise, it may be, but in accomplishment. If Wordsworth needed the limitations of the sonnet to restrain his profuseness and, as it were, extract the essence of his genius, Lanier needed it as much to curb, restrain, and throw into perspective his wonderful skill in the use of melody. And so it is that we find the most certain evidence of his poetic worth in those poems of his later years in which the metrical conventionalities have kept under control his tendencies to improvisation. Conspicuous as examples are the Columbus sonnets in the *Psalm of the West*, and the sonnets *In Absence* written to his wife.

Let no man say, *He at his lady's feet*
Lays worship that to Heaven alone belongs;
Yea, swings the incense that for God is meet
In flippant censers of light lover's songs.
 Who says it, knows not God, nor love, nor thee;
 For love is large as is yon heavenly dome:
 In love's great blue, each passion is full free
 To fly his favorite flight and build his home.
 Did e'er a lark with skyward-pointing beak
 Stab by mischance a level-flying dove?
 Wife-love flies level, his dear mate to seek:
 God-love darts straight into the skies above.
 Crossing, the windage of each other's wings
 But speeds them both upon their journeyings.

Again we have the same thing in a differing way in his fine poem to Bayard Taylor. But perhaps better than all is the ballad, *The Revenge of Hamish*, which I am often tempted to

think the best of his poems in any form. I quote the first three stanzas.

It was three slim does and a ten-tined buck in the bracken lay;
 And all of a sudden the sinister smell of a man,
 Awaft on a wind-shift, wavered and ran
 Down the hill-side and sifted along through the bracken and passed
 that way.

Then Nan got a-tremble at nostril; she was the daintest doe;
 In the print of her velvet flank on the velvet fern
 She reared, and rounded her ears in turn.
 Then the buck leapt up, and his head as a king's to a crown did go

Full high in the breeze, and he stood as if Death had the form of a
 deer;
 And the two slim does long lazily stretching arose,
 For their day dream slower came to a close,
 Till they woke and were still, breath-bound with waiting and wonder
 and fear.

This remarkable narrative has one virtue, at least, which is the proud possession of few of Lanier's poems. It is singularly without conceits. I know not what unfortunate sprite was present at our poet's birth. Sometimes I fear it was Puck himself, that tricky spirit who presided over the destinies of the Elizabethans, with whom Lanier was in so many ways akin. At any rate, without half the excuse which many of them had, he shows all their fondness for conceit and far-fetched metaphor. They were, the most of them, nothing more than skillful versifiers who must call all devices, however cheap, to their assistance. He was in very truth a poet, whom cheap jewels cursed. They were experimenters in poetry, testing their language by every device to find its possibilities. He was the inheritor of what they had discovered. And yet he could not refrain from the wildest and most unpoetical of conceits. It was as though pure intellect, the father of all such folly, usurped now and then the office of the imagination, and dragged its glories in the dust. To mar a poem like his *Sunrise* with the figure in the following quotation is to utterly debase the imagination. He is describing the sunrise:

Now a dream of a flame through that dream of a flush is up rolled :
 To the zenith ascending, a dome of undazzling gold
 Is builded in shape as a bee-hive, from out of the sea :
 The hive is of gold undazzling, but oh, the Bee,
 The star-fed Bee, the build-fire Bee,
 Of dazzling gold is the great Sun Bee,
 That shall flash from the hive-hole over the sea.

Nor is the pathos of his second sonnet in the series *To Our Mocking Bird* exactly the pathos he intended, at least in the last two lines.

Ah me, though never an ear for song, thou hast
 A tireless tooth for songsters: thus of late
 Thou camest, Death, thou Cat! and leap'st my gate,
 And, long ere Love could follow, thou hadst passed
 Within and snatched away, how fast, how fast,
 My bird-wit, songs, and all—thy richest freight
 Since that fell time when in some wink of fate
 Thy yellow claws unsheathed and stretched and cast
 Sharp hold on Keats, and dragged him slow away,
 And harried him with hope and horrid play—
 Ay, him, the world's best wood-bird, wise with song—
 Till thou hadst wrought thine own last mortal wrong.
 'Twas wrong! 'twas wrong! I care not, *wrong's* the word—
 To munch our Keats and crunch our mocking bird.

This is enough. Conceits are plentiful. To parody his own poem of *The Crystal*:

Thus unto thee, Lanier, the hero soul,
 A hundred hurts a day I do forgive
 Of fond conceits and far fetched metaphor
 Botching the beauty up which is thy right.

For, after all, and above all, Lanier's great charm lies in the personality revealed in all he did. His character was, in itself, a poem. The challenge in his *Stirrup Cup* is the challenge of chivalrous courage. *My Springs* shows the heart of the man; and the touching little song, *The Trees and the Master*, reveals in an intimate way the allegiance of his soul:

Into the woods my Master went,
 Clean forspent, forspent.
 Into the woods my Master came,

Forspent with love and shame.
But the olives they were not blind to Him,
The little gray leaves were kind to Him,
The thorn-tree had a mind to Him
When into the woods he came.

Out of the woods my Master went,
And he was well content.
Out of the woods my Master came,
Content with death and shame.
When death and shame would woo Him last,
From under the trees they drew Him last:
'Twas on a tree they slew Him—last
When out of the woods He came.

Yet in all these there is the note of immaturity. The fulness of time had not come. It is given the soul of man to find freedom in two ways. The way through art Lanier had well-nigh found, when death opened to him the other path, and obedient to the mightier summons, he took his journey into that far country, leaving us, in the record of what is, the glorious promise of what might have been.

Some Aspects of American Place Names

EARL L. BRADSHER

Instructor in English in the University of Texas

The names of Indian derivation in the United States have been somewhat carefully investigated by a number of writers, but those from European and native white sources have received scant attention. The greatest English investigator of place names has dismissed the entire country in a few paragraphs, as having a story of but little interest. It is quite true that the names given in the United States by the settlers of European descent have few stories to tell that are of value to the philologist. The ethnologist finds them equally unsuggestive.

As one glances through any complete gazetteer he must be impressed with the apparent chaos that dominates American names. But while the field is far indeed from being so rich as is that of European countries, where names can be traced back for centuries and made to shed a flood of light upon the civilizations of the lands in which they occur, yet American names are not without interest as a study in the history, the geography, the social customs, and the psychology of the people of our country.

From the generalizations which are attempted here, a large class of names, those derived from persons, may be, with a few exceptions, dismissed. In England, Germany, and parts of France, the largest number of place names are those of men. Something distinctive of race or time is usually prefixed or suffixed however, and the appellation is of interest to the ethnologist and to the historian. *-Ton, -tun, -ley, -den, -thorpe, pen-, lan-, -law, -by, -fleet,*—these and many others so often found in British names have each their tale to tell. All these and more may be found in American names, but, if they convey any information, it is that the language was no longer in a fluid state when they were applied; and the ignorance of their true meaning on the part of the name giver is patent at a glance. Infelicities of other sorts abound. *Worcester* marks the sight of no camp. *Oxford* is far from any stream. Boston

never grew around a real *ton*. *Mount Crawford* is an impossibility. *Norfolk* is south of *Sussex*. The Isle of Wight, a Virginia county, is not an island. But the instance of philological infelicities are innumerable. Some of this class of names may impart occasionally a chronological lesson; but even that is rare.

These names however are in the eastern part of the United States. When they were applied, the settlers were European in culture and sentiment. They were really reproducing beloved connotative names from beyond the ocean. The American mind was yet non-existent. The older states along the Atlantic seaboard seem peculiarly poverty stricken in the matter of nomenclature. New England is especially conspicuous in this respect. Almost every little village must divide its insignificance with a North, South, East or West variation of itself or with a Center, and in some cases there are several varieties.

Rash indeed would be the assertion that our newer states do not abound in repeated, ugly, and infelicitous names. But that a true American nomenclature began to make itself progressively felt as the immigrant pushed his way ever westward, it is one of the purposes of this article to show.

Indeed the American begins to assert himself in this matter even in the original thirteen states. *Run*, *creek*, and *fork*, while they are Anglo-Saxon derivatives, are American in their application. *Run* we find in Virginia, and it is puzzling to note that in spite of the flood tide of Virginia immigration westward into a land of streams it dies out early, while the other two persist undiminished. However a careful examination of English dialects in the seventeenth century would probably clear up the matter. *Branch* is another word that loses its relative importance as it progresses westward from New England, where it is most frequently found, leaving *fork* and *creek* in control. *Wash*, a new expression not found elsewhere, with the same meaning at least, arises in Arizona. In English place names, *wash* is applied to the flats by the sea which the tides alternately bare and submerge. However the American term is in effect probably an entirely new coinage which shows the national instinct for accuracy and its appre-

ciation of vigor. In the region where the name occurs, the strong declivity down which the wash rushed combined with the torrential mountain rains, when rain did occur, to produce the marked abrasion which we associate with one of the primary meanings of the word. The expression does not however possess the field, for it occurs side by side with the older *creek*. Pueblo Colorado Wash, with Cotton Creek, is a tributary of Leroux Wash.

As the human wave sweeps westward, the immigrant ceases to be European and becomes American in his names. His brethren, left behind in the older states of the East, may feel all those subtle influences that mould a national consciousness out of the most heterogeneous material; they may be as American in spirit as the last assertive community of yesterday, but they will show it little in their place names. Those have, with few exceptions, been fixed with them long ago.

The modes of travel of these immigrants, the fauna and the flora which they encountered, the occupations in which they engaged, their social and political interests, the sense of romance and poetry which they possessed in all too little measure—these things become increasingly evident as we recede from an America once colonial in spirit to an America which has felt only a few of the mightier impulses from over the seas. Picturesqueness their life had in full measure. Civilizations, French, Spanish, and American, struggle in some parts for nomenclatural supremacy. The stone age clashes with the age of steel. The tragedy of the struggle with a land where death lurked in nature's grimness is revealed, and the equal tragedy of a pitiless struggle with a merciless foe.

The first great movement from the older states westward followed the easy channels of water courses. The movement was so dominantly along rather than across these streams and so universally effected by boat that comparatively few place names ending in *-ford* are to be found. The contrast between the United States and England in this respect is striking. In the latter country, smaller, more fordable streams flowing in every direction combined with immigration that trended toward every point of the compass to produce this difference. Moreover in England the word *ford* was formerly, synony-

mous with *stream*, a meaning which apparently was never brought to America. On the other hand, the relative number of bridges is greater with us than in England. A more primitive civilization during the period of English name giving is thereby indicated. Long before man had acquired the skill to erect bridges, and the social and commercial instincts to make use of them, he had ascertained the fordable places in his locality. The American could make almost anything with his ever-present long-handled ax; he had, as a rule, larger streams to cross; his family was with him, and he desired to retain communication with the older civilization. This is true after he had passed from the hunter-trapper stage to that of the settler, at least. Therefore from the first, unlike the British cousin, he named his crossings *bridges*.

It is well at this juncture to point out one of the dangers which besets the study of American names. It is often impossible to tell whether a name is indigenous or merely repeated from the British Isles to America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For example there are various Bridgewater in the United States. How many of them come, at various removes, from Bridgewater, England? However, while specific instances may be doubtful there is converging evidence enough in all cases to make generalizations accurate.

The high degree of civilization on the part of the American settler as compared with that of the British has resulted, as a rule, in the names of the former fitting the topography of the country less accurately. Many were determined by the location of the railroads, which, while in general following the lines of least resistance, did not slowly and sinuously adapt themselves to the minor features of forest and plain and valley, river and hill, as did the streams of Celt and Saxon and Dane in the British Isles. Another entirely new nomenclatural influence, but in this case fitting enough, is found in the steamboat. One must be struck by the large number of *landings* which dot the banks of such navigable American rivers as flowed through populous territory before the era of railroad construction.

The number of *ferries* is small, partly for the same reason that has been given for the scarcity of *fords*, but largely be-

cause the influence of another language must be taken into account. When the Anglo-Saxon wave rolling westward reached the Mississippi, it came into contact with the French influence which had already preceded it. The French of this region were nomadic in habit, as attested by the universal prevalence of the phrase *coureur de bois*. Across rivers and lakes they had penetrated to the most remote fastnesses in their insatiable search for adventure and furs. They infused their blood and their language into the native tribes. Wherever barter and war led them and their savage allies, they left their memorial on river and lake in the numerous portages, as for example, Portage des Sioux, Missouri. The word was not difficult or unknown to the Anglo-Saxon and he retained it, building indeed curious hybrids upon it.

It is along the rivers especially that another frequent American name occurs in the word *mount*. The repeated appearance of this word betrays the love of the Anglo-Saxon for a free, wide outlook, and the necessity of being on a natural point of vantage, in what was also usually less densely forested ground, from which he might better ward off the attack of the lurking Indian, and prevent a surprise. But there is a deeper and more prevalent reason for the number of *mounts* that dot the courses of our streams as names of cultural and of natural features. History is but repeating herself. When the givers of most existing names came to the British Isles a steaming, miasmatic bog of wooded valley reeked along the water courses. It was difficult to penetrate, and, above all, dangerous to health. The settlers therefore occupied the hills, downs, and moors where some hard stratum stood above the low mist and offered frequent glades and natural fortifications. The same thing happened in America. If the pioneers, having attained a higher degree of civilization, were more capable of successfully combating their dangers, they were also more alive to them, and the total movement of the two countries was about the same. The first settlers of parts of Ohio, Indiana, and of those localities near the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers sought the hills and bluffs, the *mounts* as they frequently called them, leaving the more fertile alluvial bottoms to be taken by later settlers, usually in the Middle-West of Dutch

or German descent. Little towns have sprung up in some places with names from these languages which, because of greater economic possibilities, bid fair to leave more enduring traces upon our nomenclature than many of the older ones of British derivation.

The number of Dutch and German names, and indeed those of all other languages than English, in this country however is strikingly small in proportion to the influence that other nations have exerted in the upbuilding of the land. The reason is obvious. After the first influx of German, Dutch, Swedish, and French immigrants into the colonies of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina there comes a long interval before it is renewed. During this interval British nomenclature has established itself in the territory to the west. Indeed in this less fraternal age race hostility causes many names to be changed to English: New Amsterdam is today New York; Fort Oranien is Albany. When a new movement takes place, as it does with all except the French, the country is already occupied and named. The dominant race is the name giver, and in this country, except in restricted localities, that race has always been of British descent. The future historian of our ethnology may employ the resources of name dissection almost in vain in his attempt to ascertain the immense influence exerted on our civilization by two peoples—the Hebrews and the Italians. These are late comers, and above all, they have been urban in their habits. A few city streets may in the future betray their presence, but few examples will exist of names of cities and of villages; and of those of natural features, there will be hardly a trace.

When immigrants first arrived in this country they met what was in a large measure a new fauna and a new flora. Even many of the animals and the vegetation to which they had been accustomed in the British Isles must have appeared in a different guise in untamed America. One might naturally expect then that on the Atlantic seaboard they would commemorate in place names what was so new and striking. Such, in general, is not the case. The European, newly arrived, was prone to look upon himself as an exile, for one reason or another, and to attempt to bring back scenes and faces across the

sea by transferred names. The further west he penetrated however the more did he take nomenclatural cognizance of the fauna and the flora around him.

We are accustomed to read that the earliest colonists in Virginia found the cultivation of tobacco highly profitable, and other colonies were not slow in taking it up. In spite of this fact, however, the word enters into only four names in the United States, and of these one only is east of the Appalachians. It is perhaps best at this juncture to warn the reader that any exact number is apt to be contradicted by the next gazetteer. American nomenclature, especially on the cultural side, is not yet a fixed quantity. What seems to be an example of the attempt to retain English memories in this country is found in the occurrence of the word *heath* in the original thirteen colonies. Heather, the Scotch form for the name of the plant so beloved by the Scotchman, appears not to occur, and the English form, which may possibly be a personal name, fails to maintain itself in the West. The word *heath* of course has the other meaning of a cheerless tract of country. Our nearest approach to this meaning is found in some of the varied applications of the word *prairie*. The word is not found east of the Appalachians. This is not due to topography alone, for as it is a French word, it is but an example of French influence in the Mississippi Valley and of the racial struggle for nomenclatural supremacy of which more will be said later.

In English names the tree which occurs most frequently—over two hundred times—is the ash. In this country the number of *ash* derivatives is large, but the oak easily heads the list with some 180 names, while in England it is but a close second to the ash and about on a par with the thorn. In the latest and most complete gazetteer, the walnut occurs 53 times; the birch 9; hickory, 42; pine, 152; and the maple about 60 times. Roughly speaking, the forester could draw a tree map of the United States from the place names into which these trees enter. The small number of birch names is accounted for by its habit of growing in infertile, unsalubrious, and inconspicuous places and not by its rarity or by its lack of what we may call individual beauty. The pine occurs over the entire country. Its ever-green foliage attracts attention, and its lumber is an important

article of commerce. Hence its prevalence in our names. The occurrence of the oak in groves where homes might be established under its protection, its economic value, and the appeal of its sturdiness to an Anglo-Saxon people unite to make it head the list. The cottonwoods that line the banks of many of our streams have given us fifteen names. As a conspicuous tree along the natural channels of communication, it would have figured more frequently were it not for the tendency mentioned above of avoiding the immediate stream valley.

Cultivated plants occur, but infrequently as compared with those of natural growth. Wheat appears twenty-two times with other doubtful forms, while corn is found only three times, with one or two doubtful cases. If one may venture a reason for this striking difference in favor of the less widely grown cereal, it is probably to be found in the American sense of beauty so seldom exerted. Corn has found its singer in a celebrated American poet while wheat is yet to be worthily commemorated, but nevertheless few will deny that a wheat field of golden grain, billowing to the wind, is both a more conspicuous and a more beautiful sight than a cornfield.

When we turn from the flora to the fauna there are some striking similarities. What the American mind desired was the striking and the conspicuous. It found these qualities exemplified most abundantly in the elk; and in place names derived from animals *elk* leads with 119 entries. The smaller, less striking but more prevalent deer occurs only about 60 times, and perhaps some of these are personal names. The buffalo, because of his restricted haunts, figures about 45 times only, and part may be repetitions from Buffalo, New York. Panther occurs 6 times; duck, 20; squirrel, 5; coon, 9; raccoon, 14; and eagle about 60. But alas for "Brer Rabbit," he has been raised to gazetteer immortality but twice, while Oppossum Creek, Pennsylvania, alone promises to save the name of this uniquely American animal to posterity. "Mr. Possum" is altogether too shrinkingly modest and too sleepy to appeal to the sense of grandeur and of hustle which the American mind tries to express frequently in its nomenclature. The moose would have been a successful rival of the elk had its range been more extended. Place names into which it enters

occur quite frequently in the extreme northeast, and in Canada they abound. Another name that has sharply defined regional occurrence is the *antelope* which does not appear east of Kansas.

As a whole, in the United States there are not proportionately so many names drawn from the flora as in England. The settlers were more civilized with us, and their intellectual resources were wider. On the contrary, the number of names from animals is greater in this country. This apparent contradiction can be accounted for when we stop to consider the westward progress of our civilization. In the vanguard were men who were professionally interested in the animal life of the country, the hunters and the trappers. They gave many place names, naturally from those things which interested them most. Even when the permanent settler arrived, he was deeply interested in the game of the region, for it formed a large part of his food. These tendencies combined to produce the unusually large number of names derived from animals.

In addition to game, the settler, when he penetrated into the wilderness of the eastern half of the United States, had in corn his second staple of food. The numerous rivers that flow from the slopes of the Appalachian gave him a good chance to grind his corn, and mill sites were eagerly sought. One has but to glance at the strikingly large number of names derived from some form of the word *mill* to appreciate the profound influence upon civilization which the mill has exerted. *Lippincott's Gazetteer* has about 350 entries which belong to the civilization that has emanated from the British Isles. Some 300 of these names are American. Mill Creeks, Millstones, and Milltowns are in superabundance. Of course a large number of names into which the word enters are personal or repeated.

The Rambler along the eastern slope of the Appalachians is impressed with the eagerness with which every site for a small mill was seized and occupied by the first settlers. Now, in many cases, only a heap of stones marks their former location. They tell a stage in our civilization—the primitive days when steam was unutilized and when wheat and, above all, corn were not supplemented or supplanted by steam-borne foodstuffs from the end of the earth. In these days steam may create

a mill anywhere, producing lace or armor plate; but the majority of our *mill* names are in the region indicated, and the lesson is plain.

Outside the indication from *mill*, the status and the occupation of the American is shown but little. He had no fixed status. His curse, all too frequently, was that he had no occupation to which he gave the devotion of years. If this failed one year, why, then, next year that might be tried; or just as frequently he attempted several vocations at the same time. The natural result is that our country is singularly devoid of names indicating status or occupation. One has but to examine a European country which has passed through a feudal stage with fixed social classes to appreciate this. However, whatever else an American settler may have been he was too generally an agriculturist not to have left this on record. We accordingly find that *farmer* enters into almost one hundred names, some of course personal or repeated but many of direct occupational application.

When the settler was no longer a British subject and had progressed some distance in the development of American traits we find that his desire to reproduce British place names is dying. He does not, however, become quite the isolated provincial some critics have accused him of being. His interest in the great movements of international politics begins to show itself. It does not become prominent until after he has crossed the Appalachians and not until the nineteenth century. The interest in the great Napoleonic wars is shown in the occurrence of Waterloo twenty-one times. The large majority are in those states of the Middle-West where names were being most freely given from 1815 to about 1840. Only once, it is worth while to note, does the name occur west of Nebraska. As Waterloo (disputed derivation) is not Anglo-Saxon we feel sure that it is a direct echo of the famous battle and in no way indigenous. Some of these names may have been given by immigrants who had but newly arrived from Europe, however. The six Sedans are where one would chronologically expect them. When a name is apparently out of its proper geographical place, as the Sedan of West Virginia, it is almost always small, and in a place which, because of lack of easy

communication and of promise of economic importance, was settled late. Sebastopol (1854-55) perpetuates itself in California, Illinois, and Mississippi. Of the six Gladstones, only one is outside of Michigan on the east and North Dakota on the west and none south of the Mason and Dixon line. The American seized upon great names and great occurrences, but they soon passed from his attention.

Not only do great names of political significance interest him but literary ones also, and in one case they help us to read his political and perhaps his moral and his spiritual bias. Milton was in the case of the pioneer undoubtedly the best known of writers as witnessed by the large number of times his name occurs. Its prevalence as a place name points to the time at which the separation of the two great English speaking peoples occurred, but even more significantly does it indicate that the American people were in substantial sympathy with Puritanism and with the doctrine of liberty which he so effectively advocated. It is worthy of passing notice that the word *liberty* occurs seventy times in the United States and extremely infrequently in Canada, where *Milton* (as a Puritan and a poet) occurs comparatively as frequently as with us. Shakespeare fell into as complete obscurity with our name givers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as he did with the mass of British readers of parts of those periods. Lippincott gives but one entry for him, and that is in Ontario, Canada. Dickens occurs three times, with one entry for Pickwick. Scott appears frequently, but it is impossible to tell how many are personal and what percentage are directly due to Sir Walter; *Waverly*, *Ivanhoe* (6), *Rob Roy* (2), and *Lochinvar* in the proper chronological places point to his vogue however. Byron appears ten times to Tennyson's one. Browning is repeated five times, but almost assuredly some of them are not from the poet, and perhaps all. Where one would hardly suspect it, the settlers of the Middle-West and West had literary idols.

Poetry, even, occasionally occurs, the insistent call of the beautiful making itself heard in a hostile wilderness in spite of daily exhausting struggle for bread in the face of death. *New Hope*, *Lovelady*, *Loveland*, *Lovelocks*, *Peach Blow*, *Star*

of the West, and the name of many a wife or sweetheart point to a sense of romance and of poetry. It is significant of the development of the national mind that nearly all of these occur in the Mississippi Valley or west of it.

But the most insistent note in the life of the American pioneer, especially in those parts of the country where he came least into contact with the other European languages, and thus revealed himself most fully as a name giver, is that of tragedy. This ever present feeling of the uncertainty of their existence was more and more relieved as they spread westward by another striking quality of the American people, that is humor.

If one were required to point out specifically a few states in which most is revealed by place names of that which has characterized American pioneer life of by-gone days and remains the American spirit of the present, he would select Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming. When these states were occupied, our nation had become a fairly homogeneous people. It had settled the greatest question which had yet faced it. Those intangible influences which mould a nation had been at work long enough for the acquirement of a national spirit. Here the struggle for a footing has been keener than in any other part of the United States, since the days when it was finally decided at Jamestown and at Plymouth that in America the white man should dominate. The Indians of this territory were peculiarly powerful and savage. Nature showed herself in her most unrelenting moods of drouth, heat, and conquering cold. Froze to Death Creek, Killed Woman Creek, Skinned Man Gulch, No Water Creek, Hills where the Crows were Killed, Wounded Knee Creek, Dead Indian Creek,—these are but a few of the many names fraught with tragedy which occur in such abundance in these four states. Savage men and equally savage nature united to impress upon the settler the uncertainty of his fate. He seems to have met his enemies with humor, sometimes grim, which comes out in such names as Lou Lou Fork, Hell Gate River, Big Nose Geo's (village). He perpetuates his large tolerance (another form of his saving sense of humor) in such a name, for instance, as Glen('s) dive.

It is worthy of note that most of the names just given are of natural features, rather than of cultural ones. When a man names a town, he is frequently too deeply impressed with the gravity of the occasion and the future greatness of the teeming metropolis is all too apparent to him, but when he names a range of hills or some insignificant creek, he is his own natural self, altogether off his guard. The student then who desires to study the psychology of the American through his place names will do well to devote most of his time to the names of the natural features. Occasionally, however, the early settler must have been amused at his own grandiloquence. Ash Hill, Klondike, Siberia, Bagdad, Amboy, Bengal, Cadiz, and Siam on one stretch of railroad—not over forty miles in length in a parched, semi-tropical part of southern California—must have excited the amusement of the name givers.

The vastness of the continent and the remarkable speed with which it was occupied coupled with the tragic consequences of mistakes in distance has introduced into our nomenclature a system of names not found apparently in any other country—those names which indicate distance accurately. 88 Mile Post, 16 Mile Creek, 20 Mile Creek, and Nine Mile Valley are examples.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of the sense of peril in a new country and also of something not yet dealt with, the conflict of civilizations, occurs in northeastern Arizona in the Navajo and the Moqui Indian reservations. The majority of names which have established themselves in this country upon our best maps are Indian. Numerous springs are part Indian and part Anglo-Saxon, the generic part of the name (spring) being the latter. The country is arid, one might say a desert in former years. There was not a complete translation of the names, because often the American did not understand what the Indian word meant and it was not essential that he should; but it was often a matter of life and death in these sun-baked stretches that the term *spring*, a source of water supply, he fixed firmly in mind. There are several pools in this region without apparently in any case an Indian name prefixed. The Indians resorted to the primeval, unartificial

springs for water, but not to the pools. They directed the whites to the springs and gave them their specific names.

It has been pointed out that in England the names of large rivers are generally Celtic and only the smaller ones Teutonic. The cause underlying this has been in active operation here in America also. The majority of the names of our large rivers are taken from the Indians, the aboriginal inhabitants, as are also those of most of our states and a large number of mountains and mountain ranges. The American settler was above all concerned with the rivers as easy channels of travel when flowing in the right direction or great obstacles when not, as places where land was fertile and wood, water, and game plentiful. He inquired for them of the Indians, and long before he had ever seen them their Indian names were familiar and ready to be applied at sight. De Soto, for instance, heard of a "great river" (Cree *missi*, great and *sepe*, water or river) to the west. He translated the term (as has happened in the case of other rivers) into *Rio Grande*. The Indian name was re-established and fixed in the maps of the world by the French. The suffixion of the term *river* is one of those repetitions to be found in every country where one language has been supplanted by another. The river Wansbeck water in England, for instance, presents an agglomeration of four or possibly five repetitions. There is nothing quite so complicated in this country, for the number of supplanting languages has been much smaller; but repetitions arising through ignorance of the first language are on every hand. It is hardly worth while to note that the states received their names from the rivers rather than *vice versa*. Their borders were artificial, intangible, and unessential to the newcomers. As the pioneers moved westward they came ever into closer intellectual contact with the Indians and retained an increasing number of their names. Their enlarging understanding of the Indians led them in some cases to retain aboriginal names along beside their own, as in Planata Wakpa Ree or Grand River of South Dakota, for example. But into the conflict of languages, it is not the purpose of this article to enter minutely, involving as it does, such an amount of material, Indian, French, Spanish, and (in Alaska) Russian. The post office and the map tend powerfully

to preserve the spelling, and to some extent pronunciation. But this latter is daily departing more widely from the spelling, and in a short time, linguistically speaking, our names of non-Saxon origin seem destined to present some of the remarkable divorces between spelling and pronunciation that we associate with those of England.

By English authorities we have been accused of showing an inherent tendency towards the sordid and the ugly in our place names. Such interpretations are founded upon insufficient observation. Save perhaps in the eastern part of our country, American names are as vigorous, accurate, and picturesque, as well fitted to time, place, and people as are the names of probably any country, and certainly those of England. Repetitions there are in large numbers. But what country does not have them? The sordid and the ugly are all too prevalent, but no country has escaped. Historical, racial, and biotic accuracy and fullness, humor and pathos, the revelation of national ideals and aspirations—these necessary nomenclatural qualities our place names have in sufficient measure.

The Poetical Technique of Coleridge

GILBERT COSULICH

West Des Moines High School, Iowa.

Although Buffon has said that the style is the man himself, it shall be our endeavor to confine the present general study to manner rather than to matter. We will not quarrel with the poet's dejection nor with his extreme verbosity in expressing it: we will not even pause to trace the slow upward and downward slopes of his poetic power, with the too narrow crest between! Except for a smile, as we pass on, at the trite diction and the crowded epithets, let us be even technically lenient with his *juvenilia*. His *senilia* deserve less kindness. In youth, it was necessary that he write himself up: in age, it was decidedly not necessary that he write himself down.

Let us focus our attention on a few examples of his metrical skill; on some lines strikingly illustrative of his poetic excellences and shortcomings; and, lastly, on a number of passages that reveal his heavy debt to Shakespeare.

Coleridge was undoubtedly a master of prosody. He seems especially happy in his choice of line lengths to convey a mood. Witness the lyricism of the tetrameter couplets in the invocation at the conclusion of the first *Monody*, following as they do the slower pentameter verses:

O Spirit blest!
Whether th' eternal Throne around,
Amidst the blaze of cherubim,
Thou pourest forth the grateful hymn,
Or, soaring through the blest Domain,
Enrapturest Angels with thy strain,—
Grant me, like thee, the lyre to sound,
Like thee, with fire divine to glow—
But ah! when rage the Waves of Woe

We find perhaps even greater felicity in the "damsel with a dulcimer" passage near the end of *Kubla Khan*, where the vision within the vision is literally a gem inlaid by means of a shorter meter. Notice also the bird-like effect of the closing lines of Glycine's song in *Zapolya*:

Sweet month of May,
 We must away;
 Far, far away;
 To-day! to-day!

The opening simile in *Love's Apparition and Evanishment* and the dirge in the third act of *Osorio* furnish other instances of well-manipulated line movement. If we add to all this the rapid narrative lilt of the *Ancient Mariner* and the formal perfection of his odes, we shall need no further evidence of the poet's mastery of meter craft.

His phrasing is generally good. One could scarcely question the poetic quality of such lines as:

Force from Famine the caress of Love.
 O aged women! ye who weekly catch
 The morsel tossed by law-forced charity,
 And die so slowly, that none call it murder!

With heavy thump, a lifeless lump.

Listen to the echo in this:

GOD! let the torrents, like a shout of nations,
 Answer! and let the ice plains, echo, GOD!
Hymn before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamouni, 11. 58-59.

Then there is that epic peroration to the same poem:—

Rise, O ever rise,
 Rise like a cloud of incense from the Earth,
 Thou Kingly Spirit throned among the hills,
 Thou dread ambassador from Earth to Heaven,
 Great Hierarch! tell thou the silent sky,
 And tell the stars, and tell yon rising sun
 Earth, with her thousand voices, praises GOD.

Finally, we must not forget the fine Biblical flavor of *The Wanderings of Cain*:

And the innocent little child clasped a finger of the hand which had murdered the righteous Abel, and he guided his father . . .

I clomb a tree yesterday at noon, O my father, that I might play with them, but they leaped away from the branches, even to the slender twigs did they leap, and in a moment I beheld them on another tree . . .

Then the child Enos lifted up his eyes and prayed; but Cain rejoiced secretly in his heart.

But since Coleridge was not a poet of sustained power, we must be prepared for many lapses, only few of which we will stop to consider. In *Moriens Superstiti*, the dying man gazes on his wife, and is saddened at the thought of her approaching widowhood. Tender lines, these; far too tender to conclude with "Alas! I quit a life of pleasure." (But we forget: "pleasure" rimes with "treasure"!) *Christabel* is marred in the very beginning by at least three poor lines:

To—whit!—Tu—whoo.

Close on the heels of this excellent Mother Goose verse, follow two lines the unconscious childishness of which can hardly be matched in English poetry:

Is the night chilly and dark?
The night is chilly, but not dark.

When the offspring of Mathilda's genius bring rosebuds and fruit-blossoms as "quit-rent of their lodging," we wonder why the poet has failed to supply a notary to draw up the lease.

Coleridge was excessively fond of italics. As we have extended an amnesty in favor of *juvenilia*, we will not censure too severely that last line of Genevieve:

And *therefore* love I you, sweet Genevieve!

But twenty years later, when Coleridge was old enough to know better, in the fifty-line poem "To Two Sisters," he made use of this feminine device six times. In one line alone there are three italicized words:

So like you *they*, and so in *you* were seen.

This mannerism is so apparent that it were scarcely profitable to catalogue other instances. Finally, his translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* contains at least two very noticeable tonal slumps, brought about by the injudicious use of contractions. The plea of *causa metri* can scarcely be set up in defence of the following:

He'll not dance
To every tune of every minister.
It goes against his nature—he can't do it.

The Piccolomini I, iv., 28-30.

Or of this:

No! Here is yet
 Some frightful mystery that is hidden from me.
 Why does my sister shun me? *Don't* I see her
 Full of suspense and anguish roam about
 From room to room?—Art thou not full of terror?
The Death of Wallenstein I. xii. 1-5.

Besides such direct quotations as "Which patient Merit of the Unworthy takes" (*To a Young Ass*, line 12) and "'Tis pitiful, 'tis passing pitiful" (*Count Rumford*, line 8), the writings of Coleridge show the powerful influence of Shakespeare on the poet's thought and style. Let us consider a few instances.

His brow, like a pent-house, hung over his eyes.
 —*The Raven*, line 25.

(With your hat penthouse-like o'er the shop of your eyes.)
 —*Love's Labour Lost*, III. i. 17, (*circa*).

(Sleep . . . hang upon his pent-house lid)
 —*Macbeth*, I, iii. 20.

That strain again!
 —*The Nightingale*, line 90.

. . . That last strain dying . . .
 —*To a Gentleman*, line 48.

(That strain again, it had a dying fall.)
 —*Twelfth Night*, I. i. 4.

Then with a statue's smile . . .
 Stands the mute sister, Patience . . .
 —*Love, Hope, and Patience* in *Education*, lines 23-24.
 (She sat like Patience on a monument,
 Smiling at grief.)
 —*Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 117-8.

In the dramatic works of Coleridge are to be found a number of other examples. Othello's famous "Fool! fool! fool!" immortalized by Kean, is echoed in *Remorse*, II, i. 129. Laska's deliberation with his conscience, in *Zapolya*, is very similar to Launcelot Gobbo's:

Call this (*looking at the purse*)
 Preferment; this (*holding up the key*) Fidelity!
 And first my golden goddess: what bids she?
 * * * * *
 But what says the other? Whisper on! I hear you!
 * * * * *

. . . Then—yonder lies the road
 For Laska and his royal friend, King Emerick.
 —*Zapolya*, III. i. 66-83.

My conscience says, Launcelot, budge not: budge, says the fiend;
 budge not, says my conscience . . . I will run, fiend; my heels are
 at your commandment, I will run.—*Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 19-33
 (*circa*).

Coleridge handles the comparison of the two brothers in his
 chief drama, *Remorse*, much in the same way strongly remin-
 iscent of Hamlet's familiar "counterfeit presentment" speech.

I would call up before thine eyes the image
 Of my betrothed Alvar . . .
 his kingly forehead,
 . . . his commanding eye.
 . . . Place, place beside him
 Ordonio's dark perturbed countenance!
 —*Remorse*, IV. ii. 49-68.

Look here upon this picture . . .
 the front of Jove himself;
 An eye . . . to threaten and command.
 . . . Look you now what follows.
 —*Hamlet*, III. iv. 53-63.

There is still greater point of resemblance between *Remorse*
 and *Hamlet*. The incantation and the illuminated picture, de-
 signed to "rouse a fiery whirlwind in his conscience," is ob-
 viously patterned after Hamlet's play "to catch the conscience
 of the King." The murderer's terror and frenzied exit are
 both there.

A poet who began too early and finished too late, Coleridge
 stands responsible for more chaff than grain. Wherein he
 skimmed the empyrean, wherein his work is a mere exercise
 in versification, are questions that do not properly belong to a
 discussion of technique. Yet if we were forced to an estimate,
 we might well hesitate to rank with the very greatest poets of
 England a bard that so rarely reached or sustained the loftiest
 poetic heights.

BOOK REVIEWS

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY, 1877-1913. By Charles A. Beard.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

In common with most teachers of American history and government Professor Beard has found among students an astonishing amount of ignorance concerning the simplest facts of the history of the United States since the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. In order to remedy this deficiency, or at least to do away with the excuse that there is no comprehensive text-book on the subject, he has written this new work.

The book shows many of the features common to the other later products of Professor Beard's facile pen. It is brilliant, clever, and stimulating but shows undoubted signs of hasty preparation and is not always logical or clear in the arrangement of material. I fear that the first third of the book will prove difficult for the average student, but the author gains both in strength and clearness as he proceeds and the remainder of the work undoubtedly will not only show successful results in the class room but also more than overbalance the earlier deficiencies. One of the best chapters in the book is that devoted to "Imperialism" (chapter VIII) which gives a scholarly and able though brief treatment of the Venezuelan controversy in 1895 and of the Spanish War and the political and legal questions arising therefrom. The description of the process of "stock watering" (p. 229-237), the character sketch of the late Mark Hanna (p. 239-246) and the summary of Mr. Roosevelt's activities as President (p. 263-264) are masterly. Professor Beard is very tender in his treatment of Mr. Bryan, placing a higher estimate upon his ability and his political activities than do most scholars of today, but he is very fair toward Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt and President Wilson.

This book by no means is intended merely for text-book use but should prove even of more value to the general reader. Professor Beard rightly says:—"It is showing no disrespect to our ancestors to be as much interested in our age as they were in theirs; and the doctrine that we can know more about Andrew Jackson whom we have not seen than about Theodore

Roosevelt whom we have seen is a pernicious psychological error" (Preface, p. 6).

While no person will agree at all points with Professor Beard, especially in his more radical moments, yet the reader of this volume must feel that he owes the author a debt of gratitude for thus stimulating an intelligent interest in our national problems of the present day. The great regret is, that he did not delay the publication for six months or a year in order more thoroughly to work over and arrange his material and also to include yet one more chapter,—a chapter giving the author's judgment of the first year of President Wilson's administration.

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

Princeton University.

EUROPEAN DRAMATISTS. By Archibald Henderson. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 1913. 395 pp.

In the literature of our day the force of greatest energy is the drama. Its turn has come again. No literature—restricting the word to the forms in which art dominates—is essentially an inventor of new philosophic systems, or is exclusively charged with relating newly conceived truth to the conduct of life. Such dealing with the ideas which transform life has always been the function of literature in its widest possible sense, a definition including all serious communication of thought, from scientific treatise and philosophic speculation to leading article and popular lecture. But each literature, in the narrower and proper sense, which has possessed immediate or permanent validity has always reflected or illuminated the best thinking of its period. That is the case with the best contemporary drama. A book that seeks to offer an intelligent interpretation of this drama is therefore welcome; doubly welcome if it can stimulate a desire for significant American drama: for America holds as yet no rank in drama. Welcome to a book obviously does not imply complete acceptance of doctrine; it does imply recognition of sincerity and of ability.

Professor Henderson has written a book full of ideas and faults,—far fewer faults than ideas. In the main the faults

are those of expression, so far as these can be distinguished from faults of thought. To deal with these matters at once:—The reader of the opening paragraph of the essay on Strindberg, although he would acknowledge his complete error on reading the whole essay, might well be excused if he deemed the writing to be that form of sheer dulness which is so thinly disguised by sensationalism. I quote the first three sentences:

The supreme goal of the great literature of our era has been and remains the expression, in some form of final artistic denotement, of the struggle of the ego at self-realization. This recurrent note in the eternal symphony of life rings out again and again in the authentic, harmonic intuitions of the supermen of contemporary thought, philosophy and art. This dionysian searching after the divine in the human, this headlong struggle for the exaltation of the individual soul to the heights of superhuman conquest and super-moral ethics, is the sign-manual of the dæmonic dissonance and spiritual chaos of to-day.

Doubtless this is defensible, but an advocate does well not to put himself immediately on the defensive. In order to test the statement fairly, the reader inclines to translate it into less jewelled phrase (will this serve?)—"a constantly recurring note in the great writing of today, and one that is characteristic of the confused ideals of our time, is the insistence on self-realization." Transposed into this lower key, the statement perhaps does not challenge objection. Florid sentences of the kind adduced appear with some frequency; a rigorous pen should strike through them. Other faults of style annoy a sympathetic reader: a rather precise use of adjectives (clamant, riant, larymoyant, for example); the throwing of a qualification into an illogical adverb ("*Salome* belongs erotically to the school of" for "belongs to the erotic school of"); and the unnecessary sprinkling of French words. Proof-reader's errors are too frequent (Mirabeau for Mirbeau is unfortunate) and other small slips occur. One lays stress on these various carelessnesses, for the simple reason that the author has good things to say and in future books may say them more acceptably by realizing that over-emphasis is not emphatic.

The book contains six essays, those on Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Wilde, and Shaw having appeared in a volume now out of print. The essay on Barker has appeared in a periodical;

that on Strindberg is new. So far as real importance is concerned, an essay on Hauptmann might have replaced the one on Wilde, since Wilde can in no serious sense be counted a positive force in modern thought. As is natural, in view of the writer's authority as biographer of Bernard Shaw, the essay on Shaw is the most valuable of the group. The chapter summarizing Shaw's early career is admirable, both in substance and in statement. The discussion of Shaw's significance, less as playwright than as disseminator of ideas in dramatic form, is sound at bottom and usually lucid. In the discussion, however, of Shaw's campaign of disillusionment (pp. 351-354), the logical reader fails either through lack of clearness in the essayist's interpretation or through inherent weakness of the position assumed, to be convinced that the chosen position is tenable. "Shaw sees that progress is possible only through the persistent discovery of mistaken conceptions of life and of society." Therefore he fights against "those individual and social illusions—treacherous, ensnaring, destructive,—" such, for instance, as "romance" (*Man and Superman*), "duty" (*Candida*), "subsidized religion" (*Major Barbara*). Well and good: the validity of the conceptions is a perennial subject for attack and defence. But Shaw's fight "is not against the optimistic and progressive illusions, those indispensable modes of cloaking reality which possess the power to awake man's helpful interest and to inspire his best efforts." What may these illusions be? Those of socialism, it appears; the illusions that "the laborer is always a model of thrift and sobriety, while the capitalist is a tyrant, an assassin, and a scoundrel!" If this indeed be Shaw's position, what does the whole controversy boil down to but the well-worn notion that orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy the other man's doxy? If the distinction, however, lies in using an illusion in full knowledge of its character, and in being slave to an illusion in ignorance, then the point should have been made absolutely clear.

The pages on Strindberg possess more novelty than those on Ibsen, of course, but the latter essay is a better example of presentation. Ibsen's fundamental ideas lend themselves more readily to detached statement and analysis than do Strind-

berg's; all the more reason for doing Strindberg the service done to Ibsen. The essay on Oscar Wilde is clear and temperate; that on Maeterlinck sympathetic, although the essayist misses the point, in large part, of the ingenious and delightful self-satire in *Ardiane et Barbe Bleu*. The brief concluding essay on Granville Barker is excellent. The whole book indicates thought that lacks a little of matureness, quick perception not tested with enough revising keenness, and enthusiasm for the strong and the fine that is laudable indeed.

MARTIN W. SAMPSON.

Cornell University.

THE KING'S COUNCIL IN ENGLAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By James Fosdick Baldwin. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1913,—xv, 559 pp.

This noteworthy volume is the result of painstaking research, which has occupied the vacations of its author for the past ten years. By these labors he has rendered a much needed service to students of English constitutional history. Professor Baldwin has undertaken to trace the history of the council from its inception under the Norman and Angevin kings to the emergence of the Privy Council under the Tudors. Manifestly he was unable to follow the "history of the *curia* in all its wide and general bearings" (p. 5). He has, therefore, contented himself with describing the manner in which the various law courts and the earlier executive departments were differentiated from the council, without attempting to trace their subsequent development. Naturally he has given little space to parliament after additions from without the council were made to the legislature. Professor Baldwin agrees with the view held by most recent historians "that the king's council was never a specially created institution, and at no time during the middle ages did it lose its original character as a single controlling organ in the state (p. 209). The merit of his book lies in the fact that he has worked out in detail the manner of the divergence from the council of the various executive and judicial institutions that naturally arose to meet the needs of a society that was becoming more varied in its interests and more com-

plex in its organization. This task was obviously beset with difficulty, since the mediæval ruling classes seldom made conscious attempts to organize the governmental machine so as to adapt it to existing needs. And when separate organizations began to emerge the men who composed them usually retained their places as members of the council. For these reasons it is never possible to fix a definite point of beginning for the separate organization of the various executive and judicial branches of the mediæval English government. And in many cases the council retained a nominal jurisdiction long after the special functions had been assigned to separate organizations.

The book includes illuminating chapters on "The Jurisdiction of the Council," "The Antiquities of the Council," "The Records of the Council," and "The Councillors in Relation to the King and to One Another." At the end of the volume are four appendices. The first three contain reprints of various documents relating to the history of the council in the period from the reign of Edward I to that of Henry VI. The fourth appendix contains a critical and descriptive bibliography of the sources and authorities which the author has used. The book also includes ten facsimiles of typical documents illustrating the history of the council.

Professor Baldwin's work will probably for some time to come be the standard authority on the phase of English constitutional history with which he has dealt. Specialists may find in it now details which deserve criticism, and students will doubtless correct other details in the future. But Professor Baldwin has blazed a way which no subsequent student of the history of the council can afford to ignore and has, therefore, rendered a permanent service to students of English constitutional history. One cannot help wishing, however, that the author had been able to present his conclusions in a somewhat more attractive style. His expression is too often indirect, and his sentences are frequently clumsy. It is to be regretted that a book which has such solid merits and which must be widely used could not have been made more readable.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

THE ENGLISH LYRIC. By Felix E. Schelling. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—335 pp.

