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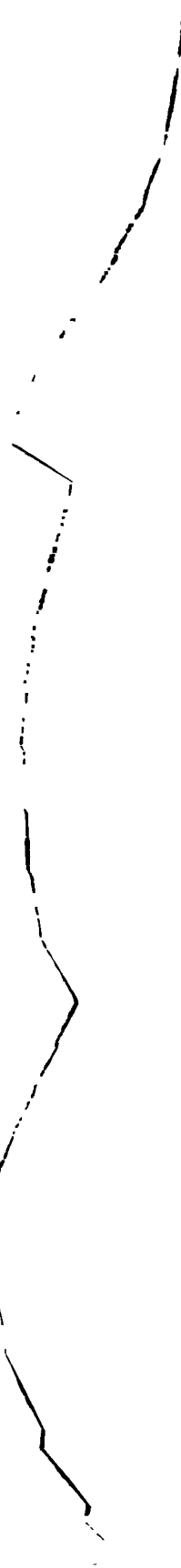
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THE
South Atlantic Quarterly.

EDWIN MIMS,
WILLIAM H. GLASSON, } EDITORS.

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JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1905.

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Volume IV. JANUARY, 1905. Number 1.

The
South Atlantic Quarterly.

Southern Public Opinion*

BY WILLIAM PRESTON FEW,

Professor of English and Dean of Trinity College

By public opinion I mean the conscious and unconscious thinking of men about duty and conduct and the embodiment of this thinking in prevalent ideals of life in such a way as to shape the collective and individual character of a whole people. To be effective for good this public opinion must be intelligent, fearless, and free. We Southerners are particularly sensitive to local and—though we are not apt to admit it—to outside public sentiment, and it is therefore important for us to enquire into our relations to our own Southern public opinion.

As Southerners we ought to be proud of our people as well as proud of our common country. I believe that the mighty founders and builders of this republic were largely Southern men. George Washington, himself our greatest American, was also our greatest Southerner, and while his great gifts of mind and character were a part of his inheritance from our common English race, the peculiar type of the man was due to his membership in a Southern community and was characteristic of the best in Southern life. Jefferson, another Southerner, was the author of the Declaration of Independence; and Madison was the father of the Constitution; while Marshall left an enduring stamp upon the federal judiciary.

Why is it that a civilization which has produced such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, and Lee is now without commanding leaders of national reputation; without constructive statesmen on a large scale; without ancient and

*One of three addresses recently given before the Trinity College Association of Charlotte, N. C., on the subject of Southern Progress and some of the ways to advance it.

famous institutions of learning; without literary journals and magazines of high merit and standing; without well established publishing houses; without artists and writers; without so many of the good things of life that make civilizations strong and great and beautiful? To these questions I know no satisfactory answer. But to ignore facts that any one may observe from the car windows in passing from here to New York is not patriotic. Our patriotic duty is to look the facts squarely in the face, and see if there may not be a way out of this condition of things and into a better order of life for our people.

It is sometimes asserted that there is no healthy public opinion here in the South; that, in fact, the minds of men are not free. Of course strong men here are independent and fearless as of their very natures they must forever be. We have freedom of mind. I believe we have more of it today than we have had in seventy-five years; but we still need more of it, and I believe we are going to have more of it than we have now. We have today some independent and fearless newspapers in the South that dare to speak out at any cost. We have leaders of public opinion—men and women—editors, teachers, preachers, business men—who are liberal and broadminded, uncompromising and unafraid. We have schools and colleges that stand like bulwarks against which the surging passions of the hour dash themselves in vain.

This vigor and independence of thought is valuable because through it better ideas pass into the community and improvement becomes possible; but it is most valuable as an example and object lesson. As a people we have been exceedingly conservative in our thinking and too sensitive to criticism, which, wherever it exists in healthy condition, is apt to stimulate the minds of men and set them in the way to improvement. This sensitiveness to criticism has been developed mainly by our peculiar conditions. For half a century we were defending the institution of slavery, which was being condemned by the whole civilized world; and now for almost another half century we have had to deal with conditions and problems just as little understood by the rest of the country. Being thus for so long on the defensive, we have been too much shut in to ourselves and have lived apart from the general movement of contemporary life, cut off from the liberalizing and nationalizing tendencies that have been so strong for a

hundred years; and there has thus been developed in us as a people a dogged determination to defend ourselves and a sensitiveness to criticism, especially criticism from the outside. This has produced a hampered and timid cast of mind; and the result has been a serious lack of robust thought. This manifests itself in many forms of Southern life. It manifests itself in Southern literature which has lacked ideas, which has, to be sure, been produced by fine-souled men, but men who were great in fineness of character rather than in gifts of virility and strength. It manifests itself in a disposition to turn away from the hard facts of the present back to the past, to the past glorified as it is in the glamour of our Southern imaginations, in exaggerated traditions, in memories that irradiate the scenes and days when life was fresh and young. It manifests itself in a disposition to accept existing conditions as ideally good and to look upon things as we might wish them to be rather than as they actually are.

There has resulted from this mental drift a lack of first hand thinking and a consequent failure to produce inventive minds, to produce men who forge onward into new ways of doing things, into the solution of industrial, political, and educational problems. We have been without inventors, without constructive statesmen, without genuine educational leaders, without men of strong conviction, of breadth, of large-mindedness, of comprehensive view. We have had a long day of small things, of men of local, narrow, sectional outlook, who do not see from a national, widesweeping standpoint, to whom truth is not free and universal, but limited and of special application. We have too long regarded ourselves as a peculiar people, living under peculiar conditions, with peculiar problems to work out in peculiar ways. In a sense we are truly a peculiar people, working out our destiny under entirely unique conditions. There is nothing else just like it in all the world. But this does not, as one might easily imply from much of our speech and action, free us from the operation of ordinary laws of nature and human progress. Whatever we sow, that must we also reap. If we abrogate our laws through mob violence we must expect lawlessness and anarchy; even for us there can be no thought except free thought; even among us ignorance cannot cure anything; even we cannot learn to see by closing our eyes; even in a peculiar civilization like ours unhealthy political conditions must bring civic inefficiency and decay.

It is high time for us to open wide our eyes and look about us and beyond us to what others have done. Our problem is to learn the best that has been thought and said and done elsewhere, to become familiar with the results of experiments in civilization made in other parts of the world, to find out how others have successfully done their tasks in education, in politics, and in other human concerns, and to apply these results to our own conditions. This ought not to be an effort to take over bodily their institutions or any of the peculiar features of other civilizations, but merely to learn how others have solved their problems and to get lessons for the solution of our own. To learn valuable lessons from others is the best part of wisdom, but servile imitation is an unfailing sign of weakness. Here is the supreme opportunity of the Southern newspaper, the Southern college, and Southern criticism of today, to learn from the records of the past the essentials of human progress and to bring these lessons of life to bear on the solution of our own particular problems. This does not mean that we should try to be like England or New England, but better than either. We must grow in our own way; but it is the part of wisdom to take whatever is good wherever we may find it, just as our Southern cotton mills furnished with the newest and most improved machinery are becoming the very best in the world.

This prevalent lack of first hand thinking and of courage to speak out has brought about an unfortunate scarcity of plain, common, intellectual honesty. This shows itself in many ways. It is often seen where it might be least expected, in connection with educational institutions and educational discussions. Our whole educational nomenclature has become inflated and absurd. Every teacher is a professor and every professor is a distinguished scholar. Small schools are called colleges and poorly equipped colleges are called universities. In fact, most of the stronger colleges in the Southern States call themselves universities, though few of them ought to have the name. I have read the description of a \$10,000 school building "which will be, when finished, the finest university in the South." This is an exaggerated case, but it is an illustration of the pretense seen in too many forms of Southern life. We are apt to be devoid of perspective and at times to overrate our own men and our own institutions and

our own selves. The practice of whistling to keep one's courage up or of shouting lest one be not heard may easily become a fixed habit; but however natural it may be, it is not so ennobling as to be strong without emphasis and brave without assertion. Such failure to grasp facts, such lack of perspective, such intellectual dishonesty, usually unconscious, would almost seem to shut the very doors of hope, obscuring as it does the true ends of our striving and leaving us in a bewildering confusion without a worthy goal in view. Perhaps after all is said the greatest menace to our Southern civilization is the failure on the part of those who ought to be our leaders—our schools and colleges, our newspapers and preachers—to hold up high and right standards of life. For civilizations, like men, must be judged by their ideals—the aims they set themselves—and their efforts to attain these. By these tests the character of a civilization can be determined as well as what its future achievement is to be.

We Southern people are most sensitive and least apt to be perfectly candid when we are dealing with certain subjects connected with our past and present as they are related to the negro, with all that is involved in the so-called Southern question. Here there has been too much failure to look facts squarely in the face, too much assumption that we are dealing with a peculiar problem and so need not observe great principles of right and justice. We have at times forgotten that we must do justly and love mercy, or else we shall be more injured than are those we oppress; for as Emerson says in his Boston hymn, "Forever the slave is owner and forever the victim is victor." This is a phase of the question that is not pondered as it should be. It is one of the great and inevitable wrongs that the presence here of the negro is doing the dominant race. The problem is not so much what to do to elevate the inferior race as it is to save the whites from the blighting influences of narrow-mindedness, intolerance, and injustice. Through no special fault of ours and through no fault of his own this hapless child of evil destiny has planted in the heart of our young republic what Mr. William Garrott Brown has called the ancient curse he bears. Turn where we may, we see it; go where we will, we cannot escape it. And yet I have here nothing to say directly about this so-called negro problem, because I am more and more convinced that the surest and quickest way to

settle this stupendous question is through the education of the white race, through leading the great masses of them into enlightened manhood, justice, and right.

The same conditions have produced among us just as little regard for the right in politics, in political parties, and in political methods. The necessity of preventing negro political domination has led to unfairness at the polls until there is an unhealthy political condition among us. We have argued that the end justifies the means, and have lulled ourselves in the quieting delusion that we need not reap the fruit of our sowing. However necessary wrong may sometimes seem to be, it produces its legitimate effect in the life and character of the people who perpetrate it. Before we can prosper as we should we must free ourselves from every vestige of political dishonesty and unfairness and from all attempt through abuse, through social ostracism, or through any other means, to brow-beat others into our way of thinking. We must come to vote as we think, without regard to the opinions of others and without regard to any consequences that may come to us through registering at the polls our real convictions on local and national questions.

The same disregard of actual facts and the same aloofness from the present have produced a type of religion somewhat different from the prevailing type now found elsewhere among men of English blood—a religion that is emotional, given to profession, and sometimes froward in its retention of outworn forms, rather than conservative of the simple, essential spirit of Christianity. From this kind of conservatism has come insistence upon regularity of experience and profession that has seemed to some to make religion a clog on Southern progress. Without authority to speak at all on the subject, I speak with the utmost diffidence and with the fullest recognition of all that the many generations of preachers have done and suffered here in order to keep alive among us the feeling after God and unearthly things that has saved us from materialism and flat despair, and yet the most sympathetic critic might find it in his heart to say that less emphasis could well be placed upon empty profession and upon an indefinable and often meaningless orthodoxy. Men would then be more certainly judged not by what they profess to be and believe, but by the amount of Christian service they give and

by the spirit in which they give it. This shifting of emphasis from formal profession and correctness of creed to one's actual work and the spirit in which one works would produce a more intelligent and Christian charity that would be glad to include those finest and most unselfish spirits who often in our day are spending themselves—in ways not quite the church's, but in ways that are effective—for "the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

In modern times the most effective method for the expression of public opinion is through literature—newspapers, magazines, and books. Much has been said in attempted explanation of the bareness of Southern literature. Doubtless other causes must be called to our aid in accounting for the strange, sad fact that there has been heard no commanding voice of these three silent centuries, immortalizing the story of their marvelous achievement or singing their "mystic unfathomable song." But of one cause I feel sure; there is some relation between our lack of education and our lack of literature. As a rule in the old days only men of the aristocratic class were educated and their education was inadequate and often vicious. The aristocratic class has not been the mainstay of literature anywhere in this country and it has perhaps not been the chief reliance for literature anywhere in modern times. The neglect of the poorer whites—an inevitable consequence of the institution of slavery and feudal society, and the most ruinous social and economic waste in our old civilization—made impossible the growth of a strong, intelligent middle class, which has for two hundred years been the principal dependence for literature in English speaking countries. This passive neglect of the common people easily passed into indifference to them. In such an atmosphere there prevailed an utter disregard of anything contemporary and American in literature, and in such an atmosphere there was no room for a native literature to live and grow.

An English critic has said that the essence of good criticism is the ability to praise what one dislikes, and, he might have added, the ability to speak soberly and judiciously of what one likes. Always one of the great weaknesses of a gentle, generous, and noble hearted people like the people of the South is just the inability to do these two things. We have been too apt to see

feelingly, as poor blind Gloucester says in *King Lear*, to see with our feelings, not with our eyes; to allow our sympathies, our affections, and even our prejudices to rule in our judgments, rather than reason and intellect. We have not made enough of the value of mind, of the discipline of hard and constructive thinking, and the practice of separating the operations of the intellect from those of the emotions.

Especially is this judicial point of view necessary when we approach the consideration of literature in any of its forms. Literature is too great and too universal to be permanently affected by any kind of boosting, overpraise, or mere passing sentiment. It can only finally stand on its intrinsic merit. The one honest, useful thing any critic can do for any author—or for anybody else so far as that is concerned—is to speak of him as he is; nothing extenuate nor ought set down in malice. For us of the South to do this in the case of poets like Timrod and Lanier, for example, and a novelist like Simms, is exceedingly difficult. They were all so "lovely and pleasant in their lives," made such heroic efforts against tremendous odds to lead the higher life, but were so cramped, cabbined, and confined in their surroundings and so pitiable in their lot, that we can with great difficulty look upon them in any other light than as martyrs to a lost cause. And yet they can all afford to stand on their merits. Each one holds perhaps not a high but a secure place in American literary annals. We may not place Timrod or Lanier among the few great English poets. We must not thus confuse or lower our ideals. For a high ideal of excellence is the most sacred and valuable thing to a race. We in democratic America constantly need to be reminded that excellence dwells high among the rocks and to attain it we must wear out our very souls. The man who in any of the higher fields of effort, by honest endeavor wins some measure of success, should receive the simple, sincere praise of all wise and good men. To succeed in a humble way, to hold but a small niche in the everlasting temple of fame, is worth all that even Lanier or Timrod ever suffered.

We can claim that some of our poets were endowed with the rare gift of writing beautiful verse. But I think no poets in any time ever had a less favorable opportunity to sing their songs. They were in most cases not widely educated, they had few asso-

ciations that could help them on the road they longed to travel. They had small market for their wares, they had no body of critical readers to keep them struggling for the best, they lived in a section of the United States where native literature was neglected, and in the midst of our old Southern civilization—a civilization in many ways beautiful, but entirely devoid of intellectual ideals. This old Southern civilization was so picturesque, life for the well-to-do was so sweet, rich, and beautiful that we are apt to wonder why this civilization did not produce literature. It seems to me that there are two fundamental causes that made all kinds of high intellectual attainment impossible. One was a belated survival at the South of the spirit of English feudalism. The second was the institution of slavery. These two things strengthened each other and had a baleful influence on Southern character. Feudalism had a fine side to it and it did in its day great service to the English race. But the chivalric ideals were entirely aristocratic, and too much was thought of appearances. The old sense of personal honor, for example, at its best a fine thing, might easily degenerate into a regard for reputation and little concern for character. And just as chivalry cared only for the knights and ladies, so our older civilization was almost exclusively for the benefit of the well-to-do classes, and there was no chance to build up a great middle class, the mainstay of all modern civilizations. There was not enough value placed upon man as an individual. None but favored sons of fortune had a chance in the race of life and their gaze was too much on the past. They were too well satisfied with things as they were. As men of the eighteenth century thought, so the people of the old South thought of their civilization, whatever is right. Then if it "is right" it must be let alone. With this point of view no thought is possible. All thought must be free, and to be free it must have a free hearing. But when thought must run in certain fixed conventional grooves there can be no free hearing.

Then the institution of slavery reinforced these tendencies in Southern civilization. Slavery was against the civilization of the nineteenth century, and the civilization of the nineteenth century was against slavery. We were at war with the rest of the civilized world, and we felt bound to defend ourselves. Our thinking, therefore, political, social, and religious, was not directed towards

a search after the truth which makes us free; but it was concentrated on the defense of a civil and political order of things.

These conditions made impossible a vigorous intellectual life. There was a dearth of original thought and ideas. This lack of ideas is noticeable in all of our older literary men. They were as a rule noble men, finely constituted, well endowed, but there is a lack of vigor and maturity in their productions. They promise more than they fulfill. They are greater for what they are than for what they do. Over them all might be placed a broken shaft, as Simms requested should be placed over his grave, and on the broken shaft might be carved the epitaph which he composed for himself: "Here lies one who, after a reasonably long life, distinguished chiefly by unceasing labors, has left all his better works undone." We have this feeling about them all. They left all their better works undone. They did not give a full expression of themselves. This was partly due to the unfortunate circumstances of the individual lives, and partly due to the fact that these men were a part of the old Southern civilization, where a vigorous mental life was well nigh impossible. They have no great message for us, they have no body of truth. But there are poets who are almost great and yet whose poetry has slight substance; such is Shelley or our own Poe. They were both great artists and their verse at its best has the perfection of form and the essence of beauty that is everywhere found in poetry of a high order. Poe, dowered with more of the gifts that enter into the make-up of a great poet than perhaps any other American, was, as it seems to me, saved from being one of the foremost poets of the world by just this lack of ideas and by a corresponding lack of moral earnestness and power.

While few men of the old South gave themselves to literature as a profession, many of them had leisure and bountiful provision for the future and habitual mental refinement, and as a matter of course they amused themselves with literature, the arts, and abstract science. Virginia and South Carolina especially boasted their men of learning and belle-lettres scholars, but they were learned in older English and modern literature, the classics and abstract science. These were to them little more than the refined amusement of cultivated men. Few of them followed a literary or scientific profession or interested themselves in the experi-

mental sciences or creative work in the field of literature or art. They did little, therefore, for the advancement of learning, science, literature, or art. They were masters in the law and in politics. But even in these fields as time went on and as men gave their minds more and more to the defense of our peculiar civil and political order of things, the conditions of our civilization ceased to produce great minds like Washington, Jefferson, and Marshall.

Even today it is not possible to make an extensive literary reputation in the South. Our Southern authors write for Northern publishers and a Northern public. Their reputations are made in the North and from there are reflected back to us. But we have living Southern writers of distinguished attainment and high promise, most of whom live in the North or will go there as soon as they can. I look to see their tribe rapidly increase. In epochs of activity and hopefulness literature has always flourished. I believe our changing conditions will produce unprecedented intellectual and literary activity. But after all, great literature cannot be made to order. For literature is a sort of flowering of the tree of life and it can only appear when this body of life is sound and growing. It comes to a civilization that is strong and healthy and not in the miasmatic intellectual regions where we have lived for three quarters of a century. We must purify the air; we must give truth and freedom their old ascendant place in our life; we must recognize merit wherever it appears and we must exalt worth in whomsoever it may be found; we must promote intelligence and happiness among all classes of people; we must cease to stand apart from the currents of modern life, with our local sympathies and interests; and we must hold aloft in our democratic Southern society high, national, universal standards of excellence in all human concerns. Then, and not till then, shall we have a social, civic, and spiritual climature in which real literature may take root and flourish. As intelligent and right minded men and women it will be our privilege to labor for the bringing in of that glad day. Whether our great man shall come even then is, as I believe a Frenchman once said, a secret safely locked up in the keeping of the immortal gods.

But whether these changed conditions would lead to the production of a genuine Southern literature or not, they would

certainly create a healthier public opinion and make this a better place in which for us worthily to live our human lives. Our ancestors even where they failed, failed bravely, and left us a magnificent heritage of heroism, fine self-sacrifice, and high devotion to the right as they saw it. We ourselves have fallen upon times rich in promise and full of hope. With a past like theirs and a future like ours, right thinking and patriotic Southern men ought to remain here and work here even if sometimes at considerable cost of opportunity and ambition. The happiest men have always been those who have worked under a great inspiration, and it is a happy privilege to spend oneself in the service of an undying cause in which one believes with the whole heart.

Mr. John Morley concludes his life of Gladstone with these words: "Let us rather leave off with thoughts and memories of one who was a vivid example of public duty and of private faithfulness; of a long career that with every circumstance of splendor, amid all the mire and all the poisons of the world, lighted up in practice even for those who have none of his genius and none of his power his own precept, 'Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and grovelling thing, that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny.'"

We of this generation of Southern men and women ought to feel that for us "life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and grovelling thing, that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

John M. Daniel and Some of His Contemporaries

BY OSCAR PENN FITZGERALD, LL. D.,

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South

The entrance of John M. Daniel into the editorial ranks was like turning an electric eel into a fish-pond. In his Richmond tri-weekly *Examiner* what a shaking-up he gave to their dullness and dignity! When he wrote of the opposition he dipped his pen in *aqua fortis*. He could not always resist the temptation to put into the pillory a fellow-partisan who seemed disposed to make himself ridiculous. The average free white American citizen likes this sort of thing. Many a steady-going party man stole a furtive glance at the *Examiner* to see who was the last man that had been "blistered" in its columns. The paper was neither amiable nor dull. John C. Calhoun was its tutelary political saint. The resolutions of 1798-'99 were regarded by it as the final expression of political wisdom. The echoes of Andrew Jackson were still in the air, and people were then naming many babies for that irascible and invincible warrior who was always ready for a scrap, and whose name is still a spell to rouse the faithful. Party journalism was then in its blossoming-time in this free-spoken land. "Old Father Ritchie" was at the head of the Richmond *Enquirer* wherein he expounded the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, and warmly insisted that as "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," a true disciple of State Rights must vote early and at every election. George D. Prentice was making the *Louisville Journal* the vehicle for uncomplimentary allusions to the political adversary and getting much enjoyment from the squirmings and bellowings of the baited bulls of the partisan arena. Now and then he dropped into verse, singing songs that still linger in some circles. Colonel Greene, of the *Boston Post*, was putting into his paragraphs a spiciness that made the very victims of his satire enjoy it. Gales and Seaton were making the old *Raleigh Register* an arsenal for the storage of political ammunition, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay being the interpreters of the constitution whom they followed. William W. Holden expounded strict construction theories of government and pas-

sionately exhorted for State Rights in the Raleigh *Standard*, making a record which was used afterward by Zeb Vance in a way that caused him to feel that all was vanity. Charles Napoleon Bonaparte Evans, in the little but lively Milton *Chronicle*, was poking fun at the democrats and in other ways tickling the borderers of North Carolina and Virginia with an audacity that nothing halted and a good humor that was "catching" with all sorts of readers. George W. Kendall was making the New Orleans *Picayune* as benign as a circuit-rider and as bright as a coin of that denomination fresh from the mint. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, intensely patriotic and a little ponderous, was, through John R. Thompson, telling its readers what they ought to do just then in behalf of Southern literature. Young and enthusiastic, with the optimism of inexperience and high health, Robert H. Glass, through the Lynchburg *Republican*, was winning his spurs in the advocacy of the views that in the South became more and more pronounced as the cataclysm drew nigher and still nigher until it got here in the sixties.

Just at this time in the current periodicals would appear at short intervals something in prose or verse so unlike anything else that was coming out, so weird and so exquisite in the music of its periods, that the writer, one Edgar Allan Poe, was charged with lunacy or genius by the inquisitive literary public. He was getting a hearing at least; his critics thought he would bear watching and needed rigid censorship. It was inevitable that Daniel and Poe should meet; each had something to say and said it in his own way. They regarded each other at first with lawful curiosity, then with a sort of presentiment that they were to hold relations of special friendliness toward each other and work together for the cause of liberty and letters in the South. They were a notable pair. I have described Poe elsewhere.* Daniel's features were as clear-cut as a cameo, his dark eyes lighting up his classic face, his thin lips compressed after a fashion that revealed a man who could think and who loved to have his own way. In the regular issues of his *Examiner* he badgered and buffeted the old whig congressman, John Minor Botts, in a way that was scarcely fair and yet was amusing to the average

*See Harrison's *Life and Letters of Poe*, vol. 1, p. 316.—EDITOR.

Virginian of that day of oratorical ponderosity and voluminous printed disquisition from men who felt inclined toward statesmanship and office-holding. Such men were not scarce in Virginia or other parts of the South at that time. Patriotism was never tongue-tied with the descendants of Patrick Henry and his compatriots. In California in the early days if in any mining camp there was one local politician who could make a speech at short notice, that man was apt to be a Virginian or an Irishman. The traditions of Virginia and Ireland are friendly to that sort of thing from away back. One of Daniel's associates was a notability of the Patrick Henry clan—Patrick Henry Aylette, of King William county, a man giant-like in physical dimensions, who knew some law and much politics, who wrote for the *Examiner*, who interested himself personally in Poe and Daniel, and whose animal spirits and good temper never failed. I knew two others of this same Henry family who were alike noted for their gigantic size—Capt. Nat. Henry and Squire Spottswood Henry by name. The former was a cross between Lord Chesterfield and Doctor Samuel Johnson; he was ruffed and perfumed like the one, and had a vocabulary and magnificently rolling diction like the other. After running through with a large estate, he served his fellow-citizens in the Dan river valley as a schoolmaster. Blessings on his memory! To hear him talk, and recite to him, was like taking a post-graduate course in the urbanities. His manners bore the genuine colonial stamp, and he had at some former period of his life absorbed a whole library of information suited to a country gentleman who had leisure and means. The other brother, 'Squire Spottswood Henry, was almost as fluent in speech and massive in dimensions.

Those boys of the old days who were reared in the country, who learned to ride on horseback earlier than they could remember, and could handle a fishing-pole and "tote" a gun before they could cipher as far as the single-rule-of-three, were big all over and strong all through. Longevity was the rule with them. Specialists in medical science had not invented so many diseases and their remedies at that time, and indoor athletics had not been so generally adopted as a substitute for the open air.

Daniel invented special epithets to describe the "Bison," as he called Botts, the loud-voiced and free-thinking patriot above

alluded to, and managed to make all references to him more picturesque than favorable. The Richmond *Whig* was at that time the brilliant metropolitan organ of a minority party, except that from time to time a wave of reform, so-called, would sweep over the commonwealth, astonishing both parties by a reversal of majorities, burying old party leaders and bringing new men to the front. The *Whig* was edited by John Hampden Pleasants, a paragrapher like Henry Watterson, who could run into a two-column disquisition concerning any man or question he cared for on the shortest notice. Clay and Webster still so dominated their party that the orthodoxy of the paper was measured by its agreement with the policies they stood for. Whenever a hostile head appeared, the *Examiner* was ready to hit it. The Young South, of which it was the champion, was combative and alert, not lacking in self-confidence, believing that it had found the solution of all political difficulties in the democracy that guarded minority rights with special courage and vigilance on the one hand and held fast to hereditary compromises on the other. Poe was drawn into affiliation with this element, and made the *Examiner* the channel of communication with the South just as it was awakening to literary consciousness and getting a glimpse of its possibilities in letters and state-craft all its own. Had Poe lived, who knows what might have been done by him in this field?

Blossoming-time for the editorial fraternity in this part of our country, is the phrase I have used, and it seems to me to be well chosen. Dr. Leroy M. Lee was making a militant organ of the Richmond *Christian Advocate*. He was a controversialist who used good English and believed in experimental religion as taught by the fathers of Methodism. In the *Christian Advocate and Journal* the elder Dr. Bond was demonstrating that orthodoxy was not a synonym for dullness, rallying the faithful and routing the enemy in his weekly issues. Dr. J. B. Jeter, in the *Religious Herald*, a big man who knew books and had a good opinion of the world he lived in, was giving the Baptists an organ that had breadth and depth and did not lack denominational zeal. McTycire, Deems, Wightman, Doggett, Keener, Capers, Gillespie, Myers, and Parker were coming on, the blossoming of their genius showing itself already in the journalism of the church and else-

where. What these men then wrote runs through the literature of their church like veins of gold through ledges of quartz. Some of them died early and around their names linger the pathos and the charm of the early dead, "whose eternal summer shall not fade." I do not know that Dr. John B. Edwards ever edited anything, but I do know that this marvelous declaimer was not averse to seeing his views in print over his own signature. A marvelous declaimer he was! "There are in these United States of America two great declaimers, Rufus Choate and John E. Edwards—and the greater of the twain is the preacher"—so said a well known politician from the North after hearing Edwards in the pulpit. Here was a pulpit eagle that soared and shined of a truth. The sympathetic reader will understand how it is that Edwards's name appears among those of these editors: he belonged to their period, and was a man of genius, a North Carolinian who was never spoiled by popularity and who never lost the glow that he caught as a boy converted to God in the Rockingham hills. The English Bible gave him his style and the Holy Spirit gave him the touch of power.

A Spanish Project for the Conquest of Louisiana in 1804

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While on a quest for historical materials in the archives of Spain, the writer came across a curious manuscript entitled: "Plan of an Offensive Campaign by Land and Sea against the United States of North America." Its author, Don Enrique Reynaldo Macdonnell y Gonde, Knight Commander of Palomas in the Order of Santiago, and a retired brigadier of the Spanish navy, submitted it to King Charles IV on May 8, 1804.

Aside from the characterization it gives of the United States at the time, its prophecy of what the Louisiana Purchase meant to our national development makes it an object of special interest. Nor does its horoscope of our future relations with Spain merit less attention because the menace it offered to our expansion westward received no encouragement from a ruler then under the shadow of Napoleon. The puny republic whose bounds had but recently passed the Alleghanies, seemed indeed a despicable antagonist to powerful Spain, with its vast colonial empire, save Louisiana, still intact. But the history of the nineteenth century affords a striking commentary, both on the project of the Spanish brigadier, and on the variations of relative importance among nations. It beheld the United States encourage the independence of Spain's American empire, gain for itself large portions lying on the Gulf of Mexico and stretching westward from the Louisiana territory to the Pacific, and finally seize the insular remnants of the Spanish colonial dominion in the oceans of the east and west.

The peculiar fitness of the author to offer the project is vouched for by long official experience and by his residence of nearly a year in the United States. The occasion for his project was furnished by the existing conflict between Martinez de Yrujo, the Spanish minister, and the Jefferson administration over the conduct of the United States in asserting a claim to West Florida, as a part of that Louisiana territory which France had procured from Spain on false pretenses and sold, in violation of the treaty

rights, to the United States. Only that which is fairly interesting and characteristic in the memorial, however, with due allowance for its prejudice, errors and mis-statements, will appear in the extracts and paraphrases that follow.

The author opens his thesis with a bit of historical philosophizing. He says: "There are among nations, just as among individuals, some that acquire an amount of consideration, importance and influence in excess of their real power, and no one knows precisely the reason for it. They like to mix, meddle, and decide everything as if all the rest existed only by their special favor. Were it not for the seriousness with which those possessing actual supremacy deign to treat the upstarts, one would be justified in viewing as feigned contempt the pitying condescension shown toward their turbulent restlessness. I might mention several of such nations in proof of what I have said, but I need only cite the United States of North America. This nation has a population at the utmost of little more than 5,000,000 inhabitants of all sexes and ages dispersed over an area of more than 90,000 square miles. Hardly has it left off the swaddling clothes of its early political existence when it wants to display its pride, and insolently to enter upon contests with some nation of the old continent which for every reason it ought to respect."

As to the admiration for Americans kindled in certain circles of Europe by the events of the revolution against England, it must be borne in mind that the Americans are not all philosophers like Franklin, or heroes like Washington. Franklin at least was no statesman, for he failed utterly in his mission to England, and the only military reputation Washington had before the Revolution was that picked up while very young in the luckless expedition of Admiral Vernon against Carthage on the Spanish Main (!) In reality the Americans owe their independence, not only to the secret and later avowed assistance of France and Spain, but to the lax policy of England itself. Lord Howe and his brother felt intuitively, and even regarded it as an axiom of politics, that the loss of the American colonies would be rather to the interest of England than otherwise.