Professor Schelling's treatment of the lyric is the latest addition to "The Types of English Literature," under the general editorship of Professor William A. Neilson. It is high praise to say that it conforms to the standard already established by this series of studies. Professor Schelling's book is both scholarly and entertaining; it appeals, therefore, to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

What appears to be the chief fault of the study is probably to be ascribed wholly to the nature of the subject. The author has a more difficult task than most of his colleagues have had; he is dealing with a class of literature which has never been satisfactorily defined, and which is obviously very elusive of accurate definition. Every reader thinks of certain individual poems as lyrical, and every reader has in mind a few vaguely defined qualities which he expects to find embodied in a so-called lyric. There is serious difficulty, however, in framing a definition of *lyric* which will serve as a criterion for the practical purpose of selection and differentiation. This difficulty Professor Schelling is at no pains to conceal. The gist of his definition is as follows: "The primary conception involved in the term 'lyric' has always to do with song; and it is the song-like quality of the lyric that falls most conspicuously into contrast with the epic or telling quality of narrative verse . . . In the lyric the individual singer, emerges conspicuous in the potency of his art . . . With the lyric subjective poetry begins." To provide for the inclusion of dramatic lyrics Professor Schelling adds that "a poet may succeed at times in projecting his personality—so to speak—into the person of another and speak and feel unerringly as that person speaks and feels. This power . . . is usually called dramatic instinct; but in so far as it is poetic it is really lyrical, that is, wholly subjective." This definition, which lays stress on the "song-like quality" and subjectivity succeeds as well apparently as other recent definitions of the lyric, offered by Professor E. B. Reed and Mr. Ernest Rhys, each of whom has brought out a book on the English lyric. But Professor Schelling's definition is hazy; he himself finds it unreliable in crucial moments. He, therefore,

refers to some poems dubiously if not apologetically. This lack of assurance becomes less noticeable after he reaches the period of the Renaissance, when the lyric emerges as a recognizable independent form. As late, however, as the Victorian period he is still occasionally beset with doubt; in the case of Tennyson "we are confronted with the increasing difficulty of preserving a clear line of demarcation" (p. 197). Such candor is preferable to inflexible dogmatism; but it leads to the conclusion that exact definition and classification are still a desideratum.

The elasticity of definition compels the author to include most of the writers of English verse, whom he discusses chronologically. *The English Lyric* becomes, therefore, a series of appreciative essays. In characterizing individual poets and the various movements in the development of English poetry, Professor Schelling exhibits an enviable critical judgment, an excellent sense of proportion, and an uncommon faculty of accurate, vigorous expression. Even when dealing with topics that have become hackneyed from frequent treatment he manages to impart the effect of newness. There is hardly a period in the history of English poetry upon which these brief, brilliant characterizations do not throw new light.

C. A. MOORE.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE STUARTS, 1607-1688. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 1914. Pp. xi, 271.

The historiography of colonial Virginia is never concluded. The disclosure of new documents and letters, the reprinting of legislative documents, and new editions of rare tracts and books have come to be matters of routine rather than of novelty. During the past generation long cherished traditions concerning Jamestown have been swept away and conceptions of industrial and social life have been greatly altered. Everyone who has made acquaintance with the voluminous literature relating to these matters must have noted the absence of a reliable narrative of political history based on the new as well as the older sources. This gap has been filled by Mr. Wertenbaker; he has written a clear, concise, political history of Virginia from 1607 to 1688. The centre of interest is always the

events in the colony rather than its relations with the English government or its institutional development.

The distinctive feature of the book is the use of sources. The first two chapters which bring the narrative to the dissolution of the London Company, are based almost entirely on the works of Alexander Brown and Arber's edition of John Smith. In chapter III, which is devoted to the administration of Harvey, considerable use is made of manuscripts in the British Public Record Office. In chapter IV, "Governor Berkeley and the Commonwealth," the drift is back to published sources, notably Hening's Statutes. Finally, in Chapter V, which considers Bacon's Rebellion, the sources most used are again manuscript records in English, and they are also the basis for the remaining three chapters of the book. Thus is achieved a paradox, almost a heresy among contemporary writings on American colonial history, a book limited strictly to events within a colony whose sources are mainly manuscript in English archives. So unique an achievement must be commended, especially as the narrative is readable as well as authoritative. The appreciative reader will close the volume with a desire for a similar study of political conditions in the colony during the eighteenth century.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

A HISTORY OF MUHLENBERG COUNTY, KENTUCKY. By Otto A. Rothert, Louisville, John P. Morton & Co., 1913,—xvii, 496 pp.

For a number of reasons Mr. Rothert's work deserves commendation. The removal of the Durett collection from Louisville to Chicago last year was a great blow to the study of local history in Kentucky; but this volume is evidence that the cause still has possibilities within the state, and that it survives adversity. Legends and traditions of the people, genealogical data, remains, county and state archives still exist and can never be transferred,—and among these Mr. Rothert has found his sources. The author's style is superior to that of the average local historian, and the mechanical work of the publishers is attractive and well done.

There are, however, serious limitations to the book. These are best summarized in the introduction. "The records of the

county and circuit courts from the beginning have been preserved in the court house at Greenville, and in all probability will always be preserved. I have therefore made no attempt to write a history based principally on these ever-available records, but have confined my work as much as possible to collecting the now vanishing traditions and to presenting the less available material." Now there is need for the investigation of local history in Kentucky and elsewhere based on these records as much as traditions—for surveys of economic development, social and religious conditions, political parties, transportation, and government which will correlate the past and the present. For instance, one wonders what light the court records might give on slavery and its incidents in Muhlenberg, where the anti-slavery sentiment was strong; what the records might tell of early industry such as mills and manufactures, and of the customs and manners of the people. Moreover in Mr. Rothert's work there is no chapter upon political parties and campaigns, although the county gave to the nation one leader of national reputation, Simon Bolivar Buckner. The volume is therefore a contribution to the history of Muhlenberg County rather than a well rounded work.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

GEORGE HAMILTON PERKINS, COMMODORE, U. S. N. HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. By Carroll Storrs Alden. With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914—xii, 302 pp. \$1.50 net.

The career of Commodore Perkins was unusually venturesome and picturesque. He served with Admiral Farragut in some of the most notable engagements of the Civil War. In the battle of Mobile Bay he played a most conspicuous part as commander of the monitor "Chickasaw." His courage was also tested at the taking of New Orleans. After the war Commodore Perkins held important commands in the United States and cruised extensively in the Far East. Throughout his naval service he had the habit of writing frequent letters home in which he relates in a spontaneous and straightforward way the events of war and the adventures of travel. Dr. Alden, his

biographer, gives us generous extracts from these letters, and has constructed from this and general historical material a most readable narrative of the life of a gallant officer and gentleman. The volume is provided with a number of appropriate illustrations.

MEMOIRS OF LI HUNG CHANG. Edited by William Francis Mannix. With an Introduction by Hon. John W. Foster. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—xxvii, 298 pp. \$3.00 net.

ANNALS AND MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PEKING. FROM THE 16TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY. By E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—x, 531 pp. \$4.00 net.

China in transition has of late become China in confusion. The leaven of Western ideas working in Oriental minds has caused a great ferment but as yet has resulted in no sound and wholesome product. The Chinese Republic, received with optimism and good will into the family of nations, has disappointed the hopes of its friends and sunk into chaos and disruption. The volumes under review bring much light to one who would understand what has happened.

The more readable volume of the two is the "Memoirs of Li Hung Chang." He was the greatest Chinaman of modern times, distinguished as a man of letters, a soldier, a statesman, and a diplomat. Throughout most of his long lifetime he played a great part in the relations of China with Europe and America. His diary is interesting in its revelation of the broadening effect upon a superior Oriental mind of contact with foreigners in China and in their own countries. From suspicion and dislike he grew to a large measure of admiration and appreciation. Yet he remained none the less an Oriental. The many expressions in the memoirs of his views and personality are hardly second in interest to the account of China's foreign relations.

The "Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking" is a presentation of Chinese records of high value and significance from the time of the rise of the Manchu power about the middle of the sixteenth century down to the present. If one asks why the Chinese Republic has failed, here is an illuminating

answer. This record of the intrigue, corruption, brutality, and debauchery of the Manchu court, this revelation of Oriental psychology, make clear the underlying causes of the failure of Western constitutional government among the former subjects of the Dragon Throne.

W. H. G.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Houghton Mifflin Company have just published "Confederate Portraits," by Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. The men studied in this volume are Johnston, Stuart, Longstreet, Beauregard, Benjamin, Stephens, Toombs, and Semmes. Readers of "Lee the American" will welcome this new work by the brilliant Massachusetts essayist and biographer. It will be reviewed in a later number of the *QUARTERLY*. \$2.50 net.

Henry Holt and Company have begun the publication of a quarterly journal called the *Unpopular Review*. Its articles appear unsigned. The new journal presents positive views vigorously and entertainingly. It makes a specialty of attacking and exposing what it considers vulnerable beliefs and institutions. Many distinguished contributors are announced, and the public may be informed as to the names of writers in the issue following the appearance of their articles.

The *Nation* of March 12th announced the retirement from its editorship of Mr. Paul Elmer More. He will continue as advisory editor. Mr. More has been succeeded as editor by Mr. Harold deWolf Fuller, who has since 1910 been the assistant editor. In the future the *Nation* plans to broaden its appeal

to readers by giving more extended treatment to such fields as foreign correspondence, the drama, contemporary poetry, the non-competitive sports, and the progress of science. The many admirers of this standard journal will observe the development of the new policy with keen interest.

The United States Senate has recently published as a public document a report on "Government Ownership of Electrical Means of Communication." This report was prepared under the direction of Postmaster General Burleson by First Assistant Postmaster General Daniel C. Roper, M. O. Chance, and J. C. Coombs of the Postoffice Department. It presents the result of an investigation of government ownership of the telegraph and telephone in a large number of foreign countries. The report has been the subject of much public discussion.

The Harvard University Press has recently published "The History of the Grain Trade in France, 1410-1700" by Dr. Abbott Payson Usher, Instructor in Economics in Cornell University. The book is a significant study of the first steps in the evolution of trade from limited local markets to a wholesale marketing of the world's staple commodities. The story of the French grain trade during the period treated shows a growth of wholesale market organization, with an accompanying development of national and local policies in regulation of this trade that makes it an illuminating chapter in the larger history of European commerce and trade.

An out-of-the-ordinary book published by Doubleday, Page and Co. is "Crowds" by Gerald Stanley Lee. Mr. Lee calls his work a moving picture of democracy. The volume is having a large sale. Mr. Lee makes an effort to give form to an ideal which he thinks will rescue humanity from the products of too much gregariousness. His book is divided into five sections entitled: "Crowds and Machines," "Letting the Crowd Be Good," "Letting the Crowd be Beautiful," "Crowds and Heroes," "Good News and Hard Work." \$1.35 net.



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Volume XIII

Number 3

The
**South Atlantic
Quarterly**

EDITED BY
W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

JULY, 1914

CONTENTS

RURAL LAND SEGREGATION BETWEEN THE WHITES AND NEGROES: A REPLY TO MR. STEPHENSON	207
CLARENCE POE	
THE AMERICAN PEGASUS	213
JOHN LAURENCE McMASTER	
INCOME TAX DISCRIMINATION AND DIFFERENTIATION	220
ROY G. BLAKEY	
DANTE AND HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE ENGLISH POETS.	233
WILLIAM A. WEBB	
SOME IRISH PLAYS AND SOCIAL SKETCHES	248
ELBRIDGE COLBY	
LINCOLN'S INTERVIEW WITH JOHN B. BALDWIN	260
WILMER L. HALL	
THE FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY FUND	270
WILLIAM K. BOYD	
THE SHAPE OF THE FIRST LONDON THEATRE	280
T. S. GRAVES	
BOOK REVIEWS	283
NOTES AND NEWS	297

DURHAM, N. C.

Founded by the "9019" of Trinity College

Entered May 8, 1902, as second-class matter, Postoffice at Durham, N. C.
Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Published at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., by the
South Atlantic Publishing Company

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

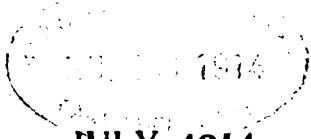
Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

JANUARY, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Cities.....	<i>Gilbert T. Stephenson</i>
Popular Etymology.....	<i>Reed Smith</i>
August Strindberg: Universalist.....	<i>Archibald Henderson</i>
The Return to Objectivism in Poetry.....	<i>H. Houston Peckham</i>
The Effect of Scientific Management on Wages.....	<i>Roland Hugins</i>
William Garrott Brown.....	<i>William P. Few</i>
The Masters of Modern French Criticism.....	<i>Edwin Mims</i>
Book Reviews.....	
Notes and News.....	

APRIL, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Rural Communities in North Carolina.....	<i>Gilbert T. Stephenson</i>
The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers.....	<i>Charles Lee Raper</i>
Vital Statistics in North Carolina.....	<i>Mabel Parker Massey</i>
New Greek Literature.....	<i>Charles W. Peppler</i>
The Federal Reserve Act of 1913.....	<i>D. D. Wallace</i>
Sidney Lanier.....	<i>Frank W. Cady</i>
Some Aspects of American Place Names.....	<i>Earl L. Bradsher</i>
The Poetical Technique of Coleridge.....	<i>Gilbert Cosmick</i>
Book Reviews.....	
Notes and News.....	



Volume XIII

JULY, 1914

Number 3

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Rural Land Segregation Between Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson

CLARENCE POE

Editor of *THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER*

In the April issue of the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, my friend, Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, presents some objections to the plan for land segregation between the races that I have been advocating and which was unanimously endorsed by the last meeting of the North Carolina State Farmers' Union.

Let me say in the outset that I am glad to read the discussion by Mr. Stephenson, and I am glad to consider the criticisms others have made, taking all in a spirit of open-minded searching after truth, for in the language of old Marcus Aurelius, "If any man can show me that I do not think or act aright, I will gladly change, for I seek only the truth by which no man was ever injured."

And yet I must say that nearly a year of discussion and criticism have only convinced me of the essential soundness of the plan I first formally outlined last August, namely:

"That wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race a majority of the voters in such a district should have the right to say, if they wish, that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race—provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners."

The proposition, in fact, looks rather to white segregation than negro segregation, providing only that where negroes cease to become laborers or renters and become independent land-owners working for themselves, they should buy land in

communities to themselves—or at least apart from those communities which are, and wish to remain, predominantly white.

Seven reasons I have given for favoring the plan may also be briefly repeated:

1. Because it is necessary to give our white farmers and their families a satisfying social life.
2. Because it will insure them greater safety and protection.
3. Because it will give both races better schools, churches, and all the agencies of a richer community life.
4. Because it will open the way to both races for rural co-operation and co-operative enterprises—work in which it is almost impossible for whites and blacks to work together successfully.
5. Because it will improve moral conditions in the relations of the races.
6. Because it will give the rural South what it most sorely needs—a greater proportion of white people, (1) by stopping the crowding out of the white farmers by negroes, and (2) by providing all-white communities such as white people from other sections will be willing to move into.
7. Because ambitious young white men will then be willing to go into these all-white communities as tenants, work and save, and become good farmers and good citizens, whereas they are unwilling to go into mixed communities and compete with negro tenants.

As to the question why a law is needed, instead of leaving the whole matter to be settled by public opinion, that is also quickly answered. We need a law (1) so as to let each race know definitely its own bounds and therefore better respect the rights of the other race; and (2) to protect white communities from the white landlord who lives away from the community and doesn't care how many negroes he sells land to—simply because he doesn't have to live among them himself and doesn't care about anybody else's condition.

Now let us consider briefly the objections that have occurred to Mr. Stephenson. I appreciate his frankness in saying—perhaps the country's foremost student of race distinctions in law as he is—that the question of constitutionality need not now be discussed. For he says “if rural segregation after the

plan suggested is right in principle, then it will be possible to frame a statute that will conform to constitutional limitations."

The chief point at which I have been misunderstood and the chief point at which Mr. Stephenson misunderstands me is in my attitude toward the negro—the motive of this land segregation movement. I hope I shall never be classed with the bitter or destructive type of "negro agitators". My whole aim in this matter has been to develop a constructive policy for the help of the white man and not a destructive policy to the hurt of the negro. If I know my own heart I would not be unjust to the negro. For the Shylocks and vultures of our own race who fatten financially upon his ignorance and weakness I have nothing but the utmost contempt and loathing. For all who would oppress him and keep him in peonage I have no shadow of sympathy. I believe in helping the negro and in being just to him.

But—and here comes the rub—I also believe in helping and being just to the working white man of the South whose ancestors through centuries of toil wrought out the civilization which we enjoy—the civilization, moreover, to which the negro himself owes the very peace, safety and prosperity he enjoys. And years of earnest study have convinced me that all in all the handicapped man, the disadvantaged man, in the rural South today is not the negro, but the laboring white man who must compete industrially with a race with lower living standards and whose white social life is impoverished if not imperilled by the universal sandwiching of white and negro homes. This is the situation that confronts us. The negroes not only have an advantage over the white farmer in that they are able to buy land and make crops on a scale of living, clothing, and housing that the respectable white farmer and his family cannot meet, but the negroes have the additional advantage that where negroes begin to outnumber the whites, or are of bad character, the whites may be forced to surrender the whole community to the negroes because there is no longer an adequate white social life or else for reasons of safety. This has happened in thousands of cases.

Let us consider conditions briefly. Booker Washington himself boasts that in every southern state east of the Mis-

Mississippi, except Florida, the percentage of negroes on the farms is increasing: the negroes are gaining on the whites proportionately and rural districts are becoming blacker instead of whiter. Moreover, not only are the rural sections of the South getting blacker instead of whiter but the negroes are gaining most rapidly in farm ownership, 17 per cent. gain in negro ownership to 12 per cent. in white, while—most sinister fact of all—it is the white farmers who are fastest becoming a tenant class (188,000 gain in white tenants or 27 per cent. and only 118,000 gain in negro tenants or 21 per cent.)

Now, if the negroes were gaining this advantage by virtue of a superior character and civilization, we should have no word of protest. But they are not. They are gaining chiefly because they are nearer the savage stage of man's development—because they will live in shabbier houses, eat meaner food, wear dirtier clothes, than men will do among whom the living standards of a white civilization are maintained—and because new negro landowners crowd in among white farm families in districts without police protection, and thus frequently force these white farmers to move away. It's an unfair advantage—that is, if we assume that the white man has a right to protect his civilization—and I say that simply as a matter of fairness to the white man and not of unfairness to the negro, the best thought of the South should be given to working out a remedy. We should give a reasonable proportion of rural white communities, communities owned by our white farmers and their families, the right to segregate themselves, the right to say (under reasonable restrictions) that no more land in such communities should be sold to negroes—or else some other solution must be found.

When our recent Southern Sociological Congress in Nashville had speaker after speaker benevolently discussing "Hindrances to Negro Progress" while no man said a word about "Hindrances to White Progress", I could not help but think this: Suppose a million Chinese or Japanese had come into California, and they were gaining on the whites in every farming county, running the white farmers out by their lower living standards and their undesirability as neighbors: would you have a white Californians' conference discussing "Hind-

rances to the Yellow Man's Progress?" Or would they be looking after the preservation of their own white civilization, as they have shown themselves so abundantly able to do?

Here in the South today we actually face just such conditions as I have imagined for California. Despite individual cases of injustice and unfair dealing, therefore, I repeat that our really handicapped man is not the negro, who, suddenly emerging from African barbarism has become heir to the most advanced civilization in the most favored portion of the whole earth, and by his lower living standards is able to outdo the white man in getting possession of the land. No, indeed; the negro is no more the handicapped man here than the Chinese or Japanese would be in California if they had come over by the millions and were free to live and work and buy land without let or hindrance.

The only man in the South today whose civilization and whose future are really imperilled—mark my words—is the small white farmer and white workingman.

And yet when I try to make this plain and call for some remedy, I am denounced as an "agitator". The great trouble is that our leaders of thought, our intellectually and politically dominant white classes, themselves sit at perfect ease in segregated portions of our towns and cities, and never have occasion to think of the negro other than as a servant—never as a competitor. And their humbler white brethren out on the farms and in the shops and factories who are fighting the hard battles of the race and of a sorely pressed civilization are too often dismissed as being only "poor white trash", while benevolent people overflow with sympathy for the supposedly downtrodden negro.

So much for Mr. Stephenson's criticism of my general proposition. The burden of his argument is that it would be unjust to the negro. My purpose has been to show that it is not proposed in any way as a matter of taking advantage of the negro, but only as a plan for equalizing advantages for the white man.

I am aware that Mr. Stephenson also urges a number of minor objections to my plan, and I wish I had space now to discuss these objections; but a misunderstanding as to the time this issue of *THE QUARTERLY* would go to press has left me

only with opportunity for the general presentation of my subject. I do not believe, however, that the objections urged by Mr. Stephenson are serious, and in the October QUARTERLY I may discuss them in detail.

The American Pegasus

JOHN LAURENCE McMASTER

We are all familiar, even those of us who have not followed Saunders through the delightful mazes of early English pleading, with the ingenious defense of the worthy dame as recorded in the celebrated case of the borrowed bowl. Her triumph of mind over matter as stated in the pleadings was, first, that she had never borrowed the bowl; second, that it was cracked when she borrowed it; and third, that she returned it whole. We have too much respect for the proprieties of Mt. Olympus to attempt to confound poetry with the law, yet we cannot but fear that something like the same inconsistent but surprisingly convincing logic will be hurled by some future literary iconoclast at what we are pleased to term American poetry. We can even see the props fall from under our localized Parnassus as it is stated that, first, we never had an American Pegasus; that, second, such as it was it was English when we got it; and that, third, it was never a winged horse anyhow but only a plain, uncultured *jackass*. And the sad fact about such irreverent logic will be the melancholy conclusion that the premises are more or less true.

From this, however, it must not be understood that the American Pegasus is in any sense a pack-horse. Far from it, for America is nowhere more sincere than in her artistic consciousness and nowhere more removed from blatant commercialism. Whatever else their limitations, our Homers can never be accused of being bread-and-butter poets. We have outgrown the traditional idea of the long-haired poet, yet we still mentally place him in the attic of affluence. As a result, few American singers depend for bread on song alone, and to their credit, few have traded their lyres for a pot of porridge. No, our Pegasus has never been made to serve as a pack-horse—he may have been starved, but he has never been overworked.

The fact must be admitted, however, that in spite of some excellent traditions and some splendid attempts, there remains in the last analysis but little real American poetry, except of the school-boy type, and that little, unlike the widow's cruse of

oil, is not conserved from day to day but ever is diminished. The present generation has witnessed the New England School tumbled from the ranks of artistic greatness into the depths of poetic mediocrity, and with their passing has gone the larger portion of what we had hitherto considered our poetic accomplishments. The hectic Poe and the disputed Whitman are still left to bear the burden of our song; but the motif and the work of the former are too morbid in tone to cast much of brightness on the open record, and the latter remains in the face of keener criticism the unknown quantity of our poetic problem. There is hope, of course, for a poet who is enthused over in France, discussed at length in England, and neglected like the prophets in his own country; but until the present Muse determines whether she wishes her poetry served with or without the conventional limitations it will be impossible to assign Whitman his permanent niche in the temple of the gods.

Turning to the present, one is tempted to conclude that if the blow from the hoof of Pegasus failed to produce much of a Hippocrenean spring in the past, it will take a veritable hydraulic pump to produce much of a flow in the future. While it is recognized that much of the poetry of the day does not find expression in magazine form, it must be admitted that the magazines serve as the official mouth-piece of poetry at large. Accordingly, the present situation is well summed up, if ironically, in the favorite words of the average rejection slip—"we print very little poetry." Examination of the average magazine makes the casual reader wonder why this limitation. If they candidly admitted that they printed no poetry, few would be fain to deny it, and fewer still would rise up in defence of the matter that is masqueraded under that alluring guise. Coleridge in his day lamented that "the intelligible forms of ancient poets * * * have vanished; they live no longer in the faith of reason." Were he alive today, he would dispute honors with Jeremiah. The conception of present-day art seems to be entirely misconception and mysticism. Homer never sang an unintelligible language nor did his hearers ever need a course in poetic interpretation to enable them to unravel his meaning from the measure of his melody; but even Homer, the father of song, would be nonplussed by our vague singing.

Heaven only grant that no Baconian-Shakespearean controversy arise over the poetry of the present, for in that dire event disputants will be able to find or not to find all the knowledge of the past, present, and future hid in the measures of our verse. Historians will gravely point to the American *vers libre* as another example of the dangers of an unrestrained democracy exemplified in the imagination.

But defenders of the faith assert that we are yet in the infancy of our literary career. It must be so. For if this be not the milk-and-water stage of its existence, then American poetry must have developed an early case of utter senility. True, it has none of the naturalness that characterizes the infant: it has none of the sturdiness which abounded in its English cousin who sang lustily even though crudely while he was yet in the swaddling clothes of an undeveloped language. But the explanation sounds reasonable and serves to explain why there are so few male singers in the choir innumerable. Stedman, it will be remembered, referred to the Scotch critic who spoke of "the plague of American poetesses," and while Stedman evidently feared the plague too much to attempt to justify the criticism, he did admit that "our daughters of song are more numerous than those of England and some of them * * * have very thin voices." However, in view of the circumstances, it is a happy situation and our magazines have acted wisely, thoughtfully, and maternally in tying our infant poetry to the apron-strings of the weaker-voiced sex. None but the gentle feminine mind *sans* suffragism *sans* eugenics could rightly care for it. For with reference to them, Stedman goes on to state that "the morale of their verse is elevating; it fluently adapts itself to the conventions of the day." It is comforting to note that this still holds true. It is consoling to know that the child is in such careful hands. In this degenerate age, we do not always subscribe to the "conventions," but like the average man Heaven knows we want our literary children to be better than their father.

However, this domestic arrangement of the American Homer has tended to such a condition of feminism that we have few male singers left and the rich soprano of American lyricism is sadly in want of the sturdy *de basso profundo* to

give background to its tonal sweetness. It is true we have any number of "rising young poets." Reviewers have a happy faculty of discovering them weekly and monthly, but somehow or other they never stay discovered. Perhaps it is because they have continued to rise to higher things than writing verse in competition with their sisters of the sonnet, or perhaps it is because alarmed at their own male conspicuousness they drop to the seclusion of some less artistic pursuit, such as making money for instance. Masculine poetry still survives in England and editors are still thoughtful enough to import it at times in the shape of a Noyes ballade or a Masfield realism, but even then our joy has its proverbial thorn. We welcome the male voice with all the enthusiasm we would bestow on a longlost brother, and in consequence we are called literary snobs.

But then we have passed the day when we can be Parnasians and patriots at the same time. It is very illbred. Almost as bad form as conversing with your own family at a reception. And here lies the root of the trouble with American poetry. The songs of the people must appeal to the people, but our songs appeal to none except the neurotic—they are neither fish, flesh, nor fowl—neither local, state, or national. In England Noyes sings the glory of the Elizabethan period, Masfield pictures the realities of English life on land and sea, and even Bridges in the first-fruits of his laureateship glorifies the English Christmas, and as a result their songs reach the multitudes. In America we have none of the appeal of this localized song—our poets cannot see Parnassus but on a foreign shore. And the world of American poetry is blind to the fact. It rushes off in droves, and in sonnets, ballads, and lyrics to anywhere and everywhere so it be out of America. Baedeker is the inspiration of half our poems, and give the average poet an "eaux" and the average editor a Gallic cognomen and either will rave over it and count it better than the ninety and nine sturdy American phrasings that lie untouched in the fold. To paraphrase a nobler line, hardly a poet of the day but who carries as his slogan: Better fifty words on Europe than a sonnet on Broadway.

The pity of it. The shame of it. Here lies America bound-

less in beauty and wonderful in scope, shaping the destiny of millions and creating a new concept of freedom and human rights, and our poets are blind to the material beauty of the one and the epic grandeur of the other. The Mississippi flows to the hollowed Gulf bearing in her train the riches of a continent; to the west the great plains lie open to God and man and the mountains bear their forests and hide their buried gold; to the north we catch the thunder of the majestic Falls growling in impressive wrath and the scent of the pine is mingled with the wash of the Lakes; the Southland yields up her fertile treasures and joins with the East in an outpouring of tradition and greatness that makes for the prouder record of united America—and our song will have none of this burden. “See America first” must needs be planted in burning letters at the shrine of American poetry, or from having little poetry we shall in time have none. Exotics please—they rarely live.

But not only does the poetry of America need *localizing*; it needs *humanizing* as well. It needs to be stripped of the verbiage of outworn encyclopedias and forgotten allusions and clothed with the language of the time. It needs to be reminded that there is as much mental snobbery in founding all poetic conception on the fading mythology of the past as there is social snobbery in looking for true nobility only in the ranks of the peerage. Beauty exists at the close of the day as well as at the dawn and it is no lack of appreciation to neglect Grecian art to upbuild an art of our own. Dismantle the outworn Parnassus, if you will, and substitute the Harlem flat. Let “God, the true Iacchus,” to quote from a recent poem, together with all the other gods and goddesses and Iacchi, take to himself a long and much needed vacation and in his stead give us the practical American engineer digging a Culebra Cut or building a Gatun Dam. Banish the thousand and one poetic fixtures of the past and in their place give us the thumping trolley, the whirring automobile, the soaring aeroplane, and the other evidences of civilization that make the content of the present. Still sing of Nature, but sing her in the garb of the present. The trees we have with us always—and love, but give us the oak in lieu of the olive and the maple instead of the

cypress. The sunlight still falls—on brick walls, touching the city with a new life; and the rattle of the milkcart making its rounds is as cheerful a sound as was ever made by the clink of the chariot wheels on the grooved streets of Herculaneum. Sing all the changing commonplaces that go to make up the beauty of the present, oh poet, and in doing so you will breathe into the dry bones of American poesy the living breath of life and it will have a place—other than as mere filler-in—not only in the magazines of the day but in the literature of the world.

Meanwhile in advocating this “back to the soil” movement, we are not advocating that American poetry adopt a levelling anarchy nor be placed on a ranting rationalistic plane. We are still sticklers for the proprieties of the art—we are for a standard menu but we wish its terms American. Nor when the time comes that American poetry shall drop the garb of mysticism for the garb of living life is it hoped that in the joy of its new found freedom it will plunge into the extreme of materialism. We do not desire our poets, granting we shall produce them, to equal the incomparable strains of the Poet of the Alamo as he caroled blithely:

“Sassafras, oh sassafras,
Thou art the stuff for me
And in the spring I love to sing
Sweet sassafras of thee.”

We set no such matchless blend of theme and melody as the standard consummate. It may reach the root of the matter, but in these days of urban existence, it is entirely too far beyond the minds of the multitude. Nor in banishing the classics do we necessarily insist on the measure of realism that this same master of verse displays in his epic immortalizing a certain railroad wreck, as expressed in these moving lines:

“And in among the wreck I see
A man that’s pinned down by the knee
And hear him calmly for to say,
Cut, oh cut, my leg away.”

This indeed has the touch of nature that makes the whole world sin. As the reviewers would say, the plaintive and repeated pathos of the closing line, not to mention the “for” in the third line, is sufficient to make mere man curse the gods of

poetry and die. From the murderous O'Alamos, Good Lord deliver us.

No, it is not desired that our dejected Pegasus degenerate into a goat even though he has thoughtlessly been termed a mere jackass. From the extreme of neglect we do not wish to see him developed into the extreme of eccentricity, and if he cannot be a winged creature we are determined he shall not be a show-horse. But from such melancholy forebodings, we turn to trust that rather will the nipping air of American life and the surging aspiration of American endeavor so fill him with replenished strength that once more a blow from his mighty hoof will renew the fountain of our song, and in such a happy event, we trust that there will gush forth from our Hippocrenean spring neither a milk-and-water nor yet a grape juice variety of verse, but the very wine of poetry itself—a libation fit to be spilled in honor of America and our own United States.

Income Tax Discrimination and Differentiation

ROY G. BLAKEY

Assistant Professor of Economics in Cornell University.

In this discussion of certain features of the new American income tax, it is not the intention to confine the consideration entirely to those discriminations which are unjust nor to those differentiations which come within the strictly technical meaning of the latter term. In most cases, perhaps, the unfavorable connotation now commonly attaching to "discrimination" and the technical significance of "differentiation" will not be wholly disregarded, but a wider application of the terms will be made than narrowly drawn limitations would permit.

It was not the purpose of the framers of the income tax that it should fall with equal weight upon all classes of income or even upon all classes of people. Nor was this the intention of the administration which passed the law or of the masses who have favored and advocated it for more than a quarter of a century. The tax was admittedly intended to fall upon privileged incomes and well-to-do classes and to allow those of small means to escape. As with many other taxes, it is an attempt of one class to roll part of the burdens of government from its own shoulders to those of another class. In this respect, the tax is notably similar to inheritance, unearned-increment and many corporation taxes. Customs duties, excises, and other consumption taxes show a similar shifting of burdens though with classes in reverse positions.

As a matter of fact, a large part of all legislation is a contest between the representatives of different classes in the making of the "rules of the game." The new income tax law is an important part, but only one of many parts of a long and comprehensive campaign of the masses against the privileged classes. This democratic or equalitarian movement has not been confined to any one country and at the present moment it is at the highest point yet reached both here and abroad. In this country the significant features of the campaign during the last third of a century have been manifested in the granger movement and the great mass of legislation relating to rail-

roads, trusts, monopolies, currency, taxation, and tariffs. Very significant parts of the same broad general movement are the recent labor laws and other humanitarian developments, and the legislation and proposed legislation in connection with the initiative, referendum, recall, popular election of senators and presidential primaries. On the whole, this great movement has been a campaign against discrimination or "privilege," as the term "democratic" or "equalitarian" implies, but this does not mean that many attempts have not been made to offset some discriminations with counter discriminations.

The most obvious and important and consequently the most severely criticised discriminations of the new tax are those resulting from the high exemption and the progressive rates. It may be well to state at the outset that the correct interpretation of the law relative to deductions and exemptions is in some doubt. The main question in this connection is, shall individual income or family income be the basis for exemptions and taxes? The law itself is undoubtedly ambiguous as to several points relative to this matter. Paragraph C of the income tax section is as follows:

"C. That there shall be deducted from the amount of the net income of each of said persons, ascertained as provided herein, the sum of \$3,000, plus \$1,000 additional if the person making the return be a married man with a wife living with him, or plus the sum of \$1,000 additional if the person making the return be a married woman with a husband living with her; but in no event shall this additional exemption of \$1,000 be deducted by both a husband and a wife: *Provided*, That only one deduction of \$4,000 shall be made from the aggregate income of both husband and wife when living together."

Some lawyers have advised their clients that, where husband and wife each have independent incomes each may claim an exemption of \$3,000 and either (not both) an additional \$1,000, thus making possible an aggregate exemption of \$7,000 for both. The author of the law says that, with a nominal rate and a high exemption, it was thought wisest to make family income the basis of the tax in order to avoid evasion, though with low exemptions and high rates, the matter would have been different. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, upon whom de-

volves the interpretation and administration of the law (subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury), has issued two rulings upon this point, the latter being very full and specific.¹ He holds, in harmony with the intent of the author, that the aggregate deduction of both husband and wife from their combined incomes shall not exceed \$4,000. We will assume for the time being that the commissioner's rulings are correct and will be upheld by the courts.

The most vigorous and widespread charge of discrimination against this exemption is that it makes the income tax a class tax upon the rich, levied by the poorer classes who pay little or none of it. It is claimed that all should contribute to the support of the government as they are able, however little that may be, partly because each is benefitted by the government, partly as an inducement to take an interest in public expenditure and thus avoid extravagance, and partly as an automatic check upon oppression of the rich by the masses.

A similar charge is that the exemption makes the tax sectional, one laid by the West and South upon the East and especially upon the large cities of the East. Another criticism is that it discriminates against incomes from commerce and industry and favors those from agriculture. The exemption, together with the progressive rates, is criticised as being socialistic, that is, aiming at the leveling of property and income, and thus being a check upon industry and thrift and the entering wedge of socialism with its consequent confiscation, industrial demoralization and national, if not world-wide, decay.

It must be admitted that all or most of these claims are true, either wholly or in part, and in so far as the tax works unnecessary injustice, no excuse is to be made for it. But some partial justifications may be adduced, the chief of which may be summarized briefly. In the first place, the standard of living is higher in the United States than in most countries, the purchasing power of money is both less than elsewhere and less here than in former years; it is not necessary for the United States to burden itself so heavily to raise its revenues as is the case with less resourceful and over-populated countries with

¹The ruling of Dec. 27, 1913 (T. D. 1923) superseded that of Oct. 31, 1913 (T. D. 1887, Part 2, p. 4).

large standing armies, and further, this high exemption leaves a large margin to draw upon in cases of emergency.

In the second place, only a lesser part of the national revenue is to be raised from the present income tax; most federal receipts will still come from customs and excises which fall with greatest burden upon the poor and middle classes. Hence an offsetting income tax upon the rich is in the direction of equity. This justification is further strengthened by the fact that most state and local taxes are borne by the middle classes. Though the greater part of the tax will be paid by Easterners, it is not because they are eastern but because they have large incomes and these will make them amply able to pay. As a matter of fact, these incomes are not really local but national, for under modern industrial and commercial organization, such incomes are derived directly or indirectly from national and even international sources. To the charge of "leveling" property and discouraging thrift, it may be answered that the present income tax is entirely too small to produce any such effects, in fact, an income tax is only one-twentieth part of a property tax expressed in the same percentages, assuming property to yield a net income of five per cent.

Among the strongest of justifications of the high exemption are considerations of administration. The new tax has to be put in operation over an extensive territory containing a large population. In the first steps of its establishment, officials are handicapped by lack of recent adequate income tax records to guide them and, in addition, there is not available a sufficiently large corps of trained and efficient officials to administer the law properly and smoothly. A high exemption with a single variation makes the tax much simpler to administer than would many verifications for different kinds and amounts of income, number of children, insurance premiums, etc. Furthermore, a high exemption automatically selects those incomes which are easiest to assess at the source, hence more accurately and surely assessed, and consequently most fruitful in yield in comparison with expense of administration. Small incomes are reached more easily, effectively and with far less objectionable "inquisitorialness" by means of indirect taxes. With the perfection of administration, however, both justice and expediency

will demand the lowering of exemptions and the development of differentiations which would clog and break down the machinery if introduced in the beginning.

Most of what has been said in reference to the charge of discrimination against the high exemption is applicable to the charge against the progressive rates in so far as class and sectional distinctions are concerned. When it comes to the matter of administration, however, the reverse is true. The difficulties of administration are strongly against progression, and especially strong in the beginning. The additional rates must necessarily be based upon the personal returns of individual incomes, for collection-at-the-source is not in harmony with progression. Hence, this feature of the law means the "inquisitorialness" and evasion which go with self-assessment. It is true that only incomes in excess of \$20,000 are to pay the "additional" tax and most of such incomes will come largely or in part from sources which can be inspected so that there will be a possible check upon evasion. But if public opinion would have permitted, it seems probable that it would have been better to have omitted progression in the beginning. With a nominal flat tax there would have been little evasion, hence, full and accurate records could have been compiled. These would have been an excellent guide for the future and, have made evasion less probable when it was deemed time to adopt progression, especially, inasmuch as administrators would be gaining experience in the meantime.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not all progressive rates are discriminatory. A few hold that they are but modern opinion has been inclining more and more to the idea that tax-paying faculty increases more rapidly than property or income. But as to just what rates of progression are fair and wise no one has been able to say, nor has any one suggested any very practical test. Long ago the benefit theory of taxation was found to be inadequate, partly because it did not meet the demands of justice but largely because of the inability to measure specific benefit. Most modern writers accept or incline towards the faculty or ability-to-pay theory, but this certainly offers no convenient and definite measure of taxation. It too has inherent weaknesses, some of which we often fail to see or

are prone to gloss over. It certainly does not afford an entirely adequate explanation or justification of some of our more modern tendencies in taxation, including that of progression, and it seems probable that these tendencies are on the increase rather than on the wane.

But in addition to the various justifications already mentioned, there is at least one other controlling reason why the exemption was not lowered substantially, namely, political expediency. There was universal complaint of the high cost of living, a general demand for tariff reduction, and a consequent need of other sources of revenue. There were party pledges and platforms to redeem, old scores to settle, and new records to make. Behind all of these was a large constituency that wanted an income tax but preferred that the exemption should not be too low. The party in power was aware of this preference and perhaps realized even more fully than its constituency the probable evil consequences of a very low limit. However much such political expediency may be condemned by non-sympathizers, it nevertheless automatically adjusts the dose to the patient who probably needs preparation for the larger ones that are likely to follow.

Near the beginning of this article, it was mentioned that there is doubt whether family income or individual income should be the basis of exemptions and deductions. With family income as the basis, there would be more or less discrimination against celibacy in some cases and against marriage in others. If, on the other hand, individual income were the basis, there would be much opportunity for real and pretended transfer of incomes and of great loss of revenue to the government. This loss would be due not only to fraud and evasion but also to the practical raising of the exemption limit in many cases; and it would be greater than appears at first thought because the great bulk of taxable incomes are near the lower limit. All the pertinent charges of discrimination urged against a \$4,000 family exemption would apply with much greater force to one of \$7,000.

Assuming that the present ruling holds, if a single person with a net income between \$3,000 and \$4,000 should marry a person with an independent income such that the total of both

would not be over \$4,000, the two might save an aggregate of one per cent on the amount by which the former's income exceeded \$3,000, that is, the premium on marriage in such a case would vary from one cent to \$10.00. But if two persons with net incomes of \$3,000 or more each should marry, their aggregate exemption would then be \$4,000 in place of \$6,000 as before and the annual penalty for marrying would be one per cent on \$2,000, or \$20.00. Of course, a married couple could secure a similar saving by getting a divorce and dividing the family income.

The above illustrations apply to the "normal" tax only which is levied upon all personal incomes in excess of the exemption. The case is somewhat different with the "additional" tax which applies to net incomes in excess of \$20,000. In the latter case it makes much more difference whether family income or individual income is used as the basis for calculating the tax. The rates of the "additional" tax begin at one per cent on the net income in excess of \$20,000 and under \$50,000 and increase by steps of one per cent to six per cent on the amount in excess of \$50,000. The "additional" tax on a family income of \$600,000 returned as a unit would be \$26,050. If this same income were returned as \$300,000 for husband and wife each, the aggregate taxes of both would be \$20,100 or a saving of \$5,950 annually. If by any means the \$600,000 family income could be returned as individual incomes of, say, \$150,000 each for husband, wife, and two sons, the aggregate taxes of the four would be \$14,200, or a saving of \$11,850 as compared with a single return of the total amount.

It is obvious that a premium would thus be put upon evasion by making individual income the basis and it is equally obvious that a discrimination against marriage, or a premium upon divorce and celibacy, among the wealthy would result from making family income the basis. Possibly this premium would not be large enough to affect marriage or divorce in many cases⁵, but there is no denying that it would be a discrimination. It would be affected to some extent in certain cases by the treatment of alimony payments, that is by whether or not a man would be allowed to deduct them as a part of his expenses, or

whether both he and his divorced wife would have to pay a tax on the same income.²

In this connection it might be mentioned that the bill as passed by the Senate allowed an exemption of \$500 for each of two children, but this was stricken out in conference. This feature was taken by ex-President Roosevelt as a thrust at the "Rooseveltian Family" and he made a vigorous protest that it would be a discrimination against the third and later children and, consequently a premium upon race suicide.³ True, it would have been such a premium, but one of only \$5.00 per child, and only upon those with incomes in excess of \$4,000; not wise or just, but still not very suicidal. Numerous other countries make extra exemptions for children but none of these are anything like so large as \$500 per child, and usually only persons with the smaller incomes are allowed such exemptions.

Another class of discriminations or differentiations in the new income tax occurs in connection with corporations. A corporation, however large or small its net profits, is liable to the normal tax upon the entire income without the \$3,000 or \$4,000 exemption, whereas, an individual or firm competing with it, perhaps of the same size and having the same number of owners, has its profits returned as those of its individual owners, each of whom are allowed the regular exemption.

In addition to this, individuals, including members of firms, may deduct the interest paid on all of their indebtedness, whereas, a corporation may deduct only half the interest on the amount of indebtedness in excess of the amount of capital stock. This latter provision prevents the corporation from escaping the tax by raising nearly all of its capital by means of bonds instead of stocks.

An additional differentiation is that corporations are required to pay the normal tax a second time upon income already taxed at the source, whereas, individuals are not so required. This means that all holding company profits are taxed at least

² Since this was written, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has made a new ruling to the effect, that while both husband and wife may not be allowed aggregate exemptions in excess of \$4,000 (thus making family income the basis of the "normal" tax), the "additional" tax is to be calculated upon the separate incomes of husband and wife if they are from bona fide separate and distinct estates (thus making individual incomes the basis of the "additional" tax). This adoption of different bases for the two parts of the tax appears rather inconsistent.

³ "Premium on Race Suicide," *Outlook*, Sept. 27, 1913.

twice and as many more times as there are wheels within wheels. This may be of considerable importance in many cases as, for example, where a bank owns the stock of trust companies, which in turn own stocks of other corporations, which in turn own other stock, and so on.

It will be observed that, under certain circumstances, there is a discrimination against an individual's income from corporate stock as compared with income from all other sources whether they be corporate bonds, or what not. For example, if an individual gets a salary of \$2,000 and has bonds or real estate or something else which brings in an additional \$1,000 each year, he can escape all income tax by claiming the exemption. But if this extra \$1,000 were his share of profits of a corporation because of his stock ownership, the corporation would pay the tax and give him the remainder in the form of dividends. His exemption rights would not help him in this case so far as the corporate profits are concerned. It is very probable that the corporations will not deduct the tax by cutting the dividends in just this way. They will probably continue to pay the same rates, or if they make cuts, they will cut by more than the amount of the tax. But to say that the tax is so small that it will not make any difference to the stockholder is like saying that any other similar expense representing no investment to the corporation will not affect the stockholder's profits eventually. They all cut into profits, either divided profits, or undivided profits that are to be divided sometime.

On the whole, the collection of taxes upon corporate incomes is apt to be much more effective and complete than in other cases, and in a sense, this, too, may be considered a discrimination against this class of income. The burden and responsibility of collection at the source may be considered, in effect, an additional discrimination against certain corporations, for in some cases it is no small trouble and expense. Great numbers of corporations and individuals acting in divers capacities are burdened in varying degrees, some very little and others very much. The banks and trust companies are among the latter number.

Probably most of these discriminations or differentiations relative to corporate incomes are supported on the theory that

corporations have special privileges, that they are rich and able to pay, that they have abused their powers in the past, that their holding company organizations should be discouraged or broken up, and that they should be held down and punished on general principles, anyway, so that the small man may be given a chance. Not every one would acknowledge or express all of these as reasons but they are in the minds or subconsciousness of a considerable number of people. A great many corporations have themselves or their predecessors to blame for much of this hostility, though this is true more especially of some large corporations and trusts. They have sown to the wind and are reaping the whirlwind. A number of them, however, are beginning to realize the importance and profit of deference to public opinion.

Another and different kind of discrimination in the new law will result from the taxing of all citizens whether residing at home or abroad and of all residents whether citizens or not. This means double taxation in so far as other countries follow the same practice. It may be added, however, that the United States is not the first offender in this respect. Inconsistent with this is the allowing of all foreign owners of American bonds to claim exemption of interest without limit, whereas, domestic owners are limited by the regular exemption clause.

A still different class of discriminations arises through the allowance of deduction for expenses, etc., as will be shown by two or three examples. Losses which occur during the year and which are not compensated for by insurance or otherwise are allowable deductions, much as are expenses of the business, worthless debts and depreciations. Suppose two men each having net operating profits of \$25,000 a year. One sustains a loss of \$25,000 by fire (in excess of insurance) in each of two years, and the other a loss of \$50,000 during one year. The latter would be allowed to deduct \$25,000 for the one year only and would get only half the offset of the former.

To take another example. Deductions are not allowed for personal, family, or living expenses. Rent actually paid by a tenant cannot be deducted from income of the tenant in calculating his tax. Rent received by an owner must be returned as taxable income (subject to exemptions like all other in-

come), but *rental value* of house occupied by an owner is entirely disregarded so far as this tax is concerned. If A lives in his own house and receives income amounting to \$4,000, he pays no tax (assuming he is married). If his business or profession necessitates his moving to another place where he rents a house for \$1,000 which he pays with the \$1,000 rent he receives for his own house, he must pay a tax on the \$1,000 (assuming other income is the same as before). Obviously he is in no better position to pay a tax in the latter case than before. Nor is there any more reason why he should pay it than that his neighbors who own their houses should pay a similar amount. If B owns a mansion on Fifth Avenue, another in Newport, another in Florida, and possibly others elsewhere, and is thus the recipient of \$100,000, however much his worth of actual enjoyable income from such mansions, he pays no tax on it, though A pays on the rent from his modest house, which he must expend for a similar house. It is true that there are many arguments for encouraging home-owning, but most of them have reference to persons who will not be affected by the new tax. Besides the checking of mobility often checks opportunity for improvement of conditions and works hardships in many cases.

According to present rulings, estimated advances in the value of real estate are not to be reported as income, unless increased values are taken up on the books of the individual as an increase of assets. There is much real estate in the United States that is now on the books of its owners as of a certain value. There will be some basis for reckoning the profit or income from this when a sale is made if present records are then available and if the actual selling price can be ascertained, though in some cases the sale may be at a rather distant date. There is much other real estate which is not now carried on any books or at any definite value. Upon what basis will profit or income from it be reckoned when there is a sale? Former state or local assessment valuations may be of assistance but they will be very unreliable in most cases. In view of these facts, much discrimination or injustice is apt to result here, both as between different parcels of real estate and as between this and other classes of income.

Another class of discriminations or differentiations is that resulting from the exemption of income from government bonds. So far as the buyers of bonds are concerned, the discrimination is one in favor of only those bonds already issued, though to such people as fail to understand the capitalization of a tax, it appears as a discrimination in favor of all government bond holders, future as well as present. From the standpoint of the federal government, it makes little difference whether it taxes its own bonds or not, provided it pursues a uniform policy; it is largely a matter of bookkeeping. The introduction of taxation, however, would introduce uncertainty as well as capitalization, and hence would probably mean a net loss to the government. For the federal government to tax state and local government bonds would increase the revenues of the former at the expense of the latter. It is doubtful, however, if the Sixteenth Amendment overrules the long line of constitutional decisions to the effect that neither federal or state governments may tax the instrumentalities of the other.

It is in deference to these same decisions that the compensation of state and local government officials and employees is exempted, though the only federal official salaries exempted are those of present federal judges and the present President for their present terms. The latter exemptions are also for constitutional reasons, that is, because the salaries of these officials may be neither increased nor diminished during the terms for which they have been chosen. Though these legal grounds may be sufficient justification under the circumstances, they do not remove the fact that the exemptions result in real and considerable discrimination in some cases. There are many state and local officials with good salaries, some of them considerably in excess of what their receivers could secure for similar services in other capacities, and yet they will pay no income tax. It is true that many government officials are not properly paid, but it is just as true that many are over-paid.

The exemption of labor, agricultural, fraternal beneficiary organizations, mutual savings banks, domestic building and loan associations and other so-called non-profit making organizations is evidently a discrimination in order to favor undertakings which it is deemed should be encouraged. It will take

very careful rulings in many of these cases, however, to prevent exemptions and abuses which the spirit of the law would not permit.

Such are some of the more important discriminations and differentiations of the new income tax. In its more technical sense, the term "differentiation" would scarcely be applicable to but one of the important classes of discriminations discussed herein, namely, that with reference to corporate income. In reference to such income, the United States follows a practice not uncommon in other countries, though it is interesting to note that Japan follows the reverse practice, that of differentiating in favor of corporations. The important exemptions of our tax might be considered differentiations in reality, though exemptions are not usually so classed. The differentiation most common in other countries, that between earned and unearned incomes, is not found in our new law at all, nor is there any higher rate upon income from the property of absentees than upon that from property of residents as is the case with some Australian taxes. It seems scarcely necessary to say in conclusion that the income tax as a whole should not be judged entirely upon such a partial representation as is possible in an article that deals with only one side or phase of it. It is true, as has been pointed out, that there are defects in the law which should not have been incorporated in it in the first place. Furthermore, some of the official rulings and interpretations have not been the most fortunate ones possible. But taking all things into consideration, the new tax offers opportunities for great improvement in our revenue system. As has been indicated already, in the establishment of the new system, administrative considerations are important, if not controlling. Though some defects could be remedied at once, most improvements should be postponed until initial difficulties are overcome. With the development of efficient administration, various differentiations and refinements can be made and we should see to it that they are made in due time—but surest and greatest progress will be achieved by making haste slowly in the beginning.

Dante and His Influence Upon the English Poets

WILLIAM A. WEBB

President of Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

When the poet in Tennyson's "Palace of Art" built for his soul a "lordly pleasure-house" he adorned its walls with the pictures of many an old world myth and legend, but the throne room of his palace he reserved for the choice paintings of wise men. The poets chosen for representation were old Homer with his million wrinkles, "Milton like a seraph strong," "Shakespeare bland and mild," and "world-worn Dante" who "grasped his song and somewhat grimly smiled." In selecting these four, Homer, Milton, Shakespeare, and Dante, as first among the world poets, Tennyson not only expressed his own preference, but voiced the generally accepted opinion of his day. But, if in the more than four score years that have elapsed since the publication of the "Palace of Art" in 1832, the year which also marked the death of the sage of Weimar, the name of Milton has been slowly replaced by that of Goethe as fourth "among the sons of light," surely the passing of the years has had no effect upon the standing of the other three. Their places are secure for all time, and the purpose of this paper is not so much to call attention to Dante's position in this mighty triumvirate as it is to test his greatness by tracing the significance and extent of his influence upon some of the greater English poets. But before taking up the immediate task in hand, may we not give a word of consideration to the character of the man and the scope of his work?

The thirteenth century was pre-eminently a period of storm and stress. The shadows projected by the dark ages were still black and somber, but the eastern horizon was already aglow with the radiant dawn of the Renaissance in the world of art and letters and the Reformation in the realm of politics and religion. Italy was torn by the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. It was quite impossible for a man of Dante's temperament to keep aloof from the quarrels of church and state. An intense patriot, he loved his native city Florence and

threw himself vigorously into the political life of the day. He served in campaigns of his city, accepted civil office, and was in a fair way of becoming one of the political leaders of the day had not the party with which he was affiliated lost the ascendancy with the result that he with others was banished from his native city. To the eternal shame of Florence, this order of banishment was made perpetual, and it was further decreed should he by any chance come within the power of the state he should be burned alive. From that time on Dante was a wanderer and an outcast on the face of the earth. At his death his bones found a resting place in Ravenna and there they have remained to this day, although Florence, repenting in sackcloth and ashes, has vainly pleaded the boon of their return.

“Ungrateful Florence!” cries Byron,
 “Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar,
 Like Scipio, buried by the upbraiding shore;
 Thy factions, in their worse than civil war,
 Proscribed the bard whose name for evermore
 Their children’s children would in vain adore
 With the remorse of ages.”

But Dante’s political interest swept far beyond the limits of his native land and embraced some of the larger problems of world politics. Perhaps he alone of his contemporaries foresaw the inevitable conflict that was to shake the nations of Western Europe, the conflict between the Papacy and the Empire. In his “De Monarchia,” a noble plea for a universal temporal monarchy co-existent with the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope, he anticipated the ultimate separation of Church and State and boldly defended the supremacy of the State in all civil affairs, a worthy forerunner of Wycliffe and Luther, though, unlike them, he remained to the end a loyal and devoted son of the Catholic church. But it is Dante the poet, Dante the lover of Beatrice, Dante the author of the “Divine Comedy” that appeals to the universal human heart today. We are willing to forget the brawls of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, or the more significant quarrels of the popes and emperors, but when we neglect Dante the poet we disregard the greatest spiritual force making for sweetness and light granted to the

world between the death of Christ and the birth of Shakespeare.

The best introduction to the study of Dante is his own autobiography, fancifully entitled the "New Life," a record composed in prose and verse of his friendship for Beatrice Portinari, the beautiful girl who came into his life when he saw her for the first time as a youth of nine, and who after a brief earthly existence passed into the other world to become the most potent influence in his whole after life. And so the "New Life" is the history of a life made new by the first experience and lasting influence of love, and very beautifully and appropriately closes with a resolution to speak no more of Beatrice until he shall be able to say of her what was never said of any woman, a promise not to be redeemed until after the passage of many weary years he gave to the world his masterpiece.

The "Divine Comedy" is one of the great spiritual biographies of the race. It epitomizes and summarizes the observations of a statesman, the experiences of a philosopher, the visions of a mystic, and the aspirations of a poet whose heart beat in loving sympathy with the highest ideals of mankind. Judged by the canons of literature, it is a unique production. It is usually classed among the epic poems, but how widely it differs from all its predecessors! The adventures of its hero, the author himself, are more marvelous than those of Ulysses or Aeneas. Their wanderings were occasioned by the petty jealousies and angry contentions of mere Olympian deities; his were guided and directed from Heaven itself by the immediate representatives of human and divine wisdom. They spent fruitless years in smiting the sounding furrows of the Middle Sea, and when at last they reached their havens, the one landed on the barren island of Utica and the other on the sandy shore of Latium. But Dante's wanderings led him through the nine circles of Hell, the seven stages of Purgatory, the nine planets of Heaven, and when at length he reached his journey's end he is vouchsafed admission into the Empyrean itself, where he catches a vision of the unspeakable glories that circle around the living Godhead.

The purpose, too, of this epic is unlike that of all its fellows. Its aim is not so much to delight, as it is "to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort, to form men's characters by teaching them what forces of life will meet with rewards, what with penalty hereafter." Very clearly has Dante expressed it in his letter to his friend and patron, Can Grande della Scala: "The subject, then, of the whole work," he says, "is simply a consideration of the state of souls after death; for from and around this the action of the whole work turneth. But if the work is considered according to its allegorical meaning, the subject is man, liable to reward or punishment, of justice, according as through the freedom of the will he is deserving or undeserving." And again, "the aim of the whole and of the individual parts is to bring those who are living in this life out of the state of misery and to guide them to the state of happiness."

The form of the poem is too well known to delay us long. In the middle period of his life Dante finds himself perplexed in the midst of a vast wood, where he is joined by the poet Vergil, who has been commissioned by the blessed Beatrice to be his guide and companion through Hell and Purgatory. The two poets begin their journey and pass down through the circles of Hell devoted successively to the punishment of carnal lust, prodigality, avarice, heresy, violence, hypocrisy, and treachery. In each circle they find wretches expiating their crimes by punishments suited in kind. For example, those who held that the life of the individual ended with death, are punished by being imprisoned in red-hot graves; murderers and tyrants are plunged into streams of boiling blood; corrupt officials lie in lakes of seething pitch; hypocrites groan under the terrible burdens of leaden copes they are compelled to wear; thieves still ply their nefarious practices, changing shapes with serpents in never ending metamorphoses; flatterers wallow in their own filth; and the lustful are driven about by whirlwinds of passion. In assigning these punishments, the poet is as inexorable as fate itself. Neither rank, social position, wealth, nor friendship can save the sinners from their just doom. Popes, kings, emperors, poets, warriors touch elbow with petty politicians, scheming priests, and loathsome panders, whose very names would long since have rotted had they not been granted

a hateful immortality in the lines of the poet's scorn. But the horrors of Hell are at last passed, and the poets escape to the Mount of Purgatory, where an angel traces on Dante's forehead the seven P's, the sign of the seven deadly sins of the church which shall be washed away symbolically as he passes through the seven stages of Purgatory. When the last ascent has been passed, Vergil takes leave of his friend. He can guide him no further because this is the limit of human knowledge. But the poet is not left alone; on the summit of the mount of the earthly paradise he beholds the glorified Beatrice, who is to accompany him through the remainder of his journey. Purified by her love and guided by her presence, he mounts up through the nine heavens of the Ptolemaic system to the ineffable rose of dawn, where he stands before the actual seat of the Godhead. Here Beatrice's beauty reaches such heights that human eyes may not behold it nor human words describe it. Her work is complete, and she takes her place once more among the blessed, and the poem closes, for now the poet's desire and will have been brought into harmony with the divine love, "the love that keeps the sun in its course, and journeys with the planets in their orbits."

Dante died in 1321, and his vision has become one of the great spiritual possessions not only of his own race but of all mankind, for it is the law of the spiritual world that genius cannot be confined to the limitations of a single nationality or tongue. It is questionable whether supreme greatness may be ascribed to any poet whose works have not passed beyond the borders of his fatherland and been accepted to the bosom of people who know not his native tongue. And thus the great poets of any age and of any nation become the common heritage of all ages and of all nations. Their influence, no longer limited to racial or national boundaries, becomes a potent factor in cementing the peoples of the earth into closer bonds of fellowship and in promoting the ideals of universal brotherhood.

And now may we consider briefly the debt of gratitude our own English literature owes to the mighty Florentine? A half-century after Dante's death Geoffrey Chaucer, then a young man in his prime, made his first visit to Italy, sent thither on a

diplomatic mission by the court of Edward III. A second mission followed a few years later; and these two visits were of the greatest value to him in the development of his literary activity. First of the English poets to come under the romantic spell of Italy, he brought back with him not only a knowledge of the Italian language and literature, but in all probability the memory of a personal acquaintanceship with Petrarch and Boccaccio, and possibly the first complete copy of the "Divine Comedy" that reached the shores of England. From this time one finds many references to Dante in his works. In all, he mentions him no less than six times, and refers to or quotes from him in at least sixteen separate poems. His "House of Fame" shows many traces of Dante's influence, and in his "Monk's Tale" he incorporates the complete story of Ugolino and the Tower of Hunger, giving due credit to the "grete poete of Itaille that highte Dante." He also translates the exquisite prayer to the Virgin Mary found in the twenty-third canto of the "Paradise," perhaps his greatest service to his countrymen in acquainting them with the beauties of Dante.

But while Chaucer felt the charm of much of Dante's verse, it is questionable whether he grasped the deeper significance of his meaning. The two poets looked out on life from opposite points of view. Chaucer was neither a philosopher nor a theologian, and cared little for questions of ecclesiastical politics or philosophical dogma. Lighthearted and gay, he delighted to watch the changing fashions, the showy parades, the gorgeous pageants of the court. Life was indeed a pilgrimage, but a joyous pilgrimage to Canterbury. Dante, on the other hand, was world-worn and sad; "the mournfulest face," says Carlyle, "that ever was painted from reality." Lonely and in exile, he brooded over the sorrows and misfortune of life and vainly strove to alleviate the inequalities of the religious and political world. No wonder the people of Verona said, as he passed along the streets, "See, there is the man that was in Hell." But if Chaucer's gay verse fails to reflect the sternness of soul that characterizes the writings of Dante, let us not forget that it was he who first introduced Dante to English readers; and from that day to this no man who would know the literature of England can afford to be ignorant of Dante.

Whether Spenser, the author of the "Fairie Queene," was acquainted with the "Divine Comedy" or not is a mooted question, but the formidable array of parallel passages collected by scholars from Todd to Paget Toynbee,¹ together with the fact that he was one of the most learned of English poets and was deeply read both in ancient and modern literature, makes a strong presumptive case in favor of the affirmative. But there is no question about the high esteem in which his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, held the Italian poet. In the semi-humorous climax to his "Apologie for Poetry," Sidney promises a great reward to those who shall no longer scorn the mysteries of poetry or laugh at the name of poets. "Thus doing," he says, "your name shall flourish in the printer's shops; thus doing, you shall be of kin to many a poetical preface. You shall be most fair, most rich, most wise, most all; you shall dwell upon superlatives; your soul shall be placed with Dante's Beatrice and Virgil's Anchises." And this is possibly the first mention of Beatrice's name in English literature.

Ben Jonson's works yield but a single allusion, but that contains proof that Rare Ben had an honest tongue in his head: "Dante is hard and few can understand him," says Lady Politick, in "Volpone, or the Fox." (Act III., Sec. 2).

Shakespeare's name we must omit from the list of English poets who received direct inspiration from Dante, though his dramas as well as his sonnets contain passages whose germinal ideas may be readily traced to the works of the Florentine.

With the advent of Milton we reach an English poet who not only understood and appreciated Dante, but also received from him the inspiration for his greatest work. After graduating from Cambridge and spending some years at his father's country home at Horton, Milton, you recall, made the grand tour of the Continent, devoting some time to travel and study among the Italian cities. For a number of years he had been a diligent student of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto, and was well prepared to appreciate the opportunities offered in Italy for intellectual culture. He spent two months in Florence, visited the aged Galileo, and became proficient in the art of

¹ Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*, two volumes, Macmillan, is a storehouse rich in material for which the student of English literature as well as of Dante is profoundly grateful.

composing Italian sonnets. But the outbreak of hostilities at home constituted a call of duty he could not resist, and he returned to England to become the Latin Secretary of Cromwell. It was not until after the Restoration shattered his hopes for the immediate future of the English people and brought upon his own head ignominy and neglect, that the bard, now blind, found leisure in the retirement of private life for the composition of his immortal epic.

Even before his visit to Italy, Milton reveals his indebtedness to Dante. In a commonplace book kept in 1637, he makes numerous quotations with comments from the "Divine Comedy," as well as allusions to Boccaccio's "Life of Dante." The magnificent passage in "Lycidas," containing St. Peter's denunciation of unworthy pastors, was probably suggested by a passage of a similar nature in the "Paradise" where St. Peter rebukes his degenerate successors. In a letter dated from Florence, the traveler tells of his delight at being able occasionally to slip away from the multitude and to feast on Dante and Petrarch. And again in his "Apology for Smectymnuus" he links in high praise the names of Dante and Petrarch as "the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honor to them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgressions." In the sonnet dedicated to his friend Henry Lawes, the musician, Milton pays him the fine compliment of comparing him to Dante's friend Casella, the famous musician of Florence.

"Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing,
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory."

But it is in "Paradise Lost" that Dante's influence on Milton becomes most apparent. How large a tribute Milton laid upon his knowledge of the "Divine Comedy" in the composition of his own masterpiece is seen not only in the general frame-work of the poem, but particularly in the delineation of the physical aspects and moral character of its chief actor Satan. Do not imagine, however, that Milton has slavishly copied his characters or his cosmology from his predecessor. Whatever he borrowed he refashioned and burnished and hall-marked with the seal of his own individuality and ownership.

As both poets wrote on themes that covered in part at least the same ground, and as both made use of the same authorities, it is not surprising to find many things in common in the two poems. The descriptions of Hell and its inhabitants will furnish us as good an opportunity as any for comparing methods and noting points of similarity and contrast between the two artists. It is a commonplace of criticism to affirm that Dante's power of description is more realistic, while Milton's is more sublime. Dante gives the metes and bounds of Hell with great minuteness, and marks out its confines, its divisions and subdivisions with almost mathematical accuracy. Milton, on the other hand, paints all with a broad brush. Hell is vast, huge, "waste and wild." The lake of fire is "fed with ever-burning sulphur unconsumed," and is surrounded by a frozen continent "beat with perpetual storms of whirlwind and dire hail," a "universe of death,"

"Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire."

Dante's Hell is guarded by Charon, Cerberus, the Minotaur, the Centaurs,—all monsters of classical mythology; but the objects of its punishments are rulers of church and state, the living and the dead, citizens of Florence, friends and enemies of the poet,—in fact, human beings of like passions as ourselves, and this produces not infrequently on the modern mind a feeling of repulsion. This pitfall Milton has avoided. In his Hell, it is the rebellious angels alone who are suffering torment, and it is only by implication that we learn that these punishments may be held in reserve for generations of men yet unborn.

Dante and Vergil found Lucifer fixed immovably in ice in the nethermost pit of Hell, devouring with his three mouths the three arch-traitors, Cassius, Brutus, and Judas Iscariot. As the younger poet, fortified by the words of his companion, gazed upon the hateful form of the adversary, "the creature eminent in beauty once," he had no difficulty in believing him to be the source of all our woe.

"Were he as fair once, as he now is foul,
 And lifted up his brow against his Maker,
 Well may proceed from him all tribulation.
 Oh, what a marvel it appeared to me,
 When I beheld three faces on his head!
 Underneath each came forth two mighty wings,
 Such as befitting were so great a bird;
 Sails of the sea I never saw so large
 With six eyes did he weep, and down three chins
 Trickled the teardrops and the bloody drivel."

Now let us turn to Milton's Satan. In the opening book we see him lying prone upon the lake of fire, in bulk as huge as the earthborn monsters of classical mythology, or

"that sea beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim the ocean stream."

We next see him striding over the burning marl with his ponderous shield hung upon his shoulder ;

"His spear, to equal with the tallest pine,
 Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand."

When he towers above the rest of his companions he dominates them with his imperial presence, for

"His form had not let lost
 All her original brightness, nor appeared
 Less than archangel ruined"

"His face
 Deep scars of thunder had entrenched, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
 Waiting revenge."

The words of defiance which he hurls at his Maker give the keynote to his character :

"The mind is its own place, and in itself
 Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.
 Here at least
 We shall be free
 Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven."

In Dante then Satan is repulsive and horrible, a mere mon-

ster, who neither arouses our sympathies by his sufferings nor compels our admiration by reason of his great powers of mind and body. Milton's Satan, on the contrary, is one of the supremely interesting characters of all literature. His unlimited capacity for endurance, his boundless ambition, his self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of his followers, his human pity for their sufferings, his Prometheus-like indifference to pain and torture, his superb courage and dauntless daring give him a unique place among the heroes of fiction. It is here that Milton has surpassed in sublime daring the great Florentine. Both poets followed the patristic legend which represented Satan or Lucifer—the son of the morning—as having fallen into the sin of pride when on the day of his creation he beheld his ineffable beauty; and this was the occasion of his rebellion. But from this point on, their treatment of the rebel angel was as far apart as the poles. Milton deliberately chose to protest against the grotesque form his predecessor had given him. If Dante meant to represent Satan as only base and hideous, Milton would seem to imply that nobleness of mind and sincerity of purpose may not be altogether disassociated with rebellion and sin, certainly in their earlier stages.

But if Milton has surpassed Dante in the delineation of Hell and Satan, what shall we say of their relative merits when they undertake to depict the glories of Heaven and its divine inhabitants? Here indeed the honors are reversed, and the Protestant poet yields the palm to his Catholic predecessor. How tedious is the versified theology of the Son's speeches in "Paradise Lost!" How insipid the passages in which the Father pronounces judgment upon Adam and Eve; how monotonous the heavenly landscape! On the other hand, where in "Paradise Lost," or for that matter in any other work of the imagination, will you find a scene comparable in grandeur to the vision of God revealed in the closing canto of the "Divine Comedy"? Shall we say that mediæval mysticism furnished better food-stuff for the poets than Calvinistic anthropomorphism. But why continue the comparison further? The more one studies these two masterpieces, the more convinced one is of the fact that each complements the other. Dante is pre-eminently the prophet of the Middle Ages. His poem represents Cathol-

icism at the time of its greatest triumph. There is not yet the deadening effect of intellectual restraint, or the absence of that liberty of thought which in later times becomes associated with the history of the Catholic Church. The "Divine Comedy" breathes the spirit of free speculation and unites harmoniously the forces of Catholicism with the conception of the state reflected in the Holy Roman Empire. Milton, on the other hand, is the High Priest of Protestantism; not alone the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, but, as Professor Moulton points out, the Protestantism of the Renaissance as well. Taken altogether, the "Divine Comedy" and "Paradise Lost" represent the most vital expression of man's relation to the Infinite found in modern literature.

To the eighteenth century Dante was a sealed book. Goldsmith thought his reputation was due to the obscurity of the times in which he lived. Horace Walpole dubbed him "extravagant, absurd, disgusting; in short, a Methodist preacher in Bedlam." It remained for Thomas Gray to reintroduce him into English literature. Like Chaucer and Milton before him, Gray traveled extensively in Italy and was deeply versed in her literature. He translated the story of Ugolino, and embalmed for all time in his "Elegy" one of Dante's lines: "The curfew tolls the knell of parting day," reproduces in words and sentiment "the vesper bell from far, that seems to mourn for the expiring day."

The influence of Dante on Coleridge came too late to affect that small but incomparably great contribution of his to the body of English poetry. But in his lectures on Shakespeare, and especially his lecture on Dante delivered in 1812, he analyzed with discrimination and power the sources of Dante's strength, and helped to disseminate a knowledge of Dante among English readers by his appreciative reference to Cary's translation of the "Divine Comedy," which had fallen stillborn from the press some four years earlier.

On Wordsworth Dante seems to have made little lasting impression. And yet he could not escape the charm and grace of Dante's sonnets. "Scorn not the sonnet," he says, in what has become the classic apology for this form of literature:

“Scorn not the sonnet. With this key
 Shakespeare unlocked his heart; the melody
 Of this small lute gave ease to Petrarch’s wound;
 A thousand times this pipe did Tasso sound;
 With it Camoens soothed an exile’s grief.
 The sonnet glittered a gay myrtle leaf
 Amid the cypress with which Dante crowned
 His visionary brow.”

Byron’s acquaintance with Dante began as early as his school days at Harrow, but it is not until he took up his residence in Italy in 1816 that he came under his influence. In the fourth canto of his “Childe Harold,” that inspired guide-book of Italian cities, lakes, landscapes, and politics, he continually reminds his readers that the soil of Italy has been made sacred by the footsteps of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Boccaccio, and makes many allusions to them also in his prose journals and letters. He was rather fond of comparing his own position in life with Dante’s. His exile, his unhappy marriage, his zeal for Italian liberty and unity, gave some point to the comparison; but what a world of difference between the romantic melancholy of “Childe Harold’s” self-imposed exile and the bitter soul-consuming sorrow of the Florentine!

The “Prophecy of Dante,” an ambitious poem which foretells the “fortunes of Italy in the ensuing centuries,” contains some stirring lines, wears the mark of Dante in its *terza rima*, its division into cantos, and in its recital of Italian wrongs, but the voice is the voice of Byron, not Dante. But if Byron, the poet, fails to sound the spiritual depths of the “Tuscan father’s comedy divine,” Byron, the scoffer, finds material in some of its most solemn scenes and incidents for the mocking gibes and cynical jests of his Don Juan. The cannibalism of the shipwrecked sailors is justified by the reference to the pathetic story of Ugolino:

“If Pedrillo’s fate should mocking be,
 Remember Ugolino condescends
 To eat the head of his arch-enemy
 The moment after he politely ends
 His tale: if foes be food in hell, at sea
 ’Tis surely fair to dine upon our friends,
 When shipwreck’s short allowance grows too scanty,
 Without being much more horrible than Dante.”

Even Dante's passion for Beatrice does not escape his Me-phistophelian laughter.

But let us not take Don Juan too seriously. For after all, Byron did have a tremendous admiration for Dante, the patriot and the man. "I don't wonder," he says to Medwin, "at the enthusiasm of the Italians for Dante. He is the poet of liberty. Persecution, exile, the dread of a foreign grave could not shake his principles."

Shelley followed Byron to Italy in 1818, and from that date until the fateful boat ride in the Gulf of Spezzia, four years later, he was an enthusiastic and appreciative student of Italy's greatest poet. Dante's influence reveals itself on almost every page of his writings. It is felt not only in the choice of selections he made for translations including the Ugolino incident, the picture of Matilda gathering flowers, and the first ode from the *Convito*, but also in the romantic imagery of the "Prometheus Unbound," the "Triumph of Life," and the "Epipsy-chidion." In striking contrast to Lord Byron, Shelley's attitude toward Dante was always reverential. He believed that in tenderness, sensibility, and ideal beauty Dante had excelled all poets except Shakespeare. As an epic poet, he was second only to Homer, and as a religious reformer Luther surpassed him rather in rudeness and acrimony than in boldness of his censures of papal usurpation. "His Vita Nuova," to quote directly from his "Defence of Poetry," "is an inexhaustible fountain of purity of sentiment and language; it is the idealized history of that period and those intervals of his life which were dedicated to love. His apotheosis of Beatrice in Paradise, and the gradations of his own love and her loveliness, by which as by steps he feigns himself to have ascended to the throne of the Supreme Cause, is the most glorious imagination of modern poetry . . . The poetry of Dante may be considered as the bridge thrown over the stream of time, which unites the modern and the ancient world. The distorted notions of invisible things which Dante and his rival Milton have idealized are merely the mask and the mantle in which these great poets walk through eternity enveloped and disguised."

Keats knew Dante only in the three minute volumes of Cary which fit so snug in his traveling bag; but they were sufficient

to open up "realms of gold" almost as goodly as those "that deep-browed Homer ruled." "Dante is less to be commended," he wrote to Haydon, "than loved, and they who truly feel his charm will need no argument for their passionate fondness."

Our survey of English poetry has brought us well within the limits of the nineteenth century. Hitherto Dante had been a poet's poet, or, to be more exact, a scholar's poet, and his English readers had been largely limited to those who knew him in his native tongue. But from now on there was to be a gratifying growth of interest in his writings among the English speaking nations of the earth. Cary's translation aided tremendously in popularizing him; the glowing pages of Macaulay, Carlyle, and Ruskin acquainted their countrymen with the nobility of his character, the beauty of his verse, and the moral grandeurs of his spiritual ideals. To the poets of the new generation, to Tennyson, to the Brownings, to Matthew Arnold, to Rossetti, to Stephen Phillips, he continued to be an unflinching source of inspiration and uplift. From him they received new conceptions of the reality of life and new visions of the possibility of human growth and development. And the end is not yet. As Bishop Welldon says, "The interest in Dante is perennial. There is no limit to it in time or place or among civilized mankind. He is one of the mortals who know not death nor decadence; over him the changes of the world assert no power; to him each generation of men turns for an answer to their own deepest moral and spiritual questionings, nor turns less eagerly, because his answer cannot be, and in their hearts they know it cannot be, their own."

Some Irish Plays and Social Sketches

ELBRIDGE COLBY

Proudfit Fellow in Letters, Columbia University.

We have heard a great deal during recent years, about the Irish National Theatre. Mr. William Butler Yeats, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Lady Gregory have been prominent figures in connection with this dramatic phase of the "Irish Revival", either as enthusiastic supporters, as loyal backers, or as contributors of acting pieces. The name of J. M. Synge has been conspicuous on programs of "The Irish Players." Many magazine articles have discussed the establishment and progress of the idea.

Little was evinced in the way of disparagement until the *Dublin Review*, in January, 1913, printed a very discerning article by Mr. Charles Bewley on "The Irish National Theatre." In that paper it was rather definitely stated that many of the pieces produced by this company, particularly those of Synge, were not typically Irish in character at all, as an eager public had assumed them to be. The writer claimed that these works lacked true proportion. In other literature, as in Shakespeare's Scotch piece, *Macbeth*, for instance, in order not to give a picture with distorted perspective, typical characters were introduced for purposes of balance and made to remark upon the peculiarity of the peculiar character. Thus is established the relation of literary figures to real life. By some one—it matters little whom, but by some one at least—madness must be recognized and called madness, crime must be labelled, folly must be seen clearly to be folly, or all the world turns mad, criminal, or foolish. The objection stated by Mr. Bewley is a valid one, and the general trend of his argument coincided with what has long been the conviction of the present writer—that the present "Irish Revival," as evinced in drama, prose, and poetry is essentially unrepresentative of the Irish life, mind, and spirit. The feeling has gone abroad that Mr. Yeats, Fiona MacLeod and J. M. Synge have exploited Ireland as a literary opportunity worth while, have loved the fantasy, the myth and the legend of the race, and have shown the Celtic world as through a mist of tears. A'

sense of tragedy, and a feeling for the beauty of the tragic,—or a quizzical inspection of life itself—these determine the general tone of the works of these men. They are devotees of a beauty that does not exist; they waste, in dreaming of times past, energies that might well be utilized for more worthy ends.

Standing in contrast to the above writers is an Irishman familiar to Americans, and to the Irish at home and in America, as a lecturer, as a story-teller, and as a dramatist of ability—Mr. Seumas Mac Manus. He is one who has found that Irish patriotism and truth in Irish portraiture are not incompatible with literary achievement. He was born and bred among Donegal people and, in the words of *The New Ireland Review*, "Their thoughts are his thoughts, he lives their life, he is happy in their happiness, and grieves with their grief." His work is part of an "Irish Revival" in a far deeper and truer and more powerful sense than that of the literary aesthete and indifferent spectator, an Irish Revival evident in the social, the industrial, the economic conditions of the whole land. Life is changing, and there are fresh and stirring forces at work. A new Patriotism has sprung to birth, and new currents of industry stir among the people. Animated by their rising hopes, the writers of Young Ireland stand true to conditions of today—with no shifting mists or indefinite yearnings—remain true to life, and face forward.

The surest test of truth is success, especially in the case of plays in the nature of social sketches. The plays of Mr. Mac Manus were first presented to the most severe judges of his subject, to the Irish themselves; and the approval accorded them in Ireland, in spite of the fact that their analyses are often uncomplimentary, even harshly critical, proves their worth. They were written to supply a demand for short pieces suitable for amateur presentation. Mr. Mac Manus met the needs of the hour; but, not only that, he builded better than he knew. His plays have been acted in almost every corner of the hills and in almost every valley of Ireland. Further than this they have been taken to pastures new, and in America they have been presented on many occasions, in many cities, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Coast.

And, further yet, they, in their success, stand as a powerful living protest against the shams, the superstitions, the trivialities, the falsity and untruth of what has been called the "Irish Revival."

The Woman of Seven Sorrows is an allegorical study of the fortunes of *Shiela ni Gara*, "the little old woman"—that is, Ireland. A publisher's note which appears at the back of the book throws some light on the intent of Mr. Mac Manus: "As this metrical drama proved, when produced at the Sambain festival, to be a successful stage play, the author resolved to put it forth in book form, in order that country Dramatic Societies might be enabled to make use of it for propagandist purposes. All such in Ireland, who wish to use it, will be made welcome to it, free of acting fee."

Shiela is continually accompanied by Memory and Hope. Her pride is humbled, her house crumbled, and thought of glories that were hers but gives pain:

Shiela:

Oft on my woeful journey has it seemed, as now, but yet a little way; and I, though faint, and fain to rest, ta'en heart again, and stumbled on, to find when next I looked, 'twas far, and far—or gone. It is a mirage.
 Would any own this way-worn woman, queen—this woman of the tear-stained face, and thorn-pierced feet, of wind-tossed hair, and garments rent and poor—would any own her queen?

Hope:

Yes, yes, ten thousand thousand hearts beat true to Shiela still, and love her all the dearer for her woes.

The "seven sorrows" are denials of assistance by seven persons who had formerly pledged allegiance. The farewell of a country boy about to join the emigration is worthy of quotation: it illustrates an attitude:

"I wearied of my cramped life within the circling hills that gloomed our home; my hands were wearied on the spade; my eyes were wearied watching o'er the ring that shut me in; my heart went weary yearning, yearning,—for—I know not what. Young men left our hills, and wandered far, and sailed the seas, and after years returned with tidings strange of lands beyond, where life is life, and hearts can never hunger. They told of cities fair, with spires and domes that glittered in the sun, and—gold, and gold, and gold! In nightly dreams, and dreams by day, I see these cities now. Their flashing domes, and

glittering spires bewitch my soul, and stay I cannot. I cannot break the hidden power that draws me."

Thus does Mac Manus sketch the false and unworthy attractions which seduce to emigration.

If, in the first part of the play, the nationalistic motive is prominent, in Shiela's closing speech it bursts forth triumphant, with full power for the grand finale. We have been told of the sorrows of "the little old woman," how of her sons and daughters some had wearied of the struggle, and some had been torn away by dire necessity or lured afar to push their fortunes in foreign lands and among strange peoples. It is for this reason that in her despair *The Dark Rose* would banish Memory along with Hope, banish remembrance of bitter oppressions and tragic partings of the past, bloody slaughters that took the flower of her youth, and persistent emigrations that sapped her strength. Thus the theme is strangely nationalistic, with emphasis on the idea of disloyalty in those who leave her and insistence on her need of support. The ending is bravely patriotic and loyally hopeful.

Before leaving this splendid little play, we cannot refrain from mentioning a few thoughts that come into our mind in connection with it concerning Mr. Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*. Mr. Yeats also tells a story of the love of the countryman for Shiela ni Gara, the "little old woman". He lays his scene at the time of a "rising" and shows how the Irishman leaves his lands, his parents, his brother, and even his newly betrothed wife to follow the "little old woman" who represents Ireland. There are two striking passages in the piece: the first is the exit of Kathleen ni Houlihan, down the road, off-stage, declaring in ringing tones, of those who shall support her: "They shall be remembered forever—and forever—and forever". The second comes after the departure of the older brother Michael. Patrick, the younger brother enters and, being questioned, says he has seen, not as all expected him to say—an old woman going along the street, but a young woman, with flowers in her hair, *and she walked like a queen*. Except for these two flashes of the ardent Irish spirit, the general tone of Mr. Yeats's piece seems to be de-

pressing. He is continually insisting on the tragedy of life in Ireland brought on by nationalism; his picture is drawn from the point of view of the family. Kathleen ni Houlihan is scarcely more, to him, than a grim enchantress who breaks up the happiness of the family circle. With Mr. Mac Manus the canvas is reversed, it is disloyalty to the cause that brings about anguish rather than loyalty to it, and it is Kathleen ni Houlihan who is hurt rather than any individuals. It is a matter of interpretation: Mr. Yeats thinks of the harm of the exactions, Mr. Mac Manus of the joy of the service; Mr. Yeats thinks of the fact, Mr. Mac Manus of the spirit that actuates the fact; Mr. Yeats thinks of the test of loyalty as a cruel intervention, Mr. Mac Manus as a glorious transfiguration; to Mr. Yeats the "little old woman" makes an unreasonable demand, to Mr. Mac Manus she merely receives her due.

The others of the plays of Mr. Mac Manus are chiefly realistic pictures of Irish life and character. Of these there is a small group which carry a nationalistic argument, while the others are largely of a social nature. *The Hard Hearted Man*, *Orange and Green*, *Rory Wins*, and *Bong Tong Come to Balriddery*—each of them seem to admit of classification as a play with a purpose.

To say of *The Hard Hearted Man* that, on account of its propagandist nature, the author offers it for playing purposes free of acting fee, is a good indication of the purpose of the piece. It is an anti-emigration play of merit and conviction. The "hard hearted man" is one who discountenances a youth's going to America, who offers work on his own place, and who, finally, at the end of the play, when the "Yankee" has come home repentant, gives him work to do. From this play we learn that emigration is all a matter of pride, that a haughty refusal to dig the neighbor's land for a wage is more often the cause of leaving than dire necessity. With employment offered him in Ireland, William Breslin plans to leave his old father behind and to "push his fortune" in America. It is, as we have said, a matter of pride. "I mean", says Breslin, "no man who's a man, would live here, in hunger and hardships, and when there's such a country as Amerikey afore him."

The opposite stand, taken by Maurice Ruddy, he who offered

the job, the hard-hearted man, is interesting and constitutes the force of the nationalistic argument :

“ Small wonder Ireland is dhriving to the devil—All that I have seen since them days was the sorry sight of our poor country going from bad to worse—bein’ driven headlong to the devil by careless ones, that will neither help the country themselves, nor teach their childre to help her ; but teaching their childre three things always To forget their country’s language, an’ to forget their country, an’ to get out of their country as fast as they can My black curse upon the emigrant ship! for it’s takin’ the flower of our girls an’ the pick of our men, from innocence here to the greed an’ the shame an’ the guilt, the unhappy life an’ the remorseful death there.”

Realism is the chief characteristic of all these plays—including the small patriotic group just discussed. *The Lad from Largymore*, *Dinny O’Dowd*, *Nabby Harren’s Matching*, *Mrs. Connolly’s Cashmere*, and *The Leadin’ Road to Donegal*, each of these is brief and true to life, and each is built around a very good situation. *The Leadin’ Road to Donegal* seems to the present writer very nearly, if not certainly, the best of all of this type. It runs as follows: Taidy, the tailor, and his wife are sitting up late to finish a suit for a wedding the morrow. Just as they are about to go to bed Taidy discovers that the little dog has been playing with the coat and vest of the suit and got them all dirty on the floor. There are a few warm words, and Taidy finally exclaims: “There she goes—there she goes now. Set a woman’s tongue goin’, an’ Bonnyparty himself, at the head of all his army, couldn’t stop it.” Each accuses the other of being a talk-apace; and finally they agree that the first who speaks a single word “will have to put breedin’ on the little dog.” They settle before the fire again. The climax comes with the arrival of travelers at confused cross-roads outside the cabin who desire to be told or pointed out the leadin’ road to Donegal. Remembering their pledge neither Taidy nor Mary speaks, and in turn a footman and a driver flee the room in consternation deeming some spell to be on the cabin. The gentleman finally enters and brings about the denouement by offering to kiss Mary.

These are simple plays, requiring few actors and little stage-setting. Mr. Mac Manus is direct and lucid at exposition, and his handling of tense dramatic moments is usually very good.

His characterization is ever sympathetic and apt, and the action is clear throughout. We cannot say, as we might have been led to say of another, that he seems to have caught the Irish spirit: he has known and lived the Irish life, and the very essence of his speech and of his mood is Irish.

Mr. Mac Manus's dramatic skill is shown in one of his defects. Often horse-play of one kind or another constitutes or accompanies the denouement, as in *The Lad from Largymore* where a whip is used to good effect, in *Bong Tong Come to Balriddery* where Aunt Brigid drives two Englishmen out of the house, in *Mrs. Connolly's Cashmere* at the forceful recovery of the "bequeathed" articles, and in *The Hard Hearted Man* in the "roughhouse" following the breaking open of the trunk of the "Come-home Yankee" and the discovery that it is "packed" with one shirtfront and some huge rocks. This sort of thing is not in the best of taste, of course, and yet Mr. Mac Manus carries his action along very well, makes the rough-and-tumble good-naturedly humorous, and keeps it incidental.

In a recently published book Professor Cornelius Weygandt discusses *Irish Plays and Playwrights* since the opening of the Abbey Street Theatre and remarks concerning three of the books of Mr. Mac Manus (without any mention of the plays): "When all is said you cannot admit their author to be more than a clever entertainer." Entirely aside from the fact that Professor Weygandt devotes an altogether disproportionate amount of space to "Fiona MacLeod", J. M. Synge and Mr. Yeats, we desire to take immediate issue. Mr. Mac Manus is a big figure, a far bigger figure than Professor Weygandt imagines. His writings have a social force far more powerful as an essentially *Irish* characteristic than any of the superficialities and fantasies of Professor Weygandt's favorites. If Professor Weygandt has liked the imaginative elements more than the real, fanciful pictures more than social; if Professor Weygandt is looking for the merely pleasurable rather than the Irish elements, it is his own concern. Dublin had a theatre and a stage centuries before a modern dramatic literature, typically Irish, came into existence. In it there were played many excellent pieces, which had been imported from London. Yet, no one ever thought of speaking of that as Irish drama. So

now, we will not admit that Professor Weygandt should, under the title he uses, slight the most truly Irish of all the Irish playwrights and neglect to notice the value of his pieces as social pictures, while he talks of plays by English aesthetes.

When we say that Mr. Seumas Mac Manus is, in his plays as well as in his social sketches, more than the mere entertainer which the other writer has just judged him to be, we mean that he stands for the Irish race,—its national hope and its country life. Living men and women breathe down his pages, and the cleverest wit of the Irishman is continually in evidence. Here are no such distorted figures as those in *John Bull's Other Island* by Bernard Shaw, in *The Playboy of the Western World* by J. M. Synge, or in *The Tinker's Wedding*. Mr. Mac Manus is faithful to his subjects; his tailors are tailors, his countrymen countrymen, his apprentices apprentices. In *Dinny O'Dowd*, if we wish to take an example, we find him dealing with a priest who really believes that Dinny has come back to life and is frightened at meeting him; and yet the execution of the passage is always respectful: there is no undercurrent of sneering laughter as in *The Tinker's Wedding*. This is but one comparison. Others would show the same difference, a difference due to the fact that Mr. Synge writes from without and Mr. Mac Manus from within.

If the plays of Mr. Mac Manus may be said to be of value for their social characterizations, so much more so must be his poems and prose sketches. His first volume in verse was *Schuilers from Heathy Hills*; and *Ballads of a Country Boy*, his latest, dates some years back. Of recent times he has been doing mostly prose studies. Three volumes constitute the main body of his non-dramatic prose work, *The Bend of the Road* (1898); *A Lad of the O'Friels* (1902); and *Yourself and the Neighbors* (1914). Changing moods from pathos to laughter, from sentiment to heroism, his work is ever permeated with the spirit of Donegal hillsides.

When Mr. Mac Manus strikes the lyric mood, his singing is fresh and natural: we seem to hear the bard of a race. Many are the wonder tales he himself has told by evening firesides, rollicking tales, tales of enchantment, and Irish tales handed down from of old. *Dr. Kilgannon*, *The Bewitched Fiddle*,

Irish Nights, *Through the Turf Smoke*, and *The Leadin' Road to Donegal* were the kind of story related by this *seanachie* to wondering auditors among the hills of Ireland. *Donegal Fairy Stories* and *In Chimney Corners* are typical of the lore of the *seanachies*; the rollicking stories of the type of *Dr. Kilgannon* are of Mr. Mac Manus's own creation. Books are very scarce in Ireland. Mr. Mac Manus has told the present writer how he got "the tradition" of a book and followed that book several times over the range of hills, as it was loaned to various persons, until at last he was able to borrow it for his own use. Histories and biographies were treasured. Tales were learned and good verse was easily memorized. *When the Nation Came* is the title of one of the studies telling how several men clubbed together to subscribe to the *Nation*; and how, after one had traveled seven miles to get it, they gathered at the house of Denis Mac Faddyen, whose daughter Ellen read the paper aloud. So precious and so prized was reading material!