The Americans are far from being Greeks and Romans, replete with all the sublime virtues presumed to inhere in republics. Inflated descriptions of them in this guise disseminated through-

out Europe have created everywhere an impression that may have political results of the highest importance. Imagination pictures the Americans as a wise, numerous, and formidable nation, provided with resources of every kind—"in a word a nation become robust, respectable, and altogether constituted as one of the first rank," when certainly they are nothing of the sort. "Let us not be surprised," remarks the author, "that, finding themselves extolled and exalted by the learned folk of Europe, the Americans have arrived at the point of persuading themselves that they are persons worthy of the highest and most exquisite consideration. Nor should we wonder at the excessive and ridiculous haughtiness of their pretensions in some of the cabinets of Europe, since all this is a natural outcome of the slight understanding they have of themselves."

As to their personal traits he says that the Americans are "inconstant and artful," bold and insolent in prosperity, meek and humble in adversity. They are not lacking, however, in personal courage. Supremely ignorant, they know absolutely nothing outside of business and farming. Their bookstores prove it, since there one finds for sale only Bibles and novels which, although quite opposite in character, are the two classes of books that are read and understood. The Americans are very boastful and great exaggerators of their own affairs, as may be seen in the descriptions and accounts published in their newspapers, which do not deserve the slightest confidence. If indeed it be customary among nations to over-estimate their own importance, among the Americans there exists a veritable craze to consider themselves really superior to all the rest of mankind.

Having characterized the Americans in this general fashion, the author avows as an excuse for the memorial the necessity to be "ever on the watch for enemies, present or prospective." He continues: "The great truths I am about to set forth I flatter myself will dissipate the exaggerated ideas with which the United States has been pictured to us, and, reducing that nation to its proper worth, will show how little it is from whatsoever standpoint viewed, whether political, military, or commercial." Proceeding then to emphasize the conflict of interests, customs, and laws, as well as the climatic differences, which prevail among the several States of the union, he mentions the clash of opinions in

congress regarding the proper system of government. This favors the Spanish cause to the same degree that it hurts the Americans. Congress is divided between two parties, the federalists and republicans, who "detest and oppose" each other to the very utmost. The former is composed "of the principal cities, the merchants, the lawyers, the doctors and the other wealthy folk whom they call gentlemen." The federalists wish to levy imposts so as to have a navy, an army, and a diplomatic corps, to participate in the political affairs of the European cabinets, and "to affect all the ostentation of a great and formidable nation." The republicans, on the other hand, are made up of farmers and backwoodsmen. They wish to live quietly and peaceably, and in particular without the necessity of paying any taxes. From all these premises the author argues that the United States as then constituted would never be a "formidable Colossus."

In addition to the above disrupting tendencies he cites others arising out of differences in nationality and religion. Speaking of the religious sects alone he says: "It is really inconceivable how they envy and abominate one another. Indeed, should a foreign army enter the country it would be sure of support from the majority of its co-religionists." He thus believes that sectarianism will tend to keep the United States forever disunited.

He maintains also that the social classes have little in common. Soldiers, lawyers, merchants, farmers and the city population are jealous of one another, and act accordingly. "Law, which should harmonize, direct, and restrain all, has not the slightest influence. Nowhere is it more despised than in the United States, on account of the great facility of eluding it. Self-interest and individual passions alone govern," and since these are continually crossing there is naught surprising about the commotion they bring into the social order—a circumstance of use to a clever and sagacious enemy who, aware of these peculiarities, might know when to turn them to account.

In order to explain the apparent prosperity of the United States at the time he declares that, since it imports much more than it exports, the only reason why it has been able to exist at all is that afforded by the singular situation of Europe then in the throes of war. From this posture of affairs the United States

has derived considerable advantage by means of its carrying trade. Not only have the Americans in reality no credit with European merchants, but their devotion to commerce and their corresponding neglect of agriculture as well as of mining have made them quite poor, to say nothing of their burden of debt.

There has been an exaggerated idea, furthermore, about the value of European emigration to the United States. The immigrants are lazy fellows and beggars—as much a source of nuisance to their adopted country as to their native one. For the most part they become indentured servants, soldiers, and thieves. What valuable increase in population may be expected from such an origin? Just the same the Americans boastfully announce in their newspapers the arrival of the vagabonds, thinking thereby to prove the excellence and prosperity of a country where everybody wants to settle. “By all means ought we to thank the Americans for receiving as patricians our knaves and ragamuffins of Europe.”

Nor does the author regard the process of migration from east to west within the United States itself as conducive to any real strength. The emigrants “abandon the homes in which they were born to go, as they say, to seek quiet and fortune in the west. This phrase alone portrays forcibly the internal situation of that government so celebrated by philosophers who have seen it only as a magic lantern.” This kind of emigration, however, has certain causes which tend to continue it, and they merit the attention of the Spanish government, especially since the settlers are pushing steadily toward the banks of the Mississippi.

The Spanish officer, moreover, has a very poor opinion of the American army, as then constituted. If one may indeed call it such, he observes, the army consists of between 4,300 and 4,700 effective infantry and a small number of cavalry. The nominal strength of the military organization is 14,000, and the Federalists want to make it actually so. The troops are badly fed, clothed, and maintained. The soldiers are the “scum and refuse” of the population. The majority are either indentured servants who have run away from their masters, or they are old, broken down fellows who could not march three miles a day. To this add the fact that almost all of them are foreigners and vagabonds who care nothing about the national cause, and who

would change colors for a quarter. The officers, it is true, affect another deportment and fancy that they are English martinets. "In general," says Macdonnell, "I regard them as men of honor and courage, but extremely ignorant, whose sum total of knowledge goes no further than the discharge of barrack duties." An English officer who one day was watching the movements of some of these troops asked an American bystander: "What civil occupation have these valiant officers outside of their mock performances as military men; are they shoemakers, tailors, or tanners?" The question of course was impertinent, but, observes Macdonnell, "it shows the opinion of the very men whom the American officers have taken as models."

Besides being poorly disciplined, the troops never meet for manoeuvres. Nor is there any garrison service save that of one or two companies in a district, and then only because it is necessary to give them some place in which to stay. The people themselves despise as much as they abominate the soldiers, because they are regarded as a useless burden. It might be mentioned, however, that in addition to the regular army there is a militia serving a few months in the year, and also a kind of cavalry militia composed of wealthy people in the cities, but they are worthless for anything more than display.

No well fortified stronghold exists in the United States. The toy forts at the entrance to some harbors are useful only to fire salutes, and even the posts along the frontiers, however formidable they may seem to the savages, are more like boundary marks than real centres of hostility.

The navy of the United States consists of fourteen frigates. American boasts to the contrary, there are no ships of the line, although the fighting capacity of some of the frigates might entitle them to be called such. The Americans, furthermore, have no naval schools, but there are some sixty thousand sailors by profession in the country, and usually they are men of skill and ability. Indeed the American navy as a fighting force is worth far more than the army.

On the whole, therefore, the Spanish officer comes to the conclusion that at this time the United States was of no political consequence to Spain. It was "one of those nations suffered to exist because they do not amount to anything, and which are

not worth either the honors or the expense of diplomatic attention."

But, granted that the United States occupies such a position now, what may American progress mean to Spain hereafter? "At this point the scene changes," remarks the author, "and things take on a very different aspect." If the United States has not been able to inspire fear hitherto it is because of the small value of its products, and the difficulty of their transportation from the interior of the country. Once masters, however, of New Orleans and the Mississippi the Americans will have overcome whatever obstacles nature has placed in their way. Thus liberated they will advance boldly and swiftly along the path of prosperity and aggrandizement. With the States of the West joined presently to Louisiana, and contiguous to a freely navigable river that affords a ready transportation of their crops the Americans will bring forth from the soil wine and oil, wool and indigo, sugar, cotton, and other rich products of the warm and temperate climes. They will establish a vast commerce, and build large cities, the art and luxury, the pleasures and conveniences of which will attract people of every sort and condition. And the United States, hitherto an abode of misery and desperation, will loom up before the Spaniards a great nation replete with all the knowledge of the old powers of Europe, and by reason of local circumstances more formidable to Spain than any of these.

Now what has Spain to oppose to this mass of people resolutely pushing their way along the Mississippi? Naught but a wide stretch of hundreds of leagues without settlements, save three or four miserable frontier posts. "If we are to preserve our rich and extensive possessions," continues Macdonnell, "we must promptly remedy this political evil before it hardens and becomes incurable; we must repair it before we lose the superiority of ways and means that we now have—afterwards it will be too late."

War, therefore, is the necessary expedient to prevent the Americans from seizing the Spanish dominions in the South and West which are so well fitted to promote their schemes of elevation and prosperity. And now is the moment to make war advantageously under circumstances never likely to appear again. An immediate declaration of war upon the United States would

arouse no danger from Europe. Assuredly England would not care to see the existing commercial dependence of the Americans upon her changed into a rivalry by their permanent retention of Louisiana.

The plan of war the author proposes calls for a swift and sudden attack upon certain strategic points so as to deprive the Americans of any opportunities for aggression, subordinate their operations to those of the Spaniards, and reduce them to a state of absolute defense. Spain simply must regain possession of Louisiana which was fraudulently sold to the United States. "This we can do," he says, "by the capture of New Orleans, for thereby we can make ourselves the sole and exclusive masters of the course and mouth of the Mississippi." As the chief object of the plan this must be prosecuted with the greatest possible tenacity and determination. Georgia, and perhaps the two Carolinas, also should be conquered as pledges of a favorable treaty. At the same time such a diversion would be both useful and necessary to assure the capture of New Orleans, divide the small forces of the enemy at several points, defeat them in detail, and accomplish other purposes as important that would appear in the negotiations for peace. The success of the project will so fix the boundaries of the United States as to protect the Spanish possessions, will deprive the Americans of the means, and hence of the idea, of extension westward, and finally make them relinquish forever a policy of aggrandizement prejudicial to Spanish interests.

Descending now into the practical details of the plan, the author declares that the chief bases of operations should be St. Augustine for the army, and Havana, Porto Rico and Vera Cruz for the navy. The first efforts of the Spanish army should be directed forthwith to the capture of New Orleans, as the "jewel of the contest," and the "primary and fundamental" object of the war. The conquest of Georgia ought to be carried on at the same time from the Florida side. Eight thousand to twelve thousand men provided with light artillery and a few field pieces and some cavalry and pontoons would suffice to rout twenty thousand Americans.

Judicious use ought to be made of the Spanish population in New Madrid near the mouth of the Ohio. The post itself should

be well garrisoned and fortified. It would thus dominate the Mississippi and prevent an American force from descending that river. From this point of vantage, also, with the aid of Indian allies won over for the purpose, a most harassing petty warfare could be waged against the States of the West. Steadily advancing to mastery over the region, the Spanish forces would destroy what they could, burning and laying waste whatever might be useful to the enemy, and would impose heavy tribute "to cover expenses." The South and West would thus remain ruined and helpless for many years to come, if indeed the Spaniards ever should see fit to evacuate this part of the country." The war must be carried on inexorably and in a sanguinary fashion, laying on a heavy hand, so that by inspiring salutary terror there may follow a speedy submission, and the display of a proper respect for a mighty nation like Spain."

While the army was conquering the South and West in the United States, the Spanish navy would be ruining American commerce, blockading the coasts, and threatening more especially the Northern States which might attempt to reinforce their countrymen to the southward then striving to stem the victorious advance of the Spanish arms. Thus, if the military forces were successful, the navy would not attain less advantage by its terrible and repeated blows against the very vitality of the United States. And if the plan be carried out with the proper activity and harmonious precision, there is no doubt that the resistance of the Americans will be crushed within six months.

With this object in view, the fleet, when formed into three squadrons, should take their station in the track of the American vessels proceeding to and from the vicinity of Cape Cod, Chesapeake Bay, and Charleston, while from each of these squadrons cruisers should be detached to intercept the coastwise trade. For every cruiser thus utilized, as well as for each convoy, there ought to be one ship of the line and two frigates provided, but the three-fold arrangement will prove to be so elastic in operation as to demand a greater or a less number of ships according to circumstances. This procedure in general would not require an actual blockade of the seaports, for that means great expense, together with loss of time and energy to little purpose. Extending the system yet further, it might be well to send out cruisers

from Manila and Cavite to capture American vessels engaged in the East Indian trade.

When the Spanish cruisers can find no more prizes, when the seas have been barred to American commerce, when fear shall have driven the Americans within their ports, or better still, as soon as the Spanish army has entered Georgia, the three divisions of the navy should hurl themselves upon the coasts of the United States with boldness and intrepidity. A well armed flotilla should bombard the seaports at close range, burn both vessels and cargoes found lying within, and thereby "produce and repeat incessantly the utmost injury imaginable."

Surrounded and assailed on the east, south, and west, New Orleans lost, Georgia and possibly both of the Carolinas conquered, the three western States harried and made desolate, their commerce cut off and ruined, their seaports fired and destroyed, their coasts ravaged at every point, the Americans would soon have to yield to such overwhelming odds and sue for peace.

The conditions of peace, first of all, should close to the Americans forever the navigation of the Mississippi from the Ohio to its mouth. A new boundary line extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi must be drawn between the possessions of his Catholic Majesty and those of the United States. It should begin at the river Altamaha in Georgia and continue northward by this stream, and that called the Oconee, as far as the foot of the mountains of the same name. Here it should turn westward to the bend of the river Tennessee at the Creeks' Crossing Place (near Gunter'sville, Alabama.) Thence the line should go up this river as far as the Ohio, and follow the latter stream westward to its confluence with the Mississippi. His Catholic Majesty, also, should reserve the right to have this boundary line fixed at his own convenience, and thereby insure the precise fulfilment of the conditions in general.

The Americans are to be forbidden to trade with any Spanish province south of Louisiana and Florida; but Spain might allow the whale fishery to be carried on, provided that like concessions as to the cod fishery be granted by the United States to Spain. Such restrictions, at any rate, will free the Spanish colonies from the pernicious effects of smuggling.

With the fulfilment of these conditions the primary objects of

the war will be attained. The loss of all territory south of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi will give to the existing political system in the United States a direction less hurtful to Spanish interests. The closing and barring of the lower Mississippi and the material decrease in territory will deprive the United States forever of the possibility of future aggrandizement. "We shall put the Americans back in their primitive and natural state of poverty, in which," declares Macdonnell, "they can never give us the slightest concern." In his opinion, also, there was a strong probability that the western States of the American Union, influenced by their divergence from those on the Atlantic seaboard, and attracted by the commercial advantages that would be offered under the Spanish dominion, would become part of the Spanish colonial system. And finally, he asserts that these terms would turn solidly and directly against the United States the very arms that nation is forging against Spanish power in North America.

A fitting, though unconscious, response to the project of the Spanish naval officer of 1804 is furnished by Don Joaquin Sanchez de Toca, a former Minister of Marine, in his work "The Naval Power of Spain," published in 1898, shortly after the prophesied war with the United States had at last taken place. Speaking of the results of the war, the Spanish Minister observes: "In a single onset with a success and at a smallness of cost, surpassing the utmost that hope could conceive, the Americans have realized their programme of expansion. . . . The most complete personification of Spain at this moment would be the Sigmund in Calderon's *Life is a Dream* returning to his cave, there to pass in chains the night of misery and poverty. . . . Of all her splendors and hallucinations Spain has no more than the ray of tender memory left to nurture in her spirit the vision of America as once she beheld it."

The Strength of Our Fathers

BY JOHN CARLISLE KILGO, D. D.,

President of Trinity College

The world at the beginning of the twentieth century is vastly different from what it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These last hundred years have been years of progressive revolutions which have changed nearly all our ideals, resources, and conditions of life. The changes which have been wrought show that a mighty race of people have been at work in the earth who have crowded into a single century more startling changes than were worked out within a thousand previous years. What is more startling is the historical fact that these changes are chiefly due to that generation of men who were born during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a generation of men who, judged by the qualities of their personalities and by their deeds, must be regarded the mightiest generation yet born into the world. Nor is this superlative estimate the judgement of an over-zealous prejudice, but it is a deliberate conclusion from the facts of history.

In no other quarter of the globe have this generation of men so fully proved their right to the most eminent rank as in this American republic. By the force of necessity and the wealth of opportunity they have had their powers called forth to the highest degree and the things they have done bear unquestionable witness to the heroic qualities of their character and the wisdom by which their notable energy has been directed at all times. When Washington retired from the presidency of the nation, he left a government in a wilderness and a society in confusion. Thirteen States lying along the Atlantic slope had set up house-keeping for themselves. Though there was a lack of all the equipments necessary for such an enterprise, yet an enthusiastic faith in themselves seemed to offset every deficiency. Less than six million inhabitants of a new nation were confronted with the enormous task of opening highways through dense and wide forests thus putting the scattered settlements into communication with each other; of overcoming a roaming spirit which disturbed

society; of fixing property rights and permanent abiding places; of developing home ties and arranging to meet the tasks of family life; of bringing into a harmonious order a widely scattered population in which there was no ruling sense of kinship; of fighting through a wild confusion of religious creeds to an established order of religious life; of organizing industry and commerce with centres of trade and breaking up a mass of people into the lines of work for which each seemed best fitted; of fixing standards of conduct in all matters which concerned society; of unravelling the problems of government which the heroes of the revolution bequeathed to them; of building a solid government out of many disjointed parts; of interpreting the deepest principles of philosophy and history and applying them to the new and strange condition of a nation struggling out of its infancy.

Besides these difficult problems it is well to recall that when Robert E. Lee, Abraham Lincoln, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow were born there existed little of the vast and marvellous machinery upon which the world now depends for the comforts and luxuries of modern life. Howe had not invented the first sewing machine, Morse had not produced his system of telegraphy, Stephenson had not built his first locomotive, Whitney's cotton gin had not come into general use, and the study of chemistry and physics was in its crudest infancy. At that time there was no percussion cap, friction match, postage stamp, envelope, and it cost in America seventeen cents to send a letter three hundred miles, while it required fourteen pence in England to carry a letter a like distance. There were no steel pointed plows, and grain crops were everywhere harvested with hand sickles. It was an age of homespun when every man was expected to produce the things of which he had need and these things were produced after the simplest manner. One looks back with a large degree of pity on the childhood of the generation to which Lee and Jackson, Lincoln and Grant, Vanderbilt and Stewart, Emerson and Poe, Tennyson and Darwin, Gladstone and Bismarck belonged, and yet out of that scant age came the men who have done the wonderful things that make this the world's wonderful period.

While all the great inventors and inventions cannot be credited to this generation of men, yet to them belongs the high distinction of giving every invention a commercial worth and value and

of reforming their ideas and organizations of all kind to the new order of things which came with every new machine. The application of steam to transportation upset the entire social and industrial order and brought into intense activity an ever increasing number and quality of influences which strained individual life and character at every point. Every side of life had to undergo vast changes, new methods had to be thought out and put into operation, the individual had to adjust himself to an ever widening sphere of opportunities and responsibilities, and men had to learn the art of contending with intenser competitions. This is but a single instance of what was going on in every direction from the beginning of the third decade in the nineteenth century. The cotton gin, the telegraph, the growth of industry, and the rapid multiplication of all kinds of machinery were forcing the most startling revolutions the world had even seen. The old world was being put out of business. What men had always prized as ideas and instruments of work were being thrown into the junk heap. The currents of progress were not flowing in smooth and quiet peacefulness, but they had reached a sudden declivity and were dashing forward with a mad rush. Men had to bring forward all their strength or be dashed to pieces on some hidden rock. It was a time of waking. A new era was being born. No ordinary men could have seized and mastered the marvellous situation, but these men rose like mighty giants and threw themselves with masterly wisdom and energy into the rapid changes and brought into being an order that startles the imagination. They built railroads from one city to another, they lengthened these highways of traffic till they had tied every city into one neighborhood, and then with a commercial daring and a prophetic courage they struck out into the wilderness to bind together the Atlantic and the Pacific seas, a feat which they accomplished in the face of all sorts of hindrances. They laid the foundation of a commerce which has belted this continent with railroads, telegraph wires, and telephone lines and brought Washington nearer to San Francisco than to New York a century ago. They not only constructed, they organized, and what promised a fatal confusion was turned into a blessed comfort. They were the fathers of America's modern commerce and industry and what their sons are doing is but the development of their schemes to a fuller perfection.

It is true that a religious faith and a religious impulse was at the bottom of much of the immigration to this continent. The Puritans, the Huguenots, and the Quakers gave a religious setting to the colonial period, but after all these religious influences have been extravagantly appraised it is still true that they were of a local rather than of a general nature. Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, and various other leaders of the revolution were not in sympathy with orthodox religion, nor was their influence given to the establishment of it in the young nation which they had wrought with untiring energy to bring forth. The fact that the church spire rises in every city and hamlet and that the rural regions of this continent from sea to sea are dotted with meeting-houses is not to be credited to the religious disposition and enthusiasm of the colonial period. This is the work of another generation. That host of mighty men who went forth as evangelists, going from city to city and from settlement to settlement, impressed the youth and childhood of the first quarter of the nineteenth century with the dignity and supreme importance of faith in God and of a life of morality sanctioned by the Christian religion. The sons of the men who fought in the revolution were the church builders of America. In them was built the faith that has saved this nation from the threatenings of infidelity. In no other sense were they greater breakers of the world's record than they were in their religious enterprises. Behind the promulgation of their religious belief there was no State authority or State treasury. They had to rely upon the sincerity of their faith and the loyalty of their personal benevolence. And these proved to be adequate to the task. The churches of America are monuments which perpetually witness to the deep quality, the supreme integrity, and the noble energy of the faith they had in holy things.

Being the sons of a generation of pioneers whose whole attention was absorbed with the thought of securing food and raiment and sheltering themselves against weather and wild beasts, little attention was given to what academic men call education. While there was a small number of educated men in this marvelous generation, yet as a generation they cannot be spoken of as educated people. In spite of this they became the founders of schools and colleges. They applied the idea of democracy to

higher education. More than two-thirds of the American colleges and universities were founded between 1835 and 1880, and the majority of these were founded after 1850. One of the notable distinctions about the American college and university is that they are the creations of a growing and tireless benevolence. Both the spirit and the fortunes out of which have come the life and wealth of these institutions of learning are to be credited to the character and energy of these men. They gave themselves to all the problems of education. Not having inherited an educational sentiment, they set themselves to the difficult task of creating one. The pulpit took the lead and heroically wrought to awaken in all men an appreciation of learning. They did not limit their efforts to the higher and wealthier classes, but they preached education to all men as the divine right which none could deny and all should esteem. The sons of common men were sent to colleges and society was changed from the coarseness of natural democratic equality to the refinement of democratic culture. Men from the humblest walks marched up to the highest seats of authority and dignity and established the rights of the individual to a just consideration of his merits. Besides, this generation produced that noble class of students and scholars whose persistent labors have been rewarded in the amazing growth of scientific study and the invention of instruments which have given them access to every region of nature. They have found for mankind a new universe and have set it in order before men, so that no man may be a stranger in any quarter of creation. It is not within human calculation to set anything like an adequate appraisal on the value of the work of such men as Darwin, Faraday, Gray, and Agassiz, who have changed the mysteries of nature into a familiar book, easily read by all. And as the sciences have been advanced, literatures, philosophy, and all the learned professions have also developed, thus making life exceedingly abundant by making truth exceedingly familiar. One stands confused before the conception of the task which this single generation was inspired to take up and the immeasurable things they have brought to pass.

Perhaps the most original project in education which these men launched was the higher education of women. The oldest chartered college for women is not yet seventy-five years old and the

large majority of them are exceedingly young. Just why the right of woman to superior culture was delayed to such a recent period is one of the strange things connected with the evolution of society. Not only in matters of education, but in all other matters woman has been grudgingly granted due consideration. To the generation of men under discussion belongs the distinct and signal honor of redeeming her from grinding traditions and stupid customs. The delicate sentiments of esteem which, in modern thought, insure her protection from cruel exposure were born in the nineteenth century, and their growth has been marked by granting her unquestioned rights to rise to the highest stage of intelligence. All of this has come about by a revolution of opinion no less notable than the revolution that brought into being this republic, and it reveals a courage, prophetic faith, and zeal which give its promoters an unparalleled place in history.

In matters of civic and social policies this generation of men wrought reforms and revolutions more startling in their nature and far-reaching in their issues than any which have appeared at any past period. Every fundamental principle upon which this republic was founded, every theory which it was expected to test and establish, and every contingency that could grow out of so vast an experiment fell to this generation to be applied; and on them was to come the consequences of all possible blunders. Their fathers handed down to them an unproven theory of government and left them to the mighty task of settling its complicated issues. These issues were not long in pushing themselves in gravest form to the front and when they could not be satisfactorily settled in the forum, these men went forth to settle them in that tribunal of final appeal whose verdicts are written in blood. The national constitution was signed in Philadelphia, it was sealed at Gettysburg and Appomattox. The issue between Hamilton and Jefferson was brought to an end by Lee and Grant. And with the fall of the confederate government fell the last tinge of feudalism, thus inaugurating the full fledged era of modern society upon the basis of a genuine democracy. All the consequences of the civil war, all the real issues that were crowded into that one supreme struggle, were not known to those who wrought in the frightful strife, yet this does not lessen the significance of them.

But the one social revolution which will always glorify the humane spirit of this generation was the complete abolition of slavery from the face of the earth. It was an institution which had upon it the seal of antiquity and the sanction of royal custom. Not alone did traditions approve it, but economic interests suggested the wisdom of it, while religious sentiment made strong defense of it. England took the step in 1833, at the time the question had entered into the debates of the American congress, a discussion that persisted with growing intensity, till the storm of indignation at the thought of trading in humanity burst with full fury into the final conflict which put slavery at an end. Perhaps this present generation is too near to the bitter strife rightly to judge the true meaning of it, but there will come a time when it will be set down to the glory of a humanitarianism that grew up in this land during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

This is but an outline of some of the noteworthy things which were wrought by the generation of men under discussion. No attempt has been made to enter into details, or to furnish a catalogue of the prominent leaders in all these changes and advances. Historians have fallen into the habit of writing history after the method suggested by Thomas Carlyle, through the biography of a few notable characters; but no genius can work out lasting results without having about him a race of men who are in sympathy with his projects. So whatever may be said of the names that stand at the head of all these movements their real success must be credited to that generation who gave themselves to the tasks which their prophets outlined.

The personal marks and characteristics of the generation of men born during the first quarter of the nineteenth century are as striking and distinct as their deeds and achievements are remarkable. Physically they were heavy-set men, having broad and deep chests, sturdy frames, large bones and joints, faces which indicated strength, and eyes which had in them a wonderful power of penetration. These men stood erect and firm, like a stately monument resting upon a sure foundation. They moved with regularity of step, but never with any look of arrogance. There was in their general deportment a high degree of the valuation of physical strength and rugged manhood.

By the strongest tokens it was easily evident that they were men of brains as well as men of brawn. Not only were there notable marks of intellect in such towering men as Lincoln, Lee, Toombs, Lowell, and Beecher, but the average man of the farm had these same prominent marks. His lack of academic training did not hide the fact of his natural powers of mind, powers which proved themselves equal to difficult problems and the analysis of a proposition which led to a sound conclusion.

But the chief quality which gave them distinctiveness, the quality which seemed to be the center of all their powers and from which all their thinking took its beginning, was a moral quality. With them right and wrong were the supreme things to be decided in every question of public or private duty. The age of ease and the doctrine of compromise had not come into the world to soften their sense of duty and lead them to take the line of least resistance. It was this quality that gave a seriousness to their life, even making it appear at times to be a sombre life. "A man's word is his bond" was not simply a sound maxim often quoted: it was a principle that shaped all commercial dealings and made unnecessary the large and complex machinery with which the law in these days seeks to bolster a decaying sense of personal honor in matters of business contracts. This quality entered into the selection of all their literary themes and into the treatment of them. The novels of Scott, Dickens, and Eliot; the poems of Tennyson, Browning, Whittier, and Lowell; the essays of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Emerson; the current literature, the songs, the books for children, the text-books of the school, public lectures, in short everything had to be obedient to moral truth and moral culture. One compares the frivolous, the nonsensical, the silly, the morally debilitating fiction of the modern novelist only to become conscious of a literary apostacy that is as shameful as it is harmful. The moonshine efforts at writing essays in these last times make a painful contrast with the stately and serious utterances of those men whose constant aim was to enlighten the mind with moral truth and direct the conscience in the ways of rectitude. And a glance at the text-books about which latter day pedagogues rave and out of which children are taught, shows how far the moral has given away to maudlin attempts at literary acquirements. Certainly, "The Ships That

Pass in the Night" have made a horrible voyage between "Adam Bede" and "The One Woman." Perhaps the minds of this generation of men were stored with more apt and forceful proverbs than those of any other generation since the days of Solomon; and these proverbs served not only as rules of action but as food to strengthen character. It would be easy to cite many evidences of a lack of moral culture of the finer sort, but such incidents would have no bearing on the main contention that a moral sense was the center of the life of these men.

There was in this generation a peculiar type of dignity. It is pronounced peculiar because it was neither cultivated nor was it the sort which men of supposed position, either hereditary or acquired, feel that they must wear. It was peculiar, if in no other sense than that it was natural, and, therefore, graceful and becoming. The humbug of modern officialism trying to impress the public with lofty importance by giving studied attention to the wardrobe and tuning the voice to slow solemnity is a degenerate pretense at a mimicry of dignity which had in it a natural loftiness, a quiet force, a modest authority, and consciousness of personal responsibility which made one unwilling to approach it with a trifling and irreverent spirit. It was this quality of character that gave to every profession and public office what seems, to an age of growing realism, to be strongly tinged with superstition and stupid idolatry. Their belief in democracy did not lead them to mock the priest or to turn the temple into a play-house.

What made these men? They cannot be credited to schools, and certainly to none of the modern theories of educating and developing a race of strong men. They seem to dispute all the advanced theories of educational philosophy. They had none of the modern facilities for getting about in the world and they did not travel to any extent; they had none of the modern comforts of home life which make study pleasant and easy; they had none of the advantages of public libraries which put books within the reach of all classes in this present time; the modern magazine was unknown to them, while books of any kind were expensive luxuries. The story of Abraham Lincoln borrowing a few books which he read at night by the light of the burning pine-knots which he gathered from the woods, illustrates the common method in his

day, and it is only told of him because he became President of the nation.

In any search for an adequate explanation of their peculiar resources and marvellous growth every thing points to the fact that they were the sons of nature. They were born in a land and at a period when nature reigned in all its wild and rugged supremacy. Man had not yet built the American city; God had built the American hills and valleys and woods and rocks. Art had not taught their fathers and mothers false refinement and parental treason. It was before the day of artificial baby food, "breakfast cocoa," "Winslow Skates," building blocks, kindergartens, red express wagons, and books for mothers—written by old maids on how to rear children. The theorist on improving the race had not come into vogue; however, there was no talk of the suicide of the race. It was a time when nature was allowed to have its own way, and the nursery was not full of bottles stacked about a little pale pretense of a baby. Fathers were fathers, mothers were mothers, and babies babies; and nature was the handmaid of God commissioned to train up a sturdy race.

Nature is never fictitious; it is never frivolous. It is truth, it is fact, and it is always serious. If as Bryant says "she speaks a various language," she speaks no word of falsehood, no word of spite, no word of silly sentimentalism, no word of worthless gayety. It was in nature's lap these men spent their childhood, it was in nature's companionship they spent their youth, it was in partnership with nature they worked out their fortunes. They were on good terms with nature. They knew the woods in the early dawn when all the birds poured forth their waking songs in varied notes: they knew them when the holy stillness of the closing day hushed every voice into what seemed to be the hour of secret prayer, they knew them when the storm tore through them with howl and shriek and deafening sound. As they knew the woods so they knew the springs, the brooks, the rivers, and the open fields. They knew nothing of nature study in the laboratory where scant samples of nature had been imprisoned. They tested with axe, maul, and wedge the fibre of hickory, oak, and pine. For every flower they had a name, not the name written in the books, but a familiar name by which a close friend likes to

be called. The earth they tore open with the plow and put into it the seed which they watched and nursed through all its stages of growth till the plant came to its full fruitage. Whether they played as children, sported as youths, or labored as men, it was always with nature. They never got away from it, they never wished to get away from it.