The Bend of the Road and *A Lad of the O'Friel's*—anecdotes of his own boyhood and youth in the Donegal village—are very much alike, except that the sketches in the latter form a sequence of a semi-biographical nature. We have used the words "social sketches" as characterizing these pieces of work. This seems the appropriate classification. And in doing social sketches Mr. Mac Manus has had great success because he thoroughly understands the life of which he writes: he has lived it and is saturated with it. He writes with the viewpoint and the deft, sympathetic touch of one within, not as an on-looker or student. It is all stored within him, and now he is giving it forth. For seven years he was *The Masther* in a Donegal village, and then one day he turned the key in the door and came over the hills and took the boat to sail away for America. It is of himself that he has related the incidents of *Intellectual Feats by the Fireside* and *The Masther and the Bocca Fadh*. He is telling of his own boyish pranks when he writes of the doings of the followers of the Vagabone. It is of himself that he says:

"The bird in the bush and the trout in the burn, not less than the hills and the streams, were my companions, as well as the other bare-footed, gay-hearted lads of Knockagar, who ran with me when I chose.

But these latter I did not always choose; for, though they appreciated the nests of mavis and leverock and partridge I showed them, and the trout pool I discovered them, and the den of wild cherries I disclosed to them, and the tales I told them by the way, and the fiery Irish ballads I said for them—still, they were unsatisfying: they could not roam the hills for the hills' sake, and a mavis singing on the thorn, or a trout leaping in the pool, suggested to them a fine "cock-shot" above and beyond all else."

The book is a masterpiece. We know of no better means of coming to an appreciation and love of the Irish life and the Irish people. The characterization and the description is splendid. If we never read the book again—though we shall, many times—we should never forget the wild loneliness on Glenboran; the confusion of the big Harvest Fair of Glenties; the charm of story-telling in the evenings; the tense excitement of the hand-ball contest; the impressive splendor of a religious pilgrimage to Lock Dearth; the rivalry and glory of the great bonfires on Midsummer's Night; and the real affection of Father Dan for his people, and his sorrows because it seems that all the boys and girls must go the road to "Amerikay."

Mr. Mac Manus may not be really auto-biographical in *any* incident, and yet in *every* incident he gives the impression of writing of something of which he knows and of which he has had experience. With but little difficulty we yield to the impulse of our imagination, and, at the spell of his pen, seat ourselves around Tool-a-Gallagher's candle and come to know all these things even as though part of our own experience.

Yourself and the Neighbors is the title of Mr. Mac Manus's newest book. The very titles of the studies therein collected indicate the character of the book. It is a sequence again, somewhat after the fashion of the splendid *Lad of the O'Friel's*, but the mood is less imaginative and more realistic; it deals less with thoughts and ideas and dreams and more with hard actualities than a *Lad of the O'Friel's*. The separate pieces are *In Barefoot Times*, *A Day in the Bog*, *Your Courtin' Days*, *Your Wedding*, *When a Man's Married*, *The Gentle People*, *When the Tinkers Came*, *The Come-Home Yankee*, *The Masther*, and *Evening's Quiet End*. We who have been privileged to read this volume in the manuscript

venture the statement that it surpasses both his other volumes. All of it is written in the second person, a trick of the author's which gives a reality, a familiarity, and a charm from which it is not possible to escape.

What in music is called the attack, is simply irresistible in work like this. The reader is captured and put in the proper subjective mood at once, with, for instance, an opening sentence like: "Do you mind the turf cutting, the turf cutting in Donegal, the turf cutting in the lone bogs, far away, among the far hills." Another sketch begins: "From the outshoot bed just adjoining the kitchen fire—a bed that never contained less than three or more than five—you, because you had reached the careburdened age of eight, tumbled, just at the screech o' day, when your mother, the first in the house to stir, was poking last night's coals from the ashes in which they had been raked, building them on the hearth, and piling black turf around them—to make a big, roaring, blazing, fire, in which should boil the pot for your morning's stir about."

So, in simple speech, in strong sentences of Anglo-Saxon words, with few French or Latin derivatives, we are transported to the Irish soil. We fall in love, and we join "the boys", and we look into the eyes of our *cailin* and know that her soul says to us: "In Ireland all men that are men must divide their hearts between two loves." We go off to reap the Scotch Harvest; we extend our hospitality and have to entertain the Tinkers for all winter; we enjoy with delight and wonder the contests of larnin' in which *The Masther* is engaged; we glory in becoming one of the great *seanachies* of the countryside and indulging in entrancing reminiscences; we firmly believe in the Gentle Folk and would agree that "there are more neighbours at Knockagar than are on the priest's books. There is hardly a foot of ground without its fairy." What is probably the best of these sketches is the one of *The Come-Home Yankee*, with its caustic remarks of the satiric cynic, with emphasis on ties of neighbourly love, with glad welcome from each and all, with the Mother breaking down completely when she finds herself, at rosary time, asking for a prayer for Dan "wandering among strangers," when Dan is kneeling by her side.

Suffice to say that we like to think ourselves a boy in Ireland, to renew in imagination the lilt of singing birds, the charm of slanting hillsides, the enchantment of untenanted grazing lands, the glint of sun-lit roofs in the wondrous far-off Town, the delight in the swirling, dimpling trout pool, or perhaps the spell of *seanachie* tales in the gloaming, the joy in the flickering fire, the friendly interest of the neighbours, and the kindly benediction of Father Dan. This, all this, is ours for the asking.

Mr. Mac Manus wields a magic wand. He carries one across the seas and into another life with little difficulty. A person of distinct literary ability, he interprets his own personality to his reader, and thereby interprets the Irish character. His portraiture is always true and always sympathetic, and his patriotic enthusiasm is always in evidence. He knows Ireland as only an Irishman can; he knows her past and her present, her tradition and her stirring life; he knows her and he loves her; he loves her and he would serve her,—with his pen now, later with his hands, if ever there be need.

Lincoln's Interview With John B. Baldwin

WILMER L. HALL

There are historical works, bearing the stamp of authenticity, which claim for Lincoln an unwavering adherence to the policy "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government," one of the latest being F. E. Chadwick's "Causes of the Civil War" (American Nation Series). Seward's egotism, presumption, and sanguine expectation during the first month of Lincoln's administration have been used rather effectually to vindicate Lincoln of double-dealing with the Confederate government; but the attempt to show that his policy in regard to the property of the United States within the seceded states—especially Fort Sumter—was one of clear-cut, unwavering, adherence to an early decision does not meet with such general acceptance.

Lincoln had been elected by a minority of the popular vote. He had not the general support of the North, while the South accorded his administration little else but hostility. His inauguration found an established government formed by seven southern states claiming to exercise the functions of an independent government in a concerted, united, manner. The property of the United States within the seceded states had been possessed by the Confederate government, with the exception of Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Florida, Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina, and a few minor posts. Fort Sumter had been an extreme irritant to South Carolina for nearly three months, and action in regard to it could not long be deferred. To effect a settlement of affairs between the two governments three commissioners had been appointed by the Confederate government to negotiate with the new administration at Washington.

The border states, Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri still remained in the Union, divided by policy, political principles and sentiment. The co-operation of these states was essential to the Confederacy and was generally regarded as indispensable to the Federal government. Virginia, by virtue of her influence, power,

and former prestige, was regarded as the deciding factor in the policy of the border states. Her legislature assembled in special session on January 7, 1861, having been called together by Governor Letcher. Provision for holding a convention was soon made, February 4 being set as the date for the election of delegates. There was a shrewd, intelligent, body of men in Virginia who generally controlled the Democratic party organization of the state. These men were inclined toward the South Carolina school of politics, secession being their remedy for southern ills. There was another body of politicians, also shrewd and intelligent, having a larger share of the wealth and brains of the state under their influence. This party was composed largely of members of the old Whig party and was Unionist in tendency. By great exertion they had carried the state for the Bell-Everett, the "Union" party, in the election of 1860. But, however these parties might differ, they were generally united upon the state-rights principles with which Virginia was so thoroughly imbued. This is shown quite clearly in the election of delegates to the convention. Unconditional Union men as well as ardent exponents of secession were, in most cases, defeated, the body being generally composed of those who sought a compromise of disagreements, additional constitutional guarantees to the South, and who were opposed to the use of coercive measures against the seceded states. Their political theories generally accorded sovereign power to the individual states.¹

On January 19, the Virginia legislature called what is known as the Peace Conference, composed of delegates from the states of the Union, to settle sectional differences. This convention assembled in Washington on February 4 and remained in session until the end of the month. The work of this conference was in vain, as the time for a compromise agreeable to both sections had long passed.

Up to this time, Lincoln had not created a favorable sentiment. His speeches en route to Washington, and general bearing, had made an unfortunate impression upon the North. His inaugural address was regarded with disfavor in the bord-

¹ See James Barbour to Seward, Feb. 8, 1861, Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward*, II., 545-47.

er states as smacking of coercion. His unfamiliarity with the problems which confronted him was manifest, and it was too much to expect decided policies of him.

The question of Fort Sumter was brought to Lincoln's immediate attention. The outgoing administration tendered, on March 5, a communication from Major Anderson, commander at Fort Sumter, dated February 28, in which he stated that he had provisions for about a month only, and gave opinions of the formidable armament necessary to relieve him.² Lincoln sought the advice of General Scott, head of the army, who informed him that the relief of the fort was impracticable. Later, Scott advised that Sumter should be evacuated. Plans were discussed, and at a cabinet meeting on March 15, Lincoln asked if it were wise to attempt to provision the fort. Five of the cabinet were against the attempt, one was for it conditionally, and only one positively in favor of it. Lincoln made no decision in regard to the matter.

At this time the Confederate commissioners in Washington were carrying on indirect negotiations with Seward and receiving full assurances of the early evacuation of Fort Sumter.³ The importance attached to the evacuation was well understood by both sides. John A. Gilmer of North Carolina who had been offered a place in the Lincoln cabinet as an overture of peace to Southern Unionists was a constant, and thoroughly informed, correspondent of Seward, and kept him posted as to Southern feeling, the necessity of avoiding any possibility of conflict, and the desire of the extreme secessionists that a clash should occur in order that the border states might be carried into secession and the independence of the Southern Confederacy assured.⁴ Seward did not lack other correspondents and agents at the South⁵ and realized the part that Fort Sumter was playing in the attitude of the border states. Both policy and necessity seemed to make evacuation inevitable. Not only did Seward assure the Confederate commissioners of such an intention upon the part of the administration, but also stated

² James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III., 325; French Ensor Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (American Nation, XIX.) 290.

³ Rhodes, *United States*, III, 328-332, 336-37; Samuel Wylie Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War*, 322-45.

⁴ John A. Gilmer to Seward, Bancroft, *Seward*, II., 545-47.

⁵ John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, III., 423.

the intention to others. To J. C. Welling, an editor of the *National Intelligencer*, he made a similar statement, with the full knowledge and consent of Lincoln, as it was claimed. This information was to be a guide to Welling as a journalist, and was joined with a request that Welling would communicate the same information to George W. Summers, a leader of the Unionists in the Virginia convention. On March 19, Summers replied to Welling, stating that this declared purpose had given the Unionists increased strength; and adding that a failure to evacuate the fort would ruin them.⁶

It is scarcely conceivable that personal interviews, cabinet meetings, and correspondence could have left Lincoln ignorant of these assurances of the evacuation of Fort Sumter. It seems that Lincoln also, for a while, considered that evacuation was necessary. Secretary Welles' declaration of Lincoln's indecision,⁷ Seward's statement to Welling, Douglas's assertion that Lincoln most positively declared that Sumter would be abandoned,⁸ John Hay's declaration that Lincoln said that he had proposed before and after his inauguration to evacuate Sumter if Southern Unionists would adjourn a certain convention,⁹ and the interview of Lincoln with Baldwin would tend to establish this point of view. It is even claimed that Lincoln had at one time signed an order for the evacuation and had approved a proof-sheet of an article which stated the fact and gave reasons for it. In this article the advice of the peace-makers was observed, the military necessity of evacuation being made the reason; and this necessity was attributed to the treachery of the Buchanan administration.¹⁰

The last two weeks of March saw a marked change in the attitude of the North. Letters and telegrams of support came to the administration; the radical Republican senators in Washington were against a supine policy, as was the West which feared for the navigation of the Mississippi; and the Northern governors were firmly behind the administration in any aggres-

⁶ J. C. Welling's account and letter of Summers, in *Nation*, XXIX., 383-384 (Dec. 4, 1879).

⁷ *Diary of Gideon Welles*, I., 9, 13.

⁸ *The Diary of a Public Man*, in *North American Review*, CXXIX, 493.

⁹ *Letters and Diaries of John Hay*, I., 47. Quoted by Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, 158.

¹⁰ Robert R. Howison, *History of the War*, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXXIV., 404; Article is printed in *Richmond Examiner*, Aug. 8, 1861.

sive mode of action. The virtual free trade policy of the South was not one which the North could view with entire equanimity. At the cabinet meeting on March 29th only two members were in favor of abandoning the fort, and three decidedly maintained that it should be relieved. At the close of the meeting the President directed that an expedition be prepared to sail as early as April 6. But he was not positively decided to send this expedition. It was to be "used or not according to circumstances."¹²

Meanwhile the secession movement in Virginia was gaining ground. The newspapers were advocating secession for economic reasons, picturing the prosperity of Virginia as the leader of the Southern Confederacy, and her degenerate position as a member of the Union;¹³ petitions advocating secession, from mass-meetings in the counties, poured into the convention;¹⁴ tremendous local pressure surrounded the convention in Richmond; the Confederate government appealed, and threatened, too, by laws which were proscriptive of Virginia's economic interests.¹⁵ Besides, secession was a popular movement and had for its ally the advantage of a moving, aggressive, force opposed to relative passivity. It was claimed that the alliance of the border states with the Confederacy would eliminate any intention of armed hostility by the government of the United States.

It was at this deciding point of the two courses of action that Lincoln's interview with Baldwin was held. The account of this interview was not published until after Lincoln's death and is derived from two main sources, John B. Baldwin, and John M. Botts.

John B. Baldwin was a native of Augusta County, Virginia. He was a lawyer of note, had been a member of the lower house of the Virginia legislature, and was elected, as a most pronounced Unionist, to the convention of 1861. He enjoyed the confidence of the people of Augusta, and was generally regarded as a man of integrity and forceful intellect.

John Minor Botts was an "old line" Whig of the Henry

¹² Rhodes, *United States*, III., 335.

¹³ *Richmond Dispatch*, April 2, 3, 9, 1861.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1861.

¹⁵ *Diary of a Public Man*, in *North American Review*, CXXIX., 494.

Clay school, a life-long adherent of Clay, and a Unionist who never wavered in his attachment. He had been a member of the lower house of the Virginia legislature from 1833 to 1839, a member of Congress for three terms—1839-1843 and 1847-1849—and a member of the Virginia constitutional convention of 1850-51. Extreme in his opinions and statements, which were not well received in Virginia, pertinacious, egotistical, and bitter, he had become very unpopular in his native state. He had been defeated for the Virginia convention of 1861.

Botts's version of the interview is found in his testimony before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, on February 15, 1866;¹⁶ in the testimony of J. F. Lewis before this committee, on February 7, 1866; and in Botts's book, "The Great Rebellion."¹⁷

Botts states that on April 5, 1861, he went to Washington, where there were a good many Virginia Unionists, all anxious that a peace policy might prevail. On April 7, he called, by appointment, on Lincoln and was with him the entire evening. His account of this interview, as relating to John B. Baldwin, is, in substance, as follows: At least a week prior to that time, Lincoln had sent for George W. Summers, who was well known to him, to come to see him on important business; and if he could not come to send some other prominent Union man. Summers could not go and sent Baldwin in his place. Baldwin was slow in getting to Washington, arriving on April 5, about a week later than he was expected. Lincoln expressed to Baldwin his regret at the delay, saying that he feared he had come too late. He had a proposition to make to try to preserve the peace of the country. However, Lincoln said, he would make it yet. There was a fleet at New York ready to sail that afternoon at five o'clock. Major Anderson had provisions for a short time only, and it was necessary to relieve him. The Virginia convention had been in session nearly two months and had done little but "shake the rod" over his (Lincoln's) head. By a vote just taken it appeared that there was a large majority against secession. Lincoln said that he was so anxious to maintain peace, and to save the border states to the Union,

¹⁶ *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction at the First Session, Thirty-ninth Congress, Part II.*, 114-119.

¹⁷ John M. Botts, *The Great Rebellion*, 194-202.

that if the Union men would adjourn the convention without passing an ordinance of secession, he would telegraph at once to New York, arrest the sailing of the fleet, and take the responsibility of evacuating Fort Sumter. Baldwin would not consider this proposition to adjourn the convention *sine die* and scarcely treated Lincoln with civility. Botts said that he asked permission to present this same proposition to the Union men of the convention, but Lincoln stated that it was too late as the fleet had sailed on Friday, April 5.

Botts states that Lincoln did not want him to make public this proposition at that time, but that he mentioned it privately to several friends when he returned to Richmond. One of these, John F. Lewis, of Rockingham County, could scarcely credit it and asked and obtained permission to mention it to Baldwin. The next day, April 17, he took Baldwin to Bott's house where this proposition was stated. Baldwin did not deny it, but excused himself from an explanation then on account of pressing business in the convention. Lewis bore out this statement in his testimony before the Reconstruction Committee,¹⁸ but his testimony being given before Baldwin's denial of the substance of the interview, he did not enter into the matter fully. Later on he furnished Botts with letters in which he asserted that Baldwin admitted the proposition in his presence, and also hinted that Baldwin had mentioned it privately to a few friends in the convention, all of whom had kept the matter secret.

Baldwin's version of this interview is given in his testimony before the Reconstruction Committee, on February 10, 1866; in his direct denial of Botts's account, published in the *Richmond Whig*, June 27, 1866; and in R. L. Dabney's account in the Southern Historical Society Papers.¹⁹ Some details of his version are substantiated by Allan B. Magruder, who served as Lincoln's messenger to Richmond.²⁰

Magruder, a Virginian, who was a lawyer practicing in Washington, states that he was requested, on April 2, 1861, to undertake this mission to Richmond. He communicated with Summers, and returned to Washington with Baldwin, on

¹⁸ *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., 71.*

¹⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers, I., 443-455.*

²⁰ *The Atlantic Monthly, April, 1875; Richmond Whig, June 27, 1866.*

April 3. On April 4 he escorted Baldwin to Seward and introduced him. Baldwin was Magruder's guest while in Washington, and Magruder considered that he enjoyed Baldwin's confidence, the latter talking to him freely about his interview with Lincoln.

Baldwin says that he was selected by Summers and some other Union men because he was little known in Washington, and possessed the confidence of the Union men in the convention. He set out with Magruder at once—April 3—and was taken to Seward on the morning of April 4. Seward took him to the President at once. As soon as Lincoln was disengaged Seward introduced Baldwin, and Lincoln took him to a room where they could talk privately. Lincoln immediately told him that he feared he had come too late,—that he wished he could have been there several days before. Baldwin asked him “too late for what?”, but received no explanation. He reminded Lincoln that it was impossible that he could have come any quicker. Lincoln then wanted to know why the Union men did not adjourn the Virginia convention, as it was a menace to him and placed him in an awkward position. Baldwin proceeded to show Lincoln that adjournment was inadvisable, that the convention was controlled by Union men, and indicated to Lincoln how necessary it was that he should show the South that he would protect their interests. He advised Lincoln to withdraw the forces from southern forts in order to indicate his peaceful intentions, and to call a national convention to settle the troubles of the country. Lincoln said something about withdrawing the troops from Sumter on the ground of military necessity; and also spoke of feeding the force there. Baldwin advised him not to attempt to provision the fort, and to admit the southern claim to the fort by evacuation. Lincoln was much concerned about the effect of the southern low tariff upon the northern protective policy. Baldwin saw that Lincoln had decided upon a coercive policy and assured him emphatically and fully that it was no “game of brag” upon the part of the South, and that they were on the verge of a great war which would come when the first blow was struck.

Baldwin stated that the version which was given by Botts was wrong,—that Lincoln made no promise nor offering of

any sort. He was watchful for any basis of compromise and, while he would not have considered practicable the adjournment, *sine die*, of the Virginia convention in return for the evacuation of Sumter, he would have seized upon this as a basis for negotiation.²¹

On analyzing these two statements it becomes clear that there are several discrepancies and inaccuracies in Botts's account. He confused his conversation with Lincoln, on April 7, with his account of Lincoln's interview with Baldwin. In his evidence before the Reconstruction Committee he stated that Lincoln told Baldwin that a messenger had been despatched to Governor Pickens of South Carolina, informing him of the relief expedition being sent to Sumter.²² This messenger was not sent until April 6. It will also be noticed that there was no intention to send the fleet from New York on April 5, but on April 6.²³ Baldwin's interview with Lincoln took place on April 4 and not on April 5. The journal of the Virginia convention indicates his absence on April 4 and his presence on April 5.²⁴ This being the case Lincoln could not have mentioned the vote on secession in the convention which took place on April 4, at the evening session,²⁵ after the interview had taken place. On the other hand, Botts, while proverbially overconfident in his statement, viewing matters always from his own strongly biased point of view, generally had a basis for his assertions; and his emphatic statement, his charge to Baldwin at his house on April 17, and his attempted corroborative proof through John F. Lewis and others indicate that he was sincere in the belief that Lincoln had made the proposition to Baldwin as stated by him. Lewis's subsequent course as a thorough-going Unionist places him under a similar charge of bias.

There are no glaring discrepancies in Baldwin's statements. He and Magruder agree that it was April 3 that this mission to Washington was undertaken, and there is no good reason to reject Magruder's assertion that he undertook the visit to Richmond, by the request of Lincoln, on April 2. Baldwin

²¹ *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II.*, 105.

²² *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II.*, 114.

²³ Rhodes, *United States*, III., 335, 337-38.

²⁴ *Journal of the Convention of Virginia*, 1861. Appendix. Journal of the Committee of the Whole, 32 seq.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-33; *Richmond Examiner*, April 5, 1861; *Richmond Whig*, June 27, 1866.

related some conversation with Lincoln in reference to Fort Sumter, and here his testimony was not unequivocal as to Lincoln's proposition of evacuation. He said that if Lincoln had stated that such a proposition was made he would be bound to concede it, though it never occurred to him then that such a proposition was made.²⁶

Botts wished to show that Baldwin suppressed a true account of this interview to further secession and to claim personal reward and advancement under an established Confederacy of which Virginia should be a member.²⁷ This appears to be unjust to Baldwin who, though siding actively with the Confederacy after the secession of Virginia, bore previously the hearty denunciation of secession papers for his Union position,²⁸ and who voted at last against the ordinance of secession.

There are not lacking assertions that Lincoln stated to others that a proposition to evacuate Sumter had been made to Baldwin, but these statements are unauthenticated.²⁹

From the existing evidence we can safely conclude that Baldwin was summoned to Washington to receive some proposition; that he had an interview with Lincoln on April 4; and that for certain reasons it was *too late* to make the proposition. Everything considered, it is rather difficult to reject the conclusion that this proposition was based upon the evacuation of Fort Sumter in its bearing upon the Virginia convention and the attitude of the border states. It seems that Lincoln's course of indecision had suddenly given place to a policy of decision, yielding to the positive support of the northern governors, which was personally tendered him at this time,³⁰ and to the immense pressure in general which urged determined measures. It is probable that he stated to Baldwin, partially and guardedly, and to Botts, more freely, *the proposition which was to have been made.*

It was on April 4 that Lincoln gave a definite order for the fleet to sail for the relief of Fort Sumter.

²⁶ *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., 106.*

²⁷ Botts, *Great Rebellion*, 200.

²⁸ *Richmond Examiner*, April 8, 1861.

²⁹ See Botts, *Great Rebellion*, 200-201; Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, 311.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 340; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I., 453; Rhodes, *United States*, III., 346 n.; *Richmond Whig*, June 27, 1866.

The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund

WILLIAM K. BOYD

Professor of History in Trinity College

Concerning no phase of southern life are there more general misconceptions than the origins of public education. The structure of society prior to the war was aristocratic, often concealing a really democratic spirit. The principle of public education was not clearly and definitely written in the fundamental law of the southern states until the reconstruction constitutions, and the same may be said of the methods by which the schools of today are organized and administered. Hence the conclusion is quite prevalent that public education in the south is the product of reconstruction. "As for free public schools," says one writer, "not a single southern state had organized and put in operation a system before the civil war."¹

On the contrary, the truth is that each of the states that adopted the policy of secession had prior to 1860 some system of common schools. South Carolina made direct appropriations for schools. The other ten states had funds or endowments for public education whose income was supplemented by local taxation in North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia and by a general state tax in Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas, while Tennessee and Virginia also levied poll taxes. There is a tradition that these schools were "poor schools", open without tuition only to pauper children. Such a conception of the nature of free education at public expense was very common in the early days of the public school idea, but it was actually applied only in Georgia and South Carolina.

Of the *ante bellum* school systems that of North Carolina was typical. The pioneers who conceived and fostered the idea believed that only pauper children should be educated free, those who framed the first school law made no such restriction. The revenue of the schools was derived from an

¹ Hart, *Southern South*, p. 289.

endowment created by the state and by local taxation. In 1860 the average school term was four months, not equalled in the educational history of the state after the war until 1900; the number of children enrolled was 116,567, the number of schools was 2,854, and the number of teachers 2,479, a large majority of whom were men.

The dawn of the ideal of public education in North Carolina is notable. As early as 1754 £6,000 in bills of credit were emitted by the colonial assembly for the foundation of "a public school or seminary" to which George Vaughn, a London merchant, agreed to contribute £1,000 per annum.² However, during the crisis of the French and Indian war the money voted was used for military purposes, and after the close of hostilities it was not restored, although Governor Dobbs advised the British authorities to allow a re-issue of bills of credit for that purpose.³

The first great victory of the sentiment for public education was made in the constitution of 1776 which declares in article 41 that "a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices, and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged, and promoted, in one or more universities." This article was copied verbatim from the constitution of Pennsylvania. In partial keeping with its provisions the University of North Carolina was founded in 1795, but for many years no step was taken toward establishing schools of lower rank. One cause of this failure to carry out the mandate regarding elementary education was its uncertain terms. Some interpreted it to mean that public schools should be created by the legislature, others believed that its intent was to lend aid to existing academies, or to found new ones. Indeed a large number of bills for aid to academies was introduced in the legislature, but none of them ever became law.⁴ Other conditions that retarded the foundation of a system of schools were the slender finances, the intense sense of individualism that opposed any increase in taxation or any enlargement in

² *Laws 1754* ch. 1, sect. 12; *Col. Records* V, 144b.

³ *Col. Records*, V, VI *passim*; VI, 1035-37.

⁴ Coon, *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina to 1840*; Vol. 1, pp. XXII-XXIV; 14, 25, 28, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50.

the sphere of state activity, the sectional controversy between the eastern and the western counties, and the low standard of the teaching profession itself. ⁵

In 1815, the year in which state aid to internal improvement was adopted, the first legislative committee on education was appointed. ⁶ The following year Archibald De Bow Murphy, member of a second legislative committee on education, submitted a report which thoroughly elaborated the theory and the necessity of public education in a democracy. ⁷ The only result was the appointment of a committee to "digest a system of public instruction". Its report (submitted at the next session) made two recommendations: one, for state aid to the education of teachers, on the ground that an increase in the number of teachers would increase competition and thereby reduce the rate of tuition; the other, for the education at public expense of those children whose parents were unable to pay for their instruction. ⁸ The most significant utterance was again a report of Mr. Murphy, in which a system of public instruction consisting of grammar schools, academies, and a university was outlined, together with a fund for educational purposes, a central board of education, a scheme of studies, education of the poor at public expense, and an asylum for the deaf and dumb. ⁹ A bill was introduced in each house to carry into effect Mr. Murphy's plan. It passed one reading and then disappears from the records. Finally, in 1825, a "fund for the support of common schools" was established, known as the Literary Fund. A consideration of its origin and growth, the administration of its income, and its unfortunate destruction is the purpose of this paper.

I. 1825-1836.

The condition of North Carolina when the Literary Fund was established was peculiar. A general feeling of depression pervaded the papers and speeches of all public spirited men. The rank among the states in population declined from third in 1790 to fourth in 1800, to fifth in 1830. The value

⁵ Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. XI, XII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁷ Coon, *op. cit.*, vol. I., 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-110.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-164.

of lands in 1833 was less than that in 1815 although more than 1,000,000 acres had been entered. Slaves increased faster than whites prior to 1830. The lack of convenient markets stifled trade. Charleston, South Carolina, and the cities of the Virginia tidewater section and Philadelphia were commercial centres for North Carolina farmers and merchants, affording a basis in fact for the characterization of the state as a "Valley of Despair between two mountains of Conceit". Thousands left the state of their nativity to seek better opportunities in the northwest or the far south.

Men of public spirit desired to inaugurate some policy that would offset the lethargy and decay around them. Under normal conditions they could accomplish nothing, for taxes and expenditure were meagre, and there was among the people a deep aversion to any increase of taxation. However, certain extraordinary sources of income were found between 1815 and 1825. One of these was the sales of lands vacated by the Cherokee Indians through federal treaties of 1817 and 1819. The income derived from the sale of these lands was applied to internal improvements, the construction of canals, roads, and the improvement of navigation in 1819.¹⁰ The other source of revenue was dividends from stock held by the state in the Bank of the Cape Fear, the Bank of Newbern, and the State Bank of North Carolina, the first two corporations having been chartered by the legislature in 1804, the last one in 1810. The power of the banks under these charters to issue notes was liberal, leading to inflation and speculation. The state became involved in this policy, the legislature granting new charters with enlarged capital to the Newbern and Cape Fear banks in 1814, subscribing 1,000 shares in each. Of these shares 180 in each bank were a bonus, while the remaining shares subscribed were paid for with State treasury notes. By 1821 the state held 1304 shares in the Bank of Newbern, 1250 in the Bank of the Cape Fear, and 250 in the State Bank. The dividends from the first two were appropriated to the cause of internal improvements, those from the last to the redemption of the state currency issued in 1783 and 1785.¹¹

¹⁰ *Laws*, 1819, ch. 2.

¹¹ *Laws*, 1821, ch. 6; 1810 ch. 5.

Northern banks and the Second Bank of the United States demanded the redemption of the notes issued by the banks in specie, a demand which did not cease with the suspension of specie payments in 1819. The banks were hard pressed and turned to the legislature for assistance. In 1821 the State Treasurer purchased with the surplus money in the Treasury 153 shares of State Bank stock, 53 shares of the Bank of Newbern, and 108 of the Bank of the Cape Fear. Of these stocks those of the Bank of Newbern and of the Cape Fear were appropriated to the Fund for Internal Improvement. In 1823 further aid was given to banks by the issue of state treasury notes to the amount of \$100,000 which were invested in their stock, 24 shares of the State Bank being purchased, 330 of the Bank of Newbern, and 680 of the Bank of the Cape Fear.

The dividends from this last stock investment were not necessary for the regular expenses of government, and internal improvements had already received substantial aid. Consequently the shares in the Cape Fear and Newbern banks were appropriated to the cause of education, with the provision that similar disposition be made of shares purchased in the future.¹² In addition the income from five other sources was also utilized; viz, dividends from the stock held by the state in the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Roanoke Navigation Company, and the Club Foot and Harlow's Creek Canal; license taxes paid by the retailers of liquors and auctioneers; the unexpended balance of the Agricultural Fund, a small fund established in 1822; income from the sales of vacant and unappropriated swamp lands, and \$21,090 due from the Federal Government for aid in removing the Cherokees. Thus was constituted the Literary Fund. Its administration was placed in charge of three trustees, the Governor and the Speakers of the House of Commons and of the Senate.¹³

The income from the sources of revenue thus set aside for education was not sufficient to inaugurate a system of schools. It was therefore re-invested by the trustees, thus creating a large principal, the interest from which was finally used for educational purposes. This was the distinguish-

¹² *Laws*, 1825, ch. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*

ing characteristic of state support of public schools in North Carolina prior to 1860; it was derived from an endowment, rather than from direct state taxation.

Prior to 1836 the Literary Fund suffered several misfortunes. First of these was a temporary loss occasioned by the defalcation of Treasurer Haywood. In November 1827 the free balance to the credit of the Fund was \$28,201.82 1-2, but an investigation of the Treasurer's records—that officer having recently died—showed that all of this except \$17.50 which had never been turned over to him had been lost. However, in 1831 by order of the legislature \$28,184.32 1-2 with interest was returned to the Fund, the total amount being \$29,074.96.¹⁴ Another misfortune was a decline in the dividends from the bank stocks. In 1827 the Fund held as a result of the act of 1825, 359 shares in the Bank of Newbern and 704 shares in the Bank of the Cape Fear, 29 shares in the Bank of Newbern and 34 in the Bank of the Cape Fear having been advanced by the State since 1825. The rate of dividends was at that time 3 per cent. semi-annually by the Bank of the Cape Fear and 4 per cent. by the Bank of Newbern. Among the first investments by the Trustees was the purchase of 78 shares in the State Bank in 1827, the very year in which the dividends dropped from 4 per cent. semi-annually to 3 1-2 semi-annually. In 1828, although the dividends of all the banks had declined, 204 shares of the State Bank were bought at \$90 per share, 50 shares in the Bank of the Cape Fear at \$80, and 141 in the Bank of Newbern at \$80. The same year the State Bank paid only one dividend of 2 1-2 per cent, then yielded one of 3 per cent. in 1829, and from 1830 to liquidation only 2 per cent. semi-annually. The Bank of the Cape Fear reduced its dividend in 1828 to 2 per cent. semi-annually, passed one dividend in 1829, both in 1830, then paid one of 3 per cent. in 1831, and passed all until re-organization in 1835. The Bank of Newbern also dropped to a 2 per cent. basis in 1828, passed one dividend in 1829, one in 1830, then paid one of 3 per cent. in 1831, and thereafter passed all until liquidation.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Report of the Comptroller, 1831.*

¹⁵ *Report of the Comptroller, passim.*

The investment of public funds such as the Literary Fund in securities of declining value would today be regarded as a violation of a trust. However, the banks were quasi-state institutions; they were being hard pressed to meet their obligations to pay in specie, notably by the Second Bank of the United States; and there was naturally a strong feeling that state funds should support state institutions. Fortunately the loss from the money actually invested by the trustees was small, the State Bank and the Bank of Newbern paying at liquidation \$38,803, whereas \$41,440 had been paid for shares in these institutions by the trustees of the Fund. On the other hand the capital dividends on the stock in these banks appropriated to the Literary Fund by the legislature were applied to the general expenses of the government. Yet with such experience in the past, one of the principal investments of the Literary Fund after its re-organization in 1836 was in bank stock. Fortunately the experience with the investment was more satisfactory.

The other sources of revenue presented no specific problems. The sales of vacant lands up to 1836 amounted to \$55,133.73; license taxes, \$31,371.68; auction tax, \$6,513.98; agricultural fund balances, \$10,962.82; the Cape Fear Navigation Company dividends, \$4,484.34; the Roanoke Navigation Company dividends, \$2,250.14; premium on exchange of \$12,000 United States notes, \$1,100; from the United States Government for money advanced for the removal of Cherokee Indians, \$22,000; miscellanies, \$6,083.60. These with the bank dividends of \$102,341.06 and a correction of \$915.96 made a total of \$243,162.83. There were expended \$239,317.83, all of which except \$5.50 was for bank stock, leaving a cash balance of \$3,845.09.¹⁶

II. 1836-1860.

The year 1836 was a landmark in the history of the Literary Fund. Its principal was increased, its income consequently expanded, and the trustees who administered the Fund had quite an influence in the public finances of the State. The cause of this enlargement of the Fund was the distribu-

¹⁶ These totals have been computed from the reports made by the Treasurer, the Comptroller, and the Literary Board.

tion of the surplus revenue in the Treasury of the United States among the States, most of North Carolina's share (\$1,-433,757.40) being applied directly or indirectly to public education. The actual use of this large sum was influenced by the political and financial conditions in the state, which require some consideration.

Three issues besides an interest in education, determined the disposal of North Carolina's share of the surplus revenue. One of these was that of internal improvements. Various experiments in state aid to canals, the navigation of rivers, and the construction of roads had proved unprofitable. But the need of better transportation facilities was still imperative. By 1830 the era of railroads was at hand, but there was not sufficient private capital for any extensive railway construction; hence a demand for state aid. There were also large tracts of undeveloped swamp lands in the eastern counties which promised to be productive and profitable if drained. State support of either of these enterprises seemed impossible on account of a lack of available funds, bond issues being a species of finance undreamed of at that time. A second influence in determining the use of the surplus was a political change. There had been a long rivalry and conflict of interests between the eastern and western counties over constitutional reforms, especially the revision of representation, which had overshadowed all other issues for fifteen years. In 1835 the reforms so long agitated were effected and a more liberal era opened in political life. A nation-wide division in political party likewise took place, the Whig and Democratic parties replacing the old Republican party between 1832 and 1836. The North Carolina Whigs endorsed the policy of state aid to internal improvements and elected Edward B. Dudley governor in 1836. Here was a party committed to a policy of larger expenditures on the part of the State for public causes. A third influence which shaped the expenditure of the federal surplus was the condition of the Treasury. For several years prior to 1836 the expenses had exceeded the revenue, diminishing the balance accumulated during years of frugality. In 1836 \$375,000 of a subscription by the state to the newly organized Bank of the State of North Carolina fell

due, but the amount in the Treasury at the beginning of the fiscal year was \$46,856, the estimated revenue was around \$200,000, and the normal expenditure approximately the same. To meet the crisis the Treasurer was authorized to issue "certificates binding the state for the payment of the money purporting to be due thereon, to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, and no more," bearing interest at 5 per cent., redeemable in 1860, secured by the state's stock in the Bank of the State of North Carolina. The certificates were accordingly issued; they were disposed of in two subscriptions, one by the University of North Carolina amounting to \$100,000, the other of \$300,000 being made by no less an authority than the Treasurer of the United States.

Such were the general financial, political and economic conditions when the federal surplus was distributed: a demand for state aid to railroads and the drainage of swamp lands, a debt of \$400,000, a Literary Fund too small to support a system of schools, and a political party pledged to the cause of domestic progress. North Carolina's share in the distribution of 1838 was \$1,433,757.40. The problem was to make it of use in meeting each of these conditions described.

A joint committee of both houses, whose chairman was William A. Graham, Whig, recommended that \$900,000 be appropriated to the Literary Fund and the remainder to internal improvement. Here was an excellent example of the Whig program of progress; the state debt should be allowed to run its course, while the entire fund from the surplus should be devoted to economic and social needs. The opposition, led by William H. Haywood, Democrat, proposed that all the special funds held by the state except the bonds given from the sale of Cherokee lands should be lumped together for four purposes: the redemption of the state debt, increase of the Literary Fund and the Fund for Internal Improvement, the drainage of the swamp lands, and the construction of railroads. Thus the Whig program of progress was linked with the Democratic policy of economy by providing for the extinction of the state debt. The principle rather than the details of Mr. Haywood's report was adopted. Accordingly \$300,000 of the surplus revenue was applied to the redemp-

tion of the certificates held by the Treasurer of the United States, and \$100,000 of stock in the Bank of the state was exchanged for the certificates purchased by the University. Of the remainder, \$500,000 was appropriated to the Literary Fund with the provision that \$300,000 be invested in stock of the Bank of the Cape Fear and \$200,000 be used in the drainage of the swamp lands, \$100,000 was appropriated for the current expenses of the government, and the remaining \$533,757.-39 was appropriated to the Fund for Internal Improvement.

Nor was the \$500,000 thus specified the only addition to the Literary Fund. At the same legislative session that thus disposed of the surplus, there were added to the fund 4,000 shares held by the state in the Bank of the State of North Carolina, the stock owned by the state in railroads, the income from loans made by the Boards of Internal Improvement, proceeds from the sales of swamp lands, and 3,000 shares held by the state in the Bank of the Cape Fear, above those purchased by the Fund. Of these additional securities the railroad stock formed the largest item, for the sum of \$600,000 was invested in stock of the Wilmington and Raleigh, later known as the Wilmington and Weldon, Railroad.

Thus to the principal of the Literary Fund was added \$1,-700,000.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

The Shape of the First London Theatre

T. S. GRAVES

Assistant Professor of English in Trinity College.

Owing largely to the facts that the Globe, constructed from the materials of the Theatre, was circular in shape and that De Witt used the word *amphiteatra* as well as *theatrorum* in referring to the four theatres existing in London about 1596, students have generally assumed that the first London playhouse was round. Mrs. Stopes, for example, in her recent book (*Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 20) remarks: "His [Burbage's] old inn-yards gave him suggestions as to enclosures and galleries, but he did not follow them in shape, making his building round." It is an open question as to how much Burbage got from the old inn-yards, but evidence sufficient to show that the Theatre was probably not round may be had among the large number of documents regarding that building which Professor C. W. Wallace has recently published in his *The First London Theatre*.

Since the evidence does not seem to have been pointed out specifically, it may be briefly set forth. In several of the numerous legal documents connected with Burbage's second lease of the playhouse, it is brought out that some of his opponents, apparently using the word "tenement" in the restricted sense of tenement building, urged that Burbage had agreed to use the Theatre as a playhouse for only five of the twenty-one years specified in the lease and then "converte" it into "tenements" or "uppon reparacions of the other houses" on the premises (pp. 216, 221). Now it is difficult to see how a round structure could have been easily converted into a tenement building, though of course Burbage's adversaries may well have meant that the playhouse was to be torn down at the end of five years and the timbers used in the construction of tenements.

Of more significance is another fact. Situated a few feet from the Theatre was a "greate longe Barne" eighty feet in length and in a very dilapidated state. In the testimony of various witnesses it is brought out that, in order to strengthen

the old structure, Burbage had shored it "upp unto the playhouse called the Theater;" and one Thomas Bromfield testified that "he rememberethe the same Barne was shored uppe with twoe or three shores from the Playhouse Called the Theater" (p. 231). The great length of the barn and the use of two or three shores indicate that the old building was propped, not against a curved surface, but against a flat one.

Again, in 1600, Henry Johnson testified that when he charged Richard Burbage, Thomas Smith and Peter Street, who were engaged in tearing down the Theatre, to stop their illegal procedure, they replied that they were merely taking down the structure in order to set it up again "in an other forme" on the same premises. And for the purpose of "Colloringe there deceipte," as Johnson put it, they asserted that they had "Couenanted with the Carpenter to that effecte and Shewed this deponnt the decayes about the same as yt stode there" (p. 222). Apparently Burbage and his companions colored their "decepte" well; for quite naturally onlookers would believe that since the other theatres in London—Curtain, Rose, Swan—were circular, the owner of the Theatre wished to transform it into a more modern and convenient form. Really after all it is questionable to what extent Burbage and his fellows actually lied; for they had no doubt "covenanted" with the carpenters to set up as soon as possible the Theatre "in an other forme,"—not on the premises, however, but on the Bankside. And if Shakespeare's *Henry V* was, as many believe, the first drama presented at the Globe, then the "wooden O" of the prologue is an entirely natural and appropriate "conceit" to be uttered on the occasion of a first performance at the old Theatre reconstructed "in an other forme."

In a recent publication (*The Court and the London Theatres During the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 39) I asserted, with special reference to the first London playhouse, that the term "yard," said to have been carried over into the theatre from the inn-yard, is "virtually the inevitable term to be applied to a ground space closed in on four sides." In the *Errata* "four sides" has given place to "all sides." The statement as a whole may be questionable, but the original is probably nearer the truth than the revision.

Now it may possibly seem strange to some that so much space should be given to the consideration of the question whether the first London playhouse was round or rectangular. But the shape of the first London theatre is more than a trivial archaeological detail; it has a vital bearing upon various problems connected with the staging of Shakespeare's plays. If, for example, the theatre was square or rectangular, that fact is strong evidence against supposing that the structure was intended for the baiting of bears and bulls as well as for fencing matches and presentation of plays; and if it is established that the early playhouses were never used as places for the baiting of animals, then there is no reason for supposing, as is usually done, that the stages in these houses were removable. And finally, if we could be sure that the platforms of Elizabethan theatres were regularly fixed, that fact would aid materially in determining the nature, and perhaps the function, of the "heavens," the "hell," and the stage-doors of the Shakespearian playhouse.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LETTERS OF RICHARD HENRY LEE. Collected and edited by James Curtis Ballagh. Vol. II. Published under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914, xxiii, 608 pp. \$2.50 net.

This volume completes the correspondence of one of the foremost men of his generation. It contains 290 letters written during terms in the Virginia legislature, the Continental Congress and the Senate of the United States, and also during Lee's retirement from public life. Information is given concerning many problems before the country from 1779 to 1794, such as foreign affairs, the situation in Virginia during the British invasion, the standards of public morality, and economic conditions. Most valuable are the letters reflecting Lee's attitude toward nationalistic tendencies. He worked for the cession of Virginia lands in the northwest to Congress, believing that these would liquidate the national debt. He favored revision of the Articles of Confederation by apportioning representation according to population and by conferring on Congress control of the currency; but he was opposed to the four per cent impost and the regulation of interstate commerce by Congress, feeling that discrimination against the South would thereby result. He did not oppose the reform movement which brought about the Philadelphia convention; but he declined membership in that body on the ground that it would be inconsistent with his duty, as a member of Congress, of passing upon the work of the convention. He favored ratification provided certain amendments were made, his criticism of the instrument being that personal liberty was not sufficiently guaranteed and that the powers conferred upon the President and the Senate created an oligarchy. His reason for not being a member of the Virginia convention which ratified the constitution was that the climate of Richmond did not agree with him.

Extremely interesting are his opinions of some of his contemporaries. In Franklin he had no confidence. "How long, my dear friend, must the dignity, honor and interest of the

United States be sacrificed to the bad passions of that old man under the idea of his being a philosopher." On the other hand he had profound admiration for the Adamses. It is also interesting to note that one of his republican proclivities thoroughly misunderstood the French revolution.

The letters have been collected from many sources, printed and manuscript. The type and mechanical work are excellent. The editorial notes are few, the editor following the English rather than the German ideal of an editor's duties.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

THE FALL OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC. By Hendrik Willem van Loon. With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913—xiv, 433 pp. \$3.00 net.

The author of this book is a native of Holland, who has been a student in both Harvard and Cornell and who has received a doctor's degree from the University of Munich for work done in history. At present he is the American correspondent of the Amsterdam *Handelsblad*. Finding, as he tells us, that, "out of a hundred interested inquirers, ninety-nine had none but the vaguest conception of the adventures of the Dutch Republic from the moment it had ceased to be chronicled by the Great American Historian", Mr. van Loon has undertaken to tell in a brief and interesting manner "the story of the main events which brought about the ruin of the old Dutch Republic." Although he has enumerated other sources in his bibliography, it would seem from the author's footnotes that he has done little more than popularize and put into English selections which he has made from the work of Dutch historians who have studied this phase of the history of their native country. However, he has noted his indebtedness to these standard authorities.