But things have changed. Nature is not as it once was. It is not so rugged, so wild, so imperial. And what is more to be deplored, each succeeding generation has less to do with it. True there is a modern cry of "back to nature;" yet one feels that it is only the gasping cry of the pale faced city that wants an outing among the flowers in the gentlest meadows, where the little boy clad in white duck and a wide collar adorned with a red cravat, may chase the slow butterfly with his broad brim hat, and by no means soil his hands or his Sunday clothes. From such an one nature shrinks. On him is the odor of sweet soaps and fragrant powders and these intimidate nature. It cannot adjust itself to such a bundle of hot-house humanity. All this means that the stalwart habits of nature, the frank spirit of nature, and the serious admonitions of nature, are being lost in the character of men. "The play-like methods" of the nursery have taken the place of the real life of the fields, branches, woods, and hills. Childhood is spent in a false atmosphere where Mother Goose stories have taken the place of little dams and flutter mills in the spring branch; babyfairs have supplanted the chase of the rabbit over the frost covered fields; kindergartens have replaced the driving of the cows out of the pastures and minding off the calf while the milking proceeds; and the conventional ride in the baby carriage, driven by lace-capped hirelings, has displaced the bare-foot boy whose toes and bare legs showed the infallible signs of the rocks and briar patches. These are some of the changes which modern specialists in the training of children, call "the better ways of our times." But when nature had its fullest rights to talk to childhood, when it laid its heavy weights on the shoulders of youth, when it tested the might of stalwart manhood, it had a way of sending forth a race of real men.

How different the nature of which Burns was a son from the nature with which Kipling has a hearsay acquaintance. Burns had stood by the gurgling waters of the Doone, he had slept

beneath the hawthorne, he had followed the plow and been covered with the dust of the field, he had come in worn from the day's toil in the wheat field, his face was brown with the heat of the sun. One cannot restrain a sense of compassion for Dr. Henry Van Dyke who has a real ambition to get on speaking terms with nature, to be thought of as having companionship with nature, as being regarded one of nature's familiar friends. But when Mr. Van Dyke goes for a visit to nature he puts on a suit of brown duck with its belts and queer loops, he wears water-proof boots, he swings across his shoulders a fancy lunch basket in which are delicate things put up in cans, he carries a telescoped fishing rod with an attached reel and a silk line bought out of the show window on Broadway, and when he comes back, he writes a book about the woods, the streams, and the fish but tells nothing about snakes and wet feet and bruised toes and scratched hands and all the other things that give assurance that he really went a-fishing and met "good-old-time nature." If one goes back to nature he must go bare-footed, in his shirt sleeves, and acting as though he feels at home; for nature has simple ways and is afraid of those whose ways are not simple. Get an old can, fill it with worms from the earth behind the kitchen, twist a line out of cotton warp, put two or three buckshot on the end of it, knit on the hook, with a one bladed "barlow" cut a genuine cane from the canebrake, fasten on it the line and baited hook, mire down in the mud close to the water's edge, kill the snakes that are in the way, and proceed to catch fish as though you and nature were well acquainted. So they did in the days when men lived close to nature and nature breathed upon them the breath of its life.

A great generation is the offspring of a simple life. Such a life gives one easy access to real things. It does not engage the mind in fustian; it does not consume energy with useless and tiresome manners; it gives a man a chance to be truthful. The homes in which this mighty generation of men grew up were simple homes in which was lived a simple life. Visitors came without written invitations and did not announce themselves with engraved cards; but they were met with a hearty welcome and given a place in the wide circle about the wide fireplace. The themes of conversation and the manner of treating them obeyed the strictest laws of simplicity. The lad standing in the corner near the

fireplace, whose duty it was to keep the light a-going, listened in silence, and, on the following day as he walked between the plow handles, he took question after question of what he had heard on the previous night and studied them all as well as he could, in the end reaching some sort of conclusion which was all his own. Here this generation of men learned to listen, to think, and to trust their own minds. In all the world there is no better place to think undisturbed thoughts than alone in the wide field as one goes slowly after the plow.

In these times there are more schools, colleges, libraries, magazines, teachers, and machines to make life easier and faster, but do they make men stronger and truer and braver? The academic men go about talking of new theories and better ideals, but do they make men who can do things and do more of them in a better way than did the men of this wonderful generation? Is society as sincere, as pure, as healthful, as trustful as it was in the days when men were the sons of nature? The college bred man knows more of poetry, more of history, more of the ways of refinement, and he practices gentler manners, but is he as vigorous, as daring, and as unafraid of hard tasks as was his grandfather? The best proof of a workman is his work, and the best proof of a progressive age is a better race of men.

The first generation born in the nineteenth century are the grandfathers of the last generation of that century. Those of them who still remain are old men. They go about the streets and along the highways with slow and halting step, their voices tremble when they speak, their eyes are dim, and at times their memory plays them false, but there is still about them the marks of a rare manhood. They are frank, they are brave, they are serious, they are dignified; and they have the unmistakable signs of a true nobility of character. If at times there is in their words a tinge of pessimism it is not because they are unkind, but it is because the world of nature which they knew and loved has been outraged and torn asunder, and they cannot feel themselves quite at home in a new fashioned world. They pine for the days of simplicity when they had confidential fellowship with the fields and all mankind. Like nature they have grown timid and feel that they are not wanted. By and by they will all be gone, but they have left a record whose final story will not be fully told until men quit this earth.

The Italian Cotton Grower: The Negro's Problem

BY ALFRED HOLT STONE

Generally speaking, it may be asserted that the ordinary conception of the "negro problem" still remains one in which the negro constitutes in himself the problem, and offers to the white man a proposition for the latter's interminable discussion and consideration. While the negro remained the ward of the government, marked and set apart for its especial solicitude and care, possibly such a conception was in large measure justified. Small account was taken of the negro's own initiative in evolving for himself, through slow but natural processes, a normal place in the altered economy of things. The sole question seemed to be one of directing the employment of energies recently freed from the supervision of a master, and controlling the exercise of novel privileges suddenly bestowed.

But the very granting of so-called "equal rights" to the emancipated slave rendered rather anomalous the object and work of the institution designed to safeguard the freedman's interests. The very fact of declared equality of citizenship logically negated the claim of especial consideration. There is nothing illogical in the idea of a bureau of Indian affairs even today, but that for freedmen was doomed with the elevation of its wards to citizenship. Equal privileges meant equal burdens, and, soon or late, the pleasures of freedom's estate must be followed by its cares. All this but meant, in homely phrase, that the negro must "shift for himself." Yet the general realization of the full effect of the simple but inexorable logic of the situation, through force of considerations political and sentimental, was postponed many years. It seemed difficult of comprehension that this race, so old and yet so young, at last had indeed been placed upon an equal footing with all the others of the earth—equal at least in the one vital respect that it, like they, must either prove its capacity and right to live, or pay the penalty of failure.

And so by gradual process has it become recognized that the negro has ceased to be solely a problem for the white man. More

and more he has become a problem for his own consideration. Broadly speaking there are presented to him today two great branches of the problem of his life—the social and the economic. Both might well be embraced within the latter, for with its solution the other will disappear, at least as a menace to his existence. It is here that he must meet the crucial test of determining whether his economic life is so bound up within that of the country as a whole as to have become an inseparable and a necessary part thereof. And it is at this point that the American negro confronts the gravest problem of his life—that of the competition of the white man.

The question of the ability of the negro to hold his own in competition with the white man in the trades is a much discussed one, but it is not my purpose to touch upon it here. I am interested in the subject as it is presented in the broader, and to the negro masses far more important, field of agricultural competition.

In respect of its influence upon trade balances, and as a factor in our general commercial supremacy, cotton is probably the most valuable American agricultural commodity. The association of the negro with the production of this crop is so fixed in the public mind that it is as a cotton grower that his economic importance in this country is chiefly measured. Not unnaturally this association has resulted in fixing in the public mind the idea of the absolute dependence of the Southern crop upon negro labor. This idea has been fostered to an unwholesome extent in both sections of the country, and its constant emphasis is largely responsible for the ignoring of a movement destined to threaten the conceded supremacy of the negro in his oldest American field. This movement is the immigration of foreign whites to the Southern States, and to my mind it possesses more significance for the negro's future than any other economic factor that touches his life today.

There is no other section of equal area in the United States in which the negro has enjoyed so nearly an absolute monopoly of the field of manual labor as in the riparian lands of the Mississippi river and its tributaries in the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. In the various counties and parishes of this large section the proportion of negroes to whites runs from three or

four to one to more than fifteen to one. Every consideration of climate, soil, and economic condition tended to render absolute the hold of the negro agriculturist; yet right here the white man, in the person of the Italian immigrant, has proved his ability to more than meet the negro upon his most favored ground. The experiment with Italians in this section is not a large one, but the number of these people engaged in cotton growing is constantly increasing. Indeed, the matter has long since passed the experimental stage. Measured by whatever standard may be applied the Italian has demonstrated his superiority over the negro as an agriculturist. I am not now discussing the merits of the two as tenants, or weighing their respective advantages from the planter's point of view. I have reference merely to the ability of the Italian to produce more cotton on a given acreage than the negro, and to gather a greater percentage of it without outside assistance.

The cause of this superiority is not far to seek. Given equal soil and equal climatic conditions for growing cotton, and the odds are with the man who cultivates his crop best and most carefully. The Italian works more constantly than the negro, and, after one or two years' experience, cultivates more intelligently. In comparing the two it is scarcely necessary to go beyond the appearance of their respective premises and fields to gain an insight into the difference between them. The general condition of the plantation premises occupied by negroes, under whatever system of cultivation, has been an eyesore in the cotton States for more than a generation. The spectacle of broken-down fences, patchwork outhouses, half-cultivated fields, and garden spots rank with weeds, is too familiar to the traveler through the Southern States to need description here. The destructive propensity of the negro constitutes today a serious problem on many a well ordered plantation. On the property in which the writer is interested the effort to maintain the premises of the negro tenants in keeping with the general appearance of the plantation seems yearly to become a more hopeless undertaking. It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that back of all this lie the characteristics that apparently have always been a curse to the race—whether in Africa, the Southern States, or the West Indies—shiftlessness and improvidence.

On the other hand, the appearance of the Italian cotton grower's immediate surroundings, working on the same tenant system as the negro, is alone sufficient to tell the story of the difference between the ultimate end and purpose of the labor of the two. The contrast is not alone in the things that appeal to the eye; it is much more emphasized in the respective uses made of the same material and opportunities. From the garden spot which the negro allows to grow up in weeds, the Italian will supply his family from early spring until late fall, and also market enough largely to carry him through the winter. I have seen the ceilings of their houses literally covered with strings of dried butter beans, pepper, okra, and other garden products, while the walls would be hung with corn, sun-cured in the roasting ear stage. In the rear of a well-kept house would be erected a wood shed, and in it could be seen enough fire wood, sawed and ready for use, to run the family through the winter months. These people did not wait till half-frozen feet compelled attention to the question of fuel, and then tear down the fence to supply their wants. Nor would they be found drifting about near the close of each season, in an aimless effort to satisfy an unreasoned desire to "move,"—to make the next crop somewhere else.

It is always difficult to get a negro to plant and properly cultivate the outer edges of his field—the extreme ends of his rows, his ditch banks, etc. The Italian is so jealous of the use of every foot for which he pays rent that he will cultivate with a hoe places too small to be worked with a plough, and derive a revenue from spots to which a negro would not give a moment's thought. I have seen them cultivate right down to the water's edge the banks of bayous that had never before been touched by the plough. I have seen them walk through their fields and search out every skipped place in every row and carefully put in seed, to secure a perfect stand. I have seen them make more cotton per acre than the negro on the adjoining cut, gather it from two to four weeks earlier, and then put in the extra time earning money by picking in the negro's field.

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the use of his opportunities by the Italian, as contrasted with the negro's neglect of his. But the frugality and thrift of the former offer a contrast to the latter's careless, spendthrift ways no less striking

than that between the methods of cultivation of the two. Given a soil as fertile as the alluvial land to which I have referred, and people who apply the methods of the Italian to its cultivation will soon own the fields they till. And this is what they are doing—buying land and paying for it. Handicapped as they are at first, by ignorance of the language and ignorance of the cultivation of the plant they raise, still they are becoming property owners, tax-payers, and citizens.

Hitherto the Italian in this section has been numerically a negligible quantity, but the census of 1910 is likely to present him in a different light. To my mind there are few things more interesting, or fraught with larger possibilities of serious influence upon the negro's future, than this coming of the immigrant to the Southern fields. But after all, the idea itself is not new. During the unsettled Southern labor conditions following the war, which it was sought to meet with the means provided by the much abused "freedmen's statutes," a great many Southern men felt that the surest way out of the difficulty was by inducing white immigration. This might have been the outcome if the South could only have had peace after Appomattox. During the "Kansas fever" of the late seventies, in which thousands of negroes were decoyed out of the Southern States, and which resulted in the usual congressional investigation, foreign labor discussion again had a brief revival. The late Edmund Richardson, then the largest planter in the United States, arranged for the importation of Portuguese. More recently the movement has actually set in. The Italian seems to have thus far shown himself best fitted for cotton growing, but he will not have a monopoly of the field. Other races are certain to follow. In Louisiana the movement had progressed sufficiently in 1900 to constitute an important factor in taking that State out of the black column. The last census shows but two States with a negro majority—Mississippi and South Carolina.

I have referred here to a small portion of the cotton belt, one with which I am personally familiar. But the entire South is turning its attention to white immigration. It is being encouraged through the organized efforts of business associations and transportation companies, while there are well defined movements in some States toward the creation of State immigration

bureaus. The climate is here, and the soil—and the need for labor; it is a mere question of time before the story of the immigration to the West will be repeated in the South.

What is the significance of all this to the negro? To my mind here at last the white man has become the negro's problem. His problem, because the wisest leaders among his own people agree with his most sensible white advisers upon two points vital to his future in this country; that the home of the mass of the race must remain in the Southern States, and that its destiny must be worked out upon the soil. The field of the negro's activities thus becomes doubly circumscribed, and any invasion of that field by the white man must present for him a serious aspect. I would not be understood as attempting to set up a "scarehead" here. There is no danger of an inrush of foreigners buying up all the land in the South, and leaving none for the negro. Not at all. But with every encroachment by the white man upon the negro's ancient field, there follows a corresponding diminution of the latter's opportunities in that field. If the negro this year produces sixty-five per cent. of our cotton, and twenty years hence is producing but forty-five per cent., then certainly the two decades would mark for him a distinct loss of ground.

How rapid this movement may become it is of course impossible to forecast. It may be many years before the negro, as a race, will be in any wise visibly affected by it. But henceforth it can no more be ignored than can the progress of any other economic struggle between the black race and the Caucasian. The man who argues that the negro agriculturist today fills a place that cannot be wrested from him by the white man—that because he is today essential to the production of the country's greatest crop, he is therefore essential for all time—displays as little wisdom as does he who contends that the negro will some day altogether cease to be a factor of economic value in American industrial life.

President Theodore Roosevelt

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Ex-President Cleveland is reported to have said, when the democrats of the South turned against him in his second administration: "When I became president in 1884 one of the first things I did—and the thing I took greatest joy in doing—was to invite Southern men to my cabinet, that the South might again have its place around the nation's table. Now they have turned against me and accuse me of every unworthy motive and deed. I cannot understand public sentiment in the South." President Roosevelt said to an intimate friend after the Booker Washington incident: "I love the Southern men with whom I have worked or fought. One of the main points I had in mind when I became president of the United States was to do the right thing by the Southern people. I appointed white men to office who did not belong to my party, and in some few cases worthy and capable negroes. I cannot understand widespread hostility to me."

The prejudice against Mr. Cleveland has largely, though not entirely, abated. Most Southerners would say now what William L. Wilson said in 1896: "When a confederate soldier is willing to stand up and declare that General Lee sold the battle of Gettysburg for union gold, then will he be found a fitting companion for the democrat who accuses President Cleveland of dishonesty." But the prejudice against President Roosevelt—violent and bitter during the campaign and somewhat more reasonable since the election—is still strong. Even where men are supposed to be less bitter towards him, they have no adequate conception of the real man. They forgive rather than understand him. There is a look to the future with the hope that he may amend his faults rather than a proper appreciation of his point of view or of his work in the past. This in spite of the fact that in the hour of an unparalleled personal triumph he turned to the South—not in anger, but with evident pain that he had been misunderstood. Not only Mr. Roosevelt, but his most intimate friends, claim that he has been misrepresented by Southern leaders. Are they wrong, and

has the South been right in its interpretation of his character and policies? If so, there ought to be no cringing, no sort of apology, even now. If, however, Mr. Roosevelt and his friends at the North and at the South are right, then the sooner we see our mistake the better it will be. If, as Burke said, it is dangerous for a man to draw an indictment against a whole people, it is equally bad for a whole section to draw up an indictment against the President of the United States. It is not a matter of winning his favor, that he may oppose the effort to cut down representation in congress; it is a question of being fair.

I waive for the present the questions involved in the Booker Washington incident and the Crum nomination. One might grant that in both of these points President Roosevelt was wrong, and still believe in the nobility and the honesty of the man. Furthermore, these two incidents should be looked at in the perspective of his previous career and opinions. The South has always claimed that Northern people should look at certain questions from the standpoint of the South; surely, we should look at some questions from the standpoint of an intelligent and honest North. For both of these reasons it is well to consider Mr. Roosevelt in the light of his career and personality.

There can be no doubt, I believe, that he is one of the most interesting and forceful men in the world today. The very fact of his overwhelming election—acknowledged by all to be largely the result of his own personality—would establish the truth of this statement. Aside from that, however, one cannot read the tributes by John Hay and Elihu Root—statesmen rather than partisans,—Lyman Abbott and Albert Shaw—disinterested interpreters of contemporary events,—or read the biographies written by Jacob A. Riis and Francis E. Leupp, without a dim suspicion at least that the Southern politician who characterized the President as “a make-shift of a man” was somewhat mistaken. And when to these deliberate estimates by Americans are added such tributes as those by John Morley—the advocate of free trade and the steadfast foe of imperialism—and the London *Spectator*—one of the most thoughtful and conservative journals in the world—the evidence is cumulative. Any one of these might be wrong, and yet all of them representing so many different points of view, can hardly be wrong. These men differ in their estimates

of his political principles, but they are all agreed that he is a great man, destined to play a still larger part in the future history of this country.

It would not be necessary to speak of his personal characteristics if caricatures in newspapers and hasty conclusions drawn from some incidents in his career had not tended to obscure the real man in the minds of many people. That he is a man above reproach in his private life, exhibiting to the American people those qualities that make home life sacred, goes without saying. It will hereafter be considered a very significant fact that at a time when lax views of marriage prevailed widely, the President of the United States repeatedly—in almost prophetic words—warned his countrymen of the dangers of immorality and of race suicide among the well-to-do and educated classes. President Eliot felicitously characterized Mr. Roosevelt as “a sturdy gentleman.” He has the sturdiness and robustness of the West combined with the culture and refinement of the East. The associate of cowboys and volunteer soldiers, he is also the companion of college presidents, scholars, and men of letters. He is never so happy as when he attends a reunion of the rough riders, unless it is when he is present at an academic celebration at Harvard or Yale. Those who think of him as merely the rough rider misunderstand the man. No one who knows him even casually can fail to be impressed with his versatility and with the futility of trying to characterize him in a word. Have we not misunderstood him with regard to “the strenuous life?” He does believe in getting things done, but he is as far removed as possible from claiming that the captain of industry or the warrior is the only man who leads the strenuous life. Where will one find outside of his essays sincerer tributes to the circuit riders of pioneer times, women school teachers in the country districts of New York, workers in college settlements, poets, scientists, etc.? It is significant that the author of “The Strenuous Life” was one of the first to welcome and recommend to his countrymen the author of “The Simple Life.”

The fact is, Mr. Roosevelt is more in touch with all interests of this country, has had intimate association with more different types of men, than any other man who ever sat in the President's

chair. Mr. John Hay has said so well what others have tried to say that I quote his words: "Of gentle birth and breeding, yet a man of the people in the best sense; with the training of a scholar and the easy accessibility of the ranchman; a man of the library and a man of the world; an athlete and a thinker; a soldier and a statesman; a reader, a writer, and a maker of history; with the sensibility of a poet and the steel nerve of a rough rider; one who never did and never could turn his back on a friend or an enemy; a man whose merits are so great that he could win on his merits alone; whose personality is so engaging that you lose sight of his merits." Such a characterization by a man who has been associated for forty years with some of the greatest men of the world is not political clap-trap, but a piece of genuine literature, the prevailing note of which is sincerity.

By reason of his contact with all classes of Americans and his outlook on the diversified life of the country, Mr. Roosevelt has developed an intense Americanism. He is a student of the histories of other countries, but most of all of the history of his own country, having studied several periods of it with the accuracy of an investigator and with a vital imagination that has caused him to understand it as few men have. With a knowledge of language enabling him to read ancient and modern literatures, he is thoroughly saturated with American literature. He has no patience with that colonial spirit that prevails among some cultivated men and women of the East who tend to decry everything American. Aware of the defects of our civilization, he has yet magnified its virtues, believing stoutly in the part the country is to play in the life of the world. He has made men believe in the glory of American citizenship, in the service that they must render in the building up of proper national ideals.

Twenty years ago when just out of Harvard college he began to preach the gospel of the educated man in politics. With an independent fortune and with a leaning towards scholarship he yet went into the rough-and-tumble work of the primary and the caucus. Throughout his career he has set an example of disinterested service for the welfare of his country, that recalls the Southern statesmen of the old regime. To him must be given much of the credit—along with George William Curtis and James Russell Lowell—of awakening the well-to-do and educated classes to a

sense of their civic responsibility. If such men take more interest in the practical politics of city, State and nation than ever before, his example must be reckoned as one of the prime causes. His two volumes of essays, "American Ideals" and "The Strenuous Life," written in a style at once interesting and forceful, should be in the hands of all young Americans, for they are a veritable manual of good citizenship. "No man can be a really good citizen unless he takes a lively interest in politics from a high standpoint," has been the text of many addresses and articles. "A heavy moral obligation rests upon the man of means and upon the man of education to do their full duty by their country." Speaking of the place of the college in national life he says: "These educational institutions, if they are to do their best work, must strain every effort to keep their life in touch with the life of the nation at the present day When once a body of citizens becomes thoroughly out of touch and out of temper with the national life its usefulness is gone and its power of leaving its mark upon the times is gone also."

Some of those who have heeded this gospel of civic duty have been the severest critics of Mr. Roosevelt. They claim that he is no longer living according to the principles so often enunciated. They have looked upon him as a lost leader. As a matter of fact, however, he has always held to the idea that a man who has high ideals of citizenship must also be effective, that there must be practical politics before reforms can ever be wrought out into institutions and laws. He has little sympathy with the men who criticise political life and yet do nothing to raise the tone thereof, nor with those who though zealous are unable to get things done. His position with regard to politics may be best seen by contrasting him with George William Curtis. Both of them were elected as delegates to the national republican convention of 1884, both of them were thoroughly committed to the defeat of Blaine. On their return to New York Curtis announced his determination to bolt the republican convention and support Grover Cleveland, on the ground that the latter was committed to the cause of civil service reform and tariff revision. It was a hard thing for Mr. Roosevelt to vote for Blaine, who was such an ardent spoilsman; but he decided deliberately to stay in the republican party, believing that he could work most effectively through that

agency. The positions of the two men are both tenable. Curtis became the leader of one of the most significant political movements of recent times. He became known as a mugwump—a term then and later applied to such men as Carl Schurz, James Russell Lowell, E. L. Godkin, and others. It was at first a term of derision; politicians did not take seriously a body of men who would not support the party that had saved the union. Gradually their work has borne fruit in the development of large numbers of independents who, in the recent election, numbered 1,000,000. The movement has resulted in the purification of politics and made possible many reforms. This is the logical point of view of the man who does not make politics a profession, but who prefers to vote at each election with whatever party best conforms to his ideals.

Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, has been an active republican, with leanings always towards independence. He has fought for reforms through his party. His position may be still more clearly defined if we compare him with Mr. McKinley and Mr. Cleveland. The former was a man who was thoroughly committed to a conservative leadership of his party; he was not a reformer, he was always ready to follow public sentiment rather than direct it. He was the best possible President to have had at the time of the Spanish war, when he was borne along on the inevitable drift of American public sentiment. Mr. Cleveland, on the other hand, has been an independent, working within the bounds of the democratic party. He has had the courage of his convictions and has steadfastly done what he thought was right, regardless of the opinion of the party leaders. He was the right man to have as President when the drift towards the free coinage of silver became so pronounced and when the Chicago riot was taking place. But he had little of the tact of a great political leader, and consequently during his second administration, he lost his grip on his party and the cause of reform suffered an inglorious defeat. Mr. Roosevelt has the qualities of both of these presidents—some of Mr. McKinley's tact and wisdom in working with men with whom he does not agree, some of Mr. Cleveland's rugged independence and bravery. The fact that he has had a sort of middle position between the reformers on the one hand and the politicians on the other, has subjected him to much misunderstanding and

natural criticism. He has, however, expected it. "Every leader of a great reform," he says, "has to contend on the one hand with the open, avowed enemies of the reform, and on the other hand, with its extreme advocates, who wish the impossible and who join hands with their extreme opponents to defeat the rational friends of the reform." He has little sympathy with those men who invite reaction by unregulated zeal or who, not satisfied with the possible, attempt the impossible. On the other hand, while he has always been pleasant with, and conciliatory to, party bosses, recognizing them as representatives of the people, he has never, except in two or three almost inexplicable cases, adopted their methods or surrendered his principles. His avowed policy is that he must sometimes do things that other people want and that he does not want in order that he may get some things done. Coming to a working agreement with his fellows has seemed to him to be the only wise course in politics. This, too, if one will but think of it fairly, is a thoroughly tenable position; the justification of it is seen in the splendid opportunity that now opens up to the President, as he has back of him a strong and victorious party whose leaders are in sympathy with him or are afraid to be his opponents. He can now, far more than Curtis, extend the civil service to all branches of our government, and, it is to be hoped, lead congress into the ways of reasonable tariff revision. The way in which even some of his opponents turn to him now with the hope that he may be able to get through certain reforms is a tribute to character rarely seen in politics.

Necessarily it will be impossible for me to consider Mr. Roosevelt's attitude towards all the problems which now confront the nation. I prefer, therefore, to concentrate attention on the industrial problem and to show by this his general attitude towards the others. In discussing this question, one is struck at once with the fact that he has come to his position after due consideration of all the facts in the case; he makes distinctions that must be made by any fair-minded man. No man in the country has said harder things about certain types of rich men. "There is not in the world," he says, "a more ignoble character than the mere money-getting American, insensible to every duty, regardless of every principle, bent only on amassing a fortune and

putting his fortune only to the basest uses." He has as little sympathy as has Mr. Bryan or Mr. Watson with "the unscrupulous speculator who rises to enormous wealth by swindling his neighbor," or with the capitalist who oppresses the workingman. "There are many rich people who so utterly lack patriotism or show such sordid and selfish traits of character or lead such mean and vacuous lives that all right-minded men must look upon them with angry contempt." On the other hand, he knows, and anybody knows who thinks about it, that it is folly to put all rich men in this class. He believes that captains of industry and the industrial organizations through which they work are absolutely essential to the development of American life.

He makes the same discrimination between labor unions; contrary to the opinions of many great capitalists, he believes that labor unions are as essential as organizations of rich men. He has been in vital touch with many of the labor leaders, some of whom, notably John Mitchell, are his intimate friends. Mr. Bryan himself admits that during the last election a great body of laborers voted for Mr. Roosevelt because they believed that he would give them a "square deal." They have a right to think so, for it was their cause that he championed when, backed by public sentiment, he caused the mine owners to come to a satisfactory agreement with their employees. On the other hand, he has not hesitated on several occasions, notably in the Miller case, to let it be known that some of the methods employed by labor unions are absolutely at variance with democratic institutions. He has spoken to the unions directly in the most emphatic terms.

This middle ground, this discriminating position, is an exceedingly hard one to hold and not be misjudged. Those who look upon the President as an associate of Pierpont Morgan and Andrew Carnegie, forget that he is the intimate friend of Jacob A. Riis and John Mitchell. They forget that as police commissioner in New York he spent many nights investigating the condition of tenement houses and helping Mr. Riis in his battle with the slums; they forget also that as governor of New York he brought about laws that meant the betterment of the factory population; they forget his enthusiastic comradeship with engineers and brakemen, cowboys and ranchmen. He could not

leave them out in any consideration of industrial problems. "He is the man," says Mr. Riis, "who has done more hard and honest fighting for those who cannot fight for themselves or do not know how, than any other man anywhere." The good thing about his attitude to the laboring classes is that he works toward the achievement of those reforms that are possible, instead of beating the air after the manner of demagogues. Who can read without emotion the sentences in his latest message relating to the conditions that prevail in Washington slums? Speaking of the hard lives they live, he says: "All questions of tariff and finance sink into utter significance when compared with the tremendous, the vital importance of trying to shape conditions so that these two duties of the man and woman can be fulfilled under reasonable and favorable circumstances. If a race does not have plenty of children, or if the children do not grow up, or if when they grow up they are unhealthy in body and stunted or vicious in mind, then that race is decadent and no heaping up of wealth, no splendor of momentary material prosperity can avail in any degree as offsets."

Likewise, his suggestions for the control and regulations of trusts are eminently sensible. He believes that trusts are a part of the industrial life of today, but that there are bad trusts and good trusts, and that national law must be invoked for their regulation. Up to the present time publicity has been the remedy suggested, but he is now of the opinion that still further steps must be taken to thwart unworthy competition and the tendency to violate the rights of others. If he can carry his party with him he can do much to stem the rising tide of socialism—a discontent that cannot be allayed by any "stand pat" policy.

What may the South expect from a man who has the characteristics and opinions that have been herein set forth? Does he consider the interests of all other sections except this? Is he American in every sense except that he does not sympathize with the Southern people in their peculiar problem? It has been said that he has a special spite against the South; it was freely prophesied that his election would mean that this section would henceforth be cut off from all participation in the national life. On the other hand, he has pointed with pride to the fact that he is half a Southerner, his mother's family being connected with

Georgia life from the time of the revolution. Has he not at least one Southern quality in his make-up? If one compare him with a reserved New Englander like President Eliot, a citizen of New York like Elihu Root, or even so witty and jovial a Westerner as Speaker Cannon, he must feel that there is a certain quality of enthusiasm, demonstrativeness, cordiality, that is lacking in them, but is found in Mr. Roosevelt. If this point be fanciful—and I confess it must not be pushed too far—it yet remains true that he has found some of his most intimate friends among Southern people, such as the late John R. Procter, of Kentucky, and ex-Governor Thompson, of South Carolina, with whom he worked on the civil service commission. Some of the men he learned to like best among the generals in the Spanish war and the officers of his own regiment were Southerners. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page is a frequent guest at the White House and is said to be a trusted adviser.

It is difficult to be patient with the attempt made by Southern politicians to show that Mr. Roosevelt has a contempt for the Southern army during the civil war. They have cited passages without regard to context or time of composition. If he ever spoke of the Southern people as anarchists, he was using the term in a purely technical sense, in the sense, I mean, that they, if had had their way, would have brought an end to the national government. He could not have meant anything else, for in twenty passages that might be quoted he has bestowed unstinted praise upon the chivalry and honesty of conviction of Southern generals and soldiers. In the very book from which the now threadbare characterization of Jefferson Davis is quoted, almost on the very page, is one of the finest tributes ever paid to Robert E. Lee and his soldiers: "The world has never seen better soldiers than those who followed Lee; and their leader will undoubtedly rank as without any exception the very greatest of all the great captains that the English-speaking people have brought forth." It might be expected that in the speeches made by President Roosevelt in Charleston and elsewhere, he would be more than generous in his judgments of the Southern people. More significant are the passages written before he became President and spoken to Northern audiences. Speaking at a veterans' re-union in Vermont in September, 1901, after paying

tribute to the Northern soldiers in the civil war and to the great good that they did in preserving the union, he said: "We can retain an ever-growing sense of the all-importance, not merely to our people, but to mankind, of the union victory, while giving the freest and heartiest recognition to the sincerity and self-devotion of those Americans, our fellow-countrymen, who then fought against the stars in their courses . . . When three years ago we once more had to face the foreign enemy, the heart of every true American thrilled with pride to see veterans who had fought in the confederate uniform once more appear in Uncle Sam's colors, side by side with their former foes, and leading to victory under the famous old flag the sons both of those who had worn the blue and of those who had worn the gray."