Had Mr. van Loon been successful in the task which he set for himself, namely, writing for general readers a history of the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century, he would have filled a gap in English historical literature and have rendered a real service. His readable book falls considerably short of satisfactory achievement. Though it is not less interesting

because of the fact that the personality of the author obtrudes itself in every chapter, this characteristic cannot be said to enhance its value as an historical work. Again, the style of his narrative and the character of many of his conclusions would have betrayed the profession of the author had we not known it in advance. The result is that we are not always certain that his cocksure generalizations are to be depended on, and his gift for epigrammatic statement frequently tempts him beyond the limits permissible to a prudent historian. Moreover, although Mr. van Loon makes no attempt to conceal his antipathies toward either persons or nations, they are much too numerous to make his conclusions as credible as they ought to be in a work of this kind. Perhaps not much can be said in favor of the representatives of the house of Orange who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century or of the prominent Dutch officials who shared with them the task of governing the Republic, though the difficulties that confronted them ought to receive due consideration. However, Mr. van Loon's hostility to France and his partiality for England are less excusable. And there is no excuse for his apparent lack of knowledge concerning the part England played in the negotiations that preceded the Prussian intervention and the outbreak of the war with France in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. van Loon confesses in the outset that "for the better part of his life" he has not "been familiar with the intricacies and peculiarities of that curious institution known as the English language." The book abounds with expressions which bear testimony to the truth of that statement, such, for example, as the use of "chicken-breasted" for "chicken-hearted" and the habitual use of "wood" for "lumber".

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

CORPORATE PROMOTIONS AND REORGANIZATIONS. By Arthur Stone Dewing. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. x. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1914,—ix, 616 pp. \$2.50.

This valuable volume is a study from original sources of the promotion and financial policy of fourteen large industrial consolidations which have in the course of their history found

it necessary to undergo a process of reorganization. Among the corporations considered are the United States Leather Company, The Corn Products Refining Company, The Westinghouse Electric Company, The National Salt Company, The American Bicycle Company, and The United States Shipbuilding Company. In the narrative portions of Dr. Dewing's book no generalizations are introduced, but in three closing chapters the attempt has been made to present conclusions concerning promotions, the causes of financial failure, the events leading up to re-organization, and finally the re-organizations themselves.

A wealth of detail has been brought together by the author, and much new light is thrown upon the history of many of the corporations discussed. An instance of this is shown in the story of the promotion and later history of the United States Shipbuilding Company. At the time of the collapse of this consolidation Mr. Charles M. Schwab was subject to severe condemnation for the exacting terms of the bargain under which the Bethlehem Steel Company had been included. The criticism of Mr. Schwab was largely based on the report of the receiver, James Smith, Jr. This report, Dr. Dewing says, was largely the work of Samuel Untermeyer, and sought to place upon Mr. Schwab blame for the failure of the shipbuilding enterprise. Dr. Dewing thinks that the unfavorable judgment formed on the basis of the report should be modified, and that Schwab was entitled, in view of the great earning capacity of the Bethelhem Company, to make the terms he did in order to protect his interests in case of a collapse. Receiver Smith's report is considered to be unfair and the impression produced by it to be unjust.

In view of the fact that measures for trust regulation are now under consideration in Congress, the opinions formed by Dr. Dewing, after his exhaustive investigation of many unsuccessful corporations, are worthy of thoughtful consideration. He says: "I have been impressed throughout by the powerlessness of mere aggregates of capital to hold monopoly; I have been impressed, too, by the tremendous importance of individual, innate ability, or its lack, in determining the success or failure of any enterprise. With these observations in mind,

one may hazard the belief that whatever trust problem exists will work out its own solution. The doom of the inefficient waits on no legislative regulation. It is rather delayed thereby. Restrictive regulation will perpetuate the inefficient corporation by furnishing an artificial prop to support natural weakness; it will hamper the efficient by impeding the free play of personal ambition." This goes contrary to widely prevailing views of the day, but the scholarly study upon which the opinion is based entitles it to considerate attention.

SHORT PLAYS. By Mary Macmillan. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1913, 245 pp.

THE GIFT. By Margaret Douglas Rogers. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1913, 47 pp.

Among the many unmistakable signs that a widespread and wholesome interest in good drama has awakened in our country is the publication by the Stewart and Kidd Company of Mary Macmillan's "Short Plays". These plays were written primarily for a woman's club that wished to give plays but could find nothing that just suited its purpose. The fact that the taste of these women was so excellent and their demand for something really good was so strong made possible and probable the production of work thoroughly creditable and praiseworthy. With similar clubs all over the land cultivating good taste and stimulating a demand for its gratification, the volume of "Short Plays" by Miss Macmillan is, we hope and believe, but a prophecy of what we are soon to have.

Miss Macmillan has unusual ability as a writer of dialogue, and she is also skillful in the handling of plot. Not one of the ten plays lacks interest, and each shows evidence of originality and promise. With practice she will develop more power in character delineation. The reviewer hopes that she will continue to write plays and that she will before long attempt something on a larger scale. In the meanwhile, her published plays are heartily commended to both professional and amateur actors.

The same publishers have brought out, likewise in most attractive form, a short poetic drama by Margaret Douglas Rogers. "The Gift" is a love story prettily told in verse dialogue and treats in a new way the old mythical story of Pandora, the first woman. The writer has unmistakable gifts and should further use them.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

THE TARIFF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By F. W. Taussig. Sixth edition. Revised and enlarged. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914, xi, 465 pp. \$1.75 net.

The public will welcome this new edition of Professor Taussig's well known work which brings his account of the tariff through the act of 1913. His closing chapter on the new tariff law occupies some forty pages. Professor Taussig believes that the industrial consequences of protective duties are commonly exaggerated in popular discussion. Although he finds that the act of 1913 makes the greatest change in our tariff system since the civil war, he says: "The new tariff will cause no disaster, and it will work no wonders; but we may hope that in the long run it will brace and strengthen the country's industries, and make it easier to frame future duties without log-rolling or manipulation."

The new chapter makes Professor Taussig's work complete as to the history of the tariff since the beginning of our government. Since the publication of the first edition, this history of the tariff has been a standard authority, fair and judicious in tone. In the latest revision it is almost indispensable for the libraries of economists and public men.

THEY WHO KNOCK AT OUR GATES. A COMPLETE GOSPEL OF IMMIGRATION. By Mary Antin with illustrations by Joseph Stella. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914, xi, 143 pp. \$1.00.

The articles on the immigration problem recently contributed by Mary Antin to the *American Magazine* have attracted widespread attention. They are well worth bringing to-

gether in this little volume. The author has known what it means to be an immigrant, poor, oppressed, and ignorant. Her book is a powerful and impressive plea to the American people to keep their gates open to the poor and lowly and aspiring people of other lands. Miss Antin takes the Declaration of Independence seriously and makes it the American confession of faith with its recital of the doctrines of liberty and equality. To her the faithful American is one who understands these doctrines and applies them in his life. She emphasizes the good elements in the immigration from other lands, and the duty of the American people to give equality of opportunity to these peoples who would enter our gates. The test of literacy seems to her unjust. She examines and answers many of the leading arguments against immigration. The strong emphasis of this essay is on the moral duty of America to retain the leadership in maintaining democratic ideals of liberty and equality and in keeping the way open for the elevation of humanity.

ALFRED TENNYSON. Par Louis-Frédéric Choisy. Genève, Librairie Kuendig. 1912.

It is strange that the French, who are not generally regarded as the incarnation of moral seriousness, and whose own literature has so often been fain to cover a multitude of sins with the mantle of artistic finish, should have united to reproach a great foreign writer with the lack which is so commonly imputed to themselves; but it is a fact that the few French critics who have dealt extensively with the work of Tennyson have been inclined to follow the example of Taine and qualify him as a graceful dilettante. The celebrated author of the *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* has no thought of ranking him among thinkers or among poets of genuine emotion; he qualifies *In Memoriam*, the work which Queen Victoria, bereaved of her husband, found more consoling than any book but the Bible, as cold, monotonous and artificial, and dismisses his grief with the very unsympathetic comment: "He mourns, but like an extremely precise and careful gentleman, with brand-new gloves, wipes his tears away with a fine linen hand-

kerchief, and during the religious service which ends the ceremonies, manifests all the compunction of a respectful and well-bred layman."

Incomprehensibly unfair as the current French estimate seems even to those Anglo-Saxons who find it hard to forgive Tennyson his popularity,—for it is very difficult for men of culture to believe that the majority are ever in the right in matters of taste,—we have in the new *Life* by Doctor L. F. Choisy, the most careful study of the poet that has yet appeared from a French pen, an evidence that Frenchmen are beginning to find in the great poet-laureate a deeply religious nature, a passionately kind and loving nature, and a man of profound thoughts and surprising psychological insight. Dr. Choisy has occasionally misunderstood his text, but in spite of the difficulties of a foreign idiom, he has made such an examination of the poet's spiritual and moral personality as will be helpfully suggestive even to the most careful students from Tennyson's own race.

Perhaps the chief reason, aside from the remarkable technical finish of his work, why foreigners and superficial students of Tennyson have failed to note the peculiar depth and genuineness of his feeling, is his very unusual reserve. He suffered, remarks Dr. Choisy very acutely, from the fact that he was an Englishman, a member of that stoical race which is forever disgraced in their own eyes by the appearance of moisture about those organs. The Romantics of the early nineteenth century, even in England, had loved and hated with hysterical frankness, but the Romantics had gone out of style before Tennyson appeared on the scene. And more than all this, the poet himself, although so sensitive that long after his reputation was established beyond a peradventure an adverse criticism would make him miserable for days, was bound by an incurable timidity and an unconquerable reticence. All of us are prone to erect our instinctive impulses into principles, and Tennyson laid it down as a rule that he would never read intimate biography, on the ground that in so doing he was unwarrantedly violating the privacy of other men. His son's *Memoirs* have respected this feeling to the extent of omitting a great deal of such data as most readers of memoirs feel the liveliest interest in.

Dr. Choisy finds the key to Tennyson's inward life in the struggle between two opposite tendencies. Temperamentally he was a pessimist and a skeptic; yet he clung all his days to a positive religious faith and a belief in the ultimate triumph of the right. He was a consistent Christian, a convinced optimist, but he was so from beginning to end by an effort. He stood upright, in spite of a something that tugged at him constantly to drag him down. Instead of the superficial and facile artist that Taine, Montégut and the others see in him, he was the Spartan who stood motionless while the fox gnawed at his vitals; he was the apostle who strove to save others when it required the utmost tension of every nerve and muscle to save himself from abject despair.

Dr. Choisy's volume is a monument of painstaking completeness. Not a poem which has psychological importance is left unquestioned. A careful reading of this book will give, probably not so complete a view of the poet's external life as may easily be obtained elsewhere, but a detailed view of his more thoughtful work, from the earliest to the latest. It is a distinct addition to Tennyson literature, and deserves immediate translation into English.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

University of Oklahoma.

LOVE AND LIBERATION. By John Hall Wheelock. Boston: Sherman, French and Company. \$1.50 net.

One of the really noteworthy books of the past year is John Hall Wheelock's "Love and Liberation," the third volume which this gifted and ambitious young poet has published during the two years that he has been before the public. "The Songs of Adsched of Meru," arranged as a poetic sequence in ten parts, make up three-fourths of the volume. Whatever the reader of dainty tastes may think about the propriety or impropriety of Mr. Wheelock's frank treatment of sex in these songs, he must admit that they are characterized by a bold originality of conception and execution, a spontaneity of expression, a pictorial vividness, and a sweetness of phrase and rhythm which make them distinctive poetry in a very real

sense of the word. On the whole, however, the miscellaneous poems in the back of the book will make a much wider appeal—and deservedly so—than “The Songs of Adsched of Meru.” Crudeness and vagueness have been Mr. Wheelock’s most serious faults in the past, but these faults are not nearly so apparent in “Love and Liberation” as in his earlier collections. Among the finest poems in this new volume are “Return to New York,” “Mother,” and a sonnet on Tolstoi.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

Purdue University.

IN FREEDOM’S BIRTHPLACE. A Study of the Boston Negroes. By John Daniels. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914.—xiii, 496 pp. \$1.50 net.

No study of the negro could be more interesting than that of his position and prospects in a city which has traditionally been interested in a broad way in his welfare and his rights. Large sums of money have been given by the people of Massachusetts for schools and other measures of improvement among people of color in the South. Mr. Robert A. Wood’s introduction states that until recently no specific attention was paid to the serious problem of the steadily increasing negro population of Boston itself. Some few years ago the Robert Gould Shaw House for social work among the negroes was established in the negro quarter of the city. It is interesting to note that there were, in 1910, 13,564 negroes in Boston proper and nearly 10,000 additional negroes in the suburban districts of Greater Boston. Mr. Daniels’ book is the result of nine years of work in connection with the social settlement in the colored quarter.

Separate chapters of the book are devoted to such matters as the negro church, the ballot in the hands of the negro, and the economic achievement of the negro people. Mr. Daniels’ view of the negro church is hopeful. He thinks that religion is being brought to bear more effectually in the betterment of the conditions of the race and in the solution of its problems. As to the ballot, he concludes that the negroes are improving in intelligence regarding political matters and in standards of

political honesty. He says that the negro's asset value as a citizen has been much enhanced, and also that the race has succeeded in obtaining substantial political recognition of its distinct interests. Likewise a general survey of the economic activities of the colored people of Boston shows that the race is making good strides forward. The negro is still on an industrial plane many degrees below that of the white man: the great mass of the negro people are confined to menial or common labor, but many members of the race are forging ahead. In the sphere of the professions and the business proprietorships there is to be found a substantial and continually growing number of individuals.

In the past the negro has always held an inferior place in the Boston community. He still remains inferior. Mr. Daniels says: "So far as pertains to the past and to the present, the *average* negro—using this unscientific term for lack of a better—has always been, and still is, inferior to the *average* white man. Nor does this inferiority show itself in respects which are only of superficial or of minor importance. It is as deep-seated as possible and extends throughout the whole range of the negro's character and conduct." What the negro lacks is "that somewhat indefinite but nevertheless sufficiently well understood and absolutely fundamental attribute, called stamina." This lack is both physical and moral. It produces the inferiority upon which an "adverse prepossession of mind against the negro" is based. The existence of prejudice becomes a handicap to the efforts of the best individuals to rise. Mr. Daniels takes the view that the negro's inferiority is being reduced, and that in some measure moral stamina is being acquired and prejudice is being undermined. He finds hopeful signs in the increasing recognition of individual negroes of demonstrated ability and character, and also in the greater tendency among negroes toward racial cohesion and race pride.

This valuable local study of the negro is accompanied by numerous appendices and statistical tables.

CHALLENGE. By Louis Untermeyer. New York. The Century Company. 144 pp. \$1.00 net.

Two years ago the writer of this review spoke of Louis Untermeyer as a poet of remarkable promise. His enthusiastic statement has been more than justified. Mr. Untermeyer's work has been before the public scarcely half a dozen years, and he is still in his twenties; yet it is doubtful whether America has at present any poet, young or old, who is doing better work than he.

Spontaneity, freshness, melody, clearness, and vigor of thought have characterized Mr. Untermeyer's verse from the very beginning; but those who read his "First Love" and some of his earlier magazine poems will recall the fact that his lines were occasionally marred by an irritating crudeness.

In his new collection, "Challenge," however, he appears as one of the most finished of technicians. Indeed, one might almost call the new book Tennysonianly polished; but, lest this be interpreted as a charge of artificiality or sheer prettiness, be it thoroughly understood that Mr. Untermeyer's improvement in style has not lessened his strength or his naturalness one iota. On the contrary, he has grown amazingly. Two qualities particularly manifest in these poems are exhilaration and a spirit of revolt. However, readers of the *Century*, the *Smart Set*, the *Forum*, and the *Independent*, do not need an introduction to the contents of his book. Others should become acquainted with this promising writer.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

Purdue University.

SOUTHERN LITERARY READINGS. By L. W. Payne, Jr., Chicago: Rand, McNally, and Co., 1913,—xiv, 478 pp.

As a text to be used in the study of Southern literature in high schools, Professor Payne's book is very attractive. The book contains short stories, poems, essays, and letters suitable for young readers and chosen from some of the best Southern writers. In all there are seventy-five selections from thirty-four authors, nine of whom are living. The most noteworthy omissions are William Tappan Thompson, Augustus Baldwin

Longstreet, Ruth McEnery Stuart, George W. Cable, Thomas Nelson Page, and Maurice Thompson; but most of these omissions are due to copyright restrictions. Thirteen of the authors have full-page portrait engravings, and all have well written biographical sketches. The critical apparatus may seem to be over-elaborate, but the editor forestalls criticism by remarking that the book is intended for schools that have no adequate libraries as well as for those with ample facilities for reference, and that the notes may be disregarded by such teachers as may desire.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

The University of Texas.

THE PROFESSOR AND THE PETTICOAT. By Alvin Saunders Johnson. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914,—ix, 402 pp. \$1.30 net.

Professor Johnson of Cornell gives evidence of unusual versatility by venturing from the field of the economist into that of the novelist. His story is that of Edward Gresham, a young scholar from the North, who accepts the chair of philosophy in a rather obscure university in Texas. There he comes into contact with various southern problems, becomes involved in an out-of-the-ordinary love affair, and has many diverting experiences. In the end the fortunate death by a "stroke" of the rich and hostile uncle of his fair lady suddenly clears the way for the happiness of the professor.

Although Professor Gresham met with disaster in his lectures on philosophy to the Texans, there is a good deal of valuable philosophy to be gleaned from various episodes related in the story. The volume is marked throughout by a delicate and whimsical humor. The interest is well enough sustained to make one sit up late to read a few more chapters. The author probably found recreation in writing this book. He must have chuckled over many of the things he put in it. It will certainly prove refreshing summer reading for fellow academics weary of their labors in the class room.

A STUDY OF THE SHORT STORY. By H. S. Canby. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1913,—261 pp.

“So much water has run under the bridges” since Mr. Canby published his *The Short Story* (1902) “that it seemed better to write a new book, rather than to reissue a partial study.” Evidently Mr. Canby has been affected by the running water, for he has changed considerably his views as to what a short story is and gives the satisfying definition: “a brief narrative, all of whose constituent parts unite to make a single impression upon the mind of the reader.” The text of the book is a history of the short story in English and American literature. Chapters are devoted to the short story of mediæval times, of the Renaissance, of the eighteenth century, of the Romantic Movement, of the mid-century and of the present time in England and in America, separate chapters dealing with Hawthorne, Harte, Henry James, Stevenson, and Kipling.

The second part of the book contains eleven short stories “thoroughly illustrative of the history, the structure, and the excellences of the short story,” written by Chaucer, Addison, Samuel Johnson, Scott, Poe, Hawthorne, John Brown, Stevenson, and Kipling. The mere fact that the book contains the tales of the Pardoner and the Prioress, a paper from the *Rambler*, and “The Vision of Mirza” shows what liberal limits Mr. Canby now assigns to the term “short story.” A few explanatory notes are given at the bottom of the pages, but for fuller information on the various points the student is referred to the author’s *The Short Story in English*.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

The University of Texas.

NOTES AND NEWS

The July number of the *Yale Review* is calculated to make the editors of the other quarterly reviews envious. The leading article by Bliss Perry is on "Literary Criticism in American Periodicals," and the whole table of contents combines instruction with entertainment most successfully. Dudley L. Vaill publishes some "Letters from an Old Hair Trunk," including interesting letters of Civil War times written by North Carolina correspondents. Yale Publishing Association, New Haven, Conn. \$2.50 a year.

The Asheville, N. C. Health Department gives evidence of the energy and intelligence with which it is conducted by publishing a health bulletin. This publication presents the result of the work of the department, and also informs the Asheville public of the progress of other communities in progressive work for the benefit of the public health. An interesting feature of the bulletin is a record of the result obtained by testing the milk of the various dairies supplying the city.

Those who are interested in the city manager plan of municipal government will find valuable information in the publications of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Dayton, Ohio. The methods by which the Dayton charter was prepared and adopted are set forth in a pamphlet by L. D. Upson. The same author also sketches the plan of government for Dayton in a pamphlet reprinted from the *National Municipal Review* for October, 1913.

The Bureau of the Census at Washington has recently published a circular of information regarding the program of the bureau for the period from 1913 to 1916. The bureau also publishes a list of publications, and a pamphlet describing "The Permanent Census Bureau." These circulars will be sent upon request to all applicants.

The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts will occur October 1-3, 1914. The president and faculty of the college are making extensive preparations for the occasion. At the anniversary exercises on October 3rd Governor Craig will preside, and the orators will be Ex-Governors Jarvis, Glenn, and Kitchin, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, and President Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has just published a "North Carolina Manual" for the use of the members of the General Assembly. This manual is a well-printed and substantial volume of over one thousand pages containing information with regard to the officers of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the state, descriptions of the work of the various state departments and institutions, the constitution of North Carolina, biographical sketches of state officers and a great amount of historical information regarding previous legislatures of the state and regarding the representation of the state in the federal government. The manual also contains the election returns for president, governor, and on constitutional questions from 1835-1912. It will be of great value as a convenient source of information which could otherwise be obtained only after extensive research.

No recent chapter in the history of the railroads of the United States has commanded more widespread attention than that dealing with the decline in prosperity and public confidence of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company. For that reason, the public will give unusually careful attention to the views upon railroad problems of Mr. Howard Elliott, who has been chosen to reorganize and rehabilitate the New Haven System. The Houghton Mifflin Company have recently published a volume of Mr. Elliott's addresses on transportation questions under the title: "The Truth About the Railroads." A characteristic of these addresses is advocacy of regard for public opinion on the part of

railroad managers and employees, and appeal to the public for the protection of railroad management from hampering and unnecessary restrictions. \$1.25 net.

Messrs. T. Y. Crowell and Company have recently published in their Library of Economics and Politics a volume on "The Deaf." The work constitutes an unusually important contribution to the literature of the subject. The author takes the attitude of the social economist and regards the deaf as a component part of the population of the state, who demand classification and attention in its machinery of organization. The two divisions of the book are devoted, respectively, to a discussion of the position of the deaf in society and to the provisions made for their education. Mr. Best handles his subject in a scientific way, and his book will be found indispensable by all who are interested in the subject of the deaf and deaf-and-dumb. \$2.00 net.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has recently published a bulletin on the subject of "Education in Vermont." This bulletin is the result of an extensive study of the whole educational system of the state, from the elementary schools through the colleges and universities. It has also published its annual report for 1913 which contains interesting studies of "College Catalogues," of "The Financial Status of College Teachers," and of municipal and other pension systems.

The Russell Sage Foundation has recently published a volume entitled "A Model Housing Law." This presents, with introductory and explanatory chapters, a proposition for a housing law, which might well apply to the construction of tenement houses in the large cities of the country. The law has been drawn up by Lawrence Veiller, an authority on tenement house legislation, and the author of several books on the subject. Survey Associates, Inc., New York City.

The Century Company has recently published an "Advanced American History," by Dr. S. E. Forman. The distinguishing feature of this text book is the large share of attention devoted to economic and social subjects. Commerce, industry, transportation, urban development, great inventions, social and industrial betterment, the movement for popular control over government—all of these topics are treated with liberal space. Such a volume represents a marked advance in the writing of history text books, and will give students a more vital idea of the world about them than was obtained from purely political histories. The work consists of over six hundred pages, with sixty-one maps and many excellent illustrations and reproductions of pictures and documents. Price \$1.50.

Among the recent publications of the Russell Sage Foundation is a monograph on social work in hospitals by Ida M. Cannon. Such work is now supplementing medical treatment in some of the leading hospitals of the country. The hospital social worker is charged with investigating the social environment of the patient, and with bringing to the attention of the physician data which may help in diagnosis and in choosing the best method of treatment. Unfavorable conditions may often be bettered or entirely remedied. The book is published in New York by the Survey Associates, Inc. at \$1.50 postpaid.

The American Book Company has recently published "A New Mediæval and Modern History," by Professor S. B. Harding of Indiana University. The work is based on the author's "Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History," but the matter has been so largely reorganized and supplemented that the result is practically a new work. The narrative has been brought fully up to date, including such recent events as the British Parliament Act of 1911, the Italian-Turkish War, and the Balkan War. There are sixty maps and 198 illustrations. Price, \$1.50.

Miss Mary Van Kleeck has made for the Russell Sage Foundation a study of "Women in the Book-binding Trade." The author visited more than 200 binderies in New York and made a personal study of the work, wages and homes of 200 bindery women. She presents a program of changes which are needed to establish proper standards. The volume is published by the Survey Associates, Inc. at \$1.50 postpaid.

The Houghton Mifflin Company contribute to the supply of summer fiction an anonymous novel entitled "Overland Red." This is a story which will not win for its author high honors in literature, but, nevertheless, it has its entertaining features as a "red-blooded" western tale with a hero who is tramp, poet, cowboy, and philosopher. The "Rose Girl" is all that a heroine on a western ranch should be, and "Silent Saunders," the villain, is constantly "on the job." Here we have wonderful riding, deadly marksmanship, the shooting-up of a "bunch" of desperadoes, the discovery of a lost gold mine, gallant love-making, and plenty of philosophy and poetry thrown in. All this for \$1.35 net. The following illustrates the quality of Overland Red's tramp poetry:

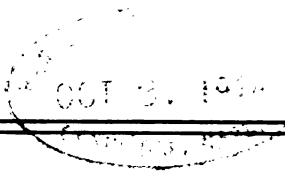
Oh, my stummick is jest akein'
For a little bit of bacon,
A slice of bread, a little mug of brew.
I'm tired of seein' scenery,
Jest lead me to a beanery,
Where there's something more than only air to chew.

Professor William Stearns Davis of the University of Minnesota is the author of a "History of Mediæval and Modern Europe" just published by the Houghton Mifflin Company (\$1.50). Mr. Norman Shaw McKendrick of the Phillips Exeter Academy has collaborated with the author, revising the entire manuscript and providing questions, analyses, maps and other helps for teachers. The work includes such recent happenings as the war between Italy and Turkey and the Balkan War. It is illustrated profusely and with good judgment. The volume will doubtless prove a serviceable text book in secondary schools.

The Stewart and Kidd Company of Cincinnati have published a volume entitled "Animals in Social Captivity" by Richard Clough Anderson. The striking illustrations are by Lilian Noble Herschede. Mr. Anderson's book is a satire on different types of people in social life. He finds in the people he meets resemblances to animals which lead him to classify them as cats, bats, vampires, monkeys, and enough others to make quite a social menagerie.

Title page

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Volume XIII

Number 4

The

South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY
W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

OCTOBER, 1914

CONTENTS

THE EUGENIC JUDGMENT OF WAR	ROLAND HUGINS	303
THOMAS JEFFERSON AS A MAN OF LETTERS	MAX J. HERZBERG	310
THE EUROPEAN WAR	WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE	328
THE BLACK CODE OF ALABAMA	GEORGE A. WOOD	350
FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY FUND	WILLIAM K. BOYD	361
SOME FALLACIES CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH	EDGAR W. KNIGHT	371
IS AMERICAN LITERATURE READ AND RESPECTED IN EUROPE?	H. HOUSTON PECKHAM	382
BOOK REVIEWS		389

DURHAM, N. C.

Founded by the "9019" of Trinity College
Entered May 3, 1902, as second-class matter, Postoffice at Durham, N. C.
Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Published at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., by the
South Atlantic Publishing Company

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

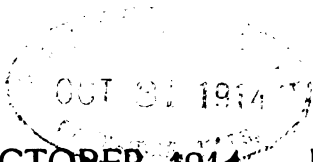
Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

APRIL, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Rural Communities in North Carolina	Gilbert T. Stephenson
The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers	Charles Lee Raper
Vital Statistics in North Carolina	Mabel Parker Massey
New Greek Literature	Charles W. Peppler
The Federal Reserve Act of 1913	D. D. Wallace
Sidney Lanier	Frank W. Cady
Some Aspects of American Place Names	Earl L. Bradsher
The Poetical Technique of Coleridge	Gilbert Cosulich
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	

JULY, 1914

Rural Land Segregation Between the Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson	Clarence Poe
The American Pegasus	John Lawrence McMaster
Income Tax Discrimination and Differentiation	Roy G. Blakey
Dante and His Influence Upon the English Poets	William A. Webb
Some Irish Plays and Social Sketches	Elbridge Colby
Lincoln's Interview with John B. Baldwin	Wilmer L. Hall
The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund	William K. Boyd
The Shape of the First London Theatre	T. S. Graves
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	



Volume XIII OCTOBER, 1914 Number 4

The South Atlantic Quarterly

The Eugenic Judgment of War*

ROLAND HUGINS
Fellow in Cornell University

In the present vigorous campaign against militarism the youngest of the social sciences, eugenics, has been enlisted to help fight the battle of the pacificists. A number of able men have pointed out that conflicts of armed men, success in which depends on proficiency in killing, have been a heavy drain on the racial stock of nations. Better and stronger men have marched away to war, it is asserted, than have stayed at home, so that the result has been cacogenic, or anti-eugenic, selection. It must be admitted at the outset that truth lies at the bottom of this contention, and that the case of the pacificists has been strengthened by it. But its service to eugenics and to social policy, especially when elaborated with historical "examples" and weighted with warnings, is more doubtful. In fact it is plain that the peace advocates, in their crusading zeal, have pushed the eugenic argument against war so far that it stands in need of qualifications,—and of qualifications quite as important as the principle itself.

Truth often loses its force and sense through over emphasis. Herbert Spencer, who was one of the first to call attention to the cacogenic influence of modern warfare, said in 1873: "Though, during barbarism and the earlier stages of civilization, war has the effect of exterminating the weaker societies, and of weeding out the weaker members of the stronger societies, . . . yet during the later stages of civilization, the second of these actions is reversed . . . War becomes a cause of retrogression." That sounds sufficiently positive and dogmatic. Later comes Novikov who, in 1894, lays down the dictum, "In all times war must reverse the process of selection." And he in turn is followed by those who make propa-

* Mr. Hugins wrote this timely article several months before the outbreak of the present war in Europe.

ganda of scientific observation, until we find David Starr Jordan speaking of "the overshadowing fact in the history of Europe, the effect of military selection on the breed of men." The last is so far an overstatement that it amounts to a misstatement.

In Dr. Jordan's "The Human Harvest," now the text-book of this theory in English, the ravages of war in the ranks of sound men is made the explanation of the fall of empires and the decay of civilization. "So fell Greece and Rome," declares Dr. Jordan, "Carthage and Egypt, the Arabs and the Moors, because, their warriors dying, the nation bred real men no more." The court of history fails to confirm any such verdict. Although Dr. Jordan tries to marshal evidence from all epochs in support of his thesis, he passes unseeing equally pertinent evidence which might be cited against it. For example let us consider the decline of the Roman empire. The continuous wars of conquest which raised Rome to her imperial position in the ancient world may, as he says, have cut down some of the best of those generations. But if this were the chief factor in the nation's decay why did the centuries of tranquility which followed Augustus prove more disastrous to human quality than the centuries of struggle which preceded until "vir gave place to homo"? Why, when the empire entered upon the Pax Romana, its thousand years of peace, and this damaging selective factor was removed, did not the nation recuperate, as Germany recuperated from its centuries of conflict, and as Europe as a whole recuperated, almost over night, from the bloody welter of the Middle Ages? This doctrine does not square at all with what meagre information we have on the real processes of disintegration in the Roman, Greek and Egyptian states. It likewise fails to take account of the continued vigor of many fighting races,—the Cossacks, the Magyars, the Danes.

The notion has, indeed, one real merit, that it places historical emphasis in the right place: the sovereignty which the "blood of the nation" holds over its destiny. Where the doctrine errs is in picking out one selective agency, and that a minor one, and making it dominant over the breeds of men. It is doubtful if any nation in the history of the world, even Spain,

could ever permanently have debased its breed through its wars had the internal processes of selection remained wholesome, and fertility been correlated with civic worth. The core of decay in ancient civilizations—and in modern ones as well—seems to impartial analysis to lie in the progressive refusal of the better strains of the population to contribute their share to the next generation,—in the postponement of marriage, or the refusal to marry at all, and in the limitation of the number of offspring. Professor Karl Pearson, who is beyond cavil the greatest living authority on the much travestied science of eugenics, is explicit in this matter. In his lecture on "The Groundwork of Eugenics," he said: "We must recognize to the full that human fertility changes in highly civilized states from the natural to the artificial plane. Such change led, in my opinion, to the collapse of the great civilizations of the ancient world. It will lead to the downfall of the great civilizations of today, unless our clearer scientific insight enables us to recognize, our more intense social spirit leads us to stem in time, the ills which inevitably flow from the suspension of the selective death-rate, and the artificial creation of a cacogenic selective birthrate."

The case of the pseudo-eugenists against militarism is stated too sweepingly. Several considerations suggested by sober afterthought serve to soften the curse which they place on war. A military campaign has of itself a selective effect on an army. Those who survive the hardships of camp-life and exposure to disease and wounds, as well as the shocks of battle, and come marching home to be reunited with their families, are on the whole a bit sturdier than those who die. This point has been elaborated by a number of critics, notably Ammon. Its importance, indeed, can easily be exaggerated because, as Vernon L. Kellogg declares, "military selection occurs chiefly before the fighting begins,"—during the recruiting stage. Still it has significance. Even Professor Kellogg speaks of "the apparent possibility always of an actual racial advantage from the selective influence of a short, swift war which may serve to go no further in its destructiveness than to weed out the weaker from the armies and to return fairly intact the stronger after only a short absence from home." Further, it

should be noted that but one sex is open to the devastating effects of war. Since inheritance is strictly bi-sexual, nothing is completely lost to the race by the slaughter of the males, but qualities are passed on to descendants, both male and female, by the sex which bears the burden of war in waiting and tears rather than actual fighting. Even the loss in numbers is lessened in proportion as the women who might have married the dead soldiers marry others. Nor, indeed, can we look upon all the strong men who give up their life in battle as potential fathers. One other mitigating factor which has been overlooked by the peace advocates is the value to sexual selection of conscription. In Germany and France, for example, part of the men cannot be utilized for compulsory military training; they are rejected by the recruiting officers. Those who meet the minimum standards of fitness imposed raise themselves, both by this fact and by the soldierly qualities that two or three years' training gives them, in the esteem of the women, and so have an advantage in the choice of mates.

Obviously the one sort of man which war is most likely to eliminate is the militant man,—those “who so loved fighting that they fought till they died.” Throughout the centuries, it is safe to say, the bolder, the braver and the harsher have answered the call of the trumpet, leaving the gentle (and the cowardly) behind to create posterity. Now, if war had cut down the courageous in any such proportions as these pacifists would have us believe, would there not have occurred a decline in the martial strength of mankind? We know the contrary to be true. A modern army is braver and steadier than were the phalanxes of the ancients. Walter Bagehot is one of the many who has made this observation. In his “Physics and Politics” he notes: “Somehow or other civilization does not make men effeminate or unwarlike as it once did. There is an improvement in our fibre—moral if not physical. In ancient times city people could not be got to fight—seemingly could not fight; they lost their mental courage, perhaps their bodily nerve. But nowadays in all countries the great cities could pour out multitudes wanting nothing but practice to make good soldiers, and abounding in bravery and vigor. This was

so in America ; it is so in Prussia ; and it would be so in England too."

Bagehot, of course, is speaking of the mass of the population. Elimination of the over-militant there may have been. But the selective action of war, in cutting down the pugnacious and bloodthirsty, evidently has not gone far enough seriously to diminish the racial store of sterner virtues. Surely the elimination of the more ferocious and brutal elements in society is a eugenic rather than a cacogenic function. Something of this service has, in fact, been rendered humanity by the continuous series of fights which has marked, and made history. The professional military class throughout the ages has drawn into itself, by its very nature, the savage, cruel, sanguinary personalities. And this "blood-letting of the centuries" has aided enormously in draining the nations of their anti-social strains. If conflict had been just frequent and extensive enough to kill off the intractable members of society, it could be regarded as nothing but an engine of progress. Often, however, war has over played its role of leech. In such struggles as the Thirty Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars, where hundreds of thousands of men perish, beneficial elimination is exceeded and the strength of the nations impaired. On the other hand many of the wars which history records undoubtedly have acted as purges and left human quality higher than it was before they claimed their victims.

We must, finally, make distinctions between the various sorts of conflict: some sorts are much more destructive of superior strains than others. Roughly speaking, of course, the bigger the fight and the more killed, the worse for the race. In this respect modern war compares favorably with the wars of previous centuries. Although more combatants are involved, the wars of today are no longer protracted through decade after decade, and the total carnage is less. Furthermore the usual foreign war does not take so heavy a toll from sound stock as does a civil war. When the fight rages around a principle better men rally to both sides than when professional armies are thrown into the trial of force. Very devastating to manhood were Cromwell's wars, when Puritan attacked Cavalier; and likewise the Civil War in the United States, when

northern abolitionist took the field against southern secessionist. Even more ruinous than civil war is violent revolution. The proscriptions in Rome of the aristocrats by Marius and Cinna and of the leaders of the democrats by Sulla, and the guillotining in France of the nobility during the Revolution, drained off the best blood of the nation a hundredfold faster than ordinary war. This deliberate and systematic slaughter of leaders and rulers during revolution is quite on a par with the destruction of heretics and men of science by the Inquisition. And if we look into the future, what the eugenist will most fear is not some great European war, some sudden, brief death-grapple between giants like England and Germany, but rather that class-struggle still prophesied by the extreme wing of the Marxian socialists,—that Red Revolution, when the proletariat rises to crush the capitalist. It is true that the worst possible way to inaugurate a socialistic régime would be to kill the leaders which the previous social order had discovered; for the capitalistic system, whatever its defects or merits otherwise, has proved the most effective device in the world's history for sifting ability out of the general population. But it is in the nature of revolutions not to count the costs.

One thing should be clear: that the teachings of eugenics must be divorced from pacifist polemic. This is but one of the numerous instances where a propaganda or a "cause" has appropriated the name and the idea of eugenics to further its own ends,—quite to the disaster of the young science. No case for the need of eugenic endeavors can be manufactured from war's alarms. That case rests on entirely another basis. Dr. Jordan and his collaborators, in attempting to paint military selection as the worst of all race-blights, are doing what they can to obscure the real eugenic peril of the present era. That peril, as has long been recognized by thoughtful and open-minded men, lies in the self-sterilization of superior family strains,—in the refusal of our better-endowed men and women to propagate their kind. This downward racial trend is the result of many and complicated motives; but to these motives the martial spirit is, if anything, antithetic.

There is no reason, indeed, why the peace advocates should resort to exaggeration. They have in their biological objection,

even after all due allowances are made, a strong argument. The loss in sound stock which a large and protracted war entails is actual: one of the inevitable and frightful costs which mankind has to pay for the employment of force as a means of settling disputes. But there will come occasions in the future, undoubtedly, when the nations will be willing again to pay this cost, just as they will be ready to incur the huge economic losses of war. We are not justified, moreover, in branding any and all armed conflict as cacogenic, or in seeking to erect the effects of military selection into a bogey. Each war must be judged separately, in the light of the several necessary qualifications. When these qualifications are frankly admitted we shall have ceased to strain the truth; we shall be no less the foes of needless war, and far better friends of eugenics.

Thomas Jefferson as a Man of Letters

MAX J. HERZBERG

Central High School, Newark, N. J.

Undoubtedly the most puzzling personality in American history is Thomas Jefferson. He was apparently a very Old Man of the Sea in his power to assume various forms, and his many protean disguises have sufficed to make him at one and the same time the best hated and the best loved character in American annals. All students of his life, superficial or profound, are bewildered by his remarkable inconsistency and elusive mobility. Those who are attracted by him end with seeing only the favorable sides of his character, and those who are repelled end with seeing only the unfavorable. In either case the picture is startlingly incomplete and unveracious. Never yet has any portrait of Jefferson been drawn that could be accepted as true and final; and it may well be doubted if such a portrait will be drawn in the near future, for reasons hereafter to be stated. Students of history will continue to delve in the "rich mines of fascinating personality" that the voluminous writings of Jefferson present, and all we can hope for will be many sketches of his character from many points of view, each in itself attempting to resolve and reconcile some of the contradictions that have puzzled and perplexed his biographers.

For example, to take only the better known of those contradictions that have been found in his career, how shall we reconcile it that Jefferson so insistently advocated a weak central government, and yet himself when in office considerably strengthened the power at Washington; that he argued continually for civil service laws and himself—earlier than Jackson—inaugurated the "spoils" system; that he opposed second terms and himself ran for governor and president twice; that he constantly opposed slavery and yet himself owned slaves and refused to act as executor of a will in which the testator freed his slaves? These are but samples of Jefferson's constant habit through life; and undoubtedly they have worked much injury to his good fame. Nor have I mentioned such episodes as his jealousy of Washington; his

encouragement of Freneau's scurrilous attacks upon men with whom Jefferson was apparently on the best of terms; and finally the disgusting "Anas." How shall we explain this man?

To a great extent the career of Jefferson can be explained only by the fact that he lived at a certain period of the eighteenth century. That he was a man of his age in certain prominent characteristics is evident at a glance. Thus, for example, we trace the influence of the century upon his development as it is evident in his general skepticism; in the broad field of his knowledge and activities; in the hold of the "esprit gaulois" upon him as upon most of Europe at the time; in his interest in "Man" and his humanitarianism; in the obviously prosaic qualities of his personality; in his humdrum and rhetorical style; and finally in that bad taste that led him to write and publish the "Anas", just as, for example, it led Pope to write, and as we suspect, cause to be published certain nasty letters. But Jefferson is at one with his contemporaries in a more important respect.

As the great neo-classic era in literature was drawing to a close, it is well known that a strong reaction set in to the clearly defined characteristics that had marked European civilization, and particularly letters, for so many decades. The utilitarian, practical spirit was still predominant, but everywhere was stirring obscurely new life: The leaders of the new movement groped blindly in the dark, struggled vainly with the spirit of the age, and often were obliged to take refuge in a weak negation rather than in any positive doing. Men like Kant in Germany, it is true, were laying the strong foundations of a new idealism; but mainly the reaction to the rationality of the period found vent in a weak sentimentality and vaporous dreaming. Ossian in England, Rousseau in France, Goethe with his "Sorrows of Werther" and the *Sturm und Drang* in Germany, Chateaubriand in France again, Byron and Shelley in England again, the Romantic School in Germany again,—these were the gradually cumulative product of the new spirit. Not all, however, were able to break forth from the chrysalis like these, and undoubtedly men like Gray and Blake were chilled by the cold, unvital air of the time,

that was to become balmier only after the birth of the greater Georgian poets. Doctor Johnson's influence was ascendant even at the beginning of the new century, and the victory of the Wordsworthian school was still to come.

Jefferson is a curious example of those in whom the new life and spirit stirred with sufficient vigor to make possible an occasional conflict with the old, and yet in whom the conflict was fraught with more good than evil. Jefferson had in him two powerful tendencies: one that of the idealist and dreamer, one that of the practical man of affairs. He has been aptly called a "transcendentalist in politics." At any other era there would have been no conflict between the two: in fact, the greatest men in all times have been the idealists in action. But in the late eighteenth century there was necessarily a conflict. Shrewdness, hardheadedness, cool reason, these were the qualities respected and admired. They were the qualities respected and admired in literature as in life: this century is remarkable for the large number of men of affairs who find mention in histories of literature, and this should be ascribed to the fact that the characteristics required for success in literature were the same as those required for success in life. Nor can it be denied that the idealists of the time, daunted by such an environment, were not able to put forward much of a case before the world. We have little respect even today for a weak-kneed sentimentalist like Rousseau, who spoke with the lips of an angel, and whose life arouses disgust and contempt; and little real respect for a Coleridge, later and better born, who spun beautiful cobwebs of metaphysics, and left Southey to support his wife and children. But Jefferson to a great extent escaped the unsubstantiality and the contempt justly earned by many of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century idealists. And he escaped them mainly because of the very conflict that has been mentioned. He was practical enough to win the respect of his contemporaries, and idealist enough to influence posterity. He wrought great deeds in his own time, and he left great ideas to the future. Yet there was a conflict in him, with certain practical consequences, which may be illustrated from various phases of his activities.

Thus, for example, the first consequence of this conflict is a certain timidity that marked Jefferson's character throughout his life. He evolved many schemes of political philosophy, but when it came to putting them into practice, the cautious spirit of the age overcame him, and he was afraid. Jefferson rarely acknowledged directly that he was the author of any scheme or undertaking—even a literary undertaking. He was not merely no maker of books, but he even kept most of his productions current only among his friends. His most important literary work, the "Notes on Virginia," was published against his will and anonymously. There exists moreover no definite system of Jeffersonian philosophy, excepting possibly in the first inaugural address. This philosophy can only be pieced together from innumerable letters, pamphlets, declarations, and the like. Jefferson worked like a mole, underground: as Mr. Ford points out, he suggested to Madison that he do or write this, to Monroe that he do or write that; he revised one man's book and outlined another's; he labored indefatigably in committee or delegation to impress his ideas on his colleagues. But always he is the man behind the scenes that pulls the wires; never, if it can be helped, does he himself come forward as an actor. This terror—if we may so denominate it—of contact with a hard world, went so far that he even had some of his legislative bills introduced by others, and allowed them to bear the brunt of criticism and attack—as, for example, when he drew up a bill in the Virginia House of Burgesses for emancipation of the negroes.

A second consequence of this conflict is apparent in almost all the literary productions of Jefferson. Taking the Declaration of Independence as an example, we notice that it begins with certain general statements of abstract rights, and proceeds then to enumerate the particular grievances of the colonies against the king. Here your philosopher has held the field for a while till the practical politician returned. Jefferson has soared in great exaltation and lofty imagination: then he descends to walk soberly on the common earth. In Jefferson's other writings the same characteristics may be observed. In them also we find good hard facts liberally interspersed with broad generalizations and philosophical reflec-

tions. Nowhere in Jefferson are the philosophical and the practical far apart.

A third consequence of the conflict was that inconsistency of Jefferson's mentioned above. Regarded from this standpoint, it is on his very inconsistency that Jefferson's best claims to be considered a great statesman are founded. For had he, on the one hand, been a mere politician, as some claim, he would undoubtedly have had no principles to be inconsistent to; and had he, on the other hand, been a mere dreamer and philosopher, as some claim, he would undoubtedly have allowed that "hobgoblin of little minds", a weak desire for consistency, to defeat his largest ends and prevent the accomplishment of his greatest hopes. Jefferson, the man of affairs, was keenly sensible that the attempt to put his theories into practice must certainly reveal many defects of details, and he was prepared to alter these details in accordance with experience: he was ready to give up his pet schemes, if the sacrifice would redound to the benefit of his greater ideals. Jefferson's little foibles were not with him, as with many men, the means of destroying any more important good, and he was true to his larger principles if not always to his innumerable notions. Jefferson often made mistakes, but he "erred in integrity," and—always with the most intense longing for the good of the masses of mankind—he strove to repair his errors. Thus, as Mr. Fiske observes, "He had not approved of Hamilton's acts, but he knew how to adopt and appropriate them", as soon as he realized the immediate practical necessity for a stronger central power. This never meant, however, that he gave up the doctrine of state and individual rights; and we may be convinced that were Jefferson living today he would be the last, in or out of office, to fall in line with the present tendency in the United States towards paternalism in government. Then again in the matter of slavery, we should not forget that Jefferson was sincerely grieved at the omission of the clause against slavery from the Declaration of Independence, and constantly strove in his own state to provide for gradual emancipation. Jefferson was a dreamer, but a dreamer who in reducing his dreams to realities did

not fail to avoid the insubstantiality and gray mistiness of ghostland: therefore his dreams often came true.