Such passages could be easily multiplied. In the "Life of Benton," written when he was recently out of college, he does speak sharply and unjustly of Jefferson Davis; he perhaps would not say the same thing today, for although Southerners themselves have never been as enthusiastic about President Davis as about several of the leaders in the war, no fair-minded man would today question his sincerity or his ability or his honor. But even if Mr. Roosevelt were still of the opinion there expressed about President Davis, it would not be materially different from the opinions many Southerners have had with regard to some of the prominent leaders of the North. How many of those who criticize him would be willing to resurrect statements made thirty years ago about Lincoln or Grant, to say nothing of Sherman and Sheridan? Of the charge as to the coarseness of the Southern character caused by slavery, it may be said that this again was written twenty-six years ago, and that he has not since repeated the statement. It was a strong way of stating—and even Southerners have come to feel this—that the effect of slavery on the moral and intellectual life of our people was not always for the best. After all has been said and all the passages have been noted, even those written so long ago, there remains no doubt of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has the highest possible appreciation of the Southern people and their conduct in the civil war, that he has done all in his power to maintain pleasant relations with them, and that he has an evident desire to do them service.

Some would be willing to grant what has been said up to this

point and still maintain that he has forfeited our respect by his attitude toward the negro. It will be easier to get at this point if some distinctions are made. The first and almost the last duty of one who speaks of the South or of the negro is to discriminate. There is first the radical or extreme Southerner who has much of the bitter feeling of war and reconstruction times for the North; he is sectional in his ideas, passionate, prejudiced, unreasonable. He believes that the negro is degenerating, and cites the Scriptures to prove that all of them should be hewers of wood and drawers of water. He is the apologist of lynching on utterly illogical grounds; if peonage is discovered he falls to abusing those who attack it, instead of condemning the wrong itself. He plays upon the passions and prejudices of the unleavened masses and would put all possible obstacles in the way of the development of the negro race. Such men as Governors Vardaman and Davis and Congressman Heflin cannot be too severely condemned by men of all sections. There are many politicians who do not go as far as these extreme men, but are dangerously near them in the ultimate effect produced on the people. With this type of Southerner the president can have, and ought to have, no possible agreement.

On the other hand, there is the liberal Southerner, who stands committed to the education of the negro, who opposes lynching under any and all circumstances, who resents the peonage system as more degrading to the white man even than to the negro, who believes that the recent amendments adopted by the Southern States—measures of high necessity when all the facts are considered—should be strictly and impartially enforced. He does not believe in social equality—it is not even a question to be considered—and he would never consent to the repetition of reconstruction government. Such men are Bishop Galloway, Governors Aycock and Montague, Judges Thomas G. Jones and Emory Speer, editors of an increasing number of newspapers, the presidents of the best Southern colleges and the substantial business men of various States. Such men have the future of the South in their keeping. They are the inheritors of the work begun by Lamar and Gordon, Grady and Lanier, Curry and Haygood,—and they work in the spirit of General Lee. They are in thorough sympathy with the work of Booker Washington, who, in the words

of Thomas Nelson Page, is "the wisest and sanest man of color in the country, and who has, perhaps, done more than any other to carry out the ideas that the Southern well-wishers of his race believe to be the soundest and most promising of good results." Mr. Roosevelt is, I am sure, thoroughly acquainted with the work of such men, both by actual observation, and through such recent books as Mr. Murphy's "The Present South" and Mr. Page's "The Negro; the Southerner's Problem." It will be well for him to come to a still better working agreement with them.

Likewise there are two classes of Northerners who must be distinguished. The extreme Northerner thinks always of the progressive negro—generally mulattoes found in Northern cities—, knowing nothing whatever of the masses of criminal and ignorant black folks that live in the lower South. He has never realized the tragedy of the civil war, or the worse tragedy of reconstruction government. He has never seen the problem in its practical aspects nor felt the situation in its concrete form. He has given all of his sympathy to the Southern negro and none to the Southern white man, who since the war has had to master obstacles almost overwhelming. He adopts a condescending and patronizing air towards the South, looking at everything from the outside. He is like the abolitionist, who, however sincere and zealous, was narrow and prejudiced. With such a type of man Mr. Roosevelt is not in sympathy, if one may judge from his attitude to other questions. He is not that kind of man.

In striking contrast with this type of Northerner is an increasing number of strong men in all professions who are doing constructive work in removing prejudices and in creating a national spirit in the North. Such men as Dr. Lyman Abbott, Mr. Albert Shaw, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, Mr. St. Clair McKelway, President Hyde, and others, hold practically the same position on the negro question as that held by the liberal Southerner. They point with admiration to the work done by the Southern people in industry and education under most distressing circumstances. They know the silent forces that are at work now that will mean vastly significant results for the next generation. Some of them would not hesitate to maintain certain social relations with the very best negroes, but they realize that for the Southern people "*segregation in school, church and society is in the interest of*

racial integrity and racial progress." They hold that it was a ruinous policy to bestow the right of suffrage upon all negroes, and they are in sympathy with the recent amendments, but they do not feel that it is right to take the position that no negro under any circumstances should be appointed to office. These Northerners whose words have been quoted by Southern newspapers as expressing the best sentiment on the negro question, have endorsed President Roosevelt in his nomination of certain worthy negroes for political office, and have resented the criticism passed upon him for inviting Booker Washington to lunch with him.

If I understand President Roosevelt and the friends who are intimate with him, he is in thorough sympathy with the view held by the liberal Southerner—within the limits indicated—and by the liberal Northerner. He has never talked very much on the question, but in his "American Ideals" he clearly condemns the over-zealous friends who gave the emancipated slaves the ballot: "Many of their friends believed that in some way by additional legislation we could at once put them on intellectual, social, and business equality with the whites. The effort has failed completely The best friends of the negro admit that his hope lies, not in legislation, but in the constant working of those often unseen forces of the national life which are greater than all legislation." In the life of Mr. Roosevelt by Mr. Riis there is a record of an earnest conversation on the subject. The President said—with a sigh—"On this whole question we are in a back eddy. I don't know how we are going to get out, or when. The one way I know that does not lead out is for us to revert to a condition of semi-slavery." These two quotations indicate that on the one hand he does not consider suffrage the essential right of the negro, and that on the other hand peonage or lynching or the refusal to aid the negro in his development is absolutely wrong and a reversion to slavery. With his position the liberal Southerner is in entire sympathy.

He invited Booker Washington to lunch, as almost any of the better class of Northerners would do, but he does not believe, I am sure, that it would be well for a Southerner to do so. If he had announced that such was his belief the Southern people would have a right to feel aggrieved, but if he did what we admit

the best Northerner does, it is we who raise the issue and not the President himself. We shall save ourselves a great deal of excitement if in the future we make up our minds to let Northern men act on that question as it seems best to them, reserving the inalienable right to act as we think best. Nor should we resent President Roosevelt's honest attempt to appoint, instead of an indiscriminate number of negroes, a select few whom he considers worthy. His whole policy of breaking the republican machines in the South, of appointing good Southern men to office, and of actually cutting down the number of negro appointees, is a distinct advance on the record of any republican President since the war. He is as much opposed to negro domination as any Southerner. He has simply maintained that he cannot, as President of the whole country, take the position that "the door of hope—the door of opportunity—is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the ground of race or color." Is it anything but natural that a man with the training and the personality of Mr. Roosevelt should take this position?

The South has a right to insist, in turn, that he shall not repeat the Indianola incident—provoking as the circumstances were—, that he shall use the utmost endeavor to understand the delicate situation that confronts the Southern people, that his appointments shall be made, as a rule, from the better class of whites, and only under extraordinary circumstances from "the upper fraction" of the negro population. With this mutual understanding and better appreciation, each of the other's point of view, there is no reason why Mr. Roosevelt's administration should not mean to the South all that he and his friends have prophesied.

Robert E. Lee and Reconstruction*

BY WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D.,

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The character of Robert E. Lee was such that the Southern people almost to a man not only revered him, but looked to him for counsel when the dark shadows of defeat and poverty enveloped them. During the last year of the war it was repeatedly shown that it was the man and not so much the general who commanded the troops who so long held Grant at bay. It was not by the stern military code that Lee governed his men, but by the rule of love and sympathy—moral force. In this the confederate commander-in-chief differed widely from his greatest lieutenants and differed also from the world's greatest military leaders. In 1865, when the confederate government was losing its former hold on the people of Virginia and when men refused to sell their farm produce to the war department, Lee called on the country people of Chesterfield and neighboring counties to furnish his army with provisions. The call was responded to with alacrity. And so experienced a student of our history, particularly of the war, as Mr. Charles Francis Adams maintains that it was Lee's fine spirit and far-reaching influence that saved the country from a long guerrilla war in 1865.

Not only because of this general veneration of Lee does it become important for us to study his real wishes at the close of the war and during the years of 1865 to 1870, but because we have so little data concerning the man after April, 1865. Lee was the most reticent of leaders; besides he lived only a few years after the struggle ended. These few years were taken up in the organization and administration of one of our foremost colleges. He did not contribute to the magazines, he wrote no public letters, and submitted to no interviews. Only his friends and immediate connections knew his mind on the great subjects of controversy which filled the last years of his life. Although when applied to he gave his opinions directly to individuals, he did

*Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee. By his son, Robert E. Lee. New York; Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904,—xii., 461 pp.

not give advice on public matters to groups of men and political parties. His reason seems to have been that he feared that controversies might grow out of his remarks. He felt, perhaps, that the general public might observe his acts and judge from them what his opinions were without direct expression of sentiment.

These facts render the recent publication of some of Lee's private correspondence of vital importance. It is the purport of this paper to ascertain from these letters and from the facts brought to light in Mr. James Ford Rhodes's recent volume on the closing years of the war, as nearly as possible, what Lee's attitude towards the reconstruction measures was and to determine what policy would probably have met his approval. It is not intended to enter into an elaborate investigation of the subject, but to glean from the above-named sources the facts which we ought to keep before our minds.

First of all it must not be forgotten that Lee considered himself engaged in working a revolution. He said in a letter to his sister, April 20, 1861, that "the whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native State." The idea that the South was the revolutionary party is expressed again and again in his writings. Furthermore he was an opponent of slavery and would have been willing to vote for some form of abolition in 1861. And later in his career, though he often asserted the right of the Southern States to maintain slavery, he shows no such determined opposition to liberating the slaves as did most other Southern leaders. During the war he executed the will of Mrs. Lee's father, which provided for the manumission of the Arlington and White House slaves, and this, too, at a time when public sentiment was against liberating negroes even when it was so designated by wills duly recorded. In 1864 he also advocated the employment of negroes as regular troops, saying that he believed that "with proper regulations they can be made efficient soldiers." We should give "immediate freedom to all who enlist and freedom at the end of the war to the families of those who discharge their duties faith-

fully." This is enough to show what his general view of the two great subjects at issue, slavery and States rights, was.

By the end of 1864 it was estimated by the confederate war department that there were, at the lowest calculation, fifty thousand deserters in the mountain regions of the South. In North Carolina and northern Alabama the deserters were so numerous as to be able to defy the authorities. This state of things, with the further fact that the most loyal sections of the country were growing lukewarm, led to the proposition on the part of a member of the confederate congress to offer Lincoln some sort of plan of reconstruction. Of course Davis could not join such a move, but Lee favored a return to the old union, giving up slavery and all hope of independence. Lee's ideas were not dissimilar to those offered in Judge J. A. Campbell's report as assistant secretary of war on March 5, 1865. But Lee hesitated to give positive advice when Davis declined to view the situation as desperate.

But no one thought at this time of a reconstruction which should disfranchise the leading white people and place the whole negro population on the voting lists. It was to be a reconstruction initiated by the South and hence resting on oblivion of the past and a gradual execution of the emancipation proclamation, perhaps, with the gradual raising of the former slave to the right of suffrage. The failure of Davis and Lee to communicate such a plan to congress and the public brought indirectly the more complete disaster of Appomattox.

Lee returned to his home in Richmond after the surrender and there began to plan for the future. Every eye was upon him, and his example, as he must have known, would be followed by thousands. He soon decided to settle on a small plantation in Cumberland county, Virginia, given to him as long as he would use it by Mrs. Elizabeth Cocke. The cottage in which he made his home contained only four rooms and it was far out in the country where he could be out of reach of the great world he had seen so much of in the years just gone. This he did, too, when handsome estates were offered him by admirers both in this country and in England.

In thus arranging for a quiet and unostentatious life he was setting an example, perhaps, unparalleled in the history of the

world. He submitted formally to President Johnson asking to be put on the amnesty list, which had appeared in May without his name. Of those of his comrades in arms who would desert the country by seeking homes in Mexico or elsewhere he said they were more needed now than ever. "They must therefore put themselves in a position to take part in her (Virginia's) government, and not be deterred by obstacles in their way. There is much to be done which they only can do." And again, "It would be better for them and the country if they remained at their homes and shared the fate of their respective States." His idea was that all ex-confederates should put themselves in harmony with the new order and become voters again as soon as possible. Colonel Charles Marshall, of Kentucky, said that Lee's advice was more potent with his people at this time than all the federal garrisons in all the military districts of the South.

On October 2, 1865, he was formally installed as president of Washington College, Virginia, and it was from this point that his influence emanated and had a calming effect on the stormy political seas of the next five years.

The inauguration of Andrew Johnson as president of the United States presented the South with a set of new conditions, though not so much because of a difference in views between him and his predecessor, as because Johnson had not the influence and prestige to enforce his will on a congress led by radical and revengeful men. Thaddeus Stevens and others of his way of thinking were gradually gaining the upper hand and their supremacy meant an attempt to utilize the negro population of the South to build up a republican party there which should insure the future control of the country by that party. Johnson, as is well known, was willing enough to humiliate the great leaders of the Southern States but he did not desire to delay the return of the late recalcitrant States until new suffrage laws could be enacted whereby a negro party might be built up through the activity of a few thousand Southern republicans and carpet baggers. The sharp disagreement between the President and the leaders of congress led to the failure of Johnson's plan of reconstruction and the breaking away from the regular republican ranks in the North of many such men as Henry J. Raymond, of the *New York Times*.

Johnson's idea was to leave the negro to work out his own

salvation under laws which should guarantee him a fair and even chance with every other man. The President further desired that reconstruction should be considered complete when, and wherever, a State in regular and official manner accepted the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, and the emancipation proclamation, and passed laws repudiating the confederate debts. The logical end of such a process was the entrance into congress of the Southern senators and representatives. Though Johnson repeatedly referred to officers of the recent war in words which would seem to indicate that he would institute a policy of "making treason odious" which would recall the days of Jeffreys and his famous court; yet before two months were gone most Southerners began to think the new executive was their friend. Indeed it was even doubted if the President desired to bring Jefferson Davis to trial.

While the republican party was quarrelling about the final status of the South and the punishment to be meted out to the leaders in the late war, Lee was busying himself with administering the affairs of his new position and writing the life of his father, the famous "Light Horse Harry," an ardent federalist. In a letter of March 16, 1866, he writes to General Early: "I have been much pained to see the attempt made to cast odium upon Davis. . . . We shall have to be patient for a while at least. . . . At present the public mind is not prepared to receive the truth."

The question at issue in the South during the year 1866 was: How to get back into the union. Congress was about to offer through another amendment to the Constitution two positive propositions: 1. Let the States accept negro suffrage without discrimination other than that which applied to the whites, and then send as many delegates to congress as other States of the same population. This would have given the South seventy members of the house of representatives. 2. If the South preferred to keep the negro out of politics she could do so, accepting at the same time a reduced representation in the national house of representatives. And according to the census of 1860 she would have had forty-five members. The acceptance of either of these propositions embraced in the proposed fourteenth amendment would have rid the States of the hated military governors,

and would have obviated most of the ills of the succeeding ten years. But there were hopes of better terms. President Johnson appeared to be a champion of the Southern cause. He had invited the South to come back into the union, as has been said, on condition only that they abolish slavery, repudiate the confederate debts and remodel their laws so that negroes might enjoy certain privileges of citizenship. All the States accepted the President's plan, held elections and sent their prominent leaders to Washington as their representatives in congress. Prominent confederate politicians appeared again at the seat of the national government. Some Southern people thought this was too good to be true. Jefferson Davis was disgusted at seeing his former political associates knocking at the doors of congress. Many Northern men viewed this as a too easy "letting-down" and opposed the recognition of the President's work. It is of interest to Southerners to know that their bitter oppressor General Sherman endorsed Johnson's policy and held that the South should be left to deal with the negro as she thought best.

These views of Johnson, supported as he was by a large number of distinguished Northerners, encouraged the Southern people to hope for a realization of their policy despite the opposition of the radicals. They decided to stand by the President. This they did the more firmly since the policy of congress still maintained that the former leaders of the confederate cause should be temporarily disfranchised. This State of things encouraged the radicals North and South to do more mischief. In the North this class threatened the direst punishment to "traitors," while in the South the same class began to impose on the freedmen, to enforce laws which put them in a state of peonage. In New Orleans and Memphis serious race riots occurred. Many negroes were killed in cold blood before the fall elections came off: all of which told in favor of a more stringent policy toward the South.

In the midst of all this and in view of present day complications it is of importance to know what the most influential man in all the South thought and counselled in so far as his advice became. Lee testified before the reconstruction committee in Richmond, February 17, 1866, that the North could afford to be generous. By "being generous" he meant the acceptance of the President's policy. He wrote to a friend in England in August, 1886: "When

strong efforts are being made by conservative men, North and South, to sustain President Johnson in his policy, which, I think, offers the only means of healing the lamentable divisions of the country, I prefer remaining silent to doing anything which might excite any discussion." When asked what Virginia would do with the propositions contained in the Fourteenth Amendment, he replied: "So far as I can see I do not think the State of Virginia would object to it." And when questioned pointedly whether the negroes would be permitted to vote he said: "That would depend upon her interests; if she had the right of determining that, I do not see why she should object. If it were to her interest to admit these people to vote, that might over-rule any other objection she had to it." As to which of the propositions contained in the amendment already mentioned would be accepted he asserted that it was his opinion that Virginia would at that time prefer a reduced representation in congress to indiscriminate negro suffrage. "When they [the negroes] show that they have learned how to use the ballot I think they might be allowed to vote."

When the moderate men of both sides tried to get control of affairs by forming a new political party he let it be known that he approved of their attitude. This movement culminated in the Philadelphia convention which met August, 1866. More than twelve thousand people attended this meeting of Northern and Southern conservatives. Such men as Seward, Henry J. Raymond, and William A. Graham took prominent part in the proceedings. The result of the meeting was the endorsement of Johnson's reconstruction policy. Lee said openly that these men alone could bring peace and good feeling to the disunited country. When this hope failed him and after Johnson made such a sad show of himself in the autumn of 1866, we find Lee having little more to say about politics. He thought, however, that congress, under the control of such men as Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Sumner, was determined to build up a party in the South which would do its bidding. And the result justified this view.

In 1867 when certain of the more distinguished Southern leaders seem to have made a *quasi* agreement among themselves that they would accept the terms of congress and probably yield their support to the dominant party, General Longstreet wrote Lee

for his opinion. Lee replied that while he would be obedient to the law imposed upon him he could not "think the course pursued by the dominant political party the best for the interests of the country and therefore I cannot say so or give it my approval."

This represents a passive opposition, a change from the more hopeful view he had taken a year before. During the war and immediately after he had not only not opposed, but favored, a plan of reconstruction which should give the suffrage to the more intelligent and faithful negroes with the promise of extending the privilege to others as they proved themselves worthy. What had wrought the change in Lee's mind? Not so much the clauses of the fourteenth amendment, but the spirit and language of those who constituted the majority in congress, particularly the determination to disfranchise the leading whites in the South in order that the republican party might get control of Southern delegations in congress as well as the machinery of the Southern State governments. Lee himself was among those who were debarred from the privilege of suffrage although he had asked that his name be put on the amnesty list. Looked at in the light of past history this could not be complained at; but in view of the character and antecedents of this man of immense influence it was one of the greatest of political blunders—a blunder which Lincoln would not have made could he but have had his will. The cause of Lee's aloofness and criticism was the source of much bitterness which filled the years 1866 to 1876. The real choice spirits of the South, either because of national law or because of their disgust at what was done in the name of the fourteenth amendment, retired from political life altogether; they were overshadowed and did not come to the front again until the North became weary and disgusted with her own policy and withdrew the military power which supported anarchy in all the different Southern States. How different might have been the course of history had the terms of reconstruction been such as to command Lee's hearty approval!

Some Effects of Industrialism in an Agricultural State

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON, PH. D.,

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When an old State,—one of the original thirteen,—builds almost three hundred cotton mills, nearly all within twenty years, and also enters largely into other manufactures, evidently a great economic change is indicated. The fact that the capital has come chiefly from a multitude of small investors within the State, makes the change more striking. When, with almost imperceptible increase of immigration, from 150,000 to 200,000 persons are transferred from the country, where their ancestors have lived for more than a century, to live in towns or factory villages, and receive their pay in wages instead of commodities, the social changes must be equally important.

North Carolina has been, and is yet, a rural State. The great majority of the population has always lived in the country. No city has ever dominated, or even influenced, any considerable portion of the territory. In 1900 it had not a single city with a population of 25,000. There were only six towns with more than 10,000, and only twenty-eight with more than 2,500. Of a total population of 1,893,810 only 17.9 per cent. lived in incorporated towns at all, no matter how small, compared with 47.1 per cent. in the United States as a whole. Of the Southern States, only Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas showed a smaller proportion of town dwellers. Only 12.1 per cent. gained a livelihood by manufacturing or mechanical pursuits, while 64.1 per cent. were employed in agriculture or the fisheries. But these figures show a decided advance over those of 1890. Then only 13 per cent. lived in towns, 9.6 per cent. were engaged in manufacturing, while 69 per cent. were engaged in agriculture. Since 1900 the percentage of those engaged in manufacturing has steadily increased.

Though agriculture is the chief interest of the State, and will be for many years, manufacturing grows more important each year, and the transition to an industrial society is well begun. The

State stands third in the manufacture of cotton; the product of the cotton seed oil mills is important; North Carolina furniture is shipped to South America and South Africa; and North Carolina tobacco is sold over the world. The number of establishments is growing, and the whole State is being affected profoundly, though almost unconsciously, by the transfer of a population, by families instead of by individuals, from the country to the town.

Now between an agricultural and an industrial population are many points of difference. The manner of life is unlike; the opinions on most subjects are opposed; the ideals are not the same. As yet the division line in North Carolina is not clear. There is no manufacturing section in which agriculture is merely subsidiary. While the woodworking industry is chiefly located in the middle section, cotton mills are found in more than half the counties of the State. Tobacco is more localized than either. There is no manufacturing and commercial alliance which can enforce its mandates. There is no sharply defined class of operatives distinct from the remainder of the population; for the workers in the mills and factories of North Carolina were either born on the farms, or are only one generation removed, and the tang of the soil still clings. With the making of operatives and artisans from farmers we have to deal.

Yesterday those now working in the mills produced the raw material for others to fashion; today they fashion it themselves. They were land-owners or land-renters with all the rural independence. Now they work at the overseer's nod and receive their pay in wages instead of in the products of the soil which they have directly created. Instead of living remote from neighbors, they are crowded into factory villages where they can talk from house to house. They spend the larger part of their working time within walls, tending complicated machinery instead of working with a few simple tools in the open air. In the country the work was irregular and a holiday might be taken occasionally without apparent loss. In the mills loss of wages and the displeasure of the overseer follows any departure from absolute regularity. The operative must work every day and the whole of the day.

Such a radical change in manner of life must affect them physically. They eat more costly food, wear more expensive clothes,

and live in more comfortable houses, but they lose the vivifying contact with nature, which can best do the work of purification and regeneration. Sanitation once neglected almost with impunity becomes important. They have not learned to live in towns, to adapt themselves to their surroundings, to be healthy in spite of those surroundings. The children worked on the farms, as they have done since farming began, but here they are subjected to constant instead of intermittent demands upon their strength and endurance. They are less sturdy and the next generation will have less vitality than the present. This vitality once dissipated must be won back slowly and with difficulty.

Their social and religious life is being affected. The gregarious instinct develops rapidly and solitude once no hardship, becomes unendurable. A family will seldom return to the country even though such a step is plainly advantageous. The religious ideas and organization which served the rural inhabitant seem not to be so satisfactory to the factory worker. The church has not realized this fact and the work has been continued along old lines. Heretofore there has been no need for an adaptable organization and the authorities are conservative. In the country practically all were church members, but it is the universal testimony that the church is losing its hold upon the factory population. The only factory towns in which the churches preserve their influence are those to which the operatives have recently come from the country and in which the powerful influence of the owners and managers is directly exerted. Even in these a large proportion of the younger generation is falling away. Though the schools in the factory villages are better and the terms are longer,—often because of appropriations from the mill treasury,—the proportion of children in attendance is smaller than in the country. The natural consequence is obvious.

In politics the factory workers have taken no independent stand. When the manager has taken the trouble he has been able to influence the votes of his operatives on all questions not directly connected with partisan politics. By united effort the mill owners and managers crippled or crushed the attempt to organize the cotton mill operatives. This was done with comparative ease, since the attempted organization was undertaken, not in response to a demand of the operatives, but with the hope

of creating that demand. This organization cannot, of course, be long delayed. When it is perfected and the members become conscious of their strength they can control the municipal affairs of many towns. They will also be able to secure larger wages from their employers, but they will lose the personal interest and kindness which has been of so much value to them in the transition stage.

Those left on the farms are also affected by the withdrawal of population, a part of which goes to the towns for employment in various industries, and another part to invest its capital in trade or manufacturing. All forms of neighborhood activity are affected. A church may lose a third of its membership, including some of the leaders. In Piedmont Carolina there are country churches which formerly supported a minister, but now can pay for only a part of his time. An academy which has existed for years loses some of its supporters and cannot continue its work. The loss of population in a school district shortens the term or renders necessary an enlargement of its borders, thus making attendance more difficult, even though appropriations to the public schools are constantly increasing. Families otherwise unaffected, influenced by the better schools in the towns, seek an opportunity to leave the country. Neighborhoods once attractive from a social standpoint are now lonely.

On the other hand, the mills are widely distributed and the establishment of little towns in the fields and woods affords new markets for farm produce. The wages for farm labors, for a long time very low, and either stationary or decreasing, rise with the increased demand. Improved machinery and better farming results from the shortage of labor. The usual telephone and improved roads,—both largely the result of increased commercial and industrial activity,—together with usual mail delivery help to bring the country communities into closer touch with the outside world.

The negro also is affected. The increased population and activity in the towns, make opportunities for a larger number as servants or as laborers. Lumbering and railway construction and improvement have drawn away others from the farms. Those who remain receive larger wages or may rent better farms than was possible before. The greater demand for their labor

results in greater consideration and in greater prejudice. Many will not work under any consideration, and men who have seen crops damaged or ruined for want of workers, while loafers abounded, attribute the negro's shiftlessness and indolence to the smattering of education which he has received. From some quarters comes the demand that negro schools shall be supported by the taxes paid directly by negroes. The value of the faithful and reliable negro tenant or laborer, on the other hand, is fully recognized, and he is treated with greater consideration than ever before.

The increase of population and capital in the old towns is working many changes. Towns and villages that had changed little since the days of Cornwallis are feeling the modern industrial spirit. Much nonsense has been written concerning the aristocratic structure of Southern society, but one essential difference between the North and the South has been the influence of the individual, rather than of an abstract principle. North Carolina was never an aristocratic State, and the influence of the individual has been based upon personal character, or political prominence, oftener than upon claims of long descent. In a society which changed slowly, naturally a family shared the prominence of one of its members. Today families which had decidedly influenced the spirit of the village and the country, must take part in the new movement or become less prominent. Often from lack of capital, business ability, or sympathy, they stand aloof and new men come forward. "Business" is being exalted to a position unknown before. A type of shrewd, calculating, far-sighted, business man new to the section is being developed. Sometimes he belongs to a family which has been important for generations; sometimes he has come up from poverty and obscurity. These "Southern Yankees" devote themselves to work to the exclusion of everything else. They succeed in their undertakings, and need ask no quarter in any contest of commercial strategy.

The whole attitude of mind in the State has changed more during the last fifteen years than in fifty preceding. The civil war served to intensify the convictions previously existing. An acute, though sometimes unfair, critic of Southern life, Judge Tourgee, well says, "It modified the form of society in the South

but not its essential attributes." Reconstruction fixed these convictions more firmly. Against all pressure from without, the people stood unyielding. Deliberately they set themselves against the whole power of the national government and nullified the attempts to overturn their political and social institutions.

Now old prejudices and fixed ideas, political and social show signs of weakening. An analysis of the returns of the last election shows that independent voting is no longer uncommon. Many manufacturers and business men are not in sympathy with the doctrines and policy of the one political party, which they have inherited. Only the recent prominence of the race question prevented a greater division upon national lines. The scattered, and, feeble efforts to organize a social propaganda have met with little success. A land-owning population is not inclined toward socialism, and there have been few fortunes large enough to excite envy. When a distinct wage-earning class two or three generations from the farm has developed, and great fortunes are more common, these doctrines will appeal with more force.

A noteworthy fact, if proof of the changing political conditions is demanded, is the political decline of the confederate soldier. For many years a military record was almost a necessity to the aspiring politicians. As a matter of course, the chief offices went to those who had seen active service, not entirely because of that service, but the fact powerfully influenced selection. Not a single Southern member of the present congress was a soldier. Old soldiers have been decisively defeated in recent contests for the nomination to governorships and for election to senatorships. In no case, however, was the contest sharp between the old order and the new, nor does the choice mean that the people have lost their faith in the justice of the Lost Cause. But the fact that a military record no longer outweighs other considerations is significant and marks a great change in attitude. The industrial awakening is not entirely responsible for this, but no other cause has contributed so much.

The ideal of success is changing. Not many years ago, the college graduates turned naturally to a profession. Now an increasingly large proportion adopt a business career. Dozens of young college men, and scores with high school training, enter the manufacturing establishments, and learn every process in spite of

the dust and the grime. In the narrow use of the words social lines are shifting. Families once content to follow now assume to lead not only in social matters but in all the activities of the town. There are signs of the beginning of class distinctions based chiefly upon wealth and business success. Whatever distinctions previously existed were founded upon breeding, culture, or professional and political prominence. The new aristocracy shows the faults of such sudden growths everywhere, with perhaps some virtues which are not always present.

All these expressions of a changing life means that the State is growing more like other industrial societies. Agricultural societies may show much variation, but industrial communities tend more to a type. How much the form of this industrial society in North Carolina will be modified by those peculiarities which we have come to regard as essential characteristics of Southern civilization is difficult to predict. Much that seemed unalterable has been undermined by the silent economic forces. Commercialism has done and is doing what bayonets could not do. Many of the changes are desirable and make for greater comfort, greater intelligence, and a larger life. Much that was admirable is being lost. Organization accomplishes more than sporadic effort, materially at least, but there are some things which organization can never supply.

The Independent Order of White Men

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, PH. D.,

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It is generally supposed that the Ku Klux organizations of the reconstruction period were confined to the Southern States, but it is now known that a similar order existed in the far West in the early 70's.

As early as 1868 the democrats had carried the elections in California, thus leading the reaction against the radical policy of congress in regard to the reconstruction of the Southern States. Throughout the North and West the reactionary feeling grew, especially in 1871 and 1872, and this secret society was an expression of the anti-radical sentiments of the Californians, who were confronted with a smaller race problem of their own in the Chinese question, and who were in sympathy with the Southern whites in their fight against negro domination. Then, too, many Southerners had settled in California, and their opinions affected politics.

The central authority of the order was vested in the grand lodge, and there were various subordinate lodges, numbered in order of formation. The officials of the lodge had fancy titles, but none so elaborate as those of the Ku Klux and the White Camelia of the South. The private members were known as brothers; the worthy sentinel guarded the approaches to the meetings, and prevented surprise and intrusion. The worthy knight guarded the door and reported the alarms of the sentinel, and received the password from the faithful as they came in; the worthy herald and the worthy messenger assisted the knight and also carried orders and messages; other worthy officers—secretary, treasurer, and warden—looked after the records, money, and property of the lodge and assisted in initiation ceremonies; the worthy chaplain delivered the charge to the candidates, led in prayer during initiation ceremonies, administered the solemn oath on the Bible, and looked after the morals of the lodge generally; the chief officer was the worthy commander, who was assisted in his executive and administrative duties by his predecessor in office, the past worthy commander.