Thus, all in all, in the sphere of action as in the sphere of thought, Jefferson was a typical product of his age. His timidity, his practicality, his inconsistency, the conflict in him of idealism and expediency, his cosmopolitanism, his polish, his fluctuant morality, his humanitarianism, his skepticism: all alike are qualities that mark the epoch. Keeping these general characteristics in mind, it will be easier to consider Jefferson more particularly in his literary relations.

II

It would be a mistake to imagine for a moment that the author of the Declaration of Independence, was, in any sense of the word, a great man of letters; or that if his reputation depended on the work of his pen, his name would find more than incidental mention in any history of literature. It needs but a glance at the list of his writings to establish at once the fact that Jefferson is not on the roll of great writers. All is discursive and brief; and one famous document and one published book constitute the greater part of the literary baggage of Jefferson. In considering the literary work of men like Washington or John Adams or Madison or Jefferson, it must constantly be remembered that they were all of them employed in the active duties of public service, and that, as Edward Everett has remarked, "the fruits of their intellect are not to be sought in the systematic volumes of learned leisure, but in the files of office, in the archives of state, and in a most extensive public and private correspondence." But these are not the staple of literature, and undoubtedly men of this caliber would be much surprised and amused to find themselves discussed in the literary history of America. Jefferson especially, who, as has been mentioned, was anxious to avoid the reputation of a man of letters, published only one book and that anonymously. In the case of Jefferson, moreover, who during a long and active life was lawyer, statesman, governor, diplomat, cabinet minister, vice-president, and president, to say nothing of his other functions as pamphleteer, letter-writer, and author of many small treatises in the interests of science, education, and the like, the mass of purely unlit-erary

documents is necessarily more than usually large. Yet to a certain extent the amount of formal work in his writings is greater than in those of any other man of his time, and rewards systematic investigation.

Leaving for the moment his state papers, and particularly the Declaration of Independence, out of account, the writings of Jefferson may be considered under three heads: (1) the *Notes on Virginia*; (2) the *Letters*; (3) the miscellaneous writings. With regard to the first which, according to Ford, is the book of all written south of Mason and Dixon's line most frequently reprinted, it has been said that "as a whole, perhaps no book of information was ever more pleasantly and vigorously written." It was undertaken to oblige M. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation at Philadelphia, in accordance with the request of the king of France. De Marbois addressed to Jefferson a list of twenty-three questions on the resources, topography, etc., of Virginia, and the book, which answers these queries, is consequently in the form of a catechism. The answers, however, are by no means confined to dry official facts. Jefferson lavished upon this production all the wealth of information he had gathered in many years, and mingled with this are vivid descriptions and profound reflections. One graphic description particularly, on the passage of the Potomac at Blue Ridge, has become very well known. He used the book also to exploit several of his notions; as for example his theory that the largest animals are found in the cold and moist climates. The *Notes* were first printed in a limited edition in French; afterwards a pirated edition was brought out in England; only then did Jefferson consent to publish the book regularly though anonymously. It has remained the most authoritative account of Virginia to the present day, and is still frequently reprinted. On it to a large extent was founded Jefferson's philosophical reputation abroad and at home.

Jefferson has been called "probably the greatest letter-writer that has ever lived," though Cicero might have run him close had he possessed modern facilities. There were found on file after his death twenty-six thousand letters that he had received; of those written by him, Ford says that

“a careful estimate of the letters still in existence gives not less than twenty-five thousand, yet a portion only of certain years are still extant”; and it seems likely that the number he wrote in his eighty-three years of life must have been enormous. He himself records the fact that he received and answered in a single year twelve hundred and sixty-seven letters. So far then Jefferson was truly a “man of letters.” This correspondence possesses great historical value, and has a remarkable significance as embodying Jefferson’s doctrines. To a certain extent, also, the letters are of a literary character in that they reveal personality—in this respect reminding us somewhat of Pepys’ diary. Beginning with a very early period they carry us from Jefferson’s first love disappointment and his ensuing cynicism down to the last years of his life, when Monticello had become a political and intellectual Mecca. Despite some elegance and polish, however, they lack charm when read for themselves, and not for a moment can Jefferson be compared with men like Chesterfield and Cowper. Yet for their historical interest these letters must always continue to be read, more so perhaps than those of either Chesterfield or Cowper.

The miscellaneous writings of Jefferson are less important. The *Autobiography*, written in his usual flowing style, deals largely with his public career and lacks the personal interest of Franklin’s similar work. The *Anas* mentioned above, will probably always attract readers for its scandalous and mean-minded details, and reveals the weakness of the man rather than his greatness. Most students will prefer to ignore it entirely, just as the evidences of Carlyle’s similar pettiness towards Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb are wisely ignored. Such collections of shady anecdotes are essentially Gallic and eighteenth century in nature: that Jefferson should have been guilty of a breach of good taste in this matter must be attributed to the influence of the older epoch on his character. In the realm of eloquence Jefferson need not be considered. Though he is supposed to have indited speeches occasionally for others, he rarely spoke in the assemblies to which he was elected—he was no orator as Brutus is. As a pamphleteer Jefferson’s most important service was in the *The Summary*

View of the Rights of British America, 1774, reprinted in England by Edmund Burke. Considering the time, this was a remarkably bold and firm expression of opinion, wherein he anticipated many of the arguments and doctrines later laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson wrote many other pamphlets of one kind and another during the course of his life, but utterly fails to stand any comparison with the great English pamphleteers, with the grandeur and large utterance of Burke, the savage irony and sustained strength of Swift, or the ingenuity and effectiveness of Arbuthnot. Nor do Jefferson's pamphlets at all compare with the remarkably influential papers of the "Federalist." Finally, such compositions as his commercial reports for 1793 and his diplomatic papers, well written in their way, again cannot claim to stand beside Hamilton's masterly work in this line. Thus in almost every sphere we find that Jefferson's work, excellent of its kind, is surpassed by that of many other men.

It is on his state papers, and especially on one famous document, that Jefferson's chief claim to literary power must rest. He excelled all his colleagues in the Virginia House of Burgesses as a drafter of state papers; and when he entered Congress, he brought with him, as John Adams expressed it, "a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression," a quality they retained to the last. His services were at once called into requisition. He drafted a "Declaration on Taking up Arms," and also—after the Battle of Bunker Hill—a manifesto justifying America to the world. He wrote memorably and forcibly: his tone was lofty and dignified; and finally, after serving on many important committees, he was elected, early in June 1776, chairman of an illustrious committee to draft a Declaration of Independence. Jefferson was selected by the committee to draw up the document. After certain revisions by Adams and Franklin, he submitted the document to Congress. When Congress had made "eighteen suppressions, six additions, and ten alterations," it was adopted and signed—in

part—on July 4th, 1776, the charter of liberties for the United States.

Such was the origin of the Declaration of Independence. Its immediate and permanent influence was tremendous. The people and army received it with enthusiasm; it enabled the colonies to present a united front to England; it was the justification of America in the eyes of the world. France was deeply impressed by it, and it had its share in precipitating the crisis of the French Revolution. It was written for thirteen colonies and three million people: now a century has barely revealed the possibilities of American development and American influence in a land that stretches unbrokenly over three million square miles of territory, and that has attracted to its shores enough old-world pioneers to swell its population to a ninety millions that will soon be a hundred millions—and yet no end. Like a banner in this march onward of American ideals and of courageous conquest of the wilderness has been the Declaration of Independence, and long ago it began to react further on Europe and European institutions. To Spanish America it has been a beacon afar, and to all patriots who have endeavored to set up popular institutions. State constitutions have duplicated its ideas and its phraseology, and it has been imitated in every tongue.

It may be objected that so much force should not be attached to mere words; that all the ideas expressed in the Declaration were by no means novel; that to the expansion of human conceptions should be ascribed the important changes of the nineteenth century, and not to a few ringing phrases. No doubt this is true, and yet after all the danger is great of minimizing the importance of just such a crystallization of ideas as the Declaration of Independence affords. It is not to be forgotten that for the commonalty of mankind thinking is vague, and watchwords necessary: men somehow feel that their cause is right, and yet are unable so to formulate their rights in words as to form a good defense of their cause before the bar of public opinion. Give them, however, a document in black and white, wherein are phrased memorably all their thoughts and ideals, and the words will burn themselves into the hearts.

Nor is it to be forgotten in this connection how insistently, for example, the refrain of those few simple words, "All men are created equal," rang in the ears of the American nation in the years before the Civil War. They flamed as if in fire before all eyes, North and South. Calhoun admitted that the chief obstacle to the adoption of his plausible scheme for a state founded on negro slavery was the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. If ever a history of the Civil War be written from a psychological standpoint, assuredly to those words, "All men are created equal," should be ascribed no mean portion of the credit for awakening the dormant conscience of the North. Such was the power of one phrase of what was called an obsolescent and antiquated document.

Against this very phrase indeed, as against most of the statements of the preamble, attack after attack has been made, culminating in the famous epigram that the Declaration of Independence contained only "glittering and sounding generalities of human right." This famous phrase occurs in a letter addressed August 9, 1856, by Rufus Choate to the Whigs of Maine, in a passionate denunciation of the abolitionists and the candidacy of Fremont. It is therefore not surprising that the sentiment should occur. But it is noteworthy that in the same letter Choate characterizes the Declaration as "that passionate and eloquent manifesto of the Revolutionary War"; and he admits the source of his antagonism when he maintains that from the Declaration the abolitionists have gathered "their doctrines of human right" and hence their hatred of slavery and the South. Choate evidently regarded the Preamble as highly reprehensible, but the statement of grievances against the king as admirable and praiseworthy. Finally, it is to be noted that Choate qualifies his scorn of the Declaration in the phrase under consideration by saying that this is the manner in which it *will* be regarded when the abolitionists give the "government to the North, when to the fifteen states of the South the government will appear an alien government, a hostile government," the constitution of which is "the glittering and sounding generalities of human right which make up the Declaration of

Independence." It is strange that Mr. Choate never realized that his phrase would have sounded even better on the lips of certain black chattels of the South—that to them indeed such doctrines were sounding generalities never meant to be applied. However, a phrase used in the heat of such polemics as preceded the Civil War ought not to be taken too seriously, especially when used by a man like Choate, merely a great lawyer and advocate. Josiah Quincy truly remarked, in commenting on what he termed "this extraordinary letter of Mr. Choate," that "it is the work of an intelligence affected by professional habits. It is a common subject of remark that a long and active practise at the bar has a tendency to make oblique the intellectual vision and blunt the delicacy of the moral sense Both moral and intellectual investigation become, not a search after truth, but a trial of skill;" and Mr. Choate, believes Quincy, is an instance of this. In conclusion it should be remarked that the evidence offered by Lincoln in the Lincoln-Douglas debates is to the same effect and proves that the denial of the "equality" doctrine of the Declaration was a development of the slavery controversy, and originated in fact in the Dred Scott decision. Lincoln himself defined the phrase as meaning "the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and the right of each man to eat the bread he has earned. It has been very well said that no intelligent man ever misconstrued this clause except intentionally.

Yet one may go too far in interpreting the Preamble into mere commonplaces. To assert that Jefferson meant the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence to be nothing more than a somewhat vague and entirely philosophical generalization without any roots in the intellectual and moral life of the time, is to mistake altogether the character of the American Revolution and of Jefferson. It has been pointed out that the Revolution really consisted of two movements: the first of opposition of the colonies to the king; the second of opposition of the democratic elements in the colonies to the aristocratic. Both movements prevailed, were fitly united in one by Jefferson, and are represented in the Declaration, but only in the first ten amendments to the *Constitution*. We must

not forget that Jefferson belonged to that generation whose spirit was enlarged with the glorious Pisgah-sight of the promised land, the land of liberty, the land of the brotherhood of man. It is that Pisgah-sight which finds expression in the Preamble. We should not doubt the sincerity and truth of Jefferson's emotion in the Declaration of Independence. As some one has said, "If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong: if America is right, Jefferson was right."

Another charge that has been made against the Declaration is its lack of originality. This is as absurd a charge as can be made. To expect originality in this field is like claiming that Newton was original and startlingly paradoxical in that he was the first to discover that an apple would fall to the ground. That men have certain inalienable rights, that government derives its powers from the consent of the governed,—surely no reasonable person can imagine that the American Revolution could have taken place had Jefferson first discovered truths like these at that time. The Declaration of Independence would have been futile had not every one of its doctrines been in the mouths and minds of men for many years. Jefferson himself had anticipated them in the *Summary View*.

The sources of the Declaration were in fact many. Originally, perhaps, a portion of it can be traced back to the spirit of the Old Testament and the New Testament. More immediately, however, its source in chief was John Locke. From Locke, for example, was derived the doctrine of natural rights, which in the *Second Treatise on Government* consist of "life, liberty, and property." To him also can be traced the doctrine of revolutions contained in the Declaration, and also the right of the majority to rule. Locke's maxims were widely current among the colonists, and Jefferson was unquestionably familiar with his works. Certain remarkable anticipations can be found in Milton. Thus the latter says, "All men naturally were born free;" he contends that the ultimate political power is in the hands of the people; and he insists that what the laws must aim to secure is the "opportunity for each man to work out his own good,"—that is, the pursuit of happiness as an inalienable right. Milton,

moreover, certainly lays no less emphasis than Jefferson on religious tolerance and on the freedom of speech and of press.

French influence upon Jefferson was comparatively slight. Only late in life did he really become acquainted with French thought, and it influenced him little in the sphere of action. Montesquieu, for example, was rather disliked by him, and the influence of the *Esprit des Lois* is more apparent on Jefferson's opponent Hamilton. Rousseau's *Social Contract* was published in 1762, after the controversy in the colonies had begun, and his name finds little mention in the literature of the time. In his later years Jefferson was regarded as a French doctrinaire. Mr. Fiske relates that "New England clergymen entertained a grotesque conception of Jefferson as a French atheist, and I have heard my grandmother tell how old ladies in Connecticut, at the news of his election, hid their family Bibles because it was supposed that his very first official act, perhaps even before announcing his cabinet, would be to issue a ukase ordering all copies of the sacred volume to be seized and burned." Jefferson was Gallic enough to be sure, but his political and humanitarian doctrines were English and not French in genesis—though there may truly enough have been in them occasionally a smack of pungent wit.

We must conclude regarding the Declaration of Independence as a whole, that despite occasional bombast and despite occasional inaccuracy it is a tremendous document. It is surely not accidental that this is the only document in American annals that has won for itself a place in the hearts of the people. The fact that it has so long and so successfully withstood the test of time and of constant reiteration should be sufficient proof of the essential literary power and soundness of the Declaration. American hearts in all times have thrilled to its majestic and resonant words: American liberties, and in part the liberties of the world, are founded upon it as upon a rock. It is more than a piece of literature: it is the soul of a people. It is more than an assertion of grievances; it is a charter of manhood. The particular form of emotionalism that rings in the Declaration is today perhaps a little quaint, but it should nevertheless be clear that Amer-

ica stands or falls with the Declaration of Independence. If ever the time shall come when Americans deny the full cogency of the Preamble, the time will have come when America in her turn shall give way to a new evangel of humanity. Jefferson may therefore be said in this document to express a nation and a civilization—a remarkable literary feat.

To sum up the work of Jefferson in literature, it would seem that aside from one masterpiece he achieved nothing of great note. His style is easy and flowing, and frequently it concentrates in a "curious felicity" of phrase that has made many of his sayings familiar in the mouths of men. In other words, he had a certain facility for phrasing commonplaces memorably and well that recalls the similar facility of Mr. Roosevelt. The faults of Jefferson's style are the faults of his age: he is too stately and pompous, the diction too Latin, the figures too elaborate, his manner too academic. Of fancy and imagination we find not much in Jefferson: what little he possessed spent itself in planning a romantic, Ossianic graveyard, or in devising fantastic names for the new states of the Northwestern Territory, such as Assenisippia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Pelysippia. The works of Jefferson taken all in all, are more useful than brilliant.

A moment must be spared to note that the remarkably wide range of Jefferson's intellectual interests may be accepted as at least one token of a good man of letters. This was the age of the man of omniscience, of the Johnsons and the Goethes and the Voltaires. So Jefferson, with absolute faith in his own surety of judgment, fearlessly discussed all subjects from architecture to the treatment of infants, from the breeding of sheep to the apparel of women, from the use of finger-bowls to the science of government, from meteorology to music. That on some of these subjects his opinion was valuable is undoubted. Jefferson anticipated many modern ideas, as for example of experiments with balloons, of the protection of non-belligerents in war, of the use of torpedo boats. His services to education were also very valuable. One of his dearest schemes was a comprehensive system of public schools; he founded and fostered the University of Virginia, the first non-sectarian institution in America; and he was

the earliest to advocate the study of Anglo-Saxon in connection with English, himself writing a grammar of the language. Finally we cannot omit to mention Jefferson's great service in revising the Virginia Code, a service that recalls Macaulay's similar one in India.

III

The name of the third president of the United States stands out in its history. Twice chief executive, after a long and brilliant career as burgess, governor, member of Congress, plenipotentiary, cabinet officer, and vice-president, he added in the course of a long life to these honors many other titles to fame. He was the author of state papers that summed up forcibly the cause of the colonies against England. He composed a document of liberty that has attained worldwide renown surpassed by no other document in modern times. His name has become the shibboleth of a great party: his doctrines are the basis of its creed. He was the founder of the first non-sectarian university in America, and author of the Virginia statute of religious freedom. He was one of the first to demand the extinction of slavery. He was a constant friend of culture and scholarship, and was himself a widely read and variously learned man. All this he was, —a very voluminous writer, a lawyer, a statesman, a diplomat, a philosopher, a scholar, and a man of letters. Truly a remarkable number of functions for one man to combine and sufficient title to historical fame!

But his influence by no means even waned with his death, for a truly remarkable fact confronts us, when, for example, we consider the influence of Jefferson on the issues of the Civil War. There were two paramount issues: state sovereignty and slavery. In the former the South stood for a weak, the North for a strong central government. The arguments of the South were based on the creed of Thomas Jefferson. On the latter issue the North became more and more abolitionary in tendency, the South ever more determined in its defense of slavery. The arguments of the North were drawn from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and from many other of his utterances. Surely it is astounding that one man should have so epitomized, so

embodied the thought of a great nation that in the most tremendous conflict of modern times both sides went to him and his writings to justify their course on the great issues of that conflict. To prove, moreover, that Jefferson is still a living influence in American life only one fact need be adduced. It is well known that all of our greatest men have during their lifetime been the objects of the grossest attacks. Washington was accused of murder, treachery, corruption, hypocrisy, moral cowardice, and private immorality. Franklin was charged with theft, debauchery, intrigue, and slander. The slurs on Lincoln are too well known to need repetition. So similarly Jefferson was accused of every crime in the calendar. But the strange thing is, that while the charges against the others have been forgotten as the mere vaporings of contemporary politics, Jefferson is still being attacked, and most bitterly, as if he were some living statesman, instead of a man dead now almost three generations. On the other hand men defend him and praise him just as vehemently: idolatry meets vituperation with unabated vigor. Nor must it for a moment be supposed that this controversy, as in the case of Machiavelli or Alcibiades, is carried on among scholars and in the closet. On the contrary, men of affairs, active in the daily pursuits of life, manifest this partisanship most intensely. Only in one way can such an extraordinary interest in Jefferson be explained. The issues for which the others stood are issues that have been decided: they concern us no longer except for their historical interest. But the interests for which Jefferson stood are, in the phrase of today, "live issues,"—they come close to our hearts and homes, to our business and bosoms. Jefferson struck so deep into the eternal roots of thought and interests in America that for generations to come his words and principles must be the subject of controversy, and the man no less.

Apart then from their historical and literary value Jefferson's writings are vitally important today. They will continue to exert more direct influence on American life than the works of any other of America's greatest men. Washington must ever remain a noble ideal, whose voluminous writings will be resorted to mainly for purposes of biography, but with little reference to modern conditions. So also Hamilton will be

read chiefly for technical arguments and by lawyers. Lincoln again, despite the fact that in literary power and greatness he immeasurably surpasses any of these men, will become, now that the tide of feeling aroused by the Civil War has subsided, a great memory enshrined in the nation's heart, the noblest type of democratic manhood, but not—except in a very general way—the armory whence men draw their weapons for warfare today. Far otherwise, as has been said, is the case with Jefferson. To some he is still far in advance of modern thought: to others he represents a dangerous heresy that has unfortunately proved highly attractive. In either case his writings are the subject of deep study and close attention. This is much more true, indeed, than is the fortune of many professed writers of literature with established reputations.

In a certain sense, then, the time has hardly come to judge of Jefferson from the literary point of view. Because of their intellectual value, we may be inclined to exaggerate the literary significance of views that are still so much a subject of controversy. But so long as the States endure, one of the writings of Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence, will remain an eternal literary monument to his fame, a monument secure from the mutations of politics and the changes of issues. Its words will take on inspiration with the ages; it will seem the great bulwark of the oppressed. To be the author of this document, to hear one's words on the reverend lips of mankind forever, is not this more honorable than all honor? No mere piece of literature, we are assured, has ever had or ever will have the vogue of Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.

The European War

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE

Assistant Professor of History in Trinity College

Obviously it is impossible at this time to make authoritative statements concerning the issues involved in the European war now in progress or to place finally the responsibility for its outbreak. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence is available to warrant tentative conclusions, which are here set forth with a full acknowledgement that they may have to be modified in the future, when facts not now known are brought to light.

In spite of the off-hand pronouncements heard so frequently on the streets and the superficial certainty of many writers who have filled much space in the newspapers, it is unlikely that any student who reflects seriously for a moment will place the responsibility for so widespread and terrible a calamity on the shoulders of any one man or small group of men. Were this purely a "Kaisers'" war it is unthinkable that the genius of man would be able at this stage in the development of human society to organize and inspire the huge armies that are doing valiant battle for the imperial cause. The truth is that the roots of this contest, as of all such epoch-making catastrophes that history records, are to be found in previous centuries. We saw in the last days of July and the first of August not the origin of the terrible disaster which has overtaken Western civilization but a culminating crisis in the series of movements which, sometimes paralleled and sometimes interwoven, have been for the past several hundred years the determining factors which have compelled the more important of the social and political changes that have taken place. Three of these movements stand out clearly and furnish explanations for recent national rearrangements and political and social readjustments which would otherwise seem to be inexplicable as to their cause and uncertain in their tendency. These three movements may be denominated briefly, nationalism—that is the tendency of a compact group of people with similar racial and traditional heritages to overcome obstacles

and organize itself into a nation,—the rise of democracy as a result of the reorganization of industry, and the growth of militarism.

The rise of a national spirit is a logical and necessary step in the progress of a people from the ancient tribal organization through feudalism and dynastic monarchy to a stable and enlightened government, in the existence and character of which a majority of all the members of the state feel a personal interest. Such a nationalism makes its first appearance in modern times in the England of the Tudors. Conditions were propitious for its advent. The old personalities and social organizations which had constituted the government had divided themselves into rival camps and had fought themselves to death. The new government that was born in the death-throes of the old depended upon the substantial people who were left and who had similar aims and interests. The threat of Spanish domination later gave them a common danger which aroused to action the spirit of the nation. The colonies that soon began to be established and other commercial enterprises that were launched did not spring so much from the initiative of the ruling house as from the ambitions and aspirations of the newcomers to power from the lower ranks. The naval nucleus that co-operated with the elements in dispersing the Armada was the product of individual and national rather than of royal enterprise. This nationalism attained such vitality in the Tudor period that it was later able in protecting its own existence to claim from one king who undertook its destruction his head and from another his throne. Since that time this spirit has been one of the principal forces that has promoted the growth and expansion of Britain.

This nationalism, however, must not be confused with democracy. In times of stress, when the existence of the national spirit seemed to be at stake, it is true that appeals were made to the people as a whole, and democratic theories received attention. The Puritan Revolution formulated its social contract, but a strong man was able to organize the national spirit into an army, and the attempt to put theoretical democracy into practice was for the time foregone. Nor was it destined to receive a trial until three centuries later.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century an incompetent monarchy by its mistakes and extravagances imposed on the people of France burdens which finally aroused in that country a spirit similar in character to that which had developed more slowly in England. The French Revolution was an awakening of the people of France to national consciousness. This awakening, like the Puritan Revolution, was accompanied by democratic theories; it also had its social compact which was put aside untried by the strong man who typified for the time the soul of the nation and under whose leadership the new France overran Western Europe and destroyed like stubble the mercenary armies of the kings of the old régime. Not until the contagion of the French Revolution and the overwhelming arrogance of Napoleon had aroused in other European countries a spirit akin to that which had enabled France to conquer them was Europe able to free itself from a conqueror who led a nation in arms.

Unfortunately few of the statesmen of the time understood the character of the forces which they were trying to control. More unfortunate still, the dominant figure in the congress that undertook to settle the questions that arose from the Napoleonic wars represented a government which did not then have, has not since had, and probably never can have behind it a loyal and united nation. The Metternich system which followed was, therefore, based on a total misapprehension in two important particulars of the conditions that existed. In the first place, the Prince and his friends imagined that in their struggle against revolutionary France they had been fighting democracy later utilized for his own purposes by a military despot. Therefore, for the next three decades, they endeavored to prevent a recurrence of the struggle by suppressing every appearance of liberalism. In the second place, not understanding the movement against which they had fought, they likewise failed to appreciate the character of the spirit that had finally enabled them to conquer. The result was that the settlement of Vienna disregarded entirely racial boundaries and national feelings and, therefore, in the nature of things was ephemeral. The history of the following years proves that the vitality of the national movement had not been crushed, as

witness the Greek war for independence, the separation of Belgium and Holland, the unification in turn of Italy and the German Empire, and the recent developments in the Balkans.

About the time the Continental nations were awaking to national consciousness another movement was getting under way in Great Britain which was destined to have an enormous influence on the character of modern institutions. The invention of a number of machines and the discovery of improved processes for use in the textile and iron industries made it necessary that manufacturers be organized into larger units. The growth of the factory system and the rise of manufacturing towns brought together large numbers of people who were obliged to live on their daily wages and who, since they labored amid similar conditions, had common grievances. Naturally, they soon began to organize and to demand a share in the government in order that they might be able to remedy the grievances of which they complained. The industrial movement, therefore, gave rise to conditions which obliged the England of the nineteenth century to put into practice the democracy of which the English of the seventeenth and the French of the eighteenth century had said so much. This democratic movement spread in the wake of industrialism from Great Britain to the Continent. The result is that in France and England in particular the men who work and depend for sustenance on their daily wages have such a large voice in the government that their rulers would find it difficult, if they were so inclined, to carry forward an aggressive imperialistic policy based on militarism. The men on whom the burdens of taxation and fighting rest most heavily are not enthusiastic, if given a second thought, in support of a policy that makes such heavy demands on them unless the end in view is a logical fulfillment of a reasonable national aspiration. In this way, democracy acts as a safeguard that tends to direct the powerful dynamic of nationalism into useful channels and to rescue it from the hands of unscrupulous and designing leaders who would use it for costly imperial aggrandizement.

In spite of this moderating effect of democracy the past few decades have witnessed an expenditure of wealth in the rivalry of the greater powers to increase their military and naval

efficiency so huge that it would stagger the imagination of any other generation than our own. This fact, so paradoxical that it almost makes the theory that the coming of democracy tends to curb militarism seem absurd, is not without an explanation. The most youthful of the great nations, and, therefore, the nation in which the national spirit is most aggressive and vigorous, is a nation in which the democrats have not yet been able to obtain a controlling voice in the government. Moreover, this nation, from its birth as a great power, has been led by men who have in a measure seemed to share the ambitions Cromwell, Napoleon, and their kind but who have profited by their mistakes and have hitherto been able to avoid the rocks on which their hopes went to disaster. The fact that united Germany was made immediately possible by the work of the army rendered it easier for Bismarck and his successors to develop even more extensively the arm that had done such signal service for the nation. The navy, as we shall see, was a logical extension of the same movement. With this youthful nation constantly striving to make itself more powerful, its neighbors were obliged to take steps to protect themselves against a possible aggressive action whether one was intended or not. The result was a piling up of a vast heap of inflammable material that needed only a spark to start the conflagration now in progress. The responsibility for this disaster rests more heavily on those who are responsible for the assemblage of this inflammable material than on those who applied the torch. We shall give further attention to that subject, therefore, before considering the incidents that led to the immediate outbreak of the war.

Both Prussia and Austria-Hungary emerged from the Napoleonic wars members of a loose Germanic confederation which the latter power dominated. Before German nationalism could assert itself this confederation and the dominance of Austria-Hungary, whose population was not predominantly German, had to be destroyed and the smaller German states welded together in a united nation. Since Prussia was the strongest of these states she naturally took the lead in this movement. In 1861 a king came to the Prussian throne who believed that the destiny of his country depended on its

army. In the midst of the liberal movement of 1849, which followed in the wake of the fall of Metternich, he had written: "Whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it; and that cannot be done with phrases." When, however, he undertook to carry out his program and strengthen the army he met with opposition in the popular branch of the legislature which this liberal movement had given to Prussia. Two years later, when the king was almost on the point of abdicating his throne in despair rather than give up his scheme, he summoned to assist him a man who was destined to lead a movement that was to obliterate the jealousies of centuries and to unite the German states in an empire. He accomplished these results by acting in accordance with the theory that he stated in the memorable words: "Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism, but to her power The great questions of the day are not decided by speeches and majority votes but by blood and iron." It is perhaps needless to say that this view was not original with Bismarck. He but adopted the views of philosophy and culture that were rapidly supplanting in Prussia the old idealism and romanticism. Inasmuch as he succeeded in putting this philosophy into practice, however, he did more perhaps than the leaders of thought themselves to secure a wide acceptance of their views and to make them the underlying ideals of his people.

After carrying through the reforms of the army which the king desired, without much regard for the machinery of the constitution or the feelings of the liberals, Bismarck was ready to undertake the task of aggrandizing Prussia and unifying Germany. Putting aside the accepted notions of national morality, since he was confessedly of the opinion that "The observation of treaties between great states is only conditional, as soon as the struggle for life puts them to the proof," he proceeded to make war in turn on Denmark, Austria, and France. His thorough military preparation and his able if unscrupulous diplomacy made him almost certain of the outcome, and his very success helped powerfully to arouse that national spirit which he was seeking to create and organize. But it was natural under the circumstances that the new em-

pire that arose should take account of ends rather than means and should feel itself to be a sort of super-man whose actions are not subject to ordinary moral standards. With Bismarck, a conscious or unconscious national hero, the German people collectively have inevitably tended to glorify force and to build their institutions on materialistic foundations.

There is not space here to describe in detail the works of Bismarck and his associates after the Franco-German war. We must, however, consider briefly his foreign and industrial policies. Immediately after the war he undertook to promote an alliance of the three imperial countries (the Dreikaiserbund), Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany, and so dominate the Continent under the guise of defending the monarchic principle. But France showed a remarkable ability to recuperate, which caused him, in 1874, to instruct his ambassador to that country that "as to France, the chief point of interest to us is to see that she shall not become so powerful internally and of so much weight externally as to secure herself allies." Accordingly, he secured from a reluctant legislature an increase of the army, and in 1875 both he and his military associates were meditating a war against the third republic. Moltke went so far as to say at a state dinner that the war must come, and the sooner the better. This policy was thwarted by the intervention of Russia and England. The Russo-Turkish War which followed soon after and the Congress of Berlin in which it culminated suggested another scheme. Bismarck thereupon began the policy of encouraging the pretensions of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. Bosnia and Herzegovina were entrusted to the care of the dual monarchy, and certain rights were likewise granted in the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar. In the following year the Austro-German alliance against France and Russia was consummated. When France occupied Tunis three years later, Italy was induced two years afterward to make the third member of the triple alliance, which was fated to influence powerfully the international affairs of Europe and the world until the summer of 1914.

When, however, Bismarck, forced as he said to choose between friends, negotiated the alliance of 1879 he did not in-

tend that his action should be final or conclusive, should a different policy seem later to be more advantageous to his views. Observing the friction between England and Russia he sought to cultivate the latter country, and in 1884 he negotiated the "reinsurance" compact which pledged Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany to a benevolent neutrality in case one of them should be attacked. This arrangement lasted until 1890, when Russia permitted it to lapse as a necessary preparation for the Franco-Russian alliance of the following year. Russia was in need of financial assistance, while France, though wealthy, needed an ally with troops. With this alignment of the dual against the triple alliance the race for military supremacy went on at an even more rapid rate than previously. The result was summed up by one of Bismarck's diplomatic lieutenants, who is said to have remarked to his chief: "You will permit me, Prince Bismarck, to point out to you that your policy has placed Europe under the necessity of arming—of arming incessantly and beyond measure; and that the nations live in terror of immense, frightful catastrophes which some fortuitous event may suddenly cause to explode, notwithstanding the prudence of the various governments. To maintain this sad state of affairs, the people stagger beneath a burden of taxation which is out of all proportion to the economic resources of each country."

At about the time that the alliance with Austria was being concluded Bismarck was finding it increasingly difficult to co-operate with the National Liberals, a party which was imbued with the theories of the Manchester school. When they objected to the budget of 1877, which was made necessary by the deficit in the imperial finances, he abandoned his fight with the Roman church and turned for support to a coalition of the Center or Catholic and the Conservative parties. These two factions have been the nucleus of the imperial support in the Reichstag ever since, with the exception of a brief period while Von Bülow was Chancellor. This change of parties meant on the one hand the adoption of a conciliatory attitude toward the church and on the other a total change in the economic policies of the empire. The agrarians of the Conservative party demanded duties on grain and as the in-

dustrial development of the country proceeded, were joined in their advocacy of protection by the manufacturing interests. The demands of the protectionists tended to increase, and Germany has experienced in the past several decades an industrial growth that no other nation has equalled.

In 1876 it is estimated that three-fourths of the population of 43,000,000 was engaged in agricultural pursuits; now only one-fourth of 65,000,000 are so engaged. These changes have been fostered by the state frankly on the theory that the producing interests of the country ought to be encouraged even at the expense of the consumers. But the marvelous development of German industry which has taken place is not entirely the result of the protective system. In no other country has specialization been carried so far or resulted in such efficiency of production. The same spirit and the same forces that have co-operated to organize the young manhood of the empire into the most formidable military machine that has ever been at the command of a single state have in a similar manner organized the machinery of production so thoroughly and effectively that at the outbreak of the war Germany seemed to be outstripping all of her competitors in the markets of the world.

As a result of this amazing industrial development the people have naturally assembled in large cities, and conditions have arisen similar to those which elsewhere have led to the rise of democracy. Obviously the absence of democracy in Germany is in need of explanation if we are to accept the view that it naturally arises from conditions such as we have described. The truth is that this democratic party does exist, and its growth has been scarcely less phenomenal than the growth of industry itself. The Social Democrats, who in 1871 sent only two members to the Reichstag, in 1912 sent 110 and constituted the largest single party in that body. This increase in the number of seats has taken place in spite of the fact that there has not been a re-apportionment of the membership in the Reichstag since the establishment of the empire. Consequently the agrarian and conservative influences have a much larger voice in the legislative body than the number of votes they cast would seem to warrant. This

condition is even more exaggerated by the system under which members are chosen to the Abgeordnetenhaus of the Prussian Landtag, which is responsible for the maintenance of a large proportion of the armies of the empire.

In recent years the democratic party has been insistent in its demands that these conditions be reformed. Moreover, they are being joined of late by many men of wealth who are beginning to feel the pressure of the increased taxation which an aggressive military policy makes necessary. Before the outbreak of the war it seemed unlikely that the Kaiser's government would be able to delay much longer granting these reforms. Furthermore, men who are influential in the chauvinistic party hold the opinion that war itself is a tonic that inspirits a nation and tends to make its people more loyal and patriotic. It is probable, therefore, that such men would be less reluctant to precipitate a war on account of their belief that if it could be pressed to a successful issue it would operate to disperse for a time at least the criticism of the imperial policies and organization.

The passing of Bismarck marked the end of a definite stage in the development of the German Empire, not only because a dominant figure disappeared from the stage on which he had played a star rôle but also because the empire which he had built was about to enter upon a new phase of its development. He had been openly aggressive in his aims and frankly unscrupulous in his methods. But his aims did not reach beyond the limits of Continental Europe. He did not originate either the colonial or the naval policies of his successors, though these policies were the logical outcome of his work. The growth of industrialism gave rise to a demand for markets and for supplies of raw materials which could not be produced at home. In short, Germany found herself one of the contending parties in the struggle for colonies and for trade. Unfortunately for her, the world had been pretty thoroughly explored, and other nations had staked claims in almost every available region before she came on the scene. Indeed, Bismarck had encouraged Great Britain and France in their imperial endeavors in Africa in order if possible to kindle strife between them. The result was that when

Germany began in earnest to demand a "place in the sun" there was none to be had except at the expense of her rivals. Moreover, the ships of Great Britain were on every sea, and in every market Germany found British competition. Therefore, when the new Kaiser took the reins of the executive government into his own hands in 1890 the time was ripe for another aggressive move if Germany was to continue her remarkable advance toward a dominant place in the council of the nations. This "new world-policy," as Prince von Bülow recently said, was in reality an "extension, not a shifting of the field" of Germany's political activities. It was the transformation of Germany's "industrial activity from a national to an international one" and her "Continental policy into international policy."

Manifestly the first step in this aggressive move was to create a German navy, not merely a navy large enough to defend the German coast and German trade against attack, but a navy of such size, to paraphrase the language of the Kaiser, that nothing of international importance could be done anywhere in the world without consulting the wishes of his government. The first attempts of the Emperor to build up a navy of this character did not meet with the success that he had hoped, but in 1897 he called to his assistance in the task Admiral von Tirpitz, the man to whom a large part of the credit is due for the present strength of the German navy. In the following year the first definite naval program was enacted in the form of a statute. In the same year the Navy League was organized under the patronage of the Kaiser, with the support of both Tirpitz and the Krupp interests. This league has carried on a systematic and far-reaching propaganda in behalf of a constantly increasing naval program.

The obvious and openly avowed purpose of the promoters of that program has been to create a navy which, if it did not rival, would at least compel the respect of that of England. "The settlement with England," a Berlin professor told his students, "will be the most difficult of all." Since the natural purpose of the large expenditure in this field was to enable Germany to accomplish this settlement it was natural that the builders of the fleet should seek to gain support for their policy by

arousing hostility to Great Britain. This has been done with remarkable success, and each successive increase in the German naval program over the plan adopted in 1898, from that which was inspired by the Boer war in 1900 to that of 1912 which was inspired by the Morocco crisis of the preceding year, has received whatever general support it has had largely because of the passion against England which was stimulated by the Navy League and its sponsors. Naturally the view which they have advertised is that every increase in the British naval power is aimed at Germany, and they have neglected to point out that a measure of naval supremacy is vital to the existence of the British empire. The result is that the past decade has witnessed a frantic naval rivalry between these two strongest naval powers of the world. The aim of Great Britain has been to maintain a certain proportional advantage over her competitor so that she could be reasonably sure of her food supply and of adequate protection for her widely scattered dependencies should danger arise. As Winston Churchill said a short time ago, a powerful navy is a necessity for Great Britain while for Germany it is a luxury. The policy of Germany has been unreasonable and absurd on any other theory than that should an opportunity offer she meant ultimately to use the powerful engines she was building for purposes of aggression, to obtain a larger measure of national prestige and if possible her "place in the sun."

This purpose, which has not been concealed, did not mean that war was a necessary part of the German program. In fact it seems rather to have been the policy of German statesmen to accomplish their purposes by threats, which are efficacious only when they are backed by forces which it would be hazardous to resist. But the constant agitation of German feeling for the purpose of obtaining popular support for this aggressive naval policy has tended to arouse the hostility of the people toward England, and such a spirit is more easily aroused than allayed in a youthful and ambitious nation. Furthermore, the constant necessity that the British people submit to heavier burdens of taxation, and thereby cripple their ability to promote needed measures of social reform, has not tended to make the English national feeling toward Germany

any more friendly. The result was, especially in 1911 and 1912, a tension in the relation between the countries that even then strained diplomacy almost to the breaking point.

The manifest aggressiveness of the German naval program led Great Britain in 1904 to compromise her differences with France, giving the latter a free hand in Morocco in return for a similar right for herself in Egypt. France yielded in the Fashoda incident of that year, and an era of good feeling between the two countries began. At about the same time Great Britain in a similar manner compromised her differences with Russia, and thus the triple *entente* was aligned against the triple alliance. This arrangement indicated that the old British policy of manœuvering the Continental nations into two rival camps of nearly equal strength so that she might hold the balance of power had broken down. She was now obliged herself definitely to join the weaker group in order to give it sufficient strength to oppose the triple alliance on an equal footing.

While this era of good feeling between England and France did not become an actual alliance until after the outbreak of hostilities in August of this year, its effectiveness in international affairs was put to a test in 1905, when Germany undertook to interfere with the efforts of France to carry out her plans in Morocco. There is not space here to enter into the merits of the claims which were put forward by the disputants in that affair. It is sufficient to say that while Germany was able to force the submission of the question to an international conference, which was held at Algeciras, she did not accomplish all that she had hoped. Moreover, German statesmen awoke to a more complete realization of the strength of the Anglo-French *entente*, which, as Prince von Bülow remarks, began "at times" to seem to be "a greater menace" to Germany than the dual alliance between France and Russia. The Moroccan question itself was further compromised in 1909 by an agreement which gave France a certain amount of political influence in the country, while preserving its nominal independence and providing for equal rights of commerce and industry for both Germany and France.

The next event that occasioned a test of the relative

strength of the triple alliance and the triple *entente* was the decision of Austria, with the approval of Germany, in 1908 to annex outright Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slavic states which had been entrusted to her for protection by the Congress of Berlin. This action of Austria naturally aroused the hostility of the Servians, who looked upon these provinces as a logical part of their own country should the national spirit be permitted to assert itself. Russia, the dominant Slav power, with ambitions of her own in the Balkan region, was as hostile to this move of her rival as was Serbia. Great Britain, as Sir Edward Grey told us in his speech summarizing the diplomacy that preceded the outbreak of the war, gave to Russia "diplomatic" support. But Russia had at that time only recently emerged from her war with Japan and was not ready to make good by force the national feelings of her people and the ambitions of her government. Therefore the triple alliance won what was destined to be its most signal diplomatic victory over the triple *entente*.

In the summer of 1911 English politicians were engaged in one of the periodical sharp disputes which have marked the various stages in the transfer of the reins of government from the old ruling class to the democracy. Serious and wide-spread strikes were at the same time demoralizing industry. It seemed to the German statesmen, therefore, a propitious time to make a bold stroke against the prestige of the triple *entente*. Accordingly, without public warning, the world suddenly learned that the German warship, Panther, had been sent to Agadir, an Atlantic port of Morocco, for the purpose of protecting German commercial interests in that region, though investigation made it clear that neither unusual disorders nor German interests of importance existed in that locality. This time the German coup did not meet with complete success. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most distinguished members of the peace party in the ministry, interpolated in a speech which he made in the City a jingoistic remark to the effect that Great Britain had not yet been reduced to a point where she could be left out of account in the settlement of international questions. The leader of the opposition party, which was then opposing the domestic program of the admin-

istration by methods which it is difficult to defend, said publicly: "If there are any who suppose that we will be wiped off the map of Europe because we have our difficulties at home, it may be worth while saying that they utterly mistake the temper of the British people and the patriotism of the Opposition."

The German expedition was not entirely futile, however, since in the following year she compromised the dispute by giving France practically a free hand in Morocco and by accepting a section of French Congo as a sufficient protection for the interests of her traders in the vicinity of Agadir. This settlement was satisfactory to neither party. In France it was accompanied by ministerial corruption that did little credit to the government of the republic; in Germany the mountain appeared to have labored with a great deal of bluff and bluster to bring forth a mouse. Such an outcome was totally unsatisfactory to the chauvinistic party and, therefore, tended to make even more widespread the hostile feeling toward Great Britain, the country that was blamed most for the ill success of a scheme which was in fact based on a miscalculation.

The settlement of the Moroccan question made it clear that if Germany was to obtain a foothold in North Africa it must be in the single province that remained unoccupied. Since Italy coveted that province for herself and was held to the triple alliance, in spite of her traditional and deep-seated hostility toward Austria-Hungary, chiefly by the hope of obtaining it, Italian statesmen decided that she must forestall Germany if her ambition was to be gratified. Accordingly, in the same year that France and Germany reached their agreement concerning the Moroccan question Italy began her war with Turkey for the conquest of Tripoli. Italy was enabled to accomplish her design the sooner because Greece and the Balkan States, influenced by a growing national spirit, united to attack their old oppressors in their time of difficulty. There is not space here to tell the story of these conflicts and of the diplomacy in which the great powers of Europe acted in concert in a remarkably successful effort to make peace. But this peace, like all such artificial compromises, thwarted the logical development of the lesser nations that were concerned. The arbitrary

character of this arrangement was conspicuous in the case of Serbia, which country was bereft of the outlet on the sea which she had conquered and therefore disappointed in one of the fondest of her national hopes, though her territory was largely extended. But if Austria was able to hem Serbia in by the creation of the kingdom of Albania, her own hope of an outlet though the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar to Salonika on the Aegean Sea was doomed by the award of that province to Serbia and of Salonika to Greece.

The result of the victory of the southern Slav states over the Turks and the imposition of the will of the great powers on the victors at the instigation of Austria served to awaken still more the growing national spirit in the Balkans, and it was not strange under the circumstances that a part of that spirit in Serbia should take the form of hostility to Austria. It is clear that as long as this nationalism was alive and aggressive the difficulties of the dual monarchy were increased, and that state was in immediate danger of losing a part of its own southern Slav population and territory. When, therefore, the Crown Prince, himself well known to be bitterly hostile toward Slavonic ambitions, was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, the Emperor had good reasons for making the assassination an excuse for seeking to curb as far as possible the national aspirations of the Serbians. The question was how far Russia, to whom Serbia appealed for assistance as soon as the imperial ultimatum was received, would permit another encroachment on the southern Slav district by her rival. The ministers of the Czar soon made their attitude clear. They advised Serbia to submit to the Austrian demands as far as it could be done consistently with the integrity of Servian territory and national independence, but they said frankly from the outset that Russia would not stand aside and permit Austria-Hungary to overpower Serbia. Left to themselves, it seems more than likely from the diplomatic correspondence that has been published, that Russia and Austria-Hungary would have patched up a truce. The answer of Serbia certainly left little to be desired if the Emperor's government was sincere in its demands. The question could assuredly have been adjusted

peacefully had the same pressure been exerted on Vienna from Berlin that was exerted at St. Petersburg by London. Instead of using their influence with their ally in favor of peace, however, the German ministers professed to think that they were rendering Sir Edward Grey yeoman service when they "transmitted" his proposals to Vienna, and when they might have co-operated with the other powers to delay hostilities and to make a peaceful settlement possible they sent an ultimatum to St. Petersburg demanding an immediate cessation of mobilization against Austria on the threat of a declaration of war, which followed at the expiration of the specified time.

The tone of these diplomatic interchanges indicates that the German ministers had made up their minds that the time had come for action and, therefore, that their hearts were not in their professed efforts to preserve peace. This conclusion is inescapable if we credit the much quoted statement contained in the document which they put forward as a defence of their position.

Austria had to admit that it would not be consistent either with the dignity or self-preservation of the monarchy to look on longer at the operations on the other side of the border without taking action. The Austro-Hungarian government advised us of this view of the situation and asked our opinion of the matter. We were able to assure our ally most heartily of our agreement with her view of the situation and to assure her that any action that she might consider it necessary to take in order to put an end to the movement in Serbia directed against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would receive our approval. We were fully aware in this connection that warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia would bring Russia into the question and might draw us into a war in accordance with our duties as an ally. However, realizing the vital interests of Austria-Hungary which were at stake, we could neither advise our ally to a compliance that would have been inconsistent with her dignity, nor could we deny her our support in this great hour of need.

In other words, believing that a favorable hour had come to have a reckoning with her Continental rivals, Germany did not wish to miss an opportunity to precipitate the conflict in a manner that would insure as enthusiastic support as possible from her ally. Though they acknowledged that a war with Russia would mean also a war with France, the German

diplomats seem actually to have thought that it would be possible to keep Great Britain from taking part in a conflict arising from a Balkan question. Therefore, when he might better have employed his time bringing pressure to bear in Vienna had he been seriously desirous of preserving peace, the German Chancellor was seeking an interview with the British ambassador to his court and making a bid to secure British neutrality in case war should take place. There are no more striking passages in the entire correspondence between the two governments than those which conveyed these futile proposals and their emphatic rejection. Nor is there a more pathetic scene in the stirring drama than the last encounter of the British ambassador with the German Chancellor as the former reported it to his government.

The Chancellor began a harangue which lasted 20 minutes. He said the step just taken by Great Britain [that is sending the ultimatum concerning the neutrality of Belgium] was terrible to a degree; just for a word—"neutrality"—a word which in war had so often been disregarded, just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which I knew he had devoted himself since his accession to office had tumbled down like a stack of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

I protested strongly against that statement, and said that in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death for Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of life and death for the honour of Great Britain that it should keep its solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future?

The Chancellor said: "But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British government thought of that?"

I hinted to his excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements.

The feeling manifested on this occasion by the Chancellor was perfectly natural if the view of the situation which we

have adopted is correct. The insistence by Great Britain on her ultimatum concerning Belgian neutrality meant the failure of the German diplomatic scheme. The policy to which the Chancellor and his associates had devoted themselves for the past several years had indeed fallen like a stack of cards, and none realized better than the Chancellor the extent of the disaster. Their plan seems to have been to induce Great Britain to remain an onlooker while Germany disposed of the armies of France and Russia. Obviously the task of increasing the navy so that the settlement could be had with Great Britain on equal terms would become less difficult if the military strength of Great Britain's allies could first be destroyed or seriously weakened. In view of what actually took place this plan seems to be impracticable and almost childish on its face. But appearances made it seem to the German ministers more plausible beforehand, and if it was ever to be tried with hope of success, probably the best possible occasion was chosen.

The trouble was the German ministers seem to have failed entirely to appreciate the loyalty of the British colonies to the mother country. Moreover, the northern and southern sections of Ireland were busy arming themselves against each other in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and matters there were rapidly approaching a crisis which it seemed difficult to pass without a resort to force. In the past, be it remembered, Irish factions have sometimes taken the part of the enemies of Great Britain with similar provocations. German statesmen are, therefore, pardonable for their inability to understand a situation which only a sympathetic student could have easily foreseen in advance. The Ulsterites were the protégés of the Unionist or imperial party and, consequently, were naturally obliged to lend support in case the empire should become involved in war. The Nationalists were in league with the ministers and thus naturally supported a war which they felt obliged to undertake. The precipitation of a war by Germany was probably the one thing possible that could have averted serious trouble in Ireland.

There was, however, still another consideration which made

the present the logical year for Germany to precipitate the struggle if she hoped to induce Great Britain to remain neutral. Under the terms of the Parliament Act a general election would have taken place in Great Britain in the course of the next twelve months had it not been for the war. There was at least the possibility that the result of such an election would be the defeat of the present government and the return to power of the Unionist or imperial party, which is the party most enthusiastic in support of the triple *entente* and hostile toward Germany. On the other hand a considerable section of the Liberals were opposed to the foreign policy which Sir Edward Grey inherited from his immediate predecessors and has so ably continued. Consequently the Germans had more reasons than one for believing that they would be more likely to succeed at the present time in inducing Great Britain to remain a neutral spectator in a Continental war than at any time in the near future.

Then, too, there were reasons at home which might very well have caused the German ministers to deem it inadvisable to delay longer a conflict which seemed to be inevitable. The Social Democrats were polling a larger number of votes at each election, and it was coming to be a serious question whether the reforms they desired could be much longer postponed. Moreover, some of the wealthier portions of the population were beginning to question the wisdom of the aggressive military policy on which the empire was launched. Nothing would probably do as much both to delay the political reforms and to arouse enthusiasm in favor of militarism as a successful war. Again, the large special levy of 1913 for military purposes, while put forward as an extraordinary call for the patriotic support of the people in defense of the empire, was nevertheless a resort to a species of taxation which the persons who paid it had previously been able to avoid, and it was unlikely that they would respond with equanimity if a repetition of this sacrifice should be requested. In other words, the military organization of the empire seemed to be as nearly perfect as human ingenuity could make it; the limit of taxation for military purposes in time of peace seemed to have been reached. The obvious course of

action was to make a trial of the military strength, so that if the issue should prove to be successful larger means would be available to prepare for a reckoning with Great Britain, who would then have been bereft of a large part of the support of her Continental friends. Finally, the best of all occasions for precipitating the conflict was one which was primarily concerned with the interests of Austria-Hungary, so that Germany could count on the faithful support of her ally.

This view, which seems to be well-nigh the only possible explanation of what has taken place that agrees with all the facts that have come to light, does not necessarily imply that those who were responsible for the initiation of the aggressive policy in Germany looked forward to such a denouement as we have witnessed. When militarism has reached a certain stage, with all of the popular agitation, private interests, and public policies that it involves, it is practically impossible for a nation that has embarked on such a course to turn back. There is no conceivable method by which those who have taken the lead in the movement which has caused the German Empire to organize itself into the most powerful fighting machine the world has ever known could have called a halt on the forces which they had set in motion and have retraced their steps without disaster for themselves. Once well under way, their policy had to go forward until it ultimately met with complete success or disaster. And it was unfortunately well under way before the sobering effects of the industrial democracy came into play. The result is that the greatest military power of history enters upon this most stupendous of all wars with the support of a practically united nation.

Whatever may be the outcome, the cost to civilization must be terrible. Not only is the world losing the millions of wealth and the thousands of lives that are being wantonly destroyed; all of the achievements and the steps toward progress that might have resulted from the labors of the choice manhood of this generation in the most highly civilized nations of the world are being sacrificed. The fighting itself, as it is carried on under present conditions, must at best have a

permanently brutalizing influence on the millions of men who have a part in it. Naturally, therefore, the fathers of the coming generation will be inferior in physique and sensibilities to what they might have been but for this war. And women who have experienced the physical and emotional hardships of this trying time will be much less well-fitted to undertake the duties of motherhood. Thus, at a time when the history of vital statistics indicates that children will be born at a more rapid rate than usual they will necessarily have a poorer heritage than ought to have been their right. It is painfully difficult, therefore, to estimate the distance backward civilization will have gone when it begins its laborious attempt to retrieve the disaster with which it is now overtaken.

The Black Code of Alabama

GEORGE A. WOOD

Graduate College, Princeton University

Soon after the assassination of Lincoln on April 14, 1865, short-lived governments were organized by the people of the southern states through the initiative of provisional governors named by President Johnson. The laws relating to the blacks passed by these governments in the interval between the shattering of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865 and the practical repudiation of the provisional governments, and those formed to succeed them by the radical majority in Congress in the following December upon its meeting at Washington, were called the black codes. This title illustrates the viewpoint of the northern radicals, who regarded these laws as deliberate efforts to retain under a thin disguise the essentials of the slave codes of those states, despite the facts: that the abolition of slavery had been proclaimed within the states in insurrection by President Lincoln as commander-in-chief of the army on January 1, 1863; that slavery had become, in fact, abolished upon the occupation of the states by federal troops in the first half of 1865; and that the institution would be legally abolished upon the adoption of an amendment to the federal constitution, proposed to the states by Congress on February 1, 1865. The new state governments proceeded promptly to accept the amendment to the constitution abolishing slavery. Therefore northern scrutiny became focused upon the constitutional and legislative enactments in which the status of the negro as a free man would be defined. The doings of the state and national governments in this early phase of Reconstruction make an interesting story, when read in the light of intervening events.

All the black codes resembled each other in general content and tendency, although of varying severity, and the political and social conditions in all the southern states in that period varied only in detail. But while the story of one state is largely that of all, the story of all can not be told adequately in one

article. The Black Code of Alabama, which has been selected as the subject of this article, is perhaps as representative of the rest as any that could be chosen.

One need not think deeply to perceive that in spite of the great upheaval of war time, many of the social, political and economic conditions existing in the South before the war, though modified, still remained after the struggle. Society had been shaken, but the foundations still remained as they had been laid.

"The results of the war," were simply the modifications produced in earlier conditions. The North thoroughly discussed these in theory, while the South faced them as the terms which the Federal government granted them after its triumph. The South realized that there was no alternative. For instance, it was universally recognized that that particular brand of strict constitutional construction which had been held to sanction secession was a practical and permanent failure.

Readmission to practical statehood became of primary importance, overshadowing even the slavery issue. As President Lincoln would have saved the Union regardless of slavery,¹ so the leaders of Alabama would have gotten back into the Union on the *ante-bellum* political basis, regardless of slavery, under the stress of conditions after the fall of the Confederacy. If they could have gotten back *with* slavery before the masses of the slaves had been set practically free by the Federal forces, they would unquestionably have done that. They would have been prompted to do it not merely by material interest or belief in the institution, but also by fear of the results of turning so many thousands of more or less irresponsible beings loose upon the community. If they could have gotten back *with some slaves freed and others not*, they certainly would have done that. They could gain nothing by resistance to the federal policy. Their hope of political and economic salvation lay in statehood with state control of local affairs. If they could get back by the *abolition* of slavery (and it was a question still whether readmission would follow), the leaders were ready to do that by the time the state constitutional convention called by Provisional Governor Parsons met on September 10th to organize a loyal state government.

¹ Lincoln's public letter to Greeley, August 22nd, 1862.

By this time, too, although the people of the state were experiencing about all the disorders anticipated from *de facto* emancipation except negro insurrection, the fact that chattel slavery had gone the same way as secession was almost universally recognized. Emancipation was accepted as a fact.

It was in no blind fashion that the politicians of Alabama sought a return to full statehood. The prize of federal representation based upon the total black as well as white population instead of the three-fifths representation of the slaves which had obtained under the original constitutional provision, which prize would automatically accrue to the state upon the abolition of slavery and the reception of her representatives in Congress, was clearly discerned if cautiously discussed.² Although the state government which they were organizing had the sanction of the federal executive only, and there were obvious signs of an approaching feud between the President and Congress which might readily involve the government they were forming, they felt that radical aggressions upon state power would be prevented by the conservative, states' rights element of the North, for its own future safety.³

This judgment of the political situation in the North ignored the active and confident campaign conducted in opposition to the President's policy in the South by several Radical leaders during the summer of 1865, and also failed to grasp the fact that for the time northern sentiment in favor of states' rights was wholly eclipsed by fear of southern influence in the federal government in the absence of a colored Radical faction in the South to hold the Confederate element in check.

Northern Radicals were equally blind to conditions in Alabama. Although the repudiation of secession and the Confederate debt, and the endorsement of emancipation by the constitutional convention soon after it met,³ were accepted by nearly all Alabamians, not with zeal, but apparently in good faith,⁴ most of the Radical leaders were absurdly unable to see that at least in the matter of secession the convention had no choice but to be sincere. Perhaps their vanity made them unwilling to admit that these southerners had succeeded in

² Letter of Hon. John Forsythe, *New York Times*, August 20, 1865.

³ Alabama Constitution of 1865.

⁴ Gen. Grant's Report to Pres. Johnson, December 18, 1865, *Annual Encyclopedia*, 1866, p. 132.

holding the North at bay so long when rapidly approaching their last gasp as an independent commonwealth. Alabama had been greatly devastated during the war and her industrial system wrecked. Her immediate and imperative need was an opportunity for economic recuperation and reorganization. A natural result of these conditions was a willingness to accede to the terms which the federal government might impose, although with no pretense of enthusiasm in doing so.

Northern Alabamians were almost unanimous for a "white man's government."⁵ It is to be presumed that the rest of the state was in agreement with such a policy, although the black counties of Central Alabama objected to making the white population the basis of representation but were outvoted in the convention.⁶ The convention also restricted the franchise to whites, and provided that members of either branch of the legislature must be white. The governor must be *a native citizen of the United States*, who could not be a negro under the Dred Scott decision.

The question of negro testimony in the courts was a delicate one. The first effort to settle it after the federal occupation of the state was contained in an order of General Swayne, assistant commissioner of freedmen under the freedmen's bureau, of July 28, 1865, issued pending the full assumption of jurisdiction by the bureau as the federal agency for managing the affairs of the freedmen and refugees in the southern states. At this time two forms of authority existed in Alabama, the military authority of federal troops and the authority of the provisional government which was to direct the forming of a state government by the people themselves. Both agencies were invoked by Swayne, who directed that "in cases of assault and battery in which a negro is a party, where there is sufficient evidence of white persons to make conviction probable, application will be made to the nearest civil officer having jurisdiction,"⁷ while in other cases reports were to be made to the military authorities. The obvious purpose of the order was to secure convictions when possible through the civil officers, while leaving the appraisal of unsupported negro testimony to northern army officers instead

⁵ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 364-5.

⁶ Shepherd, *Alabama Constitution and Ordinances*, 1865.

⁷ *House Exec. Doc. No. 70*, 1st Session, 39th Congress.

of to southerners, with a view, no doubt, to the protection of the negroes from discrimination.

Upon the organization of the freedmen's bureau in Alabama, General Swayne issued an order "constituting the civil officers of the state agents of that bureau for the trial of causes between freedmen themselves, and between them and whites, upon the same rules of testimony,"⁸ and this order was approved by Governor Parsons before the meeting of the constitutional convention. This, however, was regarded as a purely temporary arrangement. Parsons had put forth in his first proclamation as provisional governor the assertion that, "Every political right which the state possessed under the Federal Constitution, is here today, with the single exception relating to slavery,"⁹ and this view was practically in harmony not only with Alabama sentiment, but with the Reconstruction theory of President Johnson. Therefore, the action of the constitutional convention should, seemingly, be binding. The freedmen's bureau organized under the War Department was, however, advancing the doctrine that blacks and whites should be treated alike in the courts in all respects.

The convention sought to satisfy the bureau without yielding their claim to state autonomy or offending their constituents, by providing that the civil officers of the state should continue to act as judges under the direction of the bureau until the adjournment of the next legislature. This subject was obviously better suited for treatment in a statute than in a fundamental law, but the northern Radicals, ever suspicious of southern sincerity, thought they saw in this provision a mask for reactionary legislation by the next legislature. This acutely suspicious attitude of the northern mind toward all acts relating to the negroes found illustration in the speech of Mr. Grimes of Iowa in the Senate on February 21, 1865, on the report of the conference committee upon the freedmen's bureau bill. He objected to the clause of the bill which empowered the commissioner, when unable otherwise, to employ freedmen under his care, to "make provision for them with humane and suitable persons at a just compensation for their services," on the ground that although the term "provision"

⁸ *Senate Exec. Doc. 26, 1st Session, 39th Congress.*

⁹ *Walker's Revised Code of Alabama, 1867, p. 75.*

was vague it evidently must refer to "the labor of these freedmen; because the next clause says, 'At a just compensation for their services.'" The injustice of this proposal seemed obvious to Mr. Grimes.

Two matters relating to the freedmen were settled in the convention by ordinances: by the first an *ante-bellum* statute forbidding the landing of free colored mariners at an Alabama port was nullified, while the second regulated the family relations of the freedmen. For the future the marriage laws for the two races should be the same, except that the blacks need not give bond in marriage, and all past unions of colored persons, the parties to which were then living together as man and wife, were declared legal marriages and children from them legitimized. The fathers of all other colored children were to care for them. This legislation was enacted in recognition of a social necessity.

Other matters left for action by the legislature were in general included under the terms of the ordinance, "That it shall be the duty of the legislature at its next session to pass such laws as will protect the freedmen of this state in the full enjoyment of all their rights of person and property, and guard them and the state against any evils that may arise from their sudden emancipation," while an explanatory ordinance, a week later, provided "that the General Assembly shall have full power, at any future session or sessions, to pass just and humane laws on this subject, such as will conduce to the welfare of the freedmen, and will consist with the good of the community." The further investment of the legislature with "full powers to provide for the maintenance and support of the freedmen and women and children of the State of Alabama," was on its face both humane and commendable, but it was not likely to rouse much enthusiasm at the North because of its possible suggestion that the irritatingly benevolent freedmen's bureau might soon be dispensed with. The legislature was further directed to prevent miscegenation.

As to general principles the convention had put itself on record quite distinctly. Rights of person and property, though not defined, were guaranteed to the negro; his social life was safeguarded; the resources of the state were to be available in

case of need for his relief; miscegenation was to be prevented; political rights were frankly denied to him; and the further details of his status were to be worked out by the legislature.

So far as the status of the negro was concerned, the legislature must reckon first of all with the freedmen's bureau, which had been made supreme in that domain by the federal government and was now adding its authority to that of the military commanders and the provisional government. Elections of state and county officers and of a legislature were held according to the vote of the convention on the first Monday in November and the legislature met on the third Monday in November.¹⁰

The lawmakers believed that their great problem was to turn the negro from a wanderer in the wake of the federal armies into a worker; for they saw that much of his criminality and a very large part of his helplessness and want arose from his idleness. They realized at the start that this could not be done without in some measure restraining his liberty, and, in some instances, they borrowed from earlier laws which had been used to restrain the negro before his recent emancipation. This roused in the North fears of a return to slavery. Such fears were used by men of the stripe of Thaddeus Stevens to forward a movement for enfranchising the negroes, he predicting on December 18, 1865, that if the suffrage were not granted to the negro in the South, "the re-establishment of slavery," would be among the consequences.¹¹ It is difficult to believe in the candor of this prediction when coming from a man of the intellectual power of Stevens. For while some necessary elements of the slave system inevitably lingered, the system as it had existed before the war was gone forever.

The necessity for legislation of some character to regulate the conduct of the negroes was apparent. They had many of them flocked to the cities and to the camps of federal troops, and were either in destitution or dependent upon the bounty of the freedmen's bureau. Planters from some sections of the state reported that the negroes refused to work the cotton and that they left employers at will, even when bound by contract. In some counties agricultural associations were formed

¹⁰ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865, p. 14.

¹¹ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 141.

and were approved by the freedmen's bureau. They were started in the summer of 1865, to regulate labor and protect the interests of both employer and employee. An executive committee inspected contracts to prevent fraud upon the negro, and in general acted as arbitrator. The association also assumed the burden of supporting the aged, the helpless, and those unable to "make an honest support," encouraged the education of colored children, and supervised their morals. The members were taxed to carry out the purposes here named. This was the most successful attempt of the planters to meet the emergency.

The opposition of the freedmen's bureau to legislation discriminating against the negro was felt immediately upon the meeting of the legislature, and, although a radical spirit was shown by the majority at the beginning of the session, no radical bills became law. Three were vetoed by Governor Patton, who had been chosen at the recent election. One of these applied the criminal laws of the state formerly applicable to free persons of color to the freedmen, following the example of a similar but more stringent Mississippi law. The criminal laws referred to compelled all free persons of color who had entered the state since February 1, 1832, who were not citizens by treaty with Spain, or descendants of such, to leave the state under penalty of imprisonment.¹² These laws were repealed after the veto. A second bill, to regulate contracts with freedmen, arose from the futility of suing a destitute negro for breach of contract, but Patton vetoed it and held that the general law was adequate. He alleged discrimination between the races as the reason for vetoing a third bill, to regulate the relations of master and apprentice as they relate to freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes. Therefore the apprentice system for the blacks in general, which undoubtedly seemed to the average planter the best and most practical solution of the difficulty, had to be abandoned. A large number of bills relating to the freedmen which did not pass both houses were introduced by demagogues, and the legislature voted, in the interest of buncombe and to scare the negroes, to print 10,000 copies of all such bills as well as those signed by the

¹² *Code of Alabama*, 1852, Secs. 1033-44.

governor. However, the legislature soon became more moderate in its action, influenced, no doubt, by the vetoes and the obvious pressure of the freedmen's bureau, and perhaps by the storm of criticism aroused in the North by earlier Mississippi legislation.

Fear of a negro insurrection during the holidays led to the disarming of the negroes by the militia, although a bill for that purpose apparently failed to pass the legislature.¹³ When no rising came General Swayne stopped the disarming soon after the holidays.

The first law relating to blacks, passed on December 9th, redeemed the pledge of the convention to safeguard their rights of person and property. It also embodied the essentials of the policy of the freedmen's bureau. It gave negroes the right to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in all state courts to the same extent that whites might then by law. They were also made competent witnesses in all cases in which a colored person was a party, but in no others. The races were treated exactly alike, save that the whites might testify in cases in which neither party was of their own race, and the negroes might not. This law constituted a bill of such rights as the whites saw fit to grant to the negroes, correlated with their responsibilities. To prevent the escape of white cotton thieves through the inability of negro agents to legally testify against them under the above law, another law of this session imposed a fine of \$100 and ten days' imprisonment for purchasing or receiving from a "free person of color" any stolen goods, knowing the same to be stolen.¹⁴

The two laws which were most severely criticized, however, were the vagrancy and apprentice laws. They affected the races equally in theory.

The former was merely an amendment of an earlier law for the whites, extending the definition of vagrants to include, "a stubborn or refractory servant; a laborer or servant who loiters away his time, or refuses to comply with any contract for a term of service without just cause."

The apprentice law was changed somewhat from an old law and was objected to chiefly because it provided for the

¹³ Fleming, p. 368.

¹⁴ Fleming, pp. 379-80.

apprenticing of orphan negro minors or other colored minors who were freedmen to their former masters by preference, if those masters were suitable persons. In all other ways the races were treated alike under the law. To protect the minor, particular care by the judge, a bond by the master or mistress, sufficient food and clothing, medical attention if needed, elementary instruction until fifteen, and humane treatment were required. A runaway might be arrested under the vagrancy laws, but might be discharged from service for good cause. Certain interferences with the relations of master and apprentice, or furnishing the latter with ardent spirits, were punishable by \$500 fine. Parents might apprentice their minor children, and parents must be notified and might be heard before their children were apprenticed. Males were to serve until twenty-one years of age and females until eighteen.¹⁵

Both the vagrancy and apprentice laws violated the ideal of race equality of Charles Sumner and others by restraining negroes more frequently than whites, although only the latter discriminated in terms between the races. Opposing northern and southern views of the discrimination contained in these laws have been published. Mr. James G. Blaine, while crediting slavery with the development of a certain affection between master and slave and a certain protection of the latter from hardship in old age,¹⁶ declares that the giving of a preference to the former owner in apprenticing colored minors, established a form of slavery more heartless and cruel than that which had been abolished.¹⁶ Humanity in the heart of a southerner in Reconstruction times, or a desire on his part to secure kind treatment for the children of color, were apparently inconceivable to Mr. Blaine. Mr. Herbert in *The Solid South*, on the other hand, justifies these laws by the analogy of northern laws upon the same subjects. He ignores, however, the fact that the negro problem did not exist in the North to any extent and that therefore the conditions were not parallel.

These laws were passed to meet a local problem under the pressure of opposing forces within and without the state, and investigation shows that the strongest force was

¹⁵ *Acts of Alabama, 1865-6*, pp. 128-31.

¹⁶ Blaine, *Fifty Years of Congress*, Vol. 2.

that of the freedmen's bureau. The records of that bureau show that suggestions for the provisions relating to negroes, which became law, and which embodied departures from earlier state laws are to be found for the most part in the stated policy of the bureau, as outlined, before the passage of the legislation by officers of the bureau who had jurisdiction in different parts of the state. The approval of the bureau, direct or implied, was also given to such provisions as those forbidding miscegenation, and regulating marriages.⁷

The substance of the new clauses of the Alabama vagrancy laws is to be found in Circular No. 8, issued by Assistant Commissioner Fisk of the freedmen's bureau—then in charge of Northern Alabama—on October 10th, 1865, which directs: "When either of the classes of persons over whom this bureau exercises control neglect to apply themselves to an honest calling, or *saunter about* neglecting their business, or try to maintain themselves by gaming or other dishonest means, or by quartering themselves upon industrious and well-behaved persons, you will see that they are promptly arrested and punished in pursuance of the laws made and prescribed in such cases."⁷ The state law modeled largely upon this was repealed the next year in view of northern protests.

The same circular by General Fisk directed that colored children or minors might be apprenticed by consent of their parents. The masters were to provide "good diet and clothing" and "all other necessaries meet and proper in sickness and in health," and such remuneration at the expiration of the term as might be agreed upon between the parties. They must be apprenticed to suitable persons, with especial care for the children of freedmen.⁷

In view of these orders of the federal freedmen's bureau, containing in substance the more important provisions which became law for defining the new status of the negro, save only that giving a preference to the former owner in apprenticing colored minors, there can be no doubt that the responsibility for this paternal legislation, whether wise or unwise, rests much more upon the federal government than upon that of the state.

Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund*

[CONCLUDED]

WILLIAM K. BOYD

Professor of History in Trinity College

With the increase of the assets of the Literary Fund the board of Trustees was reorganized, the Governor remaining president, the other three members being appointed by him. Appointment by the Governor, it was evidently thought, would make possible a greater degree of responsibility, a more efficient membership and the development of constructive policies. The chief duty of the board was the investment of the income of the Fund, for there was no law providing for educational expenditures until 1838, and after that date the income was always larger than the expenditures for schools. Moreover, as securities matured the principal had to be reinvested. Hence the administration of the Fund and its relation to the general finances of the state are of as great, if not greater, interest than the appropriations for schools.

The most important of the earlier investments by the board were in railway bonds. Reference has already been made to the fact that the state invested \$600,000 in stock of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad. In 1838 the state endorsed bonds of the Raleigh and Gaston, the second railway constructed in North Carolina, to the amount of \$500,000. The financial crisis that struck the country in 1837 seems to have created some difficulty in the disposal of the bonds. At any rate the directors of the Raleigh and Gaston and of the Wilmington and Raleigh appealed to the trustees of the Literary Fund in 1839, and the trustees resolved to use the surplus money on hand in the purchase of the bonds of the Raleigh and Gaston, endorsed by the state, and the bonds of the Wilmington and Raleigh, endorsed by individuals. Thus, by 1840, \$140,000 of Raleigh and Gaston bonds were purchased and \$85,000 of the Wilmington and Raleigh. By 1840 also the finances of the Wilmington and Raleigh were in a serious condition; the state

* This is the second and concluding installment of Professor Boyd's paper begun in the July number.

was appealed to and endorsed \$300,000 of new bonds, which were exchanged for those outstanding, and by 1842 the trustees of the Literary Fund had invested \$1,800 additional in Wilmington and Raleigh bonds and \$22,764.34 in bonds of the Raleigh and Gaston.

These purchases were made on the responsibility of the trustees; others were made at the order of the legislature. In 1843 the Wilmington and Raleigh could not redeem \$50,000 of bonds which then matured, endorsed by the state. The funds for regular expenses of the state then in the treasury were not sufficient to meet this obligation and the normal charges of the government. The legislature therefore ordered the trustees of the Literary Fund to invest \$50,000 in the bonds, which was done.

The Literary Fund was also used to meet deficits occasioned by extraordinary drains on the treasury. In 1843 the Raleigh and Gaston could not meet interest charges on its bonds amounting to \$42,884. The legislature directed the treasurer to use the Fund for Internal Improvement and the Literary Fund to meet the deficit incurred, and the Literary Fund was consequently drawn upon to the extent of \$14,343.37. In 1844 the Wilmington and Raleigh failed to redeem \$50,000 of bonds; nor could it meet an interest charge of \$47,490. The treasurer, instead of borrowing from the banks, as he had been authorized to do by the legislature, resorted to the Literary Fund to the extent of \$56,611.60. Moreover the income from the regular revenues of the state in 1845 was not sufficient to meet expenditures; again at the instruction of the legislature the Literary Fund carried the deficit, advancing \$27,022.15; a similar crisis followed in 1846, leading to an advance of \$24,173.37. Thus, by 1850, \$122,150.49 belonging to the Literary Fund had been used for current expenses of the state, but the amount due was reported in that year to be \$118,192.¹⁷ In addition to this, \$40,380 of uncollected notes and bonds of the Literary Fund were transferred to the regular revenues of the government by order of the legislature of 1846.¹⁸ The matter of interest on the money thus used is worthy of note. The Literary Fund was authorized by the

¹⁷ Comptroller's Report, 1850.

¹⁸ Report of the Lit. Board 1846.

state, the securities and taxes which composed it were derived from the public revenue. Hence no interest was paid on the money advanced to the general uses of the treasury until 1853, when \$24,117.36 was paid over to meet interest charges on the cash used since 1846.¹⁹ Also no interest was paid on the bonds and notes transferred to the general uses of the treasury in 1846 until 1857, when a state registered bond for principal and interest was given amounting to \$65,563.²⁰ In July, 1855, a loan of \$15,442 was also made, for which an interest-bearing bond was given. In the meantime the policy of using the cash of the Literary Fund to meet the temporary deficits of the treasury continued; in 1851, \$81,186.97 was so used and was restored in 1852; in 1854 a deficit of \$152,131.31 was apparently met in the same way, also one of \$23,972 in 1855. In 1860, however, the Literary Fund was indebted to the treasury to the amount of \$22,136. In these latter cases the advances were for a few months and no interest charges appear in the records.

While the Literary Fund was advancing sums for the general uses of the treasury, the state in 1848 adopted the policy of issuing bonds. It is not surprising to find that the Literary Fund was one of the largest and earliest investors, the purchases being as follows: \$10,500 in 1852, \$36,000 in 1854, \$27,000 in 1856, \$32,000 in 1857, \$2,000 in 1859, making a total of \$97,000. In 1861 when \$140,000 of Raleigh and Gaston bonds matured, the money was invested in state bonds.

Closely related to investment in state and railway bonds was that in the bonds of roads and canals. For a number of years after 1830 interest in the improvement of transportation centered in railways. About 1846 the construction of plank roads and canals attracted much attention. Old schemes that had been popular during the early days of the agitation for internal improvement were revived, and plans were also made for new enterprises. The Literary Fund contributed to the movement in two ways: one, the purchase of state endorsed bonds; the other, direct appropriations without any guarantee of interest. Of state endorsed bonds, \$12,500 of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road were purchased, \$2,000 in 1850

¹⁹ Comptroller's Report, 1853.

²⁰ Resolution of 1856; Comptroller's Report, 1857.

and \$10,500 in 1852, and bonds of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company valued at \$116,000 were purchased in 1860 for (apparently) the sum of \$95,000.²¹ Direct appropriations were made by order of the legislature from the proceeds of land sales to the Caldwell and Ashe Turnpike (\$1,719.33), to the Caldwell and Watauga (\$3,280), to the Indian Grove Turnpike (\$1,800) and to the road from Reddie River to the Tennessee Line (\$2,000). These latter appropriations were designed to aid the development of the mountain section.²²

Bank stocks were also an investment of the Literary Fund. Besides the stocks held according to the law of 1836, \$115,000 was invested in stock of the Bank of the Cape Fear in 1839 and 1840, and \$2,700 in stock of the Bank of the State in 1843. When the charter of the latter corporation expired in 1858 a new institution, the Bank of North Carolina, was chartered and the investment which had been in the extinct institution was made in stock of the new one, amounting to \$502,700. In order to pay for the stock subscribed before capital dividends of the Bank of the State had been received, the sum of \$502,700 was borrowed from New York at a premium of \$3,494.37 and \$7,533.43 interest.

Another series of investments were loans to individuals and corporations. In 1838, \$282,677 were loaned to individuals, such a large advance being made possible by the fact that the money for the improvement of swamp lands could not be expended at once. By 1860 these loans had been reduced to \$5,821.12. A series of loans was also made to private schools and colleges. In 1841, \$10,000 was loaned to Wake Forest College, \$2,000 to Floral College in 1847, \$7,000 to Greensboro Female College in 1849, \$3,000 to Chowan Female Institute in 1851, \$10,000 to Normal College (now Trinity) in 1854, and \$2,000 to Mt. Pleasant Academy and \$3,000 to Clinton Female Institute in 1855. Of these the loan to Wake Forest was repaid prior to 1860.

The final investment by the trustees of the Literary Fund was in swamp lands. According to the act of 1836, \$200,000

²¹ *Reports of the Literary Fund, passim*. The MSS. minutes of the trustees authorized the purchase of stock in the Cape Fear and Deep River Company at not more than 95 (*MSS. Minutes*, May 3, 1859).

²² *Laws*, 1848, *passim*.

of the \$500,000 of the surplus revenue apportioned to the Literary Fund was to be used in the improvement of the swamp lands. Such an undertaking had been suggested as early as 1819 by Archibald DeBow Murphy in his "Memoir on Internal Improvements," and in 1822 the Board of Internal Improvement ordered surveys of the lands in question, reports being made in 1823 and 1827. The Board suggested in the latter year and also in 1833 that Mattamuskeet Lake be selected for experimentation in drainage, but no action was taken. In the meantime the swamp lands were vested in the Literary Fund in 1825, and the distribution of the surplus revenue made possible drainage work.

Three distinct operations were begun. First was the drainage of Mattamuskeet Lake in Hyde County. By a special act \$8,000 was appropriated to this enterprise, and approximately 8,000 acres were reclaimed by 1842. The second and also the largest project of this kind was the drainage of Pungo and Alligator Lakes by connecting them with Pungo River. By 1842 this work was completed at an expenditure of \$175,553.34, and approximately 60,000 acres had been reclaimed. The third area drained consisted of "open prairie" lands in Cartaret County on which \$5,000 was expended. In addition to the expenditures for drainage were those for the construction of roads. These cost over \$10,000. Other expenses brought the total expenditure for the swamp territory by 1860 to \$200,608.48.

The returns on this large expenditure were meagre, amounting to \$22,294.69. For this there were several reasons. One was that the drainage made was not extensive enough to be profitable; main ditches only were constructed and the purchaser of lands had to dig new trenches to connect with them. Also the nature of the lands in many places was not realized; thus in the Mattamuskeet region after drainage was effected only sand beaches were disclosed. To these causes must be added the matter of titles. In earlier days much of the swamp lands had been entered; although no settlements had been made, the state found that counter claims made impossible the sale of the lands.²⁸

²⁸ *Reports on the Swamp Lands of N. C., belonging to the State Board of Education, Raleigh, 1883, passim.*

From the management of the Literary Fund as outlined above certain conclusions are evident. First of these is that the trustees as well as the legislature believed that the principal and the unexpended balances should be used to support such enterprises of general economic and social interest as railways, roads, banks, swamp lands, drainage and private schools. Even the needs of the state treasury were temporarily supplied by the Fund. It is also evident that some of the investments were not successful, notably that in the swamp lands. The war opened before the plank roads, chartered in the 'fifties, whose endorsed bonds were held by the Fund, could be completed, and no dividends were reported from the roads in the mountain section. However no great calamity overtook the Literary Fund, and no complaint was ever made that the cause of the common schools was actually retarded by the investments of the legislature and the trustees.

The expenditures for education reveal no financial problems similar to the investments of the Fund. They do, however, give an insight into the sentiment and social ideal that surrounded the early public school movement in North Carolina. Appropriations for schools were first provided in 1838. The law made the inauguration of schools optional; each school district which raised \$20 by taxation should receive \$40 from the Literary Fund. This principle of local taxation was preserved in the new law of 1840 under which all except a few of the schools were organized. By this law the net income of the Literary Fund was apportioned among the counties according to federal population, and the county courts were authorized to levy a local tax not exceeding one-half the amount received from the Literary Fund. In 1846 all the counties had complied with the opportunity provided by the law. The amount appropriated for the schools by the trustees of the Fund under the law of 1838 was \$2,400; under the law of 1840, from 1841 to 1860, \$2,303,638.85. The amounts appropriated by the counties in the same periods were respectively \$1,200 and \$1,051,819.42. Thus \$3,369,058.27 were spent on common schools in North Carolina prior to the Civil War.

The educational expenditures of the Literary Fund were not confined to the support of the common schools. There

was a large class of defective children who could not secure instruction in them. These were the deaf, dumb, and blind. In 1842 Governor Morehead recommended to the legislature that some provision be made for asylums for this class and also for the insane. There was no effective response, and the Governor thereupon undertook to arouse public opinion on the matter. In 1843 he had correspondence with William D. Cooke, of Staunton, Va., on the obligation of caring for the deaf, dumb, and blind, which was published in the newspapers. In March, 1844, the Presbyterian Synod in session at Raleigh endorsed the idea. At the session of the legislature in the following autumn, Mr. Cook gave a public exhibition of the work of deaf, dumb, and blind students of Staunton, and the Governor sent a special message on the subject of asylums. In response a statute was enacted that \$5,000 from the proceeds of the Literary Fund be appropriated annually for the education of the deaf and dumb, to be supplemented by tuition of \$75 per annum for each pupil, to be met by the counties when the parents were unable to pay.²⁴ Rented buildings were used for the first two years; then in 1846, \$10,000 were appropriated for buildings, one-half being a special appropriation from the Fund, the other half consisting of the unexpended balance from appropriations of the preceding two years.²⁵ In 1848 the management of the institution was placed under a special board of directors.²⁶ In 1852 the annual appropriation from the Fund was increased to \$8,000, and the tuition of indigent students was ordered to be deducted from the school appropriations of their county when the county courts failed to advance it, and the instruction of the blind was included with that of the deaf and dumb.²⁷

III. 1860-1868

The first crisis in the history of the Literary Fund came with the opening of the Civil War. In order to meet the increase in expenditures made necessary by military affairs, there was a feeling that the Fund should be used. This peril was averted by the efforts of Dr. Calvin H. Wiley, who had been

²⁴ *Laws*, 1844, ch. 37.

²⁵ *Laws*, 1846, ch. 48.

²⁶ *Laws*, 1848, ch. 5.

²⁷ *Laws*, 1852, ch. 48.

elected Superintendent of Common Schools in 1852. He persuaded the Governor and the Council of State to oppose such a measure, secured the support of the North Carolina Educational Association which had been organized in 1857, and of many of the county boards of education. Consequently a bill to use the Literary Fund for other than educational purposes was defeated in the Legislature.²⁸ However the counties were relieved from the duty of levying local taxes for education, with the result that some counties used the educational tax for military purposes and others suspended collection of school taxes until the war should end. Also no distribution from the Fund was made in the fall of 1861, nor in the spring of 1862, and from evidence of a later date it seems that the income of the Fund was temporarily used to meet the financial crisis brought about by the war.²⁹ Yet the school system did not collapse during the war; in the spring of 1865 the Superintendent was receiving reports from every section of the state.

As the resources of the Fund were not diverted and as the expenditure for school purposes diminished, the deficit of \$22,136.17 at the close of 1861 was wiped out by the end of 1862. Also in the latter year the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad redeemed \$50,000 of its bonds held by the Fund. In 1863 a state loan of \$96,086 was repaid, the dividend of the Wilmington and Weldon quadrupled, and that of the Wilmington and Manchester Railway—for stock in which 2,000 shares of the Wilmington and Weldon stock had been exchanged in 1852—also yielded a dividend of twenty-five per cent. Consequently in spite of increased appropriations for the deaf, dumb, and blind, at the close of the fiscal year 1863 there was a balance of \$250,974 to the credit of the Fund, and the matter of investments again became of importance.³⁰

In 1862 the new trustees of the Literary Fund were appointed by Governor Vance. These were William E. Pell, Professor Richard Sterling, and William Sloan. Carelessness and inefficiency on the part of their predecessors were soon

²⁸ Weeks, *Beginning of the Common School System in the South*. (Rep't U. S. Com. of Education, 1896-7, vol. II, p. 1455.)

²⁹ Vance, Annual Message, 1862.

³⁰ The appropriations to the deaf, dumb, and blind were gradually increased to \$75,000 in 1864. In that year the appropriation was further increased to \$150,000, to be derived from the general funds of the state, not the Literary Fund.—*Laws, passim*.

disclosed. No stock certificate for the 5,404 shares of the Bank of the Cape Fear could be found; notes for loans to individuals had been allowed to run until worthless; bonds of the state had not been endorsed, and a payment on the bond of the Clinton Female Institute had not been credited. In 1863 a new office, treasurer of the Literary Fund, was created by the legislature, and Mr. Richard H. Battle was appointed to fill it. This activity of the trustees was not long lived. It proved difficult to get the members to meet as often as seemed necessary, and for this reason in 1863 the matter of investments was referred to a committee of Governor Vance and Mr. Pell with power to act.³¹ They made no written account of their work but from the reports of the Comptroller it is evident that they invested \$651,575.59. Of this, \$476,675.59 was invested in state bonds as follows: in six per cents, \$112,500 in April, 1863, \$31,000 in November and December, 1863, and January, 1864, at a premium of \$49,490 and accrued interest of \$705.75, and \$110,250 in March, 1864 with accrued interest of \$437.50; in eight per cents., \$15,000 in November, 1863, at \$24,000 premium and \$279.29 interest, in December \$9,000 at \$15,070 premium and \$203.74 accrued interest, in January, 1864, \$3,000 at \$5,610 premium, in February \$36,000 at \$62,925 premium and \$1,027.31 interest. Moreover, in November, 1863 \$175,000 was invested in Confederate bonds.³²

These investments are among the most interesting ever made by the trustees. The purchases were made in paper currency while the bonds were redeemable in gold; hence the high premiums. But from this standpoint the investments were unwise, for in November, 1864, the treasurer reported that a North Carolina state bond of \$1,000 brought \$1,850 in Confederate currency and only \$74 in specie. An inventory of the securities of the Literary Fund late in 1865 showed a shrinkage of \$153,583.06 compared with the amount held in 1860.³³

The final chapter in the history of the Literary Fund opens with the year 1865. Its resources were seriously impaired by the results of the war. The repudiation of the war debt by the convention of 1865 wiped out the investment in war issues

³¹ *MSS. Minutes of the Trustees.*

³² *Report of the Comptroller, 1863 and 1864.*

³³ *Report of the Literary Board 1860; Report of the Treasurer, Jan. 19, 1866.*

of state bonds, while the collapse of the Confederate Government made worthless the Confederate bonds. The banks, which had invested in state and Confederate bonds, closed their doors, and their stock, in which the Literary Fund had so heavily invested, became valueless. The railroads in eastern Carolina were prostrate and for several years yielded no dividends, and the same is true of the navigation companies. To support common schools there remained the vacant and swamp lands, state bonds of ante-bellum issue, auction and liquor taxes, and local taxes. In 1866 the entire income of the Fund was only \$776, sufficient evidence of the collapse of the schools.

The question of re-establishing the Literary Fund and of reviving the common schools was considered by the legislatures of 1865-6 and 1866-7. Superintendent Wiley worked for the cause. He believed that the sale of the swamp lands would afford a revenue to support the schools until the state finances could be readjusted. In a lengthy report he called attention to the mismanagement of the swamp lands in the past.³⁴ But the legislature of 1865-6 abolished the office of Superintendent of Common Schools and made local taxation for schools optional.³⁵ The succeeding session authorized the transfer of the state bonds held by the Fund to the State Treasurer for which an interest bearing certificate was given (on which no interest was paid for many years).³⁶ The greatest tragedy, however, occurred in 1869, when the stock in the Wilmington and Weldon and the Wilmington and Manchester railroads was sold for \$158,000. True, no dividends had been paid since the war, but these roads under private ownership became the parent stem of the Atlantic Coast Line, today the most prosperous railway in the South Atlantic States. In the same year the stock in the Cape Fear Navigation Company was sold for \$3,250. In the meantime the Constitution of 1868 had placed the main support of education on a new basis, that of taxation rather than of endowment, and with the ratification of that constitution ended the legal existence of the Literary Fund.

³⁴ Kerr, Gwyn, and Lewis, *Reports on the Swamp Lands* (1867).

³⁵ *Laws*, ch. 34.

³⁶ *Laws*, 1866-7, ch. 68.

Some Fallacies Concerning the History of Public Education in the South

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

Assistant Professor of Education in Trinity College

To the student of American educational history certain criticisms of the average treatment of the origin and development of our public school system are at once apparent. One of these criticisms is in the great variety of very loose and general treatments of educational effort in the southern states before the war. Another is in the more or less arbitrary geographic and chronologic divisions which many of the writers make in telling the story of the development of public education in the United States at large. There is, undoubtedly, a certain convenience to be had in making use of such divisions, but they seem always to be made at the expense of a certain justice and fairness to the principle on which educational interest expressed itself prior to 1860. For example, Massachusetts is often given as the prototype of scholastic endeavor in all New England in colonial days and during the early years of the nineteenth century; the educational customs of Virginia are often cited to serve as a type of those customs prevalent in the entire southern states before 1865; schools and education in Pennsylvania are usually grouped as a type for the middle eastern states; and New York has frequently occupied a classification to herself. Such divisions are, however, often necessary because of treatments which purport to give always a purely political, social, or economic explanation to school conditions and educational customs in the various sections; and it is just such treatments which are most often responsible for the various loose statements so often made concerning our educational history. Such divisions and generalities are not only arbitrary but often contrary to facts. Particularly is this true of treatment of southern ante-bellum educational effort. It is with this first criticism that this paper has to deal.