There was an elaborate form of installation service when new officers were inducted, and an impressive funeral service. Signs, grips, words of recognition, and passwords were used; and members were bound by oath to respond to the signal of distress when given by a brother. They were also sworn to relieve misery and suffering wherever found.

There were in every lodge three degrees: the degree of justice, the degree of truth, and the degree of mercy. These were the fundamental principles of the order—justice, truth, and mercy. Brothers of the first degree wore white regalia; blue regalia was worn by those of the second degree, and red by those of the third.

The first degree candidates were instructed in their duties to the fathers; the brothers of the second degree were taught their duties to themselves as White Men to whom at its foundation the administration of the government was committed; the third degree White Men were instructed in their duties to others—how to conduct themselves as White Men.

The sentiments expressed in the sessions of the third degree were generous and pious in the extreme. To judge from the speeches made, the charges delivered, and the obligations taken, such a session was equal to several Sunday schools rolled into one. The twelfth chapter of Romans (verses 9 to 21) was read to the candidates, who were bidden to take the Bible as "the rule of faith and practice for all good White Men."

But older and more earthly principles were inculcated in the two lower degrees. In the beginning the would-be brothers were informed that the order was based on the supposition that white men were capable of self-government, and that the object of the society was the amelioration of the sorrows of the white race.

The first degree White Men were taught as a first principle that the powers and administration of the government belonged to the white race; they were pledged to support the constitution and to regard as common enemies and treat accordingly all men who attempted to pervert its sacred provisions to the detriment of the white race. There must be no resistance to laws, however; redress should be sought only at the ballot-box. "It will be your first duty," the worthy commander charged, "to support for official position only white men and the friends of white men;" but he said that there was no desire on the part of the order to interfere with anyone's political convictions.

During the initiatory ceremonies the candidates were not blindfolded, nor did they kneel to take the solemn oaths at the altar. They were White Men to whom the powers of government were committed, the equal of all and inferior to none. Consequently it would have been unbecoming for them to be made ridiculous or for them to kneel before their equals.

The final charge of the worthy commander was: "I charge each of you to act as becomes white men." In the second degree was inculcated "the truth in reference to the duty to our race as connected with our country and its form of government," since "partisan zeal has too long been mistaken for love of country and patriotism."

The Bible was quoted (Genesis, chapter 9,) to prove that the various races had by divine appointment through Noah been assigned different places in which to live, and had prospered only when living in the place appointed. It was asserted that the descendants of Shem and Ham,—the brown and the black races—were of mixed blood and therefore inferior to the sons of Japhet—the pure-blooded, "ruddy whites." To Ham had been given the South (Africa) in which to live; to Shem, the middle regions; while to Japhet was assigned the North and West. But the white race was not to be confined to these places, for was it not written that Japhet was "to overrun the borders of Shem and dwell in his tents?" Then why should it be thought incredible that our country was designed by the same Divine will for the occupancy of the white race descended from Japhet? The fact was cheerfully recognized by the order of White Men that "other races, and indeed all races of mankind, are entitled to a common humanity, and have rights that we are bound to respect;" still it insisted that "the powers of administration of our government belong legitimately to the white race." "God requires as a duty which you owe to yourself, your race, and their posterity," the worthy commander taught, "that you put forth every exertion to preserve the administration of your government in the hands of your people," since it "is the result of the energy and intelligence of your race," which must be preserved "from the mildew of amalgamation."

Patriotic songs, such as "America," were sung during the meetings, and prayers by the worthy chaplain were numerous but

short. The Bible was in evidence on all occasions of swearing to oaths. The picture of George Washington was hung over an altar and members were bidden to model their conduct as White Men after his example.

Instruction in the "private work" of the order was given at each meeting; but of the nature of the private work the printed matter tells nothing. Much might be inferred, however, from the principles declared. The "White" principles of this order resembled somewhat those proclaimed by the Knights of the White Camelia, a Louisiana organization that flourished during the late 60's and early 70's.*

*The Constitution and Ritual of the order was published in San Francisco in 1872, and it is probable that earlier editions were printed. A copy of the revised constitution is in the library of congress.

An Exile from the South

BY THE EDITOR

When the question of slavery was a burning issue in American national life many Southern men were opposed to it, and a small group of these came out openly in favor of abolition. Of this group one will easily recall James G. Birney, Cassius M. Clay, Hinton Rowan Helper, Daniel R. Goodloe, and Moncure Daniel Conway. They were all exceptional men—perhaps radical men; for it was only they out of a large part of the population that disapproved of slavery who went so far as to speak and write publicly in behalf of their views. From all of them we have in one form or another records of their views and experiences as abolitionists. But from the one last mentioned we get a picture unlike that which we have from any of the others. Moncure D. Conway's autobiography,* as a record of the impressions of a Southern opponent of slavery is far more readable than, for example, Helper's rasping "Impending Crisis" or his unreasonable "Noon-day Exigencies." It also lacks the doughty brusqueness of Clay's speeches. It is written many years after the period of controversy has been passed. It is conceived in the spirit of affectionate memories for the people among whom the author's anchors of love were cast in the days of his youth. Time has wiped out the stress and left only the mellow qualities of the human heart. It is, perhaps, the kindest dealing with the Southern people that they and their peculiar institution ever received from an abolitionist. The generation which now lives in our united country will get here a better insight into the old problem—a picture a little more intimate—than they have ever got from the books of the actors in the mighty controversy. All of this is for the advantage of the men who are concerned to know what the old struggle was like.

Moreover, Mr. Conway has given us a view of Southern life in general which has a distinct value. He has written from the standpoint of the great middle class of Southerners, who have frequently been ignored in the descriptions of *ante bellum* society;

*Autobiography Memoirs and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway, 2 volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904,—xiv., 451, and x., 481 pp.

for although he was born of the leading class among Virginians, his immediate family, and he himself in his earliest years, were associated with the people who were neither lordly planters nor outcast "poor whites." As the son of a leading Methodist layman and a minister of the same religious organization, he touched one of the strongest expressions of the thought of this middle class and gives us—all too briefly, it is true—one of the best pictures we can find of these people. Over all the author has thrown a charm of style which makes his two large volumes as entertaining as they are instructive. That such a man should have found himself so out of touch with the life of his people that he could not live among them without putting a harness on his mind, is one of the most significant illustrations of the power of public opinion around him. Public opinion is always tyrannous in isolated communities—for in such places life is simple and people demand that all shall think normally. No community has a place for the abnormal thinker till it has got familiar with his presence and learned that he is harmless and in many cases an advantage.

The Conways, the Daniels, and the Moncures were from colonial times among the most important families on the Rappahannock. They had their share of prominent office-holders, and among them were a certain number of followers of the French philosophy, which had much vogue in Virginia in the days of Jefferson and Tom Paine. Among these people Walker Peyton Conway and Margaret Eleanor Daniel—married in 1829—were earnest Methodists. They were the only well-born members of that "Society" in the days when Methodism was little more than a pietistic movement for the social yeomanry among the whites, and for the more intelligent of the free negroes and slaves. They were true Methodists, however, pious, puritanical, and democratic. They worshipped with their humble brethren—both white and black—praying for them and being prayed for by them in true Christian fellowship, and without any suspicion that they were thereby endangering Southern civilization. Their children were brought into this worship and its earnest touch left impressions of religious fervor and universal brotherhood which were not to be erased, not even by the march of intellectual enlightenment. Of these children, Moncure Daniel, born 17th March, 1832, grew up with a mind full of warm poetic fancies, a fondness for

music, and a consciousness of a literary purpose which existed from early childhood. He was tall, dark, and striking in appearance. He carried himself with a strange self-control which seemed but a mark of genius to those among whom his youth was spent; but which later was interpreted as a sort of intellectual arrogance. Without doubt he was a man of striking individuality. He went to the neighborhood schools; now and then he accompanied some of his relatives to the Episcopal church in Fredericksburg, where the ceremonial and warm tone of the edifice made the rude plainness of the Methodist meeting-house in which he had been accustomed to worship seem cruelly inhuman. His father was a local politician of much importance. A great uncle, P. V. Daniel, was a justice of the supreme court of the United States, and a cousin, J. M. Daniel, was one of the most brilliant editors in the South. He himself was the equal of any of these in mental promise, and his family watched his early years with fond expectations.

Young Conway went to college at an early age. The institution to which he was sent was Dickinson college, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was a Methodist college, but at the time its faculty was not surpassed in ability by that of any institution in America. At the head of the faculty was Robert Emory, a brilliant and cultured son of a Methodist bishop; and among its members were William Allen, afterwards president of Girard College; Drs. John McClintock and George R. Crooks, well known scholars; and Spencer F. Baird, later chief of the Smithsonian Institution. These men were scholars. They were devoted to truth and contact with them served to awaken in the student a deep sense of his responsibility to his own intellectual processes. Out of Dickinson he came as a graduate in 1849. He was seventeen years of age—bright, prepossessing in appearance, and about him there was a certain forwardness of intellect which made him far more precocious than other young men of his acquaintance.

It is not possible for us to follow Conway in his entire career. Here we are only concerned to observe the facts connected with his two great steps in opposition to the prevailing thought of his surroundings. One of these was his break with religious orthodoxy, the other was his disavowment of slavery. Each was the action of a radical mind; but this radicalism was only

relative. It was such only because all other thinking in the South was bound by the bonds of conventionalism—bonds which only those who were willing to be charged with rashness could dare to break.

Conway tells us that his "only enthusiasm was for literature, but what channel was there in Virginia for that? None." He dabbled in journalism to an extent, but no career existed for a free-minded editor in a country where the press was tied to party chariots. Next he began to read law in Warrenton, Virginia; and here he came into what was to him a new religious atmosphere. In Warrenton the Methodists were among the leading people socially. All his old repugnance for the plain Methodism of the Rappahannock was extinguished. He became interested in his church, then he became fervent, and at length law-books were thrown aside and he surprised and rejoiced his parents by announcing that he was going to become a Methodist preacher. What had wrought this change? He tells us that at the bottom of it was Emerson. He had got possession of certain essays of the Concord philosopher. He tells us that certain phases of Emersonian transcendentalism correspond with phases of Methodist transcendentalism. "The personal character of spiritual life, soul binding the divine in the solitude of the individual life, the mission ordained for every human being—these are interpretations of the Methodist doctrines of miraculous conversion, the inward witness of the Spirit, progressive sanctification, and the divine call to the ministry. I believe that Emerson's Essays raised Methodism in my eyes, for this religious organization was, in Virginia, alive, earnest, and not much interested in dogmas. I cannot remember ever hearing a Methodist sermon about the Trinity." After some years of preaching he was to discover that there are points at which Methodist theology and Emerson's philosophy are not to be reconciled; but he was now a young man of nineteen, of ardent disposition and quick to come to a decision—and he had not examined all of Emerson's views. Two years in the ministry were enough to show him how little he was in sympathy with the views of his church. In the meantime, he came into touch with certain Quakers and Unitarians. To both he was drawn by elements of rationalism; but for the latter he discovered a closer affinity. He also opened a correspondence

with Emerson and received friendly letters, the only letters, he was inclined to think, which were ever really written to him. In December, 1852, he retired from the Methodist ministry and prepared to enter the divinity school at Harvard. His father, who was a man of much wealth, declared that he could not conscientiously give money to educate a Unitarian minister, and the youth—he was still less than twenty-one years old—set his face northward with an empty pocket.

While this change had been going on Conway had been forming views on slavery which were even more extreme than his religious opinions. Of an ardent disposition he had in 1849 been drawn by some local leaders into a Southern Rights Association. He was flattered by being made secretary of the meeting, and his ready pen would soon have been at work, had not his father pulled him up short. "Don't be the fool of those people!" said his father. "Slavery is a doomed institution." The development of his own mind and his contact with the Maryland Quakers served to open his eyes to the social effect of slavery. His romantic sense of justice took from him whatever prejudice he might have inherited against regarding the negro as his brother. Gradually, too, he had come to feel an aversion for the violence and unbalanced argumentation with which the pro-slavery politicians defended their position. His views were not concealed from his friends and when he left his father's house he was a confirmed opponent of slavery.

Conway's arrival in Cambridge made a strong impression on the community. He was a fugitive from what most people there considered two forms of Southern error. He was a man interesting in his own characteristics, used to the customs of good society, striking in appearance, and come in quest of Cambridge's intellectual gifts. Repudiated by his church, his family, and his section, he was thrown upon Northern bounty. The result was that this tall, dark haired, and eccentric Southerner walked into the hearts of the best people of the town. In one particular he had an immense advantage of the other students. He came out of the far distance in response to a call from Emerson. To Concord he went with assurance of a welcome from the one who had drawn him. Under such an ægis there was no bounty which he might not claim from the hand of fortune. Funds were provided

for him, opportunities to preach with a good remuneration were soon made for him, and the upshot was that during the two years of his stay at Harvard he rode at the top of the wave. Of course, all this success could not have been secured unless he had possessed the soundest gifts of mind and soul.

With his graduation at Harvard came a call to the Unitarian church in Washington. It was a desirable position. Statesmen, jurists, editors, and literary men and women came under his ministry. More than all, the church was on the very confines of the slave-holding power. In his congregation were persons in sympathy with Southern views. He did not disguise his views from these people when they had him on trial. They made no objection then; but as the controversy became warmer it became grievous to these persons that they should have an abolitionist to preach to them. Many others of the congregation were unionists before all else, and followed Webster in his famous appeal for compromise. When, therefore, on January 27, 1856, the preacher preached a bold anti-slavery sermon matters came to a crisis. A communication was received from his congregation intimating that they could not approve of such sermons. This warning was not heeded, and on July 6 another sermon was delivered to the same purport. In fact, it went to the extreme of advocating the election of Fremont, the republican candidate for the Presidency. When the preacher ended the people were so awed that they could not sing the hymn, and he could do nothing more than pronounce the benediction. It was his last sermon as pastor of this church. In November he was called to a Congregational church in Cincinnati.

From that time to the present day Conway's life has been removed from that of his people. He remained in Cincinnati till late in 1862, when he removed to Boston and became editor of *The Commonwealth*, a new anti-slavery paper with a turn for good literature. In 1863 he went to England to visit the anti-slavery supporters there and to write letters to the paper of which he had been editor. He came into close connection with many prominent people there and traveled to some extent on the Continent. Finally in 1864 he settled as pastor in a London Unitarian chapel. Here he entered upon a successful literary career. He became an editorial writer associated with Froude on

Fraser's Magazine; he was connected with *The Daily News*; and in many other ways he touched the literary men and movements of the day. He has written many books of more than ordinary importance. Among them one will recall "Pine and Palm," a "Life of Thomas Paine," "Writings of Thomas Paine," "Edmund Randolph," "Barons of the Rappahannock," "Sacred Anthology," "Earthward Pilgrimage," to say nothing of many controversial works relating to slavery and the war. His latest book, which he sends from Paris, is his "Autobiography." It is a rich mine of facts relating to old Virginia life and to the anti-slavery movement in America. It is particularly valuable as showing the attitude of the abolitionists toward Lincoln and the war.

In 1875 Conway paid a short visit to America. He went straight to his old Virginia home. It had been the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting of the great conflict, and it was desolated; but peace reigned. He received from his father, now old but softened in his attitude to the things he had formerly denounced, a loving welcome. No bitter reference was made to that divergence of ideas which two decades earlier had separated the young man of genius from his father's house and carried him triumphantly on the top of a career of success in the great cosmopolitan world which listened not to the plaintive murmurings of Virginia. The inhabitants of the old community—those of them who survived time and battle—received him kindly. He was invited to lecture in Fredericksburg, and the mayor of the town gave a dinner in his honor. He returned to England with a deep sense of the great change which had come over the old Virginia of his youth. Had there been in this community twenty-five years earlier the same tolerance which he now found there he might never have left it. What it had lost through its blind desire to crush him is measured by the glory which one really strong man of letters brings to a community.

But it was not merely the spirit of intolerance which drove Conway into exile. It was a more deeply rooted cause. Intolerance grows out of minds unenlightened. The whole constitution of Virginia society was hostile to a rigid and clear pursuit of truth. There were in popular opinion certain ideas about which no logic was to be allowed to make syllogisms and conclusions. Two and two might make four in England, in Spain, and in mediæval Italy,

but not at one's own fireside. One inherited ideas about which no questions must be asked. More than all, there was no room for the unconventional man. A man might think as other men thought and all was well; but if his mind were made differently from theirs, there was no place in the simple agricultural life around him for its free activity. He must, therefore, bridle it down to the common gait. If in some unguarded moment it should cry out in its own natural strains he must clap the hands over his mouth and hush the spontaneous voice within. How slowly does an isolated, agricultural community come to find places for all kinds of thinkers!

What Conway would have been if he had not gone into exile may be seen in what his cousin, John M. Daniel, who remained in Virginia, did actually become. By general consent this man was one of the brightest men to be found anywhere in his day. He edited a newspaper whose brilliancy attracted the homage of both friend and foe. He had a fine turn for literature, and was a friend of Poe. It was he who revealed Emerson, Carlyle, and many others, to Conway. His information and conversational powers filled people with wonder. Yet this man, who could not consider severing his relations with the society in which he found no response for his soul, passed into cynicism, and at length into sheer hopeless impotence. Of him Conway himself said: "I considered him with his famous *Examiner*, able to say what he thought and make himself heard, the most enviable man in Virginia. What I could not see until too late was that here was a heart full of love, a mind akin to Emerson, bound fast to the role of fighting politicians with pen and pistol. John Daniel's cynicism was largely the result of his spiritual loneliness."

It was the hard apathy which an isolated society ever has for a fervent mind which drove one man away and starved the other because his loyalty would not let him leave. May industry, education, religion, and every other force that wars against provincialism hasten the day when Southern society shall be complex enough to have a place for every true-hearted man of mind whom nature may send us!

One cannot dismiss Conway without a further glance at his abolitionism. Of course, it was not to be expected that the South of his day should receive an anti-slavery leader with grace.

When slavery put such men out of the pale of fellowship—even when it sought to slay them—, it but expressed its own sense of the law of self-preservation. But today things are different. We can now make up a judgment about these men who literally burned with their zeal for freedom.

It has become fashionable to say that the abolitionists were fanatical. Practical men find them absurd. Now this is, and ought to be, a world of practical men; but there are some things that practical men cannot do. The abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century was one of them. In 1800 the problem was in the hands of practical men, in 1810 it was there also, in 1820, in 1830, and in 1840, it was still there—and yet slavery continually grew in power. Aside from the opposition which the North and West had built up, slavery was stronger with the leading men of the country in 1840 than it had been in 1800; it was far stronger in 1860. The abolitionists showed a way by which its hold could be broken. It was a practical way, if a costly one; for its success has been proved. The service of the abolitionists is not to be measured by their attitude toward Lincoln, but by the fact that they opened the way by which we did get rid of slavery in the year 1865. This fact is worth a great deal of speculation as to how the thing might otherwise have been done.

In 1850 many thousands of intelligent Southerners opposed slavery as they later opposed secession; but they realized their impotence in the face of adverse public opinion, and they bowed their heads. Conway was one who did not bow. If the excitement of protest ran into the borders of rashness was it worse than the shambling silence of the cowed? Is it for us fortunate ones, who never were called upon to choose between utterance and acquiescence, to pass judgment with a glib tongue on a man whose capacity of judgment in other things is normal, but who on that momentous question thought that he must cry out?

The Editor's Announcement

With the present number of *THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* the writer will retire from the position of its editor. This step is taken reluctantly and solely because of an accumulation of other labors which cannot be declined. It has been a pleasant privilege to come into personal relations with the intelligent men—most of them Southerners—who have been chiefly responsible for the success of the enterprise and to feel that the literary life of the South was being advanced. The difficulties of the undertaking, which at first were many, have continually decreased. The fact that every article in the present number is by a native Southerner is a matter of gratification to the editor. For the courteous reception the *QUARTERLY* has received from the public, for the unselfish assistance of the contributors, and particularly for the constant and charitable support of his colleagues in the faculty of Trinity College, he is very grateful. He must express, also, his satisfaction with the self-denial of the "9019" society, whose devotion has brought the journal into existence.

It is a pleasure to announce that Drs. Edwin Mims and William H. Glasson, of the Trinity College faculty, will in the future be joint editors of the *QUARTERLY*. The retiring editor bespeaks for these gentlemen the support of all those who have aided him in his own labors. They have already been closely associated with the editorial management of the enterprise; and they may be counted on to see that the best ideals of intellectual progress and good journalism are always followed.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

BOOK REVIEWS

LEE AND LONGSTREET AT HIGH TIDE: GETTYSBURG IN THE LIGHT OF OFFICIAL RECORDS. By Helen D. Longstreet, Gainesville, Ga. Published by the Author, 1904,—346 pp.

Mrs. Longstreet's memorial volume serves also to give the last word in behalf of her husband in the distinguished controversy about his conduct at Gettysburg. In brief the charges against Lee's lieutenant are that he was opposed to fighting a pitched battle at Gettysburg, but wanted to flank the union army on the left and force it to fall back to a position more favorable to a confederate battle, that when Lee declared that he would fight here Longstreet became sullen, moved slowly into line of battle, and by his delay on July 2 and again on July 3 failed to carry out the plans of his commander with proper effectiveness. Had he been more prompt on the 2nd, say the critics, he would have cut the enemy's line, taken Little Round Top, and forced Meade back precipitately.

That Longstreet moved on each day too late to accomplish Lee's purpose no one will deny; but it is asserted by his defenders that his delay was due to unavoidable causes, that he was not censured by Lee himself, and that he was hampered by Sickles's movement in front of the union line in much stronger force than the confederate commander had anticipated. It is also said, and with much apparent truth, that the charges against Longstreet were never heard till he became a republican in politics, that they were pressed in political rancor, that they were accepted as proved by persons whose party feelings dominated their judgments, and that Longstreet became the scapegoat for the greatest confederate calamity of the war. This controversy was revived in the recent publication of General Gordon's Reminiscences when the old charges were repeated, but without additional proof. This repetition has justified the strong and lucid reply now offered to the public. It is not too much to say that the reply carries the tone of conviction with it. For example, it has been assumed by his critics that Longstreet was ordered to attack Little Round Top on the morning of the 2nd. It is here shown that Lee's order

was to take the high ground which lay along the Emmittsburg road—nearly a mile in front of the eminence in question—whence it was planned to make an artillery attack on the federal center. This ground Longstreet seized too late in the afternoon of the day designated. After the war it was learned that had Little Round Top been taken on the morning of the 2nd it would have been a determining factor in the battle. Longstreet, therefore, has been charged with failing to take a place which he was not ordered to take. So far, it seems to the reviewer the case is with Longstreet. But what shall we say to the fact that Longstreet's corps lay on the night of the 1st only four miles from Gettysburg and that the next day they did not get into position for battle till 4 p. m., marching a distance of only nine miles? This is the only hitch in Longstreet's defence in regard to the second day's operations. Did he use due diligence in getting into battle? Perhaps, if one may take Sickles's opinion, he would have had the same fate if he had attacked at 10 a. m. instead of 4 p. m. But still, in order to know just how to give judgment it would be well if we could know whether an alert leader (let us say Stonewall Jackson) could not have opened on Sickles at, or about, the former hour.

HISTORY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, AMY ROBSART, AND THE EARL OF LEICESTER, BEING A REPRINT OF "LEYCESTERS COMMONWEALTH," 1641.
Edited by Frank J. Burgoyne. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904,—xv., 247 pp.

This book throws much light on the life of Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's unpopular favorite. It was first printed on the Continent in 1584. It was also issued in French and Latin editions and created such an impression in England that the queen, in behalf of her favorite, was forced to make public denial of some of its statements. In England the book was burned wherever the officers of the law could find it, but many manuscript copies were made and circulated in secret. It was in this book that the story of the death of Amy Robsart was first related and charged against Leicester. It brought forth an indignant reply in behalf of the earl, written by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney. The authorship of the "Commonwealth" has never been determined. It was attributed by many to Father

Robert Parsons, the Jesuit missionary, and some have suggested that Burleigh, Leicester's great rival, had a large share in its production; but neither story is reliable. It was undoubtedly written by a man of much ability and one well acquainted with contemporary events in England. It was couched in terms of the most violent contempt, and this might well be the cause of a strict anonymity. In the present edition, which is the first that has appeared since 1721, the editor has done little beside write a necessary introduction; but the publishers have given us an abundance of good type, wide margins, and fine old paper, at which we are disposed to say that all has been done which is necessary.

HISTORY OF ANDREW JACKSON: PIONEER, PATRIOT, SOLDIER, POLITICIAN, PRESIDENT. By Augustus C. Buell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 vols., 1904,—viii., 432, and vi., 427 pp.

One does not like to review adversely the book of an enthusiast who is writing on his favorite subject, but if one reviews at all he must do it candidly. Mr. Buell tells us—or his publishers tell us in a preface which he did live to write—that a life of Jackson was a life-long ideal with him. He conceived that Parton's book lacked sympathy and truthfulness and determined to write a biography which should give the American people a true picture of the great democratic President. He read and preserved notes on everything he could find relating to his hero. Singularly enough, he did not examine the large manuscript collection of Jackson material preserved by Jackson himself for the use of the future biographer and recently donated by the children of Montgomery Blair to the library of congress. But he interviewed old people who had once known his hero, he read the standard lives of him, he sought out the old campaign lives which men had thrown aside because they seemed hardly judicious in tone, he collected anecdotes; and all these, with the aid of a good imagination and a facile newspaper style he has wrought into an entertaining narrative. It certainly puts Jackson before the public in as attractive a garb as his best friends could desire. But it has the weakness of not showing Jackson's faults. Mr. Buell would, perhaps, say that these were few. That, however, is a mooted question. It is a question about which many men differ,

and one which is not to be answered without the most judicious weighing of evidence on each side. But Mr. Buell does not weigh evidence. He is not even a skillful and careful advocate; for he constructs no elaborate or digested plan of defence. On the contrary, he ignores the fact that controversy exists and proceeds blithely to place the figure in the sunlight as though no such things as shadows are known.

Among the many statements in the book which one may well reject are the following: the doubtful stories of Jackson's education which were printed in the campaign lives but rejected by so partial a biographer as Eaton are adopted in their amplest form (i., 35-38, 61, 66); it is not clear when Eaton became "General Eaton," (i., 26). Jackson called him "Major;" it is doubtful if Jackson was in any sense an Indian fighter, as the author would have us think (i., 84-90); it is a little too much to represent Jackson's success in the house of representatives in 1796-7 in regard to the claim of White as his triumph over "the best minds the federalist party could muster" (i., 120); in regard to Jackson's career in congress nothing is said of Jefferson's notable characterization of him at this time (i., 114-125)—as a matter of fact Jackson was a failure as a law-maker; the author is perhaps too confident about what Burr said to Jackson (i., 188); Burr's acquittal is referred to as though it occurred on the merits of the case. Many other such errors could be mentioned. For popular reading the book has much attractiveness; for it keeps up the human interest of the narrative in a commendable way. But it can never satisfy the thoughtful and informed reader who wants a discriminating view of Jackson's place among American political leaders.

J. R. ORMOND.

A GARDEN WITH A HOUSE ATTACHED. By Sarah Warner Brooks. Boston: Richard Badger, 1904,—118 pp.

Mrs. Brooks's book on gardening has the merit of being instructive and entertaining. The healthy love of nature which outdoor life awakens in most of us has pervaded it and has transferred itself to the reader. The ideal she has held up is not an impossible one. It is merely the beautification of the average home-grounds with average means. Her book, which is written in a remarkably cheerful tone, makes its appeal therefore to the

average American who feels in his or her heart the love of the things which grow out of the ground. It gives the simple story of what one woman did with the aid of a boy. Each feature of the process, each shrub, each gay blossom, each triumph of arrangement or of design in landscape effects, is described plainly and cheerfully. The pictures are adequate to the purposes of illustration. Wherever the desire for beautiful grounds and flowers reigns then this, and every other, book which tells knowingly about how to select and plant flowers will have a place and contribute to the world's happiness.

THE UNDERCURRENT. By Robert Grant. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—480 pp.

CHRISTMAS EVE ON LONESOME, AND OTHER STORIES. By John Fox, Jr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—234 pp.

BRED IN THE BONE. By Thomas Nelson Page. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—274 pp.

POKETOWN PEOPLE, OR PARABLES IN BLACK. By Ella Middletown Tybout. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904,—356 pp.

AN ANGEL BY BREVET. By Helen Pitkin. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904,—384 pp.

PAINTED SHADOWS. By Richard LeGallienne. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1904,—339 pp.

Mr. Grant's novel, "The Undercurrent," ought to be read by all those who are interested in the divorce question. It presents a sane and two-sided view of this problem—giving the point of view of the churches, which contend for the restriction of divorce to cases of adultery and that of those who allow divorce for nominal desertion. Between these lies a sure ground, which is capable of fair definition by statute, and Mr. Grant has found it. As a work of art "The Undercurrent" has strength of plot and narration. The author is master of many of the secret traits of woman's nature, he rises with dramatic force to a crisis, and his method is always wholesome. But one must regret his excessive use of monologue, as though he could not let his characters interpret themselves.

Mr. Fox's new volume of stories are already familiar to most readers of the popular magazines. They represent his best art in short story writing. Beside the title piece, they include "The

Army of the Callahan," "The Lost Stetson," "The Pardon of Becky Day," "A Crisis for the Guard," and "Christmas Night with Satan." They deal with the middle-class Southerners—people who are of neither the romantic planter class nor of the "poor white" class, but plain democratic Americans. Mr. Fox deserves the thanks of Southerners that he has kept to this phase of Southern life; for these are the people who are rebuilding Southern life, and it is to these that the ideals of literature ought to be given to inspire them to the best kind of intellectuality.

In "Bred in the Bone" Mr. Page is on the ground where he made his first triumphs and achieved his most lasting success. The story centers around an old negro—a young master whose fortunes are wrecked in the general cataclysm, and a blooded race-horse to which is assigned the task of retrieving in one momentous race the fortunes of the family. The narrative is presented in the style which the author has made famous in "Edinburg's Drowning." It is not, however, as good as his "Run to Seed;" but what else has he done which is as good as that? Besides this story the other pieces in the book are: "The Spectre in the Cart," "The Sheriff's Bluff," "The Long Hillside," "Old Jabe's Marital Experiments," "The Christmas Peace," and "Mam Lyddy's Recognition."

In "Poketown People" still another phase of Southern life is described. These tales—there are thirteen in all—deal with negro life from the negro standpoint. They chiefly center around the negro's church life. They do not embrace originality of purpose, and the dialect is not very successful; but many details of the plots are very clever. On the whole they make attractive if not informing literature. The excellent illustrations in colors by Frank Verbeck and Beulah S. Moore are one of the best features of the book.

The plot of "An Angel by Brevet" is laid in New Orleans among the voodoo cult of the old French negroes. The heroine is a member of a Creole family whose fortune in life is affected by the terror among those who serve her, which grows out of the charms of a pagan priestess. Back of all is the charming French devotion and gaiety which Mr. Cable long ago revealed to the reading public. Miss Pitkin handles her material with much

strength; but her hand lacks the sure and discriminating touch which comes from practice. Her details of plot do not always avoid confusion, and the movement is sometimes labored.

In the volume of sketches which LeGallienne gives us under the title of "Painted Shadows," one finds the peculiar artistic sense for which he is well known. He touches life with a delicate brush. His plots are not strong, or very purposeful; but they have the true aroma of my lady's boudoir. He does not hesitate to use the impossible fancies of mediæval romance to bring his stories to a desired consummation. "The Youth of Lady Constantia," which is the first story in the book, turns on the fact that a beautiful society woman of forty-five agrees with a wonderful physician, who gave her all her beauty for ten years, on condition that at the end of that time she should be as old as if she were eighty. The agreement is kept and at the end of the specified time the physician, with the aid of the love of her husband, gives her another lease on beauty. It is all very charming; and if it is unreal the grace of narration makes it seem as good as if it were as matter-of-fact as a mountain.

J. R. ORMOND.

HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By William Dawson Johnston. Washington: Government Printing Office, vol. i., 1904,—535 pp.