One of these loose statements so frequently made has concerned itself with educational sentiment and educational effort

and customs in the southern states prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. It has been very popular in certain quarters to assert that there was no system of public education in these states prior to the beginnings of the congressional plan of reconstruction; that little or no effort for education had been made in the South before that time; and that this lack of educational tradition for all the people had been largely responsible for the four years' strife. There is abundant evidence on this point. The war had hardly closed, in fact, before this belief was finding expression throughout the country. The speeches in the annual meeting of the National Teachers' Association, which was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in August, 1865, teemed with the idea that the rebellion had been a "war of education and patriotism against ignorance and barbarism." In his opening speech, "The Educational Duties of the Hour," the president of that organization said, among other things:

"All through the loyal States our principal institutions have prospered to a most wonderful degree. How has it been with the States in rebellion? Scarcely an institution of learning survived In all the free States the public school system prevailed, and in most was administered with great efficiency, giving a good education alike to the poor and the rich How was it in the States where the institution of slavery prevailed? There was no Common School System. Exceptions there were in some of the cities,—but as a general fact, the statement is correct. The children of a large portion of the population were, by law, prohibited the advantages of an education, and a large portion of the free population were virtually shut out from the means of early culture Thus has our land been deluged in blood. Sagacious politicians at the South saw the tendencies, and attributed the evil to the quality of Northern education. Without stopping to defend the character of our educational processes at the North, let it be observed that the root of the difficulty lay not in this direction, but in the fact of a diffused and universal education at the North and a very limited education at the South. No two sections of country, though under the same government, can dwell together in peace and harmony, where the advantages of education are widely dissimilar

"There is but one alternative,—education must be diffused throughout the masses of the South. Black and white,—'poor white' and rich white all must be educated. Not to educate them is to prepare for another Civil War

"Before the War no Southern teacher dared to discuss the whole truth at the South Can we not as educators go boldly into the Southern States and teach the truth and the whole truth? If

not, I pray God that martial law may prevail in every Southern State, till Northern men, or any other men, may discuss educational, social, political, and moral and religious topics in any part of the South as freely as in Faneuil Hall. This right we must have”

The result of the war was also regarded by many as producing a rare opportunity for extending “universal” education in the states lately in rebellion. The South was now looked upon as a vast missionary field. But the decade following the close of the war shows much misdirected missionary zeal and visionary effort. With the one probable exception of the work of the Peabody Board Trustees, which has had a lasting and beneficial influence on southern education, the most of these missionary efforts were blindly made and with little or no understanding of local conditions and local needs. Enthusiasts on the subject failed to consider the temper of the popular mind. In their opinion the chief difference between the white man and the negro was the enforced ignorance of the latter, a difference which could easily be removed. The following from the Rev. Charles Brooks, of Massachusetts, in a pamphlet issued near the close of the war, illustrates the point :

“We have four millions of liberated slaves who should be educated. They ask it at our hands, and the world expects us to do it; because in the very act of emancipation there is the sacred promise to educate. Slavery has kept the word education out of our national constitution. Now four millions of starved minds implore its introduction Their former masters will not take the trouble to educate them, and would generally refuse to pay a local tax for the purpose. Since the Christian era there has not been such an opportunity for such a country to do such a work; the noblest work man can do The old slave States are to be new missionary grounds for the national schoolmaster”

Others believed that

“When the combat was over and the ‘Yankee’ school ma’ams followed in the train of Northern armies, the business of educating the negroes was a continuation of hostilities against the vanquished South and so regarded, to a considerable extent, on both sides.”¹

It is hardly astonishing, therefore, that unwarranted and inaccurate notions concerning educational conditions in the southern states should have developed and persisted even until

¹ Alice M. Bacon in *Occasional Papers of the Slater Fund Trustees*, No. 7.

recent years.³ General Oliver O. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, said of the southern state which had a creditable system of schools in 1860:

"It is a wonderful thing to recall that North Carolina had never had before that time a free school system even for white pupils, and there was then no publication in the State devoted to popular education. The death of slavery unfolded the wings of knowledge for both black and white to brighten all the future of the 'Old North State'."⁸

In addition to the notion that the South had no public education before 1868, it was also believed that such education as had been given there was based on wrong principles; that the poor white people in those states were densely ignorant and that this ignorance had been exploited by unscrupulous southern leaders. Throughout the war the Union acted on the principle that there was in the South a very large loyal element, but that ambitious and unprincipled men had taken advantage of it. It has also been held that the leaders in the South were opposed to the general education of the masses; and that in every quarter of the South there was objection to educating the recently liberated negroes. The contrary, however, is in most cases true: southern leaders recognized the changed condition of the negro and favored education, under southern supervision, to fit him for citizenship. And in his early travels through the southern states in 1867 and 1868, Mr. Sears, agent of the Peabody Board trustees, declared that southern leaders everywhere came together and acted with great unanimity on the subject of education.⁴

From the more general notions concerning educational conditions in the southern states before 1860 there has grown up the constantly repeated statement that the schools that did exist in these states were greatly unlike those found elsewhere in the nation. It has also been stated, time after time, by those who should know better, that at the outbreak of the war not a single southern state had established and set in operation a

³ See Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, Vol. II, Chapt. IX; Hart, *Southern South*, pp. 289, 290; Dunning, *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, 206.

⁴ *Autobiography*, 338. Not only did North Carolina have a creditably organized system of schools before the war, but during the years from 1852 to 1861, known as the period of "reorganization," a journal of education was begun and maintained and proved a valuable auxiliary agency in promoting education in the State.

⁵ *Proc. Peabody Board*, Vols. I and II.

system of free public schools. From such a statement it has been easy to infer that this condition existed only in the southern section of the United States. But to show that the schools in most of the southern states had many points in common with schools in other sections of the country is easy when conditions in the South and in other sections are studied and compared. The laws, reports of the administrative officers, school statistics, complaints against inefficiency of teachers and administrative officers, found in the legislative documents and the messages of the governors of the various states, all bear testimony that in origin, organization and comparative results, there is a striking likeness between schools in North Carolina, Virginia, or Alabama, and those of the more advanced states of New York, Pennsylvania, or Connecticut. Indeed, one does not have to hunt far to discover conditions in the New England states a decade or two prior to the outbreak of the war much like those in certain southern states in the forties and fifties.

In fact the story of the development of public education is much the same in the United States whether it be the story of one section of the country or another. This does not necessarily mean, of course, that educational conditions in any two sections or in any two states of the same section are at any one time the same. Sentiment in favor of public schools for all the people may be stronger in one state or section than in another; or, opposition to progressive educational policies may weaken or grow strong as the economic, political, or social conditions vary. Most of the state school systems in the country have passed through what may be called the "storm and stress period" in their development. In most states there have been great educational landmarks, made, perhaps, by long periods of educational agitation and the resulting growth of unusual sentiment for schools. The so-called early educational revival in North Carolina, from the establishment of the Literary Fund in 1825 to the passage of the first school law fourteen years later, is practically paralleled by the educational campaign in Pennsylvania, in defense of whose school system and school law Stevens made his famous speech in the legislature of that state in

1835.⁵ The work of Horace Mann in Massachusetts, and of Henry Barnard in Connecticut, for public education, is not unlike that of Calvin H. Wiley in North Carolina at a somewhat later date. Early school legislation in Virginia and North Carolina was framed on a theory not unlike that on which similar legislation in New York was framed: that the income from the literary fund and a small tax were sufficient for educational purposes. The theory on which schools in Georgia were established and operated was more or less similar to the theory on which early schools in Pennsylvania rested; and the administrative machinery of the school system in Alabama and South Carolina and other southern states is practically the same as that for other sections of the country. Except for details of administration, perhaps, educational custom in the United States before 1860 is very similar in every section of the country.

The successful application of the democratic theory of government to public education is the essential ideal of the origin and growth of our state school systems. This is abundantly illustrated by a study of the growth of our public education immediately prior to and just following the Civil War. And it is none the less true of one section than of another. When the story of this educational development is properly told, without the usual rhetorical embellishments which characterize the telling of a popular tale, this ideal will reveal itself as a characteristic of all earnest effort at sound educational progress. It is a long way from the payment by the state of tuition for the majority of its scholastic population for three or four months in the year, to the theory that the state should not only do this but should even provide medical and dental attention for its young citizens while they are in school. And some socialistic educational theorists go further and believe that the state should provide free meals, in some cases clothe the children, and in rarer cases, perhaps, pay the parents for the time their children are in school. The theory, however, is always the same.

This idea that the school is of all the people, the well-to-do and the poor, and for them, has been very slow to develop.

⁵ Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, 369.

And this slowness has been no more due to the varying social, political, and economic conditions than to the fact that education is marked by a conservatism equalled only by that in religion. That this idea has developed more rapidly in some sections than in others no one now questions; but that in every section it has had periods of rapid growth and development, followed by corresponding periods of weakness and retardation, is also firmly established. Characteristic stages in the development of public education may be seen in practically every section of the country at one time or another. The general statement that the southern states passed tardily through the so-called experimental stage in its development needs no proof; but that common features in the establishment and development of school systems may be found in every section of the country appears when the facts are studied.

It is, therefore, rather the likenesses and similarities in the essential features of state systems of public instruction throughout the nation before 1860 that are pronounced. It is not the differences, as is so often supposed. Hurried comparisons of school conditions and school legislation in the northern states and the southern states prior to the war have been made to show the diversity of educational sentiment and educational custom, and that out of Reconstruction were born the free public school systems of the southern states. The two sections do indeed reveal different conditions before 1860; and remarkable changes in the fundamental law of the land in regard to schools and education do indeed appear as the result of Reconstruction or during that period. But a study of the constitutional provisions for schools and the mandates of the legislatures on the subject of education, supplemented by a careful analysis of the operation of the laws, in every section of the country before and after the war, shows that conditions in one section of the country resemble those in another, and that in the essentials of public education the differences are small.

Whatever may have been the gifts of Reconstruction to education in the South it cannot be concluded, from the evidence available, that the southern states owe their public school systems to the years 1868 to 1876. Moreover, the edu-

cational benefits that did accrue from that régime were not unmingled with evil. Along with the constitutional and legislative provisions for schools for all the people, to be supported by public taxation and to continue for a definite period, a sentiment not altogether wholesome was created. Generations have never been educated by elaborate legislative enactments alone,— a fact never more clearly demonstrated than by the history of education in the South a decade or two following the war. Definitely prescribed school terms, provision for negro education, and provision for school support by a uniform system of taxation, are features of public education generally unknown in the South before 1860. The introduction of these features was indeed an advance step for southern education to take. Before the war, of course, the negro was not educated, there had been no general system of taxation for public schools, and legally prescribed school terms were not known. But the agitation of mixed schools in most of these states eventually retarded the movement for the education of the negro; it took the South many years after the close of the war and Reconstruction to realize the second feature contributed by that period and to set in active operation general educational systems supported by public taxation. Before the war the schools were usually supported by the income from permanent public school funds and by a small tax.* So far as the third feature contributed by Reconstruction is concerned, in not a few of the southern states the average school term was less in 1890 and 1900 than it was in 1860. However uncertain may have been the qualifications for teachers, attendance, discipline, classification and order in the regular routine of the administrative part of education in the South before 1860, nothing is clearer than that all these elements and features, together with the failure to pay teachers, were the object of chronic complaint during, and for more than a decade or two after, Reconstruction.

The growth of town and city high schools, by local taxation, is a distinct phase of educational growth of the South that has no source whatever in the influence of political reconstruction.

* This was true of all southern states except South Carolina, where schools were supported very largely by legislative appropriation. These funds for school support stimulated a healthy sentiment in favor of local taxation which was on the increase in the South in 1860.

This movement developed, in the main, after the undoing of Reconstruction, having, however, received its most important impetus from the excellent work of the Peabody Board. Teacher training in normal schools and institutes existed, if at all, in a very fragmentary fashion in the South before the war. Provision was attempted in the reconstruction régime, in practically all the southern states, for the introduction of this important feature of public education. But outside influence was necessary to create interest in this work; and interest in teacher training by normal schools for both races, supported by public taxation, developed mainly after the return to home rule in 1876.

The effect of Reconstruction legislation was no less retarding on education than on economic and social conditions. Just what would have been done for schools and education in the seceding states had there been no foreign intervention, is, after all, not so much a matter for idle speculation as is often supposed. There is a great deal of significant evidence on this point. The history of education in Virginia, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Tennessee, between the fall of the confederacy and the beginnings of the congressional plan of Reconstruction in 1868, shows that the native citizenship of these states recognized the change which had been made by the war and made an effort to meet the demands made by that change.⁷ The agitation in South Carolina before 1860 for school support by public taxation, for state supervision and control, is another case in point. The story of the schools in North Carolina and Virginia before the war; the messages of the governors to the state legislatures; the granting of authority to certain localities in South Carolina before the war to levy taxes for schools,—these and other facts are examples of a wholesome sentiment which might have expressed itself more thoroughly had there been no outside interference. Such examples are the more significant when the South is compared with other sections of the country and when it is remembered also that the alleged educational backwardness of the South and the intellectual lethargy of her masses lay in the horrible in-

⁷ See especially Georgia laws of 1866 and the laws of Arkansas for 1867. In Tennessee provision was made for negro education in 1867.

stitution of slavery, always the hindrance of universal education.

What contributions, then, did the Reconstruction régime make to education in the South? Three different contributions appear: specific and mandatory provisions for education were now incorporated in the various state constitutions; provisions for negro education generally appear for the first time; and provisions for a uniform system of taxation for school support appear generally and for the first time as a part of southern educational machinery.

Prior to the war most of the general educational legislation in the South was more or less discretionary and permissive. The state constitutions of 1868, however, were, in most cases, in advance of the earlier ones. The general school laws were usually different in that they were now more mandatory and obligatory and less permissive. Provisions for local, county, and state supervision and administration, however, were usually not improved by Reconstruction legislation.

The beginnings of negro education were a natural outgrowth and development of emancipation. The act of freeing the negroes implied a certain promise to educate and to provide opportunity to fit them, as far as possible, for citizenship. Changed political status of the negro in the South, however, had a somewhat unexpected effect in other than the southern states; and general negro education became at least nominally effective in practically all sections of the country alike, and at about the same time. It is not generally supposed, for example, that any educational distinction was made in the states north of Mason and Dixon's line between the children of the two races prior to the war. But such distinction was now and then made, as comparisons of state laws on education will show.⁸

Changes in the method of school support made by the Reconstruction régime are probably the most lasting and most beneficial of all the contributions made by the period, not only to education in the South, but to American education in general. The belief that southern educational ideals lay at the root of the war had a great influence on educational legisla-

⁸ Laws of Indiana for 1855 and of Ohio for 1853.

tion in other sections of the country. After the war there appears a marked expansion of northern educational statutes. Prior to this time many states in all sections of the country had been satisfied to depend for school support on the income from a permanent public school fund and from a small local tax or part of the state capitation tax for school purposes. This custom was not only common in the South, but an advanced state like New York did not abandon the so-called "rate bills" until 1876. However, even before the congressional plan of reconstruction set in there appeared an unusual interest in improved provisions for education in several of the southern states. And a study of conditions in typical southern, eastern, northern and western states, from the early thirties through 1875, shows fewer real differences in the essentials of public systems of education than were generally thought to exist, and more likenesses and similarities are at once in evidence.

Is American Literature Read and Respected in Europe?

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM

Instructor in English in Purdue University

What a bone of critical contention the status of American literature is! Dull indeed is the season when some one is not either disparaging or defending our writers. Now the line of attack commonly adopted by the detractors is to start with the assumption that during the past century or so we have had just as good an opportunity to produce great books as has any other nation. Then follows the minor premise that for each great author we have brought forth, in every department, England has, during the same period, furnished several to match or outmatch him. And obviously and easily from these premises comes the unflattering conclusion.

But for every detractor of American literature may be found a vigorous defender. No one, of course, will quarrel with the proposition that our literature falls far short of Victorian; but every true defender will insist that for several excellent reasons, traditional, political, economic, social, ethnical, we have *not* had nearly so good a chance as the mother country to produce great books during the past hundred years. And then passing from refutation to positive argument, from the relative to the absolute, the counsel for the defense will try to prove that certain American authors are great, first, because they have obeyed certain definite canons, have measured up to accepted standards; and secondly, because they have been read with appreciation and spoken of with praise by their cultivated fellow countrymen.

Meanwhile a question of prime importance goes unanswered: "Is American literature read and respected in Europe?" If we can answer that question in the affirmative, we may rest assured that our literature is amply able to withstand the most severe charges brought against it. If, on the other hand, we are obliged to answer the question in the nega-

tive, we must be resigned to the fact that no amount of loud boasting can give our writers high standing.

Perhaps you may say that you do not care a button whether American books are read abroad or not—that you are content with the fact that they are read by the best people on this side of the Atlantic and that they meet with definite canonical requirements. But your indifference to Europe's opinion will not change the facts in the case. You might go to a ball, arrayed in full dress yet wearing a scarlet four-in-hand tie, and your mere declaration that you did not care a button what impression you made would not alter the fact that you were making yourself ridiculous. Mediocrity and provinciality are not synonymous terms, yet so frequently do they go hand in hand that one would be running great risk to apply the word "greatness" to any author whose reputation is not international. If a story or poem or essay is eminently worth wide reading, it is certainly worth the trouble of translation into an alien tongue.

But to return to my question—can we answer it satisfactorily? The general impression—vague though the impression is—seems to be that except perhaps in Great Britain, American books are scarcely read or even known in Europe. To be sure, if one will stop to think casually of one's high school or academy days, one will have a hazy recollection of having been told that on its original appearance "The Sketch Book" was fairly successful in England, that Baudelaire's translations of Poe have given the latter writer great vogue in France, that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has been translated into eighteen different languages, that Dickens once said some nice things about Irving, and that Longfellow's bust is to be seen in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. But at approximately that point the popular knowledge seems to end.

Suppose I were to put to an average gathering of well-read people the following queries:—Has an original history of American literature ever been written in any language other than English? Has a continental European writer ever brought out a biography of an American man of letters? Can you name three German versions of Longfellow? Two French versions of Hawthorne? One German rendering of

Whittier's "Snowbound"? I venture to say that in nine gatherings out of ten my questions would be met with an awkward, oppressive silence.

Before I say more about these questions, however, I wish to remind my readers of a few encomiums received by American literary men at the hands of foreign critics, British and Continental. I wish to remind my readers that within a period of three years after Walt Whitman's death there appeared four Continental magazine critiques on his work: two in French, one in Italian, and one in Dutch. I wish further to make reminder that one of the most interesting articles ever written on Lowell is from the pen of A. E. Schonbach, a German; and that one of the most illuminating of the many articles on Poe is by Niels Moller, a Dane. And here I think it not amiss to point out that Emile Montégut has characterized Emerson's writings as "very remarkable"; that Edmund Gosse has declared Longfellow to be, "within his limitations, as true a poet as ever breathed"; that Robert Buchanan has dubbed "The Scarlet Letter" "wonderfully finely wrought"; that William Sharp finds Thoreau "one of the most strongly-marked individualities of modern times"; that Eduard Bertz calls Whitman "the greatest master of *Stimmung* of all ages"; that Villiers de l'Isle-Adam considers Poe "the greatest genius of the nineteenth century"; and that Teodor de Wyzéwa looks upon Poe's verse as "the most magnificent which the English language possesses." Obviously, then, we may find a goodly number of European critics whose attitude toward American literature is neither damnatory nor lukewarm.

And at this point I would invite your attention to Karl Knortz's *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1891), a work which for comprehensiveness, accuracy, and appreciativeness compares favorably with any of our own text-books on American literature. I would also invite your attention to Dr. Knortz's admirable biography of Longfellow and his no less excellent biography of Whitman.

But, assuredly, mere critical interest in a writer does not necessarily prove that that writer is being widely read. We know, all too well, how much extravagant praise has been

lavished upon "Paradise Lost," yet how few people have ever read two hundred consecutive lines of that ponderous epic. So the question remains: "Is American literature read in Europe?"

For answer to this query, let us examine the record of Longfellow. I will admit that his is not quite a typical case; for he is, of course, the most popular of all our poets. But his case shows, at any rate, the public favor which it is possible for an American author to win abroad. And when one remembers that in Europe both Whitman and Poe are almost universally regarded as superior to Longfellow, the foreign acceptance of the latter is not so unfair a criterion after all. German interest in Longfellow seems to have begun about 1854, when K. Boettger brought out a translation of "The Spanish Student." This was followed, some two years later, by Adolph Boettger's "Hiawatha" and "Hyperion." And from that time on, the German demand for Longfellow has evidently been steady. Ferdinand Freiligrath translated "Hiawatha" in 1857; Nielo, the early ballads, the same year; Keck, "The Golden Legend," 1860; Nicklas, "Evangeline," 1872; Karl Knortz, "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha" (the most satisfactory German renderings of these poems), 1872; Hae-feli, "The Spanish Student," 1873; Knortz, "Miles Standish," 1874; Schuchardt, "The Masque of Pandora," 1878; Siller, "Evangeline," 1879; and Schuchardt, "Tales of a Wayside Inn," the same year. Meanwhile C. Brunel and A. Vermorel—the former with a translation of "Evangeline," the latter with versions of a number of Longfellow's other poems—were creating and stimulating a French interest in America's household bard.

And that Longfellow's case was by no means extraordinary may be seen from the following list:

GERMAN AND FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

Bryant:

Neidthart, Stuttgart, 1855.

Clemens:

Wilhelm Busch, Leipzig, 1876.

Emile Blemont, Paris, 1881.

Largilliere, Paris, 1883.

W. Hugues, Paris, 1884, 1886.

M. Jacobi, Stuttgart, 1893.

Cooper:

Defauconpret, Paris, 1838-1845.

Karl Federn, Berlin, 1909.

(Other German translations listed in Hinnich's "Halbjahrs Katalog").

Emerson:

Emile Montégut, Paris.

Karl Federn, Halle, 1897.

Franklin:

Paris, 1791-1794.

Ed. Laboulaye, Paris, 1866.

Friedrich Kapp, Berlin, 1882.

Harte:

M. Jacobi, Stuttgart, 1905.

Hawthorne:

E. D. Forguet, Paris, 1852-1853.

A. Vermorel, Paris, 1859.

Kuenstler, Leipzig, 1863.

Spoll, Paris, 1866.

Irving:

Mehreren, Frankfurt, 1826.

Adrian, Leipzig, 1847, 1856.

Longfellow:

K. Boettger, Dessau, 1854.

A. Boettger, Leipzig, 1856.

F. Freiligrath, Stuttgart, 1857.

Nielo, Munster, 1857.

Keck, Leipzig, 1860.

C. Brunel, Paris, 1872.

Nicklas, Karlsruhe, 1872.

K. Knortz, Leipzig, 1872, 1874.

Haefeli, Leipzig, 1873.

Schuchardt, Hamburg, 1878, 1879.

Siller, Milwaukee, 1879.

A. Vermorel, Paris.

Lowell:

K. Knortz (in *Poetischer Hausschatz*),
Oldenburg, 1902.

Motley:

Dresden, 1857.

Parkman:

Kapp, Stuttgart, 1875.

Poe:

C. Baudelaire, Paris, 1856-1863.
H. & A. Moller-Bruck, Minden, 1901.
Lachmann, Berlin, 1891.

Prescott:

Scherr, Leipzig, 1856.

Whitman:

Knortz & Rolleston, Zurich, 1889.
K. Federn, Minden, 1904.
Schoelermann, Leipzig, 1904.

Whittier:

K. Knortz, Berlin, 1879.

This list is by no means complete; but it is, I think, long enough to be very impressive. I scarcely need to strengthen my point by adding a list of Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Russian translations. Neither need I regret that circulation figures are not available. The fact that so many Continental scholars have felt warranted in translating American prose and verse is sufficient evidence of a real Continental demand for our literature.

And in this connection another fact must be borne in mind: namely, that cultivated Continental people, particularly Germans, are fond of reading fiction in the original English, realizing that in their study of the language, this is the quickest way for them to gain familiarity with the British and American idiom. Hence a complete statement of the circulation of foreign translations would fall far short of revealing the actual extent to which American books are read on the Continent. As Grace Isabel Colbron points out, in the March number of *The Bookman*, the Tauchnitz edition alone—English texts published in Leipzig—includes the productions of no fewer than sixty-seven American novelists.

I have not mentioned the work of any living writer. Much, however, might be said of Continental interest in present-day American authors. Particularly noteworthy, apropos of this subject, is the new vogue of Jack London in Berlin and other German capitals, a vogue inaugurated by Ernst von Wolzogen, the novelist and critic. Among other living American writers who are read in Germany—in the Tauchnitz edition, in translation, or in both—may be mentioned President Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Richard Harding Davis, Hamlin Garland, Gertrude Atherton, Edith Wharton, William Dean Howells, and Louis Joseph Vance.

Of course some pessimist may easily find a fly in the ointment. He may easily prove that no American writer has been read and discussed on the Continent as much as have Shakespeare, Scott, Tennyson, and Dickens. But why worry about such relative matters, when we are in possession of absolute facts so gratifying?

American literature is read and respected—read much and respected highly—on the Continent of Europe. And if we can say so much now—now, when we are still young, crude, busied largely with materialistic pursuits, and scorned as vulgar and Philistinian by Europeans generally—what can we say of the manner in which our literature will be received abroad when we have acquired maturity, traditions, homogeneity, poise, national taste, and leisure for the arts? I think we may safely make a most optimistic answer to this question.

BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGIOUS CONFESSIONS AND CONFESSANTS. By Anna Robeson Burr.
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—ix,
562 pp. \$2.50 net.

This book is an investigation of the origin, nature, and significance of religious experience. The data for the investigation are found in the testimony of large numbers of men, women and children whose experiences have been put on record. The author considers the questionnaire method of obtaining this as unreliable and misleading. She turns rather to the existing material found in the spontaneous utterances of those persons who have yielded to the impulse to self revelation, and in the standard religious biographies and histories of religious movements. The inductive method is pursued, and the evolutionary interpretation of such sciences as ethnology and anthropology, biology and psychology, is accepted as furnishing all the light needed for the analysis and explanation of the facts. Human nature alone supplies all the material; there is no recognition of the supernatural nor of metaphysical implications.

The importance of the subject is indicated by the following statement: "The religious confession, with which it is the main object of this essay to deal, is nothing less than the first coherent, systematic, voluntary attempt at self-study, by which man has sought to determine the nature and limits of his consciousness. From this first effort have been evolved all later, more complex religious ideas, and many of the later philosophic ideas." The term *confessant* is used to avoid the ambiguity of the word "confessor," which may indicate both penitent and priest.

The tendency to confession is found in ancient and modern times. Human nature has felt the impulse to "tell what we know." It appears in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian religion. The early forms of public and priestly confession of sin have developed into the much more elaborate literary confessions of which Augustine's is the perfect type. "The *confessant*, as he appears in these pages, is personally, at

least, the direct result of the influence of Augustine." In Augustine we see that the impulse to "cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart" is not the sole motive animating the confessant; there is a profound disposition to self-revelation.

The third chapter is a remarkable study of the introspective type. Mrs. Burr is at her best in work of this kind. The introspective type came about gradually. Early man, we are told, did not look within because he was not conscious that there was anything there to look for. The increasing complexity of life brought with it a tendency towards greater subjectivity, and this has been intensified by Christian doctrine. The author's characterization and criticism of many notable persons is keen and suggestive. Such diverse types as Augustine, Shelley, Newman, and Oscar Wilde are summoned into court and made to testify concerning the real soul that was in them.

Three chapters are devoted to an analysis of data, found in very different types of religious faith. Catholics, Friends, Methodists and Mormons; any sects of persons professing any kind of religious experience are subjected to the same examination under certain specific classifications. The personal data have been grouped under three main heads: Parentage, Education and Health. The rest of the data is also grouped under three main heads: Beginning of Religious Emotion; Conversion; Termination of Religious Emotion.

The conversion crisis in a study such as this is crucial in its significance. This brings us face to face with the problem of personality. The nature of personality must be determined or assumed before any conclusions as to the nature of religious experience can be reached. Here we strike Mrs. Burr's interesting analogy taken from astronomy. "Personality might be depicted as a nebula; of which the nuclear center is Consciousness, while the power holding the atoms together is Will. By such analogy it will be readily understood that should anything occur to loosen the grip of will, the atoms composing this unstable combination will no longer remain unified." It follows that religious experience is a disturbance of some of the elements composing this nebula,

and is therefore abnormal. It is easy to pass from this to the conclusion that religious experience is found in pathological subjects. The author's attitude toward the conversion-crisis is indicated by the following: "A conversion-crisis rarely establishes Personality on any higher level than before and it is never without a reaction, during which the subject has to suffer further crisis of doubt and gloom." It is admitted however that conversion may be accompanied by the opening of new channels of beneficial activity, but this is not the effect of conversion; "it is rather the effect of the subsequent work." The outstanding defect in this interpretation of the data is the fact that abnormal cases are used as typical. That there are abnormal, oversensitive, neurotic persons who have professed religion no man doubts but that the great majority of plain men who have professed an experience of the grace of God are defectives is an assertion that cannot be justified.

There are a number of assumptions in the book which the philosophy of religion has not conceded. The conception of personality leaves much in the dark. What is consciousness and what is it that constitutes and determines the will? The statement that "the theory of animistic revival fully accounts for all the more perplexing features of the religious experience," is pure assumption. The attempt to analyze religious experience with a personal God left out is a tremendous assumption. Is there a personal God and can he communicate with men? "The courageous rationalist—who is today the only idealist" may deny these convictions of religious men, but neither philosophy nor plain thinking men are prepared to eliminate God or the testimony of men who have tested the content of their religious consciousness by the demands of practical living.

Judged from the standpoint of rationalism the book is an able one. The author gives evidence of enormous industry and is not without sympathy for the subject under discussion.

FRANKLIN N. PARKER.

SHAKESPEARE'S GROSSE VERRECHER. Richard III, Macbeth, Othello.
By Erich Wulffen. Berlin-Lichterfelde. Dr. P. Langenscheidt.
Mk. 4.

The German attorney Erich Wulffen, author of a number of works on the psychology of the criminal, has already published a volume on his fellow-countryman the dramatist Hauptman, and now turns his attention to the greatest of all dramatists. He finds his labors richly rewarded. The play "Richard III," he asserts, is "the greatest thing the human mind has ever felt and thought concerning crime." And proceeding on the theory that "we must never assume that the playwright Shakespeare has blundered"—a theory which someone may take exception to, but which has its manifest advantages in inducing a receptive attitude and a spirit of searching industry,—he finds in the vicious children of Shakespeare's imagination the most instructive of pathologic subjects. Richard III was a cripple, abnormally born, sexually imperfect and goaded to madness by his deformation and his consequent isolation from his kind. Macbeth was an epileptic, his wife a hysteric, Othello a half-blood whose relation to the Venetian state involves the most vital questions of sociology and eugenics, Desdemona a masochistic sexual pervert. Shakespeare is a determinist, and his characters are to be neither praised nor blamed, but only studied as the product of psychic laws which in their turn are based on physical laws. Iago's famous championship of the freedom of the will, at the end of the first act of "Othello": "'tis in ourselves that we are thus and thus," is irony, and Richard's pronouncement: "I am determined to prove a villain," is delusion. An interesting point of view, and set forth with considerable ingenuity and after very careful study. Dr. Wulffen has succeeded in adding to Shakespearian commentary a book which is full of rather novel and generally plausible suggestion.

University of Oklahoma.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

THE CONQUEST OF THE TROPICS. By Frederick Upham Adams, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1914-xii, 368 pp. \$2.00 net.

This handsomely printed and illustrated volume is the

first of a series of books under the general title: "The Romance of Big Business." In this work Mr. Frederick Upham Adams takes as his subject the story of the enterprises conducted by the United Fruit Company. A large part of the information as to facts has been obtained through the courtesy of officers of that company, though the deductions of the author stand on his reputation as student and writer. The publishers plan to put out a series of books that will possess interest and real value to investors in large business enterprises and that will inform the public as to the services and method of operation of some of our largest corporations.

Certainly this volume gives one a wealth of interesting information with regard to the highly organized business methods by which the nourishing banana is furnished so cheaply and abundantly to the people of the United States. The story is written around the great banana business, but, in the writing of it, the author has given us many interesting glimpses into the life of the tropical regions to the south of the United States, and into the improvement and progress in many localities due to the enlightened enterprise of the United Fruit Company. The reader will gain knowledge otherwise inaccessible regarding the history and operations of this great American business corporation.

BULL RUN: ITS STRATEGY AND TACTICS. By R. M. Johnston. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914—10 maps, 293 pp. \$2.50 net.

As we get further away from the Civil War in America, books about the war naturally get less partisan and more critical. This book by Professor Johnston is a cool, dispassionate study of the first considerable battle of the Civil War. The author devotes 163 pages to a description of the events preceding the battle before he discusses the battle itself. This preliminary matter covers the military conditions at the outbreak of the conflict, and expresses the view that a large standing army might have prevented the war. General McDowell's early movements and plans are painstakingly outlined. This outline is followed by an account of the Confederate forces operating around Manassas, and a careful study of the organ-

ization of the two armies is made. The leaders on each side are presented as they approached for battle. The operations of each are frankly commended or blamed from the author's personal viewpoint. There is no lack in the book of a cheerful confidence in the soundness of the author's reasoning. A civilian rarely feels so assured of his military ground that he will say of such competent soldiers as J. E. Johnston and James Longstreet, "Johnston displayed courage and at times judgment," or "Longstreet displayed cool nerve and some judgment." Professor Johnston curtly disposes of the Federal division commanders Keyes, Sherman, Porter, Hunter, Franklin, Heintzelman, Miles and Tyler, as follows: ". . . of the generals only Sherman was destined to rise above mediocrity." Most critics, we think, would hardly put Porter and Keyes in the merely mediocre class. However, this is a matter of judgment, and frankness of statement is always engaging.

The reader who is interested in military history will enjoy this book. The straight-away style, the evident desire to be accurate, the absence of favoritism, the completeness of detail—but not of swamping detail, unite to make a book that one puts down with a "well done."

North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.
D. H. HILL.

THOMAS RITCHIE, A STUDY IN VIRGINIA POLITICS. By Charles Henry Ambler. Richmond: Bell Book and Stationery Company, 1913,—xvi, 303 pp.

A few years since, Professor Ambler in his *Sectionalism in Virginia* made a most important contribution to the history of the "Old Dominion." In that work social and economic influences predominated. His study of Ritchie is a work of equal value in which political currents are as strongly emphasized. From the time Ritchie entered public life in 1804 until 1851 he was an editor, all those years, except six, directing the policy of the *Richmond Enquirer*. Under his control that paper became a power in national as well as local politics. In fact the larger part of Mr. Ambler's book treats of Ritchie's attitude toward national rather than local politics. For in-

stance, it is impossible to draw any conclusion regarding the sections of Virginia in which the Whigs and the Democrats had their greatest strength or to trace the course of purely local issues. For these matters one must revert to the previous work, *Sectionalism in Virginia*.

The purpose in establishing the *Enquirer* was to strengthen the hearts of Jeffersonian Republicans when a reaction toward Federalism seemed imminent and the Quids threatened a schism within the dominant party. The *Enquirer* was therefore from its origin a party organ, sharing in the party patronage; and, except for a few years, such it remained while under Ritchie's control. The paper's attitude toward political questions was therefore of great significance, and is related in detail by Professor Ambler.

The crisis in Ritchie's career came with the election of Polk. It was necessary to hold together the northern and the southern wings of the democracy. For this purpose Ritchie was called to Washington to edit the *Union*, the official party organ. He failed, for in the long run there was no middle course between northern and southern policies. Moreover "Father" Ritchie's outlook on politics was that of a passing generation, that of a provincial, though gifted, son of an old plantation state; he could not grasp the trend of the new thoughts and new modes. Tired of the unending strife within the party, he retired to private life in 1851, after he had become sufficiently reconciled to his old enemy, Clay, to aid in the fight for the Compromise of 1850.

Professor Ambler concludes that Ritchie was not a practical politician, rather a man of ideas, a reformer, a liberalizer and that he often compromised and changed front because of deep loyalty to his States' rights theories. On the other hand, the reader must feel that Ritchie was not a man of abiding convictions, that he was too closely allied with federal patronage and with the local financial interests in Virginia really to own his own soul. He was the prototype of the modern editor who shapes his policy to the demands of the magnates. The author has made extensive use of manuscripts, especially those of Van Buren. The style is better than the average study in local biography.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

THE PLACE OF THE CHURCH IN EVOLUTION. By John Mason Tyler. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—xiv, 202 pp. \$1.10 net.

The author of this book is Professor of Biology in Amherst College. His two former volumes, "Growth and Education," and "Man in the Light of Evolution" indicate where his deeper interests centre. The present volume is prefaced by a quotation from the New Testament, which indicates its dominant idea—"The power of an endless life." (Heb. vii. 16.) Professor Tyler is a theistic evolutionist. He has a firm conviction that the world needs practical Christianity in order to reach the highest ends of human life.

In the opening chapter he sketches the stages of animal evolution elucidating the familiar doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Assuming that society has arisen out of the long struggle of an increasingly complex life, he points out the rise of altruism and the crude beginnings of social morality and religion. Without tracing its origin in detail, personality is assumed as the chief fact about man. He is immensely superior to the brute creation, particularly, in his power to determine his own ends. The more distant the end and the wider its scope, the greater the personality. Moral and religious truth determine the highest ends. Righteousness and love are indispensable to the highest and fullest form of life; hence, they are chief ends of personality. These qualities determine the fitness to live. The struggle for existence issues in the struggle for the right kind of life. "The aim of ethical evolution is to fit as many as possible to survive."

Professor Tyler expounds his conception of Christianity by a study of Christ, whom he calls the Master. The following quotation indicates an important part of this conception: "He depended for his success on the contagion of personality, the great fact, element and power in all human progress. His creed was a firm faith in God, the father of all, who does not wait for men to seek Him, but goes out in search of them. He believed in an endless, unlimited life in man; in a kingdom of God and of heaven here and now, in which the children of God shall live in brotherly love and mutual service. In all these aspects and beliefs his life summed up and focused all

the forces and tendencies of the great undercurrents of evolution which have raised man to his present position, and which will bear him on from glory to glory."

The church is the natural and inevitable outcome of the religious forces summed up in the person and work of Christ. The church is the social organism charged with the function of spreading the truth of Christ and communicating the uplifting power of His religion to the world. "The divine life is in the world, and is building up a body through which it gradually can express itself more and more completely. The body is the Church." Creeds are necessary but need to be revised. The church has had to answer questions for two thousand years and has done so according to the light of each age. Systems are not final but the central facts are the real foundation, and not some of the attempts to explain them. The church stimulates and feeds the higher life. Everybody who desires to do the will of God should be in the church.

This book is not a formal treatise. Logical continuity is not always evident. But it is the effort of a scientist deeply interested in helping men to lay hold upon the spiritual life. It is marked by sincerity, hopefulness and sympathy for the problems and needs of the day.

FRANKLIN N. PARKER.

THE BALKAN WARS, 1912-1913. By Jacob Gould Schurman. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1914,—146 pp. \$1.00 net.

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CAUSES AND CONDUCT OF THE BALKAN WARS. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Washington, 1914,—vii, 417 pp. 8 maps and 51 illustrations.

President Schurman of Cornell was Minister at Athens during the Balkan Wars. Upon his return to the United States he delivered the Stafford Little Lectures for 1914 at Princeton on the subjects "Turkey and the Balkan States" and "The War Between the Allies." These lectures are now published in a well printed little volume which affords a concise and lucid statement of the causes and results of the Balkan Wars. President Schurman's opinion favors the cause of Greece, Servia, and Montenegro as against Bulgaria in the second war.

But in the outcome "none of the belligerents showed any mercy on Bulgaria. War is a game of ruthless self-interest. It was Bulgaria who appealed to arms and she now had to pay the penalty. Her losses enriched all her neighbors."

From the exalted view point of the circle of prime ministers and diplomats, Dr. Schurman is able to throw much light upon the conflicting aims and policies of the nations involved in the Balkan struggle. In suave and well turned phrases he incidentally pays high compliment to royal and other distinguished personages he met. But the lectures give little hint of the welter of pillage and outrage and murder that characterized the campaigns. War in the Balkans was indeed ruthless, and it left stains black enough to dim the luster of the successful generalship of even so valiant a soldier and fortunate a prince as King Constantine.

To know what the wars meant to the inhabitants of harried Macedonia one should read in addition to Dr. Schurman's able lectures the report of the International Commission sent to the Balkan states by the Carnegie Peace Endowment. The disclosures here made and supported by strong evidence show that neither Greece, Servia, nor Bulgaria conducted the wars as civilized peoples. Violation of women, murder of prisoners and civilians, mutilation and torture, plunder and burning of villages, were apparently common incidents especially of the second war, and made Macedonia and other contested territory a veritable hell on earth. The report leaves the impression that Bulgaria was, in this respect, less grievously at fault than the others. However that may be, the difference in guilt was one of degree only. The tremendous economic losses of the war are impressively presented. Excellent maps accompany the report and the many illustrations of destruction of life and property make a powerful impression on the reader's mind. This is one of the most effective peace documents ever published.

W. H. G.

THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL INTERNAL TAX HISTORY FROM 1861 TO 1871. By Harry Edwin Smith. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—xix 357 pp. \$1.50 net.

Dr. Smith's study of the federal internal taxes of the Civil

War period makes a very timely appearance in these days of new internal taxation due to the unfavorable effect upon the customs revenues of the European war. He gives consideration to the direct tax, the income tax, the inheritance tax, taxes on gross receipts and on banks, stamp taxes, licenses or special taxes, taxes on liquors, taxes on manufactures, and miscellaneous internal taxes. All of the chapters are supported by an abundance of references to original sources. An appendix contains twenty-nine tables showing the provisions of various tax laws and giving statistics of revenues produced. This is followed by nine pages of bibliography.

There is much information in this volume which ought to be of service to the committees of Congress now framing internal tax legislation. Certainly all students of public finance will feel indebted to Dr. Smith for this able presentation of the forms and results of the internal taxation brought about by the Civil War. He has succeeded in making his chapters interesting as well as informing. Occasionally slight lapses of statement are to be found. For instance, on page 162 Commissioner Rollins is given as one of the officials who praised the stamps duties highly. On page 156 he is represented as criticizing the stamp tax "rather severely." Both statements are based on the same paragraph from one of his reports, but on page 162 Dr. Smith gives the praise without its context of criticism. Readers will be pleased to note that the volume was awarded a prize of one thousand dollars offered by Messrs. Hart, Schaffner and Marx for the encouragement of the study of economic subjects.

W. H. G.

A GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH. By A. T. Robertson. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1914,—xl, 1360 pp. \$5.00 net.

A new era in the study of New Testament Greek began a few years ago with the discovery of non-literary papyri in the rubbish-heaps of Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum. It had previously been the custom to regard the language of the New Testament as Semitic or biblical Greek, a language so full of Hebrew conceptions and forms of expression as to differentiate

it from other Greek and give it an isolated position ; but Adolf Deissmann disproved this by showing that the non-literary papyri contained many forms and constructions like those in the New Testament, and that New Testament Greek was therefore in the main the same as the colloquial speech of the common people of Palestine, the vernacular of simple and unlearned men. The Greek they spoke is known as the Koiné or common dialect, for all the dialects of Greece had been fused into one as a result of Alexander's conquest of the world and the consequent spread of Greek throughout all lands as a world-language. The New Testament was written in the vernacular, not the literary, Koiné, which was developed out of the vernacular Attic and from which in turn is descended after further development the colloquial language of modern Greece. There is therefore a continuous stream of development for about 3,000 years from the time of Homer to the present, and not far from the middle of the course stands New Testament Greek.

To Winer, whose *Grammar* of nearly a century ago was for many decades the chief reliance of scholars, the results of modern discovery were unknown, though they were anticipated, strange to say, by his translator Masson in 1859. In recent years very valuable helps for New Testament study have appeared ; of these Blass's *Grammar*, J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena*, and Thumb's books on *Hellenistic Greek* and the *Modern Greek Vernacular* deserve special mention. Professor A. T. Robertson, the author of a dozen books on the New Testament, has *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, that has been translated into Italian, German, Dutch, and French. A more extensive grammar designed for advanced students—the work now under consideration—grew out of an effort to revise Winer. It is the fruit of twelve years' toil. Its abridged bibliography of more than 600 titles, these being the books most often referred to, is an indication of the immense amount of labor expended in the production of the work. It is extremely useful because the author is acquainted with most of the literature on his subject, and from this large fund of information endeavors to give a full and complete discussion of every topic. Few books have escaped his no-

tice. He leans most heavily on Brugmann, Gildersleeve, Delbrück, J. H. Moulton, Blass, and Thumb, and in general it is the best authorities on a subject that he cites, though sometimes he does not distinguish between good books and those of less merit. Quotations from modern authorities abound. His attempt to make a systematic and complete classification of phenomena under each heading causes frequent repetitions and contributes to a diffuseness that is in marked contrast to the condensation of Blass's *Grammar*.

Many things in this book call forth comment and criticism. A few of those that were noticed by the reviewer in a hasty glance through parts of the volume will be mentioned. Zenas, the short form of Zenodorus (page 172), is not a compound any more than *Reddy* for *Red-head* is in English. The nominative case is *not* used with a preposition (adverb) in the sense in which the other cases mentioned in the same paragraph on p. 450 are. Professor Robertson is wrong (p. 465) when he speaks of the vocative having the article. It is the nominative. The nominative stands in apposition with a vocative expressed or with *You* understood, and since these words are definite, the appositive nominative takes the definite article. The ancients noticed that the vocative had no article. Again, Robertson clings so tenaciously to the fact that the infinitive was originally a substantive, that he will not permit it to have a subject in the accusative, even after it has been verbalized, although he does allow it other verbal functions. Accordingly he translates Luke 24, 23, Acts 14, 19, and 1 Tim. 2, 8, "They affirm living as to him; considering having died or death as to him; and wish praying as to the men," thus treating the accusative as an accusative of specification. The usual explanation of the case makes it pass gradually from the object of the governing verb to the subject of the infinitive, whose verbal force demands a subject. In this connection (p. 1040) Robertson allows himself to say that the genitive infinitive in Luke 17,1 is in the nominative case.

It is the context, not the case, that shows that the attendants of Paul on the Damascus road heard only the sound but did not understand the spoken words. Even in classic times

the distinction between the accusative and genitive after verbs of hearing broke down, especially with the word *voice* and kindred words. Naturally then it is not to be expected in the New Testament, and Robertson's first contention on page 506 is correct. But he changes his position in order to support the old view that the accusative denotes intellectual hearing and the genitive mere sense-perception in the story of Paul's conversion. Yet Acts 22,7 in this very narrative contradicts the theory, and so he changes front once more in the same paragraph.

Professor Robertson speaks of "punctiliar" or point-action in opposition to durative or linear action. Some of the 90 pages devoted to the tenses might have been spared if sufficient emphasis had been laid on the fundamental fact that the duration is in the mind of the speaker or writer, not in the action itself. He says further that the present imperative is sometimes aoristic, "punctiliar." Now the present besides meaning "Do not continue to do" means also "Continue not to do," that is, "Refrain from doing," and this is not the same as an absolute prohibition. Cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §415.

Professor Robertson speaks of "punctiliar" or point-discussion of conditional sentences. The so-called "past general" condition of classic Greek he calls a mixed condition, for he will recognize no difference between particular and general suppositions, and does not know that each has a distinct form and construction in the class of logical conditions. He makes war on the particle *an* in the conclusion of unreal suppositions, saying that "it is not essential" and that "no principle is involved in it, simply custom." Naturally then he finds it "difficult" to distinguish between logical and unreal conditions. Curiously enough he omits the particle *an* from the example of an unreal supposition (Luke 7,39) which he quotes as typical.

Attention must be called to the fact that the quotation from Professor Gildersleeve on page 380 pertains to Homeric studies and not to syntax. No one who knows would accuse the great American Hellenist of being "carried about by every wind of [syntactical] doctrine."

CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

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