Mr. Johnston's first volume takes the history of our great national library from its beginning down to the year 1864. It deals in a full and scholarly way with the origin and growth of the idea of a national library, it gives full prominence to the feature of the Jefferson library, and it gives due attention to the members of congress and library officials who have made the library's growth a success. Much as we may talk about the baneful influence of the politician in matters which pertain to the literary and scientific activities of our government, it is apparent from the history of the library, that here is one instance at least in which the politician had a high ideal, an ideal which was nursed sedulously in the unfolding period of republicanism till at last it flowered in our great modern institution.

The history is but part of a larger series which has been planned under the supervision of Librarian Putnam. This series

will present the history of the several State libraries in America along with that of the library of congress. It will be brought out in instalments like the solid volume now before the public, and will be known as "Contributions to American Library History." It is, without doubt, a most commendable undertaking and cannot fail to stimulate to a marked extent the development of library work in the union.

The special features of Mr. Johnston's volume are full treatment of every phase of his subject, a particularly good account of the Jefferson library which was purchased as the nucleus of the present library—and which is now for the first time adequately described—many documents and much other material illustrative of the history of the library, the record of Librarian Watterson, an ample supply of good pictures, and a useful description of the development of the administrative machinery of the library.

GETTING A LIVING. THE PROBLEM OF WEALTH AND POETRY—OF PROFITS, WAGES, AND TRADE UNIONISM. By George L. Bolen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903, xii.,—769 pp.

Mr. Bolen has compressed into a single volume an able discussion of many of the leading economic questions of the day. Taking this work in connection with his previous book on "The Trusts and the Tariff," we have a most interesting treatment of a very large part of the field of practical economics. The author writes in a spirit of the utmost fairness and shows himself to be a man of judgment and of wide experience and information. Notwithstanding occasional peculiarities of style, Mr. Bolen's vigorous expression of opinions must always command the respect of the reader and often carry conviction.

Especially notable is this volume for the surprising array of facts drawn from authoritative sources and presented in the text and in abundant and lengthy footnotes. This feature gives the book a distinct value as a compendium of information on economic matters.

As a fair-minded and searching discussion of industrial questions this work is of especial value at the present time. Both employers and workingmen would be the better for reading it, whether or not one can entirely accord with the author's attitude towards

unionism. Trade unionists might gain much by studying his criticism of some of their policies. Individualists will delight in his sturdy and consistent support of their cause.

W. H. GLASSON.

THE STRATEGY OF GREAT RAILROADS. By Frank H. Spearman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—287 pp.

This volume is an interesting and untechnical account of the great railroad systems of the United States. It is also a handsome tribute to the energy, enterprise, and business sagacity of the great organizers who have built up these systems. Enthusiastic appreciation of their work is found throughout the chapters. A perusal of the book makes it clear that the captains of transportation industry have accomplished great and praiseworthy results. But one must not expect to learn from Mr. Spearman's pages much about that sort of railroad strategy which is frequently brought to light by the investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of similar bodies. The book is everywhere optimistic in tone as to the results of private management of railroads. Advocates of government regulation and control need not look here for aid and comfort.

While this book does not touch upon certain railroad problems which are now vital to the business welfare of the American people, it does give a readable, popular account of the building up of some of the great systems and of modern improvements in railway service. There is an exceptionally interesting chapter on "The Fight for Pittsburg," telling of the way in which the Wabash road succeeded in breaking down the Pennsylvania railroad's traffic monopoly in that great industrial center. The volume is furnished with maps of the principal railroad systems.

W. H. GLASSON.

MINOR REVIEWS

Among Mr. Richard Badger's (Boston) recent publications of books of poetry one finds the following: "A National Pæan," by Walter Allen Rice; "My House," by Edward A. Brackett; "Fancies and Thoughts in Verse," by Augustus George Heaton; "Poems, Lyric and Dramatic," by Ethel Louise Cox; "The Heavenly Dykes," by June E. Downey; "Poems," by William M. Byram; "Crux Ætates," by Martin Schutze; "Prairie Breezes," by James W. Foley; "Cassia," by Edith M. Thomas; "Poems," by Alexander Francis Chamberlain; "The Path o' Dreams," by T. S. Jones, Jr.; and "Love Sonnets to Ermingarde," by Edward O. Jackson.

Of all these one may mention the formal and dignified lines of Edith Thomas in "Cassia," the true reproduction of nature in Mr. Foley's "A Midsummer Pastoral," the artistic elevation of June E. Downey's "Heavenly Dykes," the chastened passion of Miss Cox's "Hamadryad," and the symmetry and thoughtfulness of Mr. Brackett's earlier poems—which the reviewer prefers to his later efforts. This collection of poems by persons little known to literary fame contains the promise of better days, although they must be confessed it is not replete with high merit.

Better than his poetry list is Mr. Badger's announcements of dramas. One finds much to enjoy—but less to approve—in Alice Groff's "Freedom"—which is a candid study of the marriage relation. Much interest centers also in "Tears," by Julius Hopp, and in "The New Light," by Hugh Mann.

George Turner Phelps has published an English version of Wagner's "Parsifal." (Richard Badger, Boston). He has followed the text adapted to the pianoforte score by Joseph Rubenstein (No. 23, 406), for Schott, the official Wagner publisher. The English is given on alternate pages with the German version, and the whole is published in handy form for the pocket; so that it may serve the purpose of the general reader or be carried to the opera as a libretto. The English rendition, however, is not very happy, even making all the allowances which one makes to a

translator. It does not rise to the dignity of poetry, and it illustrates the hopeless difficulties of translating so great a work as Parsifal by any one less than a great poet.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has placed students of American history under obligations by the compilation and publication of a "Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington." It is the result of the labors of Messrs. C. H. Van Tyne and W. G. Leland, and the publication is under the direction of Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, director of the Bureau of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution. This report gives a complete survey of the records of the various government offices in the national capital, together with such short historical accounts as are necessary to the enlightenment of the student. To this are added helpful references to printed works bearing on the same subjects, and other similar matter.

Two other publications of this Bureau of Historical Research are Professor McLaughlin's "Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State," and Professor E. D. Adams's monograph on "The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, 1787-1798." Of this "Report" one may say that it calls attention to one of the most valuable existing store-houses of information on American history. It is prepared in the hope that something may be done by the intelligent American public to secure the small appropriation necessary to publish the most important of these papers. Besides full arguments to this end Professor McLaughlin introduces specimen letters taken from the archives to show how great is the value of the whole series.

The American Book Company has brought out a new edition of Rolfe's old and long popular edition of Shakspeare's plays for school use. In the present edition the editor has sought to bring the volumes up to the requirements of modern educational methods. He has omitted most of the notes on textual variations, on the ground that these are not necessary since the publication of Dr. Farness's all-embracing volumes. The text has been corrected according to what the author considers the best criticisms. Alterations in this respect are, however, not very numerous. Most of the "Critical Comments" in the old edition have been omitted in the present volumes, and in the place thereof

we have various kinds of information from the author. Altogether the revision is an improvement of the favorite old edition of Shakspeare—an edition in which many of us made our first bow to the bard of Avon. Although it may not meet all requirements there are many classes in which teachers will still use it with great satisfaction.

Persons interested in North Carolina history will read with pleasure the first report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, of which Mr. R. D. W. Connor is secretary. This document announces the publication of a volume which shall contain a literary bibliography of North Carolinians for 1900-1905, the papers recently prepared in defence of the disputed points in regard to the State's war record, and other similar matter. It is also announced that the narratives of Lane, Harriot, and Barlowe—who told about Raleigh's expeditions—are to be reprinted. It is doubtful if there is any real need for these reprints, since they are readily accessible to students in Hakluyt's "Voyages" and in Hawks's first volume, which is not hard to obtain. The commission seems to believe that these books are demanded for popular reading; but it is extremely doubtful if they can ever be made to serve such a purpose. Far more hopeful than such reprinting is the announcement that "the real work lies in collecting, transcribing, and editing original sources." Aside from a good edition of Lawson, which is perhaps needed, and which ought to include, also, the first pages of Brickell, there is, perhaps, no extant history of North Carolina which needs to be reprinted.

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Volume IV. APRIL, 1905. Number 2.

The South Atlantic Quarterly.

Editors' Announcement

The editors of the SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY desire to express their deep appreciation of the service rendered the journal during the past three years by their predecessor, Dr. John Spencer Bassett. In his mind originated the idea of establishing it, and his patience, energy and wisdom have contributed largely to the measure of success which it has achieved. His established standing in the field of historical research guaranteed from the beginning a journal of liberal and scholarly ideals; while his wide acquaintance among investigators of historical, economic, and social questions has commanded as contributors many well trained writers. The reception of the QUARTERLY has been encouraging beyond expectation, and it has gained an established place as an organ of public opinion. It is a pleasure to announce—as it will be a pleasure for the readers of the QUARTERLY to know—that Dr. Bassett, as vice-president of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, will continue to be identified with the management of the QUARTERLY and that he will be a frequent contributor to its pages.

The South Atlantic Publishing Company—composed entirely of members of the faculties of Trinity College and of the Trinity Park School—will, as in the past, be responsible for the financial management of the magazine, thus ensuring its continuance under favorable auspices. From former contributors, as well as from other writers of ability and prominence throughout the United States, assurances have been received of timely and valuable articles. The editors earnestly invite the co-operation of all who are interested in the maintenance in the South of a periodical devoted to the candid discussion of such questions as may appear to have signal importance in our national life.

Naturally, the QUARTERLY will find its contributors, in large

part, among Southern men. It desires to be a medium of expression for a constantly increasing number of investigators and public spirited citizens who wish to write on vital subjects connected with Southern society. It would relate itself to that tendency now so marked among the younger generation of Southerners to give worthy and lasting form to their studies and investigations. The QUARTERLY hopes to share the results of, and at the same time to stimulate, this tendency among Southerners to give expression to their ideas. As in the past, its pages are open to men of all points of view, provided their articles are written with due attention to accuracy, good taste and literary style. The editors believe, however, that the best service that can be rendered the South today is the giving of opportunity for the writing of well-balanced and constructive criticism, as it may be applied to all phases of life.

Many intelligent Southerners have hesitated to give free expression to their opinions about Southern problems because of their dislike of publishing in Northern magazines or papers that which may, perchance, wound the feelings of the people of their own section. There has been a natural sensitiveness about any appearance of criticism from the outside rather than from an inside and sympathetic standpoint. Hence the need for the development of Southern periodicals in which Southern men may speak frankly and honestly the thing they feel. It is thus that the QUARTERLY hopes to attract to its columns the most thoughtful men of this section, men who will write about literary, educational, social, and religious problems without passion or prejudice, but rather with the freedom and cosmopolitanism that should characterize the cultivated man. It is frequently a complaint among the best men of the South that other sections of the country misjudge us by taking the opinions of certain public men and newspaper editors as typical of the better sentiment of the South. The fault is partly our own, in that the most thoughtful of our citizens have not given adequate and forceful expression to their points of view and have not thus become moulders of public sentiment.

While necessarily the articles in the QUARTERLY will be written for the most part by Southern men, the editors hope that no note of provincialism will be heard. They will do all in their power

to make the national spirit dominant. One of the editors is a Southerner—the son of a confederate soldier—related by training and sympathy with progressive forces in Southern life, and anxious above all other things to be of service to his native section. The other is a Northerner—who has become a citizen of North Carolina—earnestly desirous of sharing in sympathy and helpfulness the life and problems of the community in which he has made his home. Both are so confident of the future of the South as to feel a certain exhilaration at the prospect of what will be wrought out here within the next generation. They feel that one of the things most needed today is that the two sections may be brought to know one another and grow to be in sympathy with one another. To this end an effort will be made to manifest to Northern readers the elements in Southern life that are constructive, hopeful, and national, and to reveal to Southern readers the forces in the North that are coming to a far better understanding of Southern problems.

Much has been said of the New South. Whatever one may call it—the young South, or the present South, or “the Old South, made new by events”—it is an indubitable fact that the old order changeth, giving place to the new. Despite the forces of sectionalism, prejudice and passion, the national spirit is constantly growing here. Finding notable expression after the war in the letters of Robert E. Lee, in Lamar’s speech over the dead Sumner, in Lanier’s Centennial Cantata, and in the speeches of Henry Grady, it is now the dominant spirit among the younger men of the South, who will not have it that this is an isolated part of the nation. They share in the life of the nation at large, knowing that it is their inheritance from Washington and Marshall and Madison. This spirit is seen in industry, in education, in a growing sense of independence and freedom in politics. Though obscured now and then by waves of passion and prejudice, the national spirit in the South is an established fact and promises much for the future. The Northerner who does not reckon with it is blind to one of the most encouraging phases of contemporary American life.

There is a sense, too, in which there is a New North. The sense of nationalism has been strong there. Everything has tended to develop that spirit—victory in a great war, increasing commercial

prosperity and the continued success of a party that represents ideals of strong national government. Patriotism has been natural and yet it has frequently been a fact that, to the Northern mind, the nation meant the North and did not include the South. An intelligent Southerner who lived for several years in Cambridge, Mass., said that the average citizen of that community knew more about India than about the South. Northerners have failed to see with imagination the tragedy of the Civil War, the worse tragedy of Reconstruction, and the ever-present tragedy of two races trying to work out upon the same soil the problems of civilization. Hence they also have had a sectional feeling. All along, however, there has been a tendency in the direction of a genuine national spirit: it was in the heart of the great Lincoln when he delivered his second inaugural; it spoke in the 70's through Godkin and Carl Schurz, George William Curtis and Lowell. It received a monumental expression just the other day in President Roosevelt's address on Lincoln Day, when he said: "I believe in the Southerner, as I believe in the Northerner. I claim the right to feel a pride in his great qualities and in his great deeds, exactly as I feel pride in the great qualities and deeds of every other American. For weal or for woe we are knit together and I believe that we shall go up and not down, that we shall go forward instead of halting and falling back, because I have an abiding faith in the generosity, the courage, the resolution, and the common sense of all my countrymen."

To bring the national Southerner and the national Northerner closer together is the duty of every man who loves his country. Those who have the national spirit in both sections need each other's help in their struggle with the forces of sectionalism and prejudice. The QUARTERLY hopes to play a humble part in this work of bringing about a common understanding of the inherent worth and rightness of each section. There is the same spirit among those who have at heart the interest of this magazine, as was in evidence when the first editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* put the national flag on its cover.

The New North

BY HAMILTON WRIGHT MARIE

In the latest volume of his "History of the United States" Mr. James Ford Rhodes quotes these words from Col. Thomas H. Livermore, whose critical and dispassionate study of the history and statistics of the war between the States is one of the most important contributions to a knowledge of that momentous epoch: "The foregoing comparisons do not give ground on which to award the display of superior courage or steadfastness to the armies as a whole on either side. The record on both sides places the people of the United States in the first rank of militant nations." In a note of acknowledgment at the close of the volume Mr. Rhodes recognizes his indebtedness to "the unique publication, War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," and adds, "The acknowledgment of the War Department to the Confederate generals, to Jefferson Davis and his widow, for assistance in the collection of materials and the facts stated in connection therewith have probably no parallel in historical literature." When it is remembered that the war lasted four years, that a large section of country was swept bare not only of men and food, but of houses and tools; that the total enlistments in both armies were about four million, two hundred thousand; that a full half million men died on both sides on the field, from wounds, disease, accidents and other causes; that the total cost of the war was about \$5,000,000,000, the full significance of these statements becomes apparent. Add to these striking facts the statesmanlike attitude of General Grant in the closing hours of the struggle and the noble and far-seeing patriotism of General Lee and the real spirit in which a great conflict was conducted and ended becomes clear through clouds of misapprehension and deafening confusions of speech.

That war closed forty years ago for all save a few score politicians on both sides whose stock in trade is not new ideas and fresh perceptions of the needs of a new age, but worn-out phrases, a dying sectionalism of feeling and a perverted use of splendid traditions; and a group of men and women whose heart and

brains had been so absorbed in old-time issues that they continue to live in conditions which have disappeared. The battle flags have been exchanged; the President of the United States in public address has not only recognized the consummate courage of the men who fought against the Union, but their passionate sincerity as well; the war is finally and forever over. The day will come when statues of Lee and Stonewall Jackson will find place in the squares of Northern cities as types of ideal Americans, stainless in character, heroic in self-sacrifice, following duty with unshrinking loyalty and at an immense cost; and statues will be erected in Southern cities to Lincoln, the man of largest and tenderest heart whom the great crisis brought to the front, and the best and wisest friend of the South on either side the line. In his spirit, not in that of Stevens; in the temper of Lee, not in that of irreconcilable partisans, are to be found the soul of a heroic age and the prophetic lines of the development which was to follow the bitterness of ancient strife.

It is wise to recall these things for there is still, at times, a clamor of discordant voices from those who are in the new age but not of it, and because the heroic memories of the struggle form an inexhaustible capital of proud memories and of inspiring impulses for Americans in all time to come. It is only brave foes who can so respect one another that out of bitter strife they strike hands at last in indestructible fraternity. The conflict was sectional, the results of it are national. All honor to the men who conducted the long debate on fundamentally different ideas of the distribution of power under our system, and to the other men who lived through the sublime epic of strife or died in the throes of it; all reverence to the Grey and Blue as emblems of a kindred honesty of purpose and resolute facing of death! It is out of soil fed with such blood that great men spring and the noblest growths of national character and ideals arise.

These things are now a heritage; they belong to us as a people; what are we to do with them? To put them in a museum as in a shrine and worship them is to show them small honor; for they are not relics of a dead past; they are achievements which have created a new age; and we honor them most truly when we lift ourselves in breadth of vision and of work, to their level.

There was an Old South and there is now a New South; there

was also an Old North; it needs to be said that there is a New North. The Old North and the Old South were separated by radical differences of opinion and by deep and tragic ignorance; they drifted apart as the result of divergent conditions which they very imperfectly recognized, and when the crisis was upon them they underestimated alike the intensity of honest conviction and the resources of the two sections. Provincial America had expanded into Sectional America without any clear consciousness of the significance of the process, and Sectional America has now become a nation in the full, rich meaning of the word; and the New South and the New North are made up of the men and women who understand the significance of this tremendous growth and are determined to think and act in the light of it. These men and women, cherishing in equal honor the high memories of the days when their fathers lived apart, have been drawn together, not by the watch words of the fathers but by their spirit; and, above all, by their immense bequest of heroic service. The more rapidly and completely they can dispel the last lingering mist of misunderstanding and the more rapidly they can bring in clear knowledge, the more vital and fruitful will be the progress of the real reconstruction which has succeeded the anarchy and confusion of a reconstruction planned on sectional instead of national lines.

The New South has had much to unlearn and to learn, and so has the New North. A more radical reversal of opinion and feeling on many points than that which has taken place in the North during the past decade is hardly afforded in any other period or section. It would be easy to point out the changes of mind and heart in the South, but that has been done again and again; the country understands in a superficial way at least what the New South stands for. It does not, however, clearly understand that there is a New North and what the New North stands for.

It stands, in the first place, for a complete, honest, and sincere recognition that the Old South was as high-minded, disinterested, and conscientious as the Old North; that what it believed it believed with kindred integrity of conscience and fought for with a courage, self-sacrifice, and at a loss equalled probably, in range and magnitude, only by the courage, self-sacrifice, and loss of the

people of the Low Countries in their magnificent struggle against Spain.

It believes, in the second place, that on the great question of the relative powers of the nation and of the States the Old South was technically right, though historically wrong; that Calhoun's argument, on strictly technical grounds, was unanswerable. In the great debate Hayne spoke authoritatively for the framers of the constitution, while Webster spoke authoritatively for the necessities of the nation.

It recognizes, in the third place, that the initial responsibility for slavery was shared by the North and South alike, and that in the earlier stages of colonial development, slavery disappeared from the North and strengthened its hold in the South as the result of circumstances rather than of moral repugnance; and it sees with increasing clearness that to the isolation of the South, logically brought about by slavery, was largely due the arrest of the normal movement of the Southern mind, which, from the start, revealed a notable aptitude for dealing with public affairs in a large and statesmanlike spirit.

It recognizes, in the fourth place, that the policy of reconstruction which subverted the order of society in the South and placed the duties of citizenship on the negro without educating him to bear them was a blunder of tragic magnitude and a gross injustice to white and black alike; that to set in inevitable antagonism a class of men with fifteen hundred years of political education behind them and a class of men who had not learned the rudiments of that education was to invite the bitter and humiliating experience through which the South passed at the close of the war. It believes there were great and serious mistakes on both sides, but it regards those mistakes as part of the old misunderstanding which made Sectional America possible. The New North does not believe that the door of citizenship should be closed in any man's face because of race or color; but it also believes that all the conditions of citizenship, save this, belong to the States for settlement; that the South should decide for itself the conditions precedent to the granting of the franchise; that the South understands, as the North does not and cannot, the actual conditions under which this problem must be worked out; and that what the South needs from the North is the patience which

is born of knowledge, the sympathy which comes from an old and common responsibility, and the coöperation which is the fruit of faith.

The men and women of the New North recognize, finally, the full co-partnership of the South with the North in the shaping of the early history of the nation and the preponderance of Southern men among the early leaders; they honor the breadth and quality of educational work in the Old, and the inspiring leadership in educational activity and interest in the New South; they are as deeply interested in the early story of William and Mary, as in that of Harvard, Yale and Princeton; they accept at their full value the great achievements and services of the University of Virginia, one of the pioneers of university methods and training in this country; they know the solid and high-class work of such State institutions as the Universities of North Carolina, and Georgia, and Texas; they hold in high regard the long line of Southern colleges like Wofford and Randolph-Macon, which with small means and at great sacrifices, have held fast by the traditions of sound learning; and they are quick to honor Trinity, Vanderbilt, the University of Tennessee, the University of the South, which have set a new pace for educational progress in the South during the last fifteen years. They regard the rising tide of intellectual and educational interest in the South as one of the foremost movements of progress in American life, of equal importance to all sections of the nation.

The men and women of the New North have long been readers of Southern books and have not been slow to perceive that in Mr. James Lane Allen, Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, Mr. Joel Chandler Harris, Mr. John Fox, Jr., Miss Glasgow, Miss King—to select a few representative novelists—the New South holds a foremost place in later American writing. They long ago recognized the genius of Poe and appraised his rare and subtle work by national instead of sectional standards; they know the lyrics of Timrod, of Hayne, of Thompson, of Dr. Ticknor, of Father Ryan, of Cooke, of Hope and of Mrs. Preston; they are students of Lanier, whose achievement and career were on a level; and they are aware of those special qualities, gifts and capacities which the South alone can contribute to a literature which would be impoverished without the love of song for its own sake, the

power and freedom of emotion, the lyrical *abandon* and spontaneity which are the prime poetic gifts of the South.

With entire loyalty to its past and to the men and women who made that past articulate and commanding, the men and women of the New North have traveled so far out of sectionalism and into nationalism.

They hold the traditions sacred, but they feel the air of a new age, they live in the light of a nobler conception of what is and must be the work of the nation in the spiritual life of the world. They discard sectional valuations of political ideas, of scholarly standards, of literary achievement. They ask no immunity from the most searching criticism so long as it is just; they must have unfettered freedom of thought and of speech in religious and political discussion; their allegiance must be to the truth, not to formulas of their State or of their section; they are Americans to the heart, but they mean also to be citizens of that great community of the nations fast organizing itself as the ultimate unit of society. To this common ground the men and women of the New South and the New North are coming that they may plant the nation, prepared alike in the Old North and the Old South, on immovable foundations of righteousness, of mutual comprehension and sympathy, of fellowship in the faith of the fathers for the service of humanity.

Sidney Lanier: Reminiscences and Letters

BY DANIEL COIT GILMAN,

Ex-President of Johns Hopkins University

Five years before his death, to the surprise of many, Sidney Lanier was selected as the poet who should write a cantata for the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Before that time two of his longest and most highly finished poems, "Corn" and the "Symphony" had been printed in *Lippincott's Magazine*, nevertheless his fame was still so limited that the literary world did not know what to make of his nomination. Why was a confederate soldier preferred to a defender of the Union? Why should an unknown poet be selected from Baltimore, when other cities had their favorite famous sons,—New York her Bryant, Philadelphia her Boker, and Boston her famous trio? If a young man were to be chosen how did it happen that the lot should fall upon Sidney Lanier, not on Stedman, nor Gilder, nor on that gifted man of kindred soul, the California Sill? The answer was that Bayard Taylor proposed him and Bayard Taylor was a good critic. The questioner continued, "And why did Bayard Taylor name him?" The answer to this query was not obvious even when the Centennial Ode was printed in the newspapers long before the day of celebration. Its publication, says his biographer, Dr. Ward, "was the occasion of an immense amount of ridicule, more or less good humored." The author was pained by the criticism but his faith in his ideals of art remained unshaken.

As a Baltimorean who had just formed the acquaintance of Lanier, (both of us being strangers at that time in a city which we came to love as a most hospitable and responsive home,) I was much interested in his appointment. It was then true, though Dr. Holmes had not yet said it, that Baltimore had produced three poems, each of them the best of its kind: "The Star Spangled Banner" of Key, the "Raven" of Poe, and "Maryland, my Maryland," by Randall. Was it to produce a fourth poem as remarkable as these? Lanier's "Cantata" appeared in one of the daily journals, prematurely. I read it as one reads news-

paper articles, with a rapid glance, and could make no sense of it. Rhyme without reason, I would not say, but certainly words without sentences. I heard the comments of other bewildered critics. I read the piece again and again before the meaning began to dawn on me. Soon afterwards, Lanier's own explanation appeared and the Dawn became Daylight. The ode was not written "to be read." It was to be sung,—and sung not by a single voice, with a piano accompaniment, but in the open air, by a chorus of many hundred voices and with the accompaniment of a majestic orchestra, to music especially written for it by a composer of great distinction. The critical test would be its rendition. From this point of view the Cantata must be judged.

I remember well the day of trial. The President of the United States, the Emperor of Brazil, the Governors of States, the judges of the highest courts, the chief military and naval heroes were seated on the platform in the face of an immense assembly. There was no pictorial effect in the way they were grouped. They were a mass of living beings, a crowd of black-coated dignitaries, not arranged in any impressive order. No Cathedral of Canterbury, no Sanders Hall, no episcopal or academic gowns. The oratory was likewise ineffective. There were loud voices and vigorous gestures, but none of the eloquence which enchants a multitude. The devotional exercises awakened no sentiment of reverence. At length came the Cantata. From the overture to the closing cadence it held the attention of the vast throng of listeners, and when it was concluded loud applause rung through the air. A noble conception had been nobly rendered. Words and music, voices and instruments, produced an impression as remarkable as the rendering of the Hallelujah Chorus in the nave of Westminster Abbey. Lanier had triumphed. It was an opportunity of a lifetime to test upon a grand scale his theory of verse. He came off victorious.

Several months after the Centennial exercises I received a letter from Lanier inquiring as to the opportunity offered by Johns Hopkins University—then recently opened—to "those prosecuting original researches in science." This led to an interview in which plans for a chair of Music and Poetry at the University were discussed.* I was anxious to have him appointed to such a chair, but

*See Letters of Sidney Lanier, p. 30.

the trustees did not see their way to do so. A year later I received the following letter written just after his failure to secure a clerkship in Washington:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 26, 1877.

DEAR MR. GILMAN:—From a published report of your very interesting address I learn that there is now a vacant Fellowship. Would I be able to discharge the duties of such a position?

My course of study would be: first, constant research in the physics of musical tone; second, several years' devotion to the acquirement of a thoroughly scientific *general* view of Mineralogy, Botany and Comparative Anatomy; third, French and German Literature. I fear this may seem a nondescript and even flighty process; but it makes straight towards this final result of all my present thought, and I am tempted, by your great kindness, to believe that you would have confidence enough in me to await whatever development should come of it.

Sincerely yours,

SIDNEY LANIER.

It was not deemed advisable to award him the Fellowship. During the winter of 1877-'78 he became interested in the study of early English literature, delivering a series of lectures thereon at Mrs. Edgeworth Bird's in Baltimore. The lectures attracted attention as did those delivered the following year at Peabody Institute. On February 3, 1879, his thirty-seventh birthday, I notified him of his appointment to a lectureship in English Literature in the University. The letter here given is a full discussion of his plans and ideals with regard to his work:

180 St. Paul Street, BALTIMORE, Md., July 13, 1879.

MY DEAR MR. GILMAN:—I see, from your letter, that I did not clearly explain my scheme of lectures.

The course marked "Class Lectures" is meant for advanced students, and involves the hardest kind of university work on their part. Perhaps you will best understand the scope of the tasks which this course will set before the student by reading the enclosed *theses* which I should distribute among the members of the class as soon as I should have discovered their mental leanings and capacities sufficiently, and which I should require to be worked out by the end of the scholastic year. I beg you to read these with some care: I send only seven of them but they will be sufficient to show you the nature of the work which I propose to do with the *University student*. I should like my main efforts to take that direction; I wish to get some Americans at hard work in pure literature; and will be glad if the public lectures in Hopkins Hall shall be merely accessory to my main course. With this view, as you look over the accompanying *theses* please observe:

(1.) That each of these involves original research and will—if properly carried out—constitute a genuine contribution to modern literary scholarship;

(2.) That they are so arranged as to fall in with various other studies and extend their range,—for example, the first one being suitable to a student of philosophy who is pursuing Anglo-Saxon, the second to one who is studying the Transition Period of English, the sixth to one who is studying Elizabethan English, and so on;

(3.) That each one necessitates diligent study of some great English work, not as a philological collection of words, but as pure literature; and

(4.) That they keep steadily in view, as their ultimate object, that strengthening of manhood, that enlarging of sympathy, that glorifying of moral purpose, which the student unconsciously gains, not from any direct didacticism, but from this constant association with our finest ideals and loftiest souls.

Thus you see that while the course of "Class Lectures" submitted to you nominally centers about the three plays of Shakspeare* therein named, it really takes these for texts, and involves, in the way of commentary and of thesis the whole range of English poetry. In fact I have designed it as a thorough preparation for the serious study of the poetic art in its whole outcome, hoping that, if I should carry it out successfully, the Trustees might find it wise next year to create either a Chair of Poetry or a permanent lectureship covering the field above indicated. It is my fervent belief that to take classes of young men and to preach them the gospel according-to-Poety is to fill the most serious gap in our system of higher education; I think one can already perceive a certain narrowing of sympathy and—what is even worse—an unsymmetric development of faculty, both intellectual and moral, from a too exclusive devotion to Science which Science itself would be the first to condemn.

As to the first six class-lectures on "The Physics and Metaphysics of Poetry:" they unfold my system of English Prosody, in which I should thoroughly drill every student until he should be able to note down, in musical signs, the rhythm of any English poem. This drilling would continue through the whole course, inasmuch as I regard a mastery of the principles set forth in those lectures as vitally important to all systematic progress in the understanding and enjoyment of poetry.

I should have added, apropos of this Class-course, that there ought to be one examination each week, to every two lectures.

In the first interview we had, after my appointment, it was your intention to place this study among those required by the University for a Degree. I hope sincerely you have not abandoned this idea; and the course outlined in "Class-lectures" forwarded to you the other day and in the theses of which I send the first seven herewith seems to me the best to begin with. If it should be made a part of the "Major Course in Eng-

*Midsummer Night's Dream, Hamlet and The Tempest.

lish" (where it seems properly to belong,) I could easily arrange a simpler and less arduous modification of it for the corresponding "Minor Course."

I am so deeply interested in this matter—of making a finer fibre for all our young American manhood by leading our youth in proper relations with English poetry—that at the risk of consuming your whole vacation with reading this long and unconscionable letter I will mention that I have nearly completed three works which are addressed to the practical accomplishment of the object named, by supplying a wholly different method of study from that mischievous one which has generally arisen from a wholly mistaken use of the numerous "Manuals" of English literature. These works are my three text-books: (1). *The Science of English Verse*, in which the student's path is cleared of a thousand errors and confusions which have obstructed this study for a long time, by a very simple system founded upon the physical relations of sound; (2) *From Cædmon to Chaucer*, in which I present all the most interesting Anglo-Saxon poems remaining to us, in a form which renders their literary quality appreciable by all students, whether specially pursuing Old English or not, thus placing these poems where they ought always to have stood—as a sort of grand and simple vestibule through which the later mass of English poetry is to be approached; and (3) my *Chaucer*, which I render immediately enjoyable, without preliminary preparation, by an interlined glossarial explanation of the original text, and an indication (with hyphens) of those terminal syllables affecting the rhythm which have decayed out of the modern tongue. I am going to print these books and sell them myself, on the cheap plan which has been so successfully adopted by Edward Arber, lecturer on English literature in University College, London. I have been working on them for two months; in two more they will be finished; and by the middle of November I hope to have them ready for use as text-books. If they succeed, I shall complete the series next year with (4) a *Spenser* on the same plan with the Chaucer, (5) *The Minor Elizabethan Song-Writers*, and (6) *The Minor Elizabethan Dramatists*; the steady aim of the whole being to furnish a working set of books which will familiarize the student with the actual works of English poets, rather than with their names and biographers.

Pray forgive this merciless letter. I could not resist the temptation to unfold to you all my hopes and plans connected with my university-work among your men which I so eagerly anticipate.

I will trouble you to return these notes of theses when you have examined them at leisure.

Faithfully yours,

SIDNEY LANIER.

After getting well into his work he wrote me, the following spring, a letter suggesting a course in writing for the undergraduates:

435 N. Calvert Street, BALTIMORE, March 16, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR:—It has several times occurred to me to ask if I might not be of further service to you in providing instruction for the *undergraduates* of our Collegiate Department in Rhetoric, Sentence-building, English Composition, Punctuation, and the like, with practical exercises in Essay-writing. I believe this forms part of the "Course" in every college: and I have recently seen some shrewd strokes at Harvard for turning out graduates who could not write a passable English letter. All the instruction in my special line, so far, has been quite advanced.

Perhaps I should report that I gave the last of my first series of ten readings on Monday night; and that I had a pleasant meeting with the Science-class yesterday afternoon at four, in Professor Morris's room.

Faithfully yours,

SIDNEY LANIER.

There are other letters which give his suggestions as to courses of study. These are enough, however, to show the conscientiousness and enthusiasm which characterized his work. He was very successful in inspiring and instructing those who came within sound of his voice.

The appearance of Lanier was striking. There was nothing eccentric or odd about him, but his looks, manners, ways of speech had distinction. I have heard a lady say that if he took his place in a crowded horse-car, an exhilarating atmosphere seemed to be introduced by his breezy ways. He was not far from five feet ten inches in height, slight in figure, with jet black hair, pallid complexion, bright restless eyes and a long flowing beard which gracefully fell upon his breast. His motions were alert and nervous, his speech gentle and refined, his dress careful and his gloves of the nicest fit, but there was nothing finical in all this, not even the suspicion of Bohemia, and in the days of his greatest need, he was always a gentleman in appearance and dress. This is an inadequate description for it does not portray that rare combination of gentleness and intellectual brightness or that sunshiny and sympathetic smile which illuminated his face. I have listened to many comments upon his bust, as it stands in the Johns Hopkins University Hall. One said, "He looks like Moses;" another, "He looks like Christ." A German physiologist simply said "Tuberculosis."

The last time that I saw Lanier was in the spring of 1881, when after a winter of severe illness, he came to make arrangements for his lectures of the next winter and to say good-bye for

the summer. His emaciated form could scarcely walk across the yard from the carriage to the door. "I am going to Asheville, N. C.," he said, "and I am going to write an account of that region as a railroad guide. It seems as if the Good Lord always took care of me. Just as the doctors had said that I must go to that mountain region the publishers gave me a commission to prepare a book." "Good-bye," he added, and I supported his tottering steps to the carriage door, never to see his face again.

He always preserved his sweetness of disposition, his cheerfulness, his courtesy, his industry, his hope, his ambition. Like a true knight errant, never disheartened by difficulty, never despondent in the face of danger, always brave, full of resources, confident of ultimate triumph. One of his own poems, "Life and Song," is a picture of his inner life; its closing couplet might be his epitaph:

His song was only living aloud;
His work, a singing with his hand.

Through the summer he struggled for recovery. "Never think I shall die," he said to his wife. "Give me a stimulant to bring me back when you see me fail." She did this more than once, but at last when she offered him a drop of cordial, he gasped, "I can't," and his brave soul fled. "*Aspiro dum expiro*" were the words we placed upon a memorial brass in the hall where he had lectured, and on the card of invitation which brought his friends together to celebrate his forty-sixth birthday, Mrs. Whitman printed for us the words which concluded his last poem.

Seven years after his death a bust of Sidney Lanier in bronze was given to the Johns Hopkins University. The hall was filled with a company of those who knew and admired him. On the pedestal which supported the bust, hung his flute and a roll of his music; a garland of laurels crowned his brow, and the sweetest of flowers were strewn at his feet. Letters came from Lowell, Holmes, Gilder, Stedman; young men who never saw him, but who had come under his influence, read their tributes in verse; a former student of the university, Albert H. Tolman, made a critical estimate of the "Science of English Verse;" a lady read several of Lanier's own poems; another lady sang one of his musical compositions, adapted to words of Tennyson, and another song of his

to which some one else wrote the music; a college president of New Jersey held up Lanier as a teacher of ethics; but the most striking figure was the trim, gaunt form of a Catholic priest—Father Tabb—who referred to the day when they, two confederate soldiers, (the Huguenot and the Catholic) were confined in the union prison, and with tears in his eyes said, his love for Lanier was like that of David for Jonathan. Sweetest of all the testimonials came at the very last moment, unsolicited and unexpected, from that charming poetess, Edith Thomas. She heard of the memorial assembly and on the spur of the moment wrote her well-known lines, suggested by one of Lanier's own verses.

The Hague Court

BY JOHN H. LATANE, PH. D.,

Professor of History in Washington and Lee University

The principle of international arbitration has received wide recognition in the past few years. In spite of recent wars there has developed among the peoples of the earth a strong undercurrent of sentiment in favor of peace, and during the past twelve months this sentiment has manifested itself to an extraordinary degree in what is now commonly called the world's peace movement. From pulpit and press, from philanthropic associations, from conferences of lawyers and publicists, national and international, the demand has come for the peaceful adjustment of international disputes, and this demand has been met by the negotiation of arbitration treaties, a score or more of which have already been entered into by the leading powers of the world. This subject is of special interest to Americans on account of the frequent recourse that has been had to arbitration by the nations on this continent. No country has done more to encourage this method of procedure in the settlement of international differences than the United States. The greatest triumph of the principle was the reference by England and the United States after the civil war of the so-called Alabama Claims to a special court of arbitration convened at Geneva. The award of the Geneva tribunal, though galling to England, was accepted without question, and the two great branches of the English-speaking race thus set an example of incalculable value.

It is rather difficult to determine the exact number of cases that have been submitted to arbitration before specially constituted courts during the past hundred years, but a recent writer on the subject gives the following interesting data, which seem to be approximately correct:* Between 1794 and 1820 there were 15 cases of arbitration; between 1821 and 1840, 8; between 1841 and 1860, 20; between 1861 and 1880, 44; and between 1881 and 1900, 90. By states the record is as follows: Great Britain

*La Fontaine: *Histoire Documentaires des Arbitrages Internationaux*: Berne, 1902.

has been a party to 70 arbitrations, the United States to 56, Chili to 26, France to 26, Peru to 14, Portugal to 12, Brazil to 11, Argentina to 10, Spain to 10, and several other states have resorted to arbitration in a smaller number of instances. It is interesting to note that Russia has been a party to only four arbitrations, Austria to only two, and Germany to none until the recent Venezuelan case.

All these cases have been submitted to special courts of arbitration organized for the occasion, each resting on a special treaty of a temporary character, and each tribunal adopting its own rules of procedure. The organization of temporary special tribunals under special treaties involves unnecessary delay and expense, and it has long been held by the friends and advocates of arbitration that the ever-increasing number of cases submitted to this method of settlement justified some more permanent arrangement. It was with this view that a permanent arbitration treaty between England and the United States was negotiated by Mr. Olney and Lord Pauncefoot and submitted by President Cleveland to the Senate in January, 1897. But the Senate unfortunately rejected the treaty, it lacking only two of the necessary two-thirds vote. A year later, however, the Czar of Russia issued his call for the Peace Conference, which resulted in the adoption by all of the powers represented of the Convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences. This treaty is a fundamental code or constitution creating a permanent court and making definite provision for the procedure in any cases that the signatory powers may see fit to bring before it.

Few events of modern times have been the subject of greater misapprehension on the part of the general public than the Peace Conference which met at the Hague in 1899. Even at this time comparatively few people are intelligently informed as to what was actually accomplished there. The Czar's note calling the Conference defined its objects as the promotion of international peace and the possible limitation of excessive armaments. The press of Europe at once characterized the proposed gathering of diplomats as the "Disarmament Conference," and its attitude was anything but friendly and helpful. This attitude was not changed even after the Conference met and settled down to serious work. In a meeting of European diplomats it was unfortunately

considered necessary to rigidly exclude all press representatives, but the disadvantages of this situation might have been at least partly obviated had not certain members of the Conference displayed a distinctly hostile spirit toward the press. The result was that when it became evident that the subject of disarmament could not even be discussed by the Conference, the majority of the press representatives left The Hague and declared the Conference a failure. Henceforth the public was furnished with vague or inaccurate reports from unreliable sources. The misapprehension thus arising as to the real object of the Conference was further strengthened by the fact that several of the powers represented were soon engaged in bloody wars. The public not unnaturally adopted the view that the whole movement was a failure. Many newspapers continue to hold this view, and the subject still affords a wide target for the derisive shafts of cartoonists. It would be difficult to find an illustrated paper in which the Peace Conference is not continually held up to ridicule.

The question as to what powers should be invited to participate in the Conference was a difficult one for the Russian Government to decide, but invitations were finally extended to all governments having regular diplomatic representation at St. Petersburg. This excluded the South African Republics with the embarrassing question as to their status then pending with England, as well as the Pope with his claim to temporal power. An unfortunate omission was that of the South and Central American states, but no exception could be made in their case. The United States and Mexico were thus the only American states represented. This does not mean that the other American republics are debarred from access to The Hague Court. The Venezuelan case was carried there in 1903, and it is probable that at the next conference the other American states will be admitted as signatory powers. At the Pan-American Conference of 1901, held in the City of Mexico, a resolution was adopted declaring that the three conventions adopted at The Hague should be regarded as American public law.

There were twenty-five states represented at The Hague Conference and the total number of delegates happened to be one hundred, all of whom were present at the opening exercises. The seats were allotted to the powers in alphabetical order in the

French language, and the United States of America having been classified as "Amerique" shared with Germany (Allemagne) the seats of honor directly in front of the chair. Mr. Holls, the historian of the Conference, tells us that Count Münster jokingly referred to this arrangement as a part of the new "imperialistic" policy of the United States. On being assured by the American representatives that they were innocent of all complicity in this matter, he shook his head and smilingly replied, "American innocence is generally your excuse, and has always been a drawing card in diplomacy." The United States was represented at the Conference by Andrew D. White, Seth Low, Stanford Newel, Captain A. T. Mahan, Captain William Crozier, and Frederick William Holls, as Secretary and Counsel. The other nations sent men of equal standing, statesmen, diplomats, jurists, and soldiers. Throughout its sittings the proceedings of the Conference were marked by straightforwardness and simplicity. There was an entire absence of ostentatious display. While the Conference discussed a number of questions of grave international import and adopted conventions concerning the rules of war by land and of maritime warfare, its great work was the establishment of a permanent international court of arbitration. The Convention making provision for this Court is the Magna Charta of International Law.*

The Convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences offers three methods of settlement without resort to war: (1) Through good offices and mediation; (2) Through International Commissions of Inquiry, and (3) By submission to the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The tender and use of good offices and mediation is nothing new in international relations, but hitherto powers who have not been directly concerned in a dispute have usually refrained from offering mediation unless they had received some intimation that it would be acceptable. The Hague Convention gives the signatory powers the right to make the offer and declares that the exercise of the right shall never be regarded as an unfriendly act. Good offices and mediation have exclusively the

*Holls: *The Peace Conference at the Hague*: (The Macmillan Co., 1900.) A general reference is here made to this work, which is the recognized authority, a veritable Madison's Journal.

character of advice, and never have binding force. It is provided that, "In case of a serious difference endangering the peace, the States at variance shall each choose a Power, to whom they entrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen on the other side, with the object of preventing the rupture of pacific relations. During the period of this mandate, the term of which, unless otherwise stipulated, cannot exceed thirty days, the states in conflict shall cease from all direct communication on the subject of the dispute, which is regarded as having been referred exclusively to the mediating powers, who shall use their best efforts to settle the controversy." It will be observed that this method is similar in all respects to that formerly employed in the settlement of affairs of honor between gentlemen.

International Commissions of Inquiry are recommended by the Convention "in differences of an international nature involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on matter of fact." Such commissions shall be constituted by a special agreement between the parties to the controversy, and the agreement shall specify the facts to be examined and the extent of the powers of the commissioners. The report of a commission shall be limited to a statement of the facts, and shall in no way have the character of an arbitral award. It leaves the parties free to act on the facts after they shall have been ascertained. Probably no act of the Peace Conference will prove of greater efficacy in the immediate future than this provision for international commissions of inquiry. In times of sudden national excitement the value of a moment gained is incalculable. This provision of the treaty has just been invoked by Russia and Great Britain with a view to an amicable adjustment of the North Sea incident. According to the terms of the agreement the commission was organized as follows: England, Russia, France, and the United States were each to name one member of the commission and these four were to select a fifth. The United States appointed Rear Admiral Davis; France, Admiral Fournier; England, Admiral Beaumont; and Russia, Admiral Kaznakov. At the first meeting of the commission at Paris, December 22, Admiral von Spaun of Austria was chosen as the fifth member, and Admiral Fournier was made president. Early in January

Admiral Kaznakov retired from the commission on account of ill-health and Vice-Admiral Dubassov was appointed in his place. The findings of the commission, which were announced February 25, were in the nature of a compromise, as the majority approved the British contention that there were no torpedo boats among the fishing vessels or in their neighborhood, and therefore that Admiral Rojestvensky was not justified in opening fire, and the majority also approved the Russian contention that Admiral Rojestvensky acted according to his belief, even though mistaken, and that therefore his action did not reflect upon his military valor or sentiments of humanity. In substance the decision is not so much of a compromise as it appears on its face. It should be noted that while no direct censure was passed upon the Russian Admiral as far as his motives were concerned, yet Russia was by no means relieved of responsibility for the incident. The work of the commissioners was done when they ascertained the facts. The British Government will now demand of Russia the indemnity which she thinks those facts warrant and Russia will doubtless meet the demand by a prompt acquiescence.

By far the most important act of the Peace Conference was the establishment of the permanent court of arbitration at The Hague. There was at the outset some doubt as to whether the provisions of the convention for arbitration should be carried out by special tribunals or by a permanent court. The United States was from the first in favor of a permanent court, but the honor of first proposing a definite scheme for such a court fell to Lord Pauncefote, the chairman of the British delegation, and he became its special champion in the deliberations that ensued. This scheme was antagonized by Germany, but the sentiment of the other delegates was so strongly in favor of it that the German representatives, after consulting their government, finally agreed to the Convention.

The Hague Court consists of a large body of judges, each of the signatory powers being allowed to appoint as many as four. The appointments are made for a term of six years and the appointees must be "persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation." The judges so appointed constitute a Permanent Court of Arbi-

tration, but they do not sit as a collective body, and do not receive pay unless called upon to serve. When two or more nations have a case to submit to arbitration they select the arbitrators for the special tribunal from the general list or panel of the Court. They may select any number they choose, but if the tribunal be not constituted by special agreement of the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner: Each party shall name two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. The members of the Court in the discharge of their duties and outside of their own country shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. The Court shall ordinarily sit at The Hague, but the place of session may with the assent of the parties be changed.

The Convention also establishes an International Bureau at The Hague to serve as a record office for the Court, as well as a permanent administrative Council composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers at The Hague, and of the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, who shall act as president. This Council is charged with the organization, direction, and control of the Bureau. It appoints the officials of the Bureau, fixes their salaries, and controls the general expenditure. The expense of the Bureau is borne by the signatory powers in the proportion established for the bureau of the International Postal Union. The expenses of each case submitted are borne by the parties to the suit. Arbitration is in no case compulsory. It is purely facultative. There is in the treaty no limitation as to the class of cases that may be submitted to arbitration, but it declares that this method of settlement is particularly applicable to questions of a judicial nature and especially to questions regarding the interpretation or application of international treaties and conventions. Article XXXI provides: "The powers which resort to arbitration shall sign a special act (*compromis*), in which the subject of the difference shall be precisely defined, as well as the extent of the powers of the arbitrators. This act implies an agreement by each party to submit in good faith to the award."

The Arbitration Convention was signed July 29, 1899, by the representatives of sixteen powers. It was later signed and ratified by all the powers represented at the Hague Conference.

The United States Senate ratified it unanimously, February 5, 1900. On September 4, 1900, the solemn deposit of the ratifications took place in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs at The Hague, and the powers soon announced their appointments to the Court. President McKinley appointed as the American members, November 24, 1900: Ex-President Benjamin Harrison, Chief Justice Melville Fuller, Attorney-General John W. Griggs, and Justice George Gray. Ex-President Cleveland was offered a place, but declined. After the death of ex-President Harrison, Mr. Oscar S. Straus, former minister to Constantinople, was appointed a member of the Court.

On October 7, 1903, Andrew Carnegie gave the sum of \$1,500,000 for the purpose of building, establishing, and maintaining at The Hague a Court House and Library (Temple of Peace) as a permanent home for the Court. It is to be hoped that this building will stand for ages as the donor's most enduring monument. Already the Court has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its advocates. When the Conference adjourned the opinion was expressed in many quarters that the treaty was visionary and utopian and that the provisions for the permanent Court would soon lapse for want of litigants, but this view proved erroneous. The Court opened its first session September 15, 1902, to hear the case of the United States vs. Mexico in the matter of the Pious Fund of the Californias. A longer time than this elapsed after the organization of the Supreme Court of the United States before it was resorted to by litigants. Eighteen months later the Venezuelan case was heard, and the third case is now in process of submission. No better idea of the efficiency and value of the Court can be obtained than by a review of these cases.*

The so-called "Pious Fund of the Californias" dates back to the year 1697, when members of the Jesuit order undertook the conversion of the Indians of the Californias and began to collect contributions for this purpose. In the course of a century this sum grew to over a million dollars. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from his dominions the King of Spain acted as trustee,

*An interesting discussion of recent phases of the subject of arbitration is to be found in John W. Foster's *Arbitration and the Hague Court* (Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1904).

and when Mexico declared her independence of Spain the Mexican Government undertook the management of the fund for the pious uses intended by its founders. In 1842 the real estate and other property of the fund was sold by decree of the Mexican government and the proceeds paid into the national treasury, the government at the same time acknowledging an indebtedness of 6 per cent. per annum on the total proceeds of the sale. After the purchase of Upper California by the United States in 1848, Mexico failed to pay any part of the income to the bishops of Upper California, who finally brought their case before the claims commission organized under the treaty of 1868. The umpire, Sir Edward Thornton, to whom the case was finally referred, gave judgment in favor of the claimants, and Mexico paid the amount of the award, but failed to keep up the interest for the future. In 1891 the State Department finally took up the matter of the claim for interest which had accrued since 1869, and on May 22, 1902, Mexico signed an agreement with the United States submitting the question to the Hague Court. In this agreement the tribunal was given power to determine:

"1. If said claim, as a consequence of the former decision, is within the governing principle of *res judicata*, and

"2. If not, whether the same be just; and to render such judgment and award as may be meet and proper under all the circumstances of the case."

The United States selected from the general list of judges as its nominees for the special tribunal Prof. F. de Martens, of Russia, and Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, of England; while Mexico named Mr. T. M. C. Asser and Jonkheer A. F. de Savornin Lohman, both of Holland. These four gentlemen met at The Hague September 1, 1902, and chose as the fifth member and president of the tribunal Prof. Henning Matzen, of Copenhagen. The United States was represented by the following counsel: William L. Penfield, Solicitor of the State Department; Senator Stewart, Chevalier Deschamps, a Senator of Belgium; Charles J. Kappler, W. T. S. Doyle, Garrett W. MacEnerney, and Jackson H. Ralston as Agent. The official language of the tribunal was French—that is, the minutes of the proceedings and the award are in that language; but as all of the arbitrators were familiar with both French and English, the right was extended to the

representatives of the United States to address the court in English.

The main point argued was as to whether the decision of the mixed commission organized under the treaty of 1868 should be given the effect of *res judicata*. The Mexican Government took the position that under the terms of that treaty the mixed commission was to determine claims that had arisen between 1848 and 1868; that the interest which had accrued since 1868 was in the nature of a new claim and therefore could not be considered to have been adjudicated upon in the former decision. Of course, Mexico's object was to secure a rehearing of the whole case on its merits. The merits of the case were discussed at some length, Mexico maintaining that the fund had been nationalized and was subject to the laws of Mexico and that the claimants could not seek redress outside of the courts of Mexico; that the right to claim further payment of the interest had expired by Mexican statute of limitations. They further claimed that the fund was established for the conversion of the Indians and that there were no longer any Indians to be converted in California.

The tribunal decided the case in favor of the United States. The judges ruled that the principle of *res judicata* applies not only to the judgments of tribunals created by the state, but equally to arbitral sentences rendered within the limits of the jurisdiction fixed by the agreement; that in the case before them there was not only identity of parties to the suit, but also identity of subject matter, compared with the sentence of Sir Edward Thornton. The claim of the United States for payment in gold was, however, disallowed. The Court held that the decision of Sir Edward Thornton on this point did not have the force of *res judicata* except for the twenty-one years' interest due at that time. The final award was as follows: "The Government of the Republic of the United Mexican States shall pay to the Government of the United States of America on February 2, 1903, and each year following on the same date of February 2, perpetually, the annuity of \$43,050.99 Mexican, in money having legal currency in Mexico." The sessions of the Court for the hearing of arguments in this case extended over ten days, and the printed report of the American agent fills 891 pages.* The decision was rendered Octo-

*Appendix II, Foreign Relations, 1902.

ber 14, 1902. The five judges received \$5,000 each for their services.

The facts in the celebrated Venezuelan case may be summarized as follows:

(1) Germany, Great Britain and Italy formed an alliance, and in December, 1902, blockaded the ports of Venezuela, in order to force a settlement of claims alleged to be due their subjects.

(2) The United States intervened diplomatically and secured an agreement in which Venezuela recognized the justice of a part of the claims and promised to set aside thirty per cent. of her customs receipt for their payment, the powers, on the other hand, agreeing to submit their claims to the arbitration of mixed commissions.

(3) The situation was, however, further complicated by the demand of the blockading powers that the sums ascertained by the mixed commissions to be due them should be paid in full before anything was paid upon the claims of the peace powers.

(4) Venezuela insisted that all her creditors should be treated alike, and President Roosevelt suggested to the powers that their demand for preferential treatment be submitted to arbitration. The powers replied by asking him to act as arbitrator. This President Roosevelt refused to do and pointed to The Hague Court as the proper tribunal. The powers finally agreed to this, and thus President Roosevelt scored a great gain for the general cause of international arbitration.

During the summer of 1903 ten mixed commissions sat at Caracas to adjudicate upon the claims of as many nations against Venezuela. These commissions simply determined the amount of the claims. The question as to preferential treatment went to The Hague. In the agreement it was provided that there should be three arbitrators selected by the Emperor of Russia, and that no one of them should be a citizen of any of the signatory or creditor powers. The judges chosen were: M. N. V. Mourawieff, of Russia, Prof. H. Lamash, of Austria, and Prof. F. de Martens, of Russia. The agreement also provided that the proceedings should be in the English language, but that the arguments might be in any other language. The main question for the tribunal to decide was whether or not Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, had acquired by the use of force any rights which other creditor nations did not possess, i. e., whether they

were entitled to preferential treatment. These three powers maintained the affirmative of this proposition, while the others, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, and the United States claimed equal rights with the powers which had resorted to force.

The court decided that the three allied powers were entitled to preferential treatment; that Venezuela had recognized in principle the justice of their claims in the protocols she had signed, while she had not recognized in principle the justice of the claims of the pacific powers; that the neutral powers had profited to some extent by the operations of the allies, and that their rights remained for the future absolutely intact. This decision, emanating from a peace court, and endorsing the principle of armed coercion, was received with no small degree of criticism. Attention was called to the fact that the judges were from countries which had always recognized *droit de force* as the principal *modus vivendi*. The choice of judges was necessarily limited where thirteen powers (counting Venezuela) were parties to the suit. The decision was rendered at The Hague February 22, 1904.*

The third case, in which England, Germany and France are parties on the one hand, and Japan on the other, is now in process of submission to The Hague Court.

The peace movement has made rapid progress during the past few months, and President Roosevelt has recently addressed a circular note to the powers with reference to calling a second conference. This call has been the subject of gross misrepresentation, coming as it did on the eve of the Presidential election. The idea, however, did not emanate from the President, but the note was issued in response to a resolution of the Interparliamentary Union at its session in St. Louis in September, 1904. Similar action was taken by the International Congress of Lawyers and Jurists which met at St. Louis the same month, and a week later by the International Peace Congress at Boston.

The Hague Convention does not bind any power to submit any dispute to arbitration. Resort to the Court is purely optional. But during the past year a score or more of treaties have been

*Venezuelan Arbitrations of 1903, Senate Document No. 316, 58th Congress, 2d Session, p. 1057.

concluded between the nations of Europe, binding themselves to submit certain classes of disputes, not affecting their independence, honor, or vital interests, to The Hague Court for arbitration. The most important of these treaties are the Anglo-French, the Anglo-Italian, the Franco-Italian, a treaty between Denmark and Holland, the Franco-Spanish, the Franco-Dutch, the Anglo-Spanish, the Anglo-German, and treaties between England and the Scandinavian powers, and between Spain and Portugal. A number of people think that these treaties are not worth the paper they are written on, but such is not the opinion of publicists. "To settle disputes by arbitration is a very good habit to get into; and once the habit is formed as to minor matters, it is only a step farther to settlement of the major differences by the same means."

Meanwhile the United States has not been idle in this matter of negotiating arbitration treaties. On November 1, 1904, Secretary Hay and the French ambassador signed a treaty along the lines of the Anglo-French agreement. This was followed by treaties of the same tenor with Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, and Great Britain, and it was announced that assurances had been received from Italy, Russia, Mexico, and other powers, that they were ready to negotiate similar treaties.

The arbitration treaties were submitted to the Senate in December last, but were amended in such a way as to render them unacceptable to the President. The first protest against them came from certain Southern Senators, who feared that under their terms the foreign holders of the repudiated bonds of some of the Southern States might bring their claims before the Hague Court. It was therefore proposed to amend the treaties so as to preclude any such possibility. Such an amendment might have been agreed upon, but opposition of a wholly different character soon developed. The interpretation put by the executive upon one clause of the treaties seemed to strike a blow at the constitutional prerogatives of the Senate. The difficulty arose as to the meaning of the word "agreement" in the second article, which reads as follows: "In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall conclude a special agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and the

periods to be fixed for the formation of the arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure." The question was raised as to whether the term "agreement" meant the same as treaty and required the concurrence of the Senate, or whether the President could make such an agreement without the consent of the Senate. When it was found that the President and Secretary Hay took the latter view, an amendment was proposed substituting the word "treaty" for "agreement" in the article quoted above. This amendment not only met the objection raised by the Southern Senators, but further safeguarded the constitutional prerogatives of the Senate, that body holding that the passage of the treaties in the original form would amount to a practical delegation of the treaty-making powers of the Senate to the President. From a constitutional point of view this position was undoubtedly sound.

The President showed no small degree of impatience and even of irritation at this proposed action of the Senate, and in a letter to Senator Cullom, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, dated February 10, stated his views at length. He said: "If the word 'agreement' were retained it would be possible for the Department of State to do as, for instance, it has already done under the Hague treaty in the Pious Fund arbitration case with Mexico, and submit to arbitration such subordinate matters as by treaty the Senate had decided could be left to the executive to submit under a jurisdiction limited by the general treaty of arbitration. If the word 'treaty' be substituted, the result is that every such agreement must be submitted to the Senate; and these general arbitration treaties would then cease to be such, and, indeed, in their amended form they amount to a specific pronouncement against the whole principle of a general arbitration treaty." The President added that if the proposed amendment were adopted he would not refer the treaties back to the other powers for ratification, for in the amended form "they probably represent not a step forward, but a slight step backward as regards the question of international arbitration."

The President's protest was of no avail. On February 11 the Senate ratified the treaties in the amended form, the amendment being adopted by a vote of 50 to 9. The nine votes sustaining the President were cast by the members of the Committee on

Foreign Relations. Even staunch supporters of the President, like Senator Lodge, opposed his views in this matter. It was developed in the discussion that the President had entered into other arrangements with foreign powers under the term of agreements without submitting them to the Senate, and it was felt that the President was too impatient of restraint on his power to manage international questions and that he apparently did not fully appreciate the constitutional limitations imposed upon the executive. It is difficult to see how the President's position in refusing to accept the Senate's amendment can be sustained. The Hague Convention simply established a permanent court of arbitration and adopted certain rules of procedure. It did not make arbitration compulsory in any case. The new treaties went a step further and made arbitration compulsory in certain classes of cases. The fact that under our constitutional system each agreement defining the questions at issue and the extent of the powers of the arbitrators must be submitted to the Senate does not nullify the compulsory features of the treaties, for the Senate as a coördinate branch of the government is just as much bound as the President to carry out in good faith our obligations with foreign powers. All it demands is the right to pass upon such agreements, and to determine whether they come within the scope of the general treaties. The question of the repudiated bonds of certain States is a case in point. A president might decide that they were in the class of questions covered by the general arbitration treaties, while the Senate might take a different view. Wisely or unwisely, our constitution does impose a restraint upon the executive in matters of foreign policy; wisely, most of us think, no doubt. At any rate the Senate has taken a stand clearly within its rights, and it is a matter of regret to all true friends of arbitration that the President should have repudiated the treaties because the Senate undertook to safeguard its constitutional prerogatives by striking out an ambiguous word and substituting one about which there could be no misunderstanding.

Ruskin's Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*

BY HENRY NELSON SNYDER,
President of Wofford College

To have been the trusted friend and helper of a number of great men of letters, to have been their chosen literary executor, to have been faithful after their death in seeing that their genius got itself fairly and adequately before the world, to have been thought by men of such widely differing temperament and gifts as Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin to be the leading representative of all that is best in American life, are considerations sufficient to make noteworthy anything Professor Norton gives us. It is good to think, moreover, that this comparatively new American society can grow such as he. Of political and military heroes, of clamorous exponents of the strenuous life, of coarse unrestrained leaders in every phase of our energetic and manifold activities, we have had enough and to spare. The danger is that we shall not have enough of any other sort,—especially of the sort that gives itself to the interpretation of the finer, the saner, the more permanent things in our life and society.

To this all too limited class in our history Professor Norton belongs. Born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1827, graduated from Harvard in 1849, after a short apprenticeship in commercial pursuits, he gave himself to literature, scholarship, social reform, and art. For a time, 1864 to 1868, he was, with Lowell, editor of the *North American Review*. Since 1874 he has been professor of the History of Art at Harvard. Much of his time he has spent in travel, especially in Italy. The fruits of his Italian journeyings and studies have been particularly rich:—"Notes of Travel and Study in Italy" (1860), a translation of Dante's "New Life" (1867), "A History of Church Building in the Middle Ages" (1880), and a prose translation of the "Divine Comedy" (1892). Perhaps no man has done more for that serious and really creditable contribution which America has made to a better understanding and appreciation of the great Florentine.

*Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1905.

All this work of Professor Norton's represents achievement which is reckoned among the best things in American scholarship. To this must be added also his influence in the direction of social comment and interpretation. He has not remained so closely shut up in the cloistered pursuits of mere scholarship as to keep silent when he sees facts and tendencies in our life that need rebuke. He has spoken out so bravely and frankly on our crude excesses, our raw coarseness, our only too frequent failure to recognize and possess the permanent in the temporary, that there have not been wanting those who accuse him not only of being out of sympathy with American progress and ideals but also positively un-American. Of loud-mouthed flatterers and blind shallow optimists, we have had more than our share. Consequently, we have been prone to be impatient with the few who strive to see life steadily and see it whole, and from this wider standpoint, tell us our weaknesses and defects. However, by and by when we shall have attained a better perspective, we shall then be able to rate Professor Norton's social service at its true value.

But with all that he has done, he has perhaps rendered no greater service than that rendered as the friend and chosen executor of men of letters. We are indebted to him for editing the writings of George William Curtis, the letters of James Russell Lowell, the correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson, and now the letters of John Ruskin to himself. His special fitness for this last task comes from a singularly beautiful friendship, lasting from 1855 to Ruskin's death in 1900. To his task Professor Norton has brought taste, tact, and judgment, and knowing Ruskin as he did, he has revealed enough and no more, to let us into the secret of Ruskin's genius and the moods under which his work was done. Taking these letters, therefore, in connection with Ruskin's own singularly frank account of himself in the "Præterita," one may doubt whether we shall ever have need of any other "life." Of course Ruskin the Art Critic, Ruskin the Social Reformer, and Ruskin the Man of Letters will have to be re-interpreted in the light of a later and a less biased perspective. But here, in these letters, one must feel that Ruskin the Man is faithfully set before us.

And he himself has said the final word as to Professor Norton's peculiar fitness for this work in the well known account of their

meeting in Switzerland in 1856: "That morning gave me, I said, my first tutor; Dr. John Brown, however far above me in general power, and in the knowledge proper to his own profession, yet in the simplicity of his affection liked everything I wrote, for what was true in it, however imperfectly or faultily expressed; but Norton saw all my weaknesses, measured my narrownesses, and, from the first, took serenely, and as it seemed of necessity, a kind of paternal authority over me, and a right of guidance;—though the younger of the two,—and always admitting my full power in its kind; nor only admitting, but in the prettiest way praising and stimulating." To such a friend as this we may be perfectly sure that Ruskin, always even extravagantly frank, would without reserve open his whole nature, and one can be further sure that out of the mass of his correspondence such a friend would be able to select those things which are characteristic and essential.

It is interesting to note the growth of this friendship as marked by the changes in the mere forms of address which Ruskin uses. The correspondence begins with the acknowledgement of a formal letter of introduction in 1855. "My dear sir" is the conventional way it begins. In the following July they meet again on a small steamer on Lake Geneva. For a few months after that it is "Dear Mr. Norton;" a little later "Dear Norton," and signed "Ever yours affectionately." By 1868 the intimacy had become so deep that we read "My dearest Norton," and after that it is "My dearest Charles." So it continued to the end, with just one interruption, not so much an interruption of friendship as of correspondence, due to Ruskin's utter lack of sympathy with the civil war, in which Norton's heart and soul were so deeply concerned. During the first two years of it Ruskin sent one fierce protest after another, hot with anger and tremulous with horror over the whole business. Finally, October 6, 1863, he writes: "I've no heart to write you while this war is going on." Then follows a ten months' silence broken with these words: "And your American business is so entirely horrible to me that, somehow, it cuts you off from all possibility of my telling you any of my thoughts. It is just as if I saw you washing your hands in blood, and whistling—and sentimentalizing to me." Another year goes by, bringing the war to an end, and Ruskin resumes the correspondence with—"Now you've done fighting, I can talk to you a little again."

His special indignation over the war and failure to understand its deep significance was but one phase of his general dislike of America and American conditions. Even his abiding tenderness for his American friend did not keep him from speaking out with his usual unalloyed frankness. To him Norton's pleasure in ruins generally must have its source in the fact that America is "a very ugly country," and "the very sense of despair about Rome must be helpful and balmy after the over-hopefulness and getting-onness of America." Indeed, after seeing some landscapes by "an American painter of some repute," he says that "the ugliness of them is wonderful," and that therefore the "ugliness of the country must be unfathomable." But if to the artist in Ruskin the country itself was intolerable, it seems even worse to Ruskin the social reformer. In a group of American tourists with whom he traveled from Venice to Verona, he thinks he sees a typical product of American conditions. Though traveling in "the most noble part of all the world," they have "no thought or feeling," "except what four poor beasts would have had in their den or menagerie, being dragged about on a hot day." "Add to this misery," he continues, "every form of possible vulgarity, in methods of doing and saying the common things they said and did. I never yet saw humanity so degraded (allowing for external circumstances of every possible advantage). Given wealth, attainable education, and the inheritance of eighteen centuries of Christianity and ten of noble paganism; and this is your result—by means of 'liberty.'" With such as these to represent America, it is no wonder that he could get even some consolation in the midst of European abominations when he considered conditions on this side of the Atlantic: "It really makes me a little more indulgent to the beastliness of modern Europe, to think what we might have got to see and feel by this time, but for the various malaria from America."

This attitude toward America is not the mere by-play of his mind. Even a superficial consideration of his ideas and their development will show that he could hardly have thought otherwise of this new land with its excessive practicality and intense modernness. His impatience, therefore, with America is but a phase of his war with the whole modern world and its ideals. America was simply irretrievably given over to the worship of

the idols which he with his whole soul was seeking to pull down. And in these letters we perhaps see more of the social reformer than we do of the artist or the art critic. It should be remembered that Norton's friendship with him began just at the great turning-point in Ruskin's life, in the beginning of the ferment which resulted in the transformation of the revolutionary art critic into the equally revolutionary critic and reformer of social conditions. He was thirty-six years old, and was engaged at the time with the preparation of volumes three and four of "Modern Painters." As many as seven other volumes on subjects pertaining to art and its principles had brought him largely into the public eye and made him the center of a fierce public controversy. But withal Norton found him a man whose "whole air and manner had a definite and attractive personality," and with "no self-consciousness or sign of consideration of himself as a man of distinction," having "on the contrary, a seeming self-forgetfulness and an almost feminine sensitiveness and readiness of sympathy."

But his previous training and the conditions that conspired to shape his life had not prepared and fortified him for the new directions into which his genius was now to pour itself with such fiery fervor. He had been brought up under the unsleeping, unremitting authority of his parents, and his religious nature, by temperament so profound, had been wrought upon by the stern, unquestioning puritanism of his mother. What he had really needed, as Norton says, was "a discipline which should develop his power of self-control, and no child was ever more trained to depend upon external authority." As a matter of fact he had in childhood no companions and in maturity no friends with whom he could associate on terms of equality, and thereby learn the common give-and-take of life and gather the practical wisdom of "independent action." He himself confesses in a letter to Rossetti just before his meeting with Norton that he had "no friendships and no loves," and Norton adds, "of all men he most needed friends, and in their place he had admirers and dependents." Nevertheless, though clearly a spoiled child of genius, the victim of over-parental care, and the unfortunate upon whom too early beat the strong glare of publicity, his American friend could say of him: "I have not a memory of those days in which I recall him except as one of the pleasantest, gentlest, and kindest

of men. He seemed cheerful rather than happy. The deepest currents of his life ran out of sight, but it was plain that they did not run calmly, and their troubled course became manifest now and then in extravagances of action and paradoxes of opinion."

These "extravagances" and "paradoxes" and the "troubled" nature of the currents of his life become quite apparent as one reads the letters from this time on. Indeed, it is the sad story of the sorrows of genius that one reads. His whimsical, unrestrained, yet none the less serious and sincere impatience with all so-called modern improvements which men were misnaming progress, with the results of the new industrial and mechanical forces, to him hideous beyond expression, furnish the note of wildly uncompromising protest. His labors at the Workingmen's College at this time (1855-1859) show in a practical way how deeply in earnest he was. He desired with all his soul to make conditions better, and yet hated with hot anger the very conditions he was trying to improve. He was like a knight seeking with unrestrained eagerness the dragon, yet not knowing just what it was nor where. "Some day," he writes, "when I have quite made up my mind what to fight for, or whom to fight, I shall do well enough if I live, but I haven't made up my mind what to fight for; whether Commerce or Business of any kind be an invention of the Devil or not; whether art is a Crime or only an Absurdity; whether Clergymen ought to be multiplied, or exterminated by arsenic, like rats; whether in general we are getting on, and if so, where are we going?"

This was written in 1859, and, in the same year, to the confusion and confusing ferment of his general dissatisfaction with all modern conditions, must be added another element which, by disturbing violently the very foundations of the faith in which he had been brought up, set to seething the deepest currents of his thought and feeling. So, beneath the apparent gayety of the words just quoted, one may read something of the wrench of his Turin experience. On Sunday he went into a little Waldensian chapel, and heard a wretched interpretation, from a narrow evangelical standpoint, of life and its meaning. Thence he went into the art gallery, and stood in the presence of Paul Veronese's Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Military music was floating in at the windows, "which," he says, "seemed to me more devotional

than anything I remembered of Evangelical hymns." "And," he continues, "as the perfect color and sound gradually asserted their power over me, they seemed finally to fasten me in the old article of Jewish faith, that things done delightfully and rightly were always done by the help and in the spirit of God!" Thus, in his fortieth year his "Evangelical faiths were put aside." This necessitated a complete readjustment of his thinking with reference to both art and religion, for both were inextricably intertwined in Ruskin's nature. "It was a hard, unsettling revelation," Norton adds, "and from the effects of it I believe that he never wholly recovered." From this time on the record of the letters is the story of spiritual, moral and physical tragedy as painful as that of Lear's. His war with the world rages with a wild and extravagant fierceness, made resplendent by the flashing flames of his genius by way of compensation for the lack of self-control and sanity. His sense of all but utter loneliness is not the least of the poignantly pathetic elements in the tragedy of his struggles. "You are almost the only friend I have left," he writes to Norton. "I mean the only friend who understands or feels with me. . . . I don't believe in Evangelicism—and my Evangelical (once) friends now look on me with as much horror as one of the possessed Gennesaret pigs. Nor do I believe in the Pope—and some Roman Catholic friends, who had great hopes of me, think I ought to be burned. Domestically, I am supposed to be worse than Blue Beard; artistically, I am considered a mere packet of squibs and crackers." So this was the mood in which he was closing the middle year of his life, 1860. As Norton says: "His sense of evil in the world was growing daily more intense and bitter, and in view of the selfishness and wastefulness of the rich and the misery of the poor, he was rejecting with scorn the popular and accepted theories of social duties and political economy." Then to the pain of this reconstruction of all his thinking must be added other elements that wrung remorselessly his heart. Rose La Touche, on conscientious scruples concerning his change of faith, refused to marry him, and, due largely to this same change of opinions, was the breaking up of whatever sympathy there had existed between him and his parents. His only resource seemed to be in unremitting work,—so unremitting as finally to complete the disasters that were fast crowding upon him by wrecking him nervously and physically.

These, then, were the influences which were working in him when, in 1860, he began in the *Cornhill Magazine* the "Unto this Last" series. One is not surprised that the series brought about his head an even greater storm than that brought by "Modern Painters." His own mood at the time is clearly mirrored in the letters, and enables one the better to understand the mood of all his writings from then on. It is almost one of pathetic hopelessness as to the fight he was waging, yet stirred by fits of flaming anger. "I get into states of disgust and fury at the way the mob is going (meaning by the mob, chiefly dukes, crown princes, and such like persons) that I choke," he writes: "and I have to go to the British Museum to look at Penguins till I get cool." But added to his sense of despair and dissatisfaction with the world, there grows up in him the same feeling with reference to all he himself had done. This finds repeated expression in his usual whimsical, extravagant manner which cannot quite conceal the bitter earnestness beneath. "Intense scorn of all I had hitherto done or thought, still intenser scorn of other people's doings and thinkings, especially in religion," is the way he puts it. Besides his own life at times seems wholly a failure: "I've written a few second-rate books, which nobody minds; I can't draw, I can't play or sing, I can't ride, I walk worse and worse, I can't digest. And I can't help it." In the midst of it all there come out of the depths of his nature passionate cries for peace and rest. He would turn with new interest to the study of natural history in the hope of relief for body, mind, and soul. But even this makes him "giddy and desolate beyond speaking;" still, "it is better than the effort and misery of work for anything human." So there is no hope in anything,—none in himself, in God, in the church, nor even in nature. The foundations seem all but gone from under him. Now and again he returns to Switzerland, the source of so much of his happiness in the past. But while this may give a kind of peace to the tired body, it brings none to the soul. "But where I am in soul I know not, that part of me having disappeared for the present," he piteously writes: "Only don't let me *lose* you, but stay for me to come and ask for affection again when it will be good to me."

His father died in 1864, and there came upon him the responsibility of managing a large fortune. His new duties and practical

activities in various efforts of reform brought him a kind of peace for the next few years, and something of the old-time playfulness sparkles in the letters. But this mood lasts for only a short time. Over-work brought its penalties, though it was a kind of "opiate." In 1869 he accepted the Slade Lectureship at Oxford, and got no little satisfaction on in the thought that he might now be really accomplishing something by training the students who flocked to his lectures in great numbers. Hence when Norton met him in Siena in 1870, "he was in a delightful mood; the clouds which darkened his spirit had lifted for the moment, and all its sunshine and sweetness had free play."

But the pity of it was that this was only an intermittent flame of joy playing over depths becoming more and more sombre. His mother died in 1871, his "Rosie" a few years later. He kept at his work with furious pace, and a heavier darkness begins to gather. In 1875 he writes: "It is very strange to me to feel all my life to become a thing of the past, and to be now merely like a wrecked sailor, picking up pieces of his ship on the beach." More and more the present seems not for him, and he turns away toward the past,—toward the Middle Ages with a new zeal, preparing the way for another fundamentally disturbing change in his attitude toward life. "The Middle Ages are to me the only ages," he says, and "all modern science and philosophy produces abortion. That miracle-believing faith produced good fruit—the best yet in the world." A kind of spiritualism, strange to say, also comes in to assist in this adjustment of himself to the naive, trusting faith in the Middle Ages. To this his war with the whole modern scheme of things had brought him. He says that it is "no new faith" that he now has, but he is able "to get some good" out of his old one. At any rate, the change seemed to help him, and to induce a more cheerful mood. "Every day," he writes, "brings me more proof of the presence and power of real Gods, with good men; and the religion of Venice is virtually now my own—mine at least (or rather at greatest) including hers, but fully accepting it, as that also of John Bunyan, and of my mother, which I was first taught."

But again the peace was only a pause in the troubled course of his life. Prodigious work, the trials of brain and heart, and the ferment incident to his new spiritual passion brought on a stroke

of insanity in 1878. He, however, denies that overwork was the prime cause. Another attack followed three years after, and again he denies that it came from overwork. "The first time," he writes, "it was a piece of long thought about St. Ursula; and this year it was brought on by my beginning family prayers again with my servants on New Year's Day—and writing two little collects every morning—one on a bit of Gospel, the other on a bit of Psalm." Still with all the bitterness of his experiences, four years later we hear him saying: "The last two years have shown me more spirituality in the world than all my former life." Another illness came in 1889, and the rest, till the end in 1900, was retirement and comparative peace for this sorely tried, storm-tossed soul.

In this review we have tried to follow the shifting of Ruskin's spiritual and intellectual moods that one may realize under what stress of soul his work was done, and thereby better understand it, not only for what of absolute truth it may contain but also as the revelation of a greatly tried genius. From this standpoint, Professor Norton has given, in these letters, an intimate biography of Ruskin. Here we have the record of the soul of him, and this is the chief thing after all, whatever may be the vagaries and extravagances of his thought on social and artistic subjects.

The Overproduction of Cotton and a Possible Remedy

BY ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS,*

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There can be little question that the tendency to overproduce cotton has been chronic since shortly after its production on a large scale was made possible by the invention of Whitney's gin. The tremendous extent of the territory in the Southern States available for cotton raising, the possibility of splendid profits, always in view but oftener as mirage than as reality, and the force of very strong custom among the people, white and black, have been, and continue to be, responsible for this frequent over-supplying of the market. The record-breaking proportions of the crop of 1904, now being marketed, put powerful emphasis upon this phenomenon, which a year ago was almost entirely obscured in the public mind by the fortuitous shortage of the few preceding crops. A year ago the cotton consuming world was anxious over the possibility of a decreasing supply; and many people in the American cotton belt professed a solicitude for the preservation of the South's monopoly of the cotton output, then in a fancied danger through foreign competition under the stimulation of the prevailing high prices. Thus the pendulum of public opinion swings from time to time, not always moderately but often to extremes; and thus it has swung through the whole of a century.

On the one hand, the South is said to have a practical monopoly of its great staple; on the other, it is clear that for no long period have the people of the cotton belt enjoyed as much prosperity and comfort through that monopoly as certain other peoples have had who possessed no such striking natural advantage. The case is fairly comparable to that in the Texan oil fields recently exploited. Through either mistaken or unfortunate management the great majority of the participators in the industry have failed to secure an adequate return upon their capital and labor employed.

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The history of prosperity and adversity in cotton production has been somewhat similar to that in tobacco and rice production and in certain mining industries; but the scale has been larger, the dependence of the people greater, and the vicissitudes more striking. A sketch of the early period will give illustration.

Between 1793 and 1805 a number of fortunes, splendid for those times, were made by cotton planters; and the prospects were bright for the increase of prosperity. But from the time of the embargo to the end of the second war with Great Britain, in 1815, the foreign market was largely cut off and the prices fell so low that some of the planters feared the complete ruin of cotton as a staple.

Upon the return of peace and the reopening of commerce the prices of cotton ranged so high for several years in succession that a veritable mania for cotton raising spread over the land, and people by tens of thousands, rich and poor, flocked into the Southwestern country, into all the fertile districts from Georgia and Kentucky to Western Louisiana, and later into Texas, in the hope of securing quick prosperity through the production of the fleecy staple. A graphic picture of the situation in 1826-7 was drawn by a traveler who made a journey from Charleston through Augusta and Montgomery to New Orleans and thence to Huntsville and Nashville. His letter describing the trip was published anonymously in one of the Georgia newspapers of the time.*

In part it reads as follows:

“When I took my last walk along the wharves in Charleston, and saw them piled up with mountains of Cotton, and all your stores, ships, steam and canal boats, crammed with and groaning under the weight of cotton, I returned to the Planters’ Hotel, where I found the four daily papers, as well as the conversation of the boarders, teeming with Cotton! Cotton!! Cotton!!! Thinks I to myself, ‘I’ll soon change this scene of cotton.’ But, alas! how easily deceived is short-sighted man! Well, I got into my gig and wormed my way up through Queen, Meeting, King, and St. Phillip’s streets, dodging from side to side, to steer clear of the cotton waggons, I came to the New Bridge Ferry. Here I crossed over in the horse-boat, with several empty cotton waggons, and found a number on the other side, loaded with cotton, going to town. From this I continued on, meeting with little else than cotton fields, cotton gins, cotton waggons—but ‘the wide, the unbounded prospect lay before me!’ I arrived in Augusta, and when I saw cotton waggons in

*Georgia Courier [Augusta, Ga.], October 11, 1827.

Broad street I whistled! but said nothing!!! But this was not all; there was more than a dozen tow-boats in the river, with more than a thousand bales of the cotton on each, and several steamboats with still more. And you must know that they have cotton warehouses there covering whole squares, all full of cotton; and some of the knowing ones told me, that there were then in the place from 40,000 to 50,000 bales. And Hamburg (as a negro said) was worsed, according to its size; for it puzzled me to tell which was the largest, the piles of cotton or the houses. I now left Augusta and overtook hordes of cotton planters from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, with large gangs of negroes, bound to Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; 'where the cotton land is not worn out.'

" . . . I continued my journey passing cotton fields; till I arrived at Holt's Ferry, on the Oconee, where I saw three large pole boats loaded with bales of cotton, twelve tiers in height. From thence I went to Milledgeville, where I found the prevailing topic of the place, 'What an infernal shame it was, that such a quantity of virgin cotton land should be suffered to remain in the possession of the infernal Creek Indians.' I moved on to the westward, crossing Flint River, and from thence to the Chattahoochie found cotton land speculators thicker than locusts in Egypt. But from Line Creek to Montgomery (14 miles) the land is nearly level; the fields of one plantation joining by a fence those of another; and all extending back from the road farther than you can distinctly see; and the cotton pretty even, and about as high as the fences, and has the appearance (as Riley says of Zahara) of a complete horizon of cotton. They have, almost all of them, overplanted; and had not more than one-half their cotton picked in; each plantation has a cotton gin. I next came to Montgomery, which I found overstocked with cotton, and no boats to take it away. From Montgomery I went to Blakely, and on my way, saw many cotton plantations, and met, and overtook, nearly one hundred cotton waggons, traveling over a road so bad, that a State prisoner could hardly walk through it to make his escape. And although people say that Blakely is done over, there was not a little cotton in it. From there I crossed over to Mobile, in a small steamboat loaded up to the top of the smoke-pipe with cotton. This place is a receptacle monstrous for the article: look which way you will you see it; and see it moving; keel-boats, steamboats, ships, brigs, schooners, wharves, stores, and press-houses, all appeared to be full."

And so the story runs on with descriptions of similar conditions prevailing in all of the western cotton belt.

This tremendous activity led at times to the spoiling of the market. In 1839, for example, there was a great fall in cotton prices, and a fearful panic throughout the belt, which entailed severe depression for half the following decade. Then the world's demand gradually gained once more upon the supply, and the

price rose by 1850 to ten or eleven cents where it remained fairly steady for ten years of prosperity.* The hard times of the forties were forgotten, and cotton was again enthroned as king without any rival pretending to share the devotion of his subjects. This mighty king was expected to render overwhelming aid in the war of the sixties and secure victory for the South in its battle against the world. The outcome is notorious.

After the war cotton was for a decade or two of necessity again the chief reliance in Southern industry. And again the old habit of complete dependence upon the staple tended to grow in strength. The low prices in the nineties checked that tendency for the time, and promoted some diversification of industry; but the high prices of 1902-4 have revived the mania, and now the fact is emphasized that, as of old, the South is securing relatively little advantage from its natural and unique source of wealth. While cotton prices are low and tend to remain very near the cost of production, the cotton producers continue to be obliged to pay abnormally high rates for most of their supplies, and through the protective tariff and the pension policy of the United States government, the South must continue to pay its enormous annual tribute to the sections which control the federal government. There is clearly a grave problem to be faced; and suggestions for its solution ought to receive consideration, even when they contemplate a radical departure from current practice.

II.

The American cotton belt has a combination of advantages for cotton production which is unequalled in any other part of the world; and the American output in its relation to the world's demand is by far the greatest factor in fixing prices in the world's market. That is to say, the South has, within limits, a potential monopoly of the product. Among its advantages are: 1. A very broad expanse of territory, and the best climate in the world for cotton production—a warm and extended growing season with a specially long and fine autumn for the harvest. And it has plenty of rainfall for cotton culture, which renders costly irrigation unnecessary. 2. It has cheap labor in large

*Ten cents in that period was in general purchasing power equivalent to about fourteen or fifteen cents at the present day.

amount. This is needed in economical cotton production, because the gathering of the crop is too tedious to justify the employment of high-priced labor. 3. It has an efficient managing class. These expert plantation managers are essential in maintaining a system of organized industry and for the utilization of the cheap labor, which would otherwise be costly on account of the ignorance and unreliability of the negroes. This combination is unparalleled in the world; and in spite of the efforts of European governments for the past half century to promote cotton culture in Asia and Africa, it appears highly probable that North America will continue for a long time to control the cotton supply. There are many districts in the world which could make large amounts of cotton at a cost of, say, fifty cents a pound; but very few indeed can produce more than they now produce at less than twenty cents. And below that price the only severe competition which an American cotton producer need fear is that of the other American cotton planters.

The American cotton growers alone can spoil their market; but *they* can do it with the greatest ease; they have done it in many seasons gone by, and bid fair to continue indefinitely in the same practice. Let us see why this is so.

A very important feature in the situation is the fact that the world's demand for cotton is much less elastic than the supply. People want about as many clothes and ships as many sails one year as another: the demand for cotton, while constantly tending to increase, is relatively steady. But the supply fluctuates through a wide range. Not only does the acreage vary from year to year at the discretion of the planters, but the weather conditions, to which the crop is extremely sensitive, differ enormously, and not at all at the planters' will. The fact that three-fourths of the world's total market supply is grown in one geographic province intensifies the importance of the weather and increase the variability of the output. The demand being fairly steady and the supply quite variable, the market is nearly always either under supplied or over supplied. A normal relation is very hard to maintain, and a normal price is a thing in the realm of pure conjecture. The price has ranged all the way from four cents to a dollar a pound and back again in the last seventy years; and it has played between six and a half and seventeen cents within the last twelve months.

These considerations bring out the fact that cotton production is in very large degree a speculative enterprise: it has many of the features of a lottery. And by its influence through a long period of time it has fostered a headlong plunging disposition among the people. By offering alluring promise of high profits if the local crops be good and the general prices high, it obscures the more probable prospect of very moderate gains or positive losses. In this way there is exerted a constant tendency toward the production of too great a supply of cotton, which ruins the market and diminishes or destroys the legitimate profits of the planter. This keeps the planters poor and keeps the whole community poverty-stricken along with them. And, what is quite as bad, it makes the income of the community extremely uneven and uncertain from year to year. Fickleness of income, whether with individuals or great bodies of men, is a most demoralizing factor, promoting a disposition to squander the resources in hand and let the morrow take care of itself. When men cannot reckon what next year will probably bring, they naturally cease to plan that far ahead, and the happy-go-lucky disposition must prevail. A certain degree of stability is essential for the promotion of thrift, sobriety and foresight. Fickleness in the returns from one industry must be pernicious wherever it is not offset by the development of other resources on a scale correspondingly large. It thus appears that if the world should make efficient demand for all the cotton the South could produce, it would not be wholesome for the cotton belt to devote its whole energy to raw cotton.

But the world does not demand as much raw cotton as the American producers can supply. The world's demand is too small to justify the employment of all the cotton belt land and labor in the one industry. In last analysis the cotton problem is a labor problem, and the special need for Southern prosperity is the need of keeping the surplus labor out of the cotton fields. To secure a long succession of fat years this surplus labor must be invited out, if the invitation be effective; driven out, if compulsion be necessary. The pressing need is that of other attractions with satisfactory remuneration for labor. We should not hold fast blindly to ancient custom, but seek throughout the world for advantageous ideas and apply them to Southern needs.

When used as a special advantage, cotton is a splendid resource, but as a sole reliance it brings the people more injury than good. The fundamental problem is to raise other enterprises, great and small, to an equal or higher level than that of cotton production in their attractiveness to labor, and thus secure the double benefit of adding new resources and at the same time checking the cotton output and increasing the remuneration therefrom.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the advantages to accrue from the diversification of industry, and especially the development of manufactures. The excellent conditions which now prevail in and around the manufacturing centers which have already arisen, and the effect of that movement in raising cotton prices in the past few years are sufficiently convincing object lessons.

But this movement should not be checked, as it now threatens to be, by the fresh competition of the cotton fields in the demand for labor.* The benefits are cumulative, i. e., the larger and more numerous the manufacturing towns, the greater the demand for truck and dairy supplies and the fruits of varied industries; the better the opportunity for educational improvement, and the better the opening for progressive spirit. And, by the way, an increase in general comfort and enlightenment must needs bring a lessening of race friction and crime, for when there's plenty of good things to go around, people are not prone to quarrel.

Is this utopian condition possible of achievement and how? It is suggested in various quarters (by men whose memories are short) that the banks in the cotton belt be organized into a cotton-holding trust and thus drive prices up. But that very project was tried in 1837-9 with the most disastrous results. A somewhat more hopeful method is urged by the Cotton Growers' Association, recently organized, which is holding meetings in many counties, at which the growers resolve to keep their remaining bales off the market and reduce their acreage for the coming year. This may now achieve more success than a similar effort in the nineties, but its effect can be no more than temporary. Men cannot be deterred from following the most inviting and accustomed paths by mere persuasion, unless new openings be made which promise to be equally or more inviting. Industrial

*Numerous mills in the South are now reporting a portion of their looms and spindles idle from a dearth of operatives.

experiments and education ought to and doubtless will in the long run promote the diversification of industry and the improvement of the general welfare, but without some special stimulus that work promises to be slow in the South.

These are the well-worn remedies, discussed with vigor from time to time for many years past, and thus far with little but spasmodic result. If the current of progress in the Saxon race in general be likened to the flow of a mighty river, that of the plantation States of America may perhaps be compared to the surge and recession of the waves on the seashore—advance from time to time, but little genuine progress. If at first sight this appears unfair, let a comparison be made of the status of things at the present time with that in the days of William Byrd and Alexander Spotswood, or of George Washington, James Wright, and the Lowndes and the Pinckneys, or of Wade Hampton, George Troup, Thomas Dabney and their contemporaries of the ante-bellum cotton régime. This relative lack of progress in the South may perhaps be explained without discredit to the South. But explanation and justification are not satisfying when progress is demanded, when a remedy for depression is the need of the times, and a preventive of hard times the need of the future.

In economic concerns no man may remold conditions at will, nor prophesy developments with much accuracy or confidence, but in view of the general needs of the Southern situation and the inefficacy of time-honored methods, a new suggestion which may serve as a thesis to attract criticism and arouse thought may be well in place. Let us therefore consider the advisability of a tax on cotton production and a bounty on cotton manufactures and other industries of promise in the cotton growing States.

III.

To oversupply the market is easily accomplished by the American cotton producers. In fact it is only through voluntary restraint that oversupply is to be avoided. Land is superabundant, the weather can be counted on when a succession of years is under consideration, and there is more labor at hand than the world demands at a remunerative price in the cotton fields. But if cotton is superficially too attractive to labor, some recourse ought to be found by which to offset this superficial attraction

by more substantial ones in other directions. The great problem is that of deterring the surplus labor from joining the rush and bringing general distress.

If no more than enough labor is devoted to cotton, the producers and the country get the benefit of monopoly prices. But if too much labor be employed, the monopoly is ruined and hardly anybody is benefited but the consumers, and they in an infinitesimal degree.

With firm resolution and concerted action it would appear possible for the State governments of the cotton belt to *protect* the cotton-raising industry from cut-throat competition by taxing its product, and to promote other industries at the same time by devoting to their aid the proceeds of the cotton tax. It is one of the very obvious, though paradoxical, truths of finance that a tax on mortgages does not fall on the holders of the mortgages, but through a raising of the rate of interest it is shifted upon the borrowers. Likewise a tax on a monopolized commodity would in the average case, by decreasing the output, raise the price so that the producer would in the long run be relieved of all the burden of the tax and even probably receive an actual surplus income considerably greater than the amount of that tax.

Imagine for a moment, as a somewhat radical application of the policy, that all the governments of the cotton States had recently imposed a tax of one cent per pound on all cotton hereafter raised and ginned in those States, and at the same time offered a large part of the proceeds of that tax as a bounty upon certain other selected industries, and let it be understood by the people that the purpose of the measure was the reduction of the acreage, as a patriotic enterprise, and the promotion of the general welfare. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such enactment would cause the withdrawal of, say, twenty per cent. of the labor from the cotton fields which would otherwise be employed therein. The twenty per cent. decrease in the labor would probably cause a reduction of about twenty per cent. in the output. Reckoning from the course of past fluctuations a decrease of twenty per cent. in the output would cause an increase in prices of much more than twenty per cent.; perhaps as much as forty or sixty per cent. This would of course mean a handsome increase in the net profits of the cotton producers. And by

means of the tax and bounty system this benefit would at once be distributed throughout the whole community. Meanwhile the laborers withdrawn from cotton production because of this measure would be profitably employed in other industries; and the product of their labor would be in large part an additional clear gain to the commonwealth. Let this be kept up for a number of years, and the cotton belt might well experience a gradual revolution in industry by which cotton growing would become merely one of several great industrial resources and would rank as a unique and splendid advantage bringing great wealth, instead of a sole reliance, and a poor one, for keeping the wolf from the door.

For beneficial results, indeed, it would probably not be necessary to unite all the cotton States in this policy. If only a few of the greater ones acted in accord (upon the advice, we will say, of a joint commission) the benefits would still be great. A reduction of twenty per cent. in acreage in three or four of the large cotton States would decrease the total American output by half that percentage, and would raise the price materially. At the same time the use of the proceeds of the tax, in promoting manufactures, etc., in those States would substantially increase the resources and wealth of their people. And even if a single great cotton State tried the plan without the coöperation of its sisters, the hope of benefit from the diversification of industry and the increase of resources would not be unreasonable.

The simplest method of administration would be to levy the tax at the ginneries, and offer a drawback of the full amount of the tax as bounty to any factory in the State upon its presenting evidence of having worked up into cloth the bales upon which the tax had been paid. It might be a wholesome modification to give the full drawback only to new mills, say for the first ten years of their operation, and reduce the bounty given the old mills to one-half the rate of the tax collected. If it be feared that a tax of one cent a pound would cause too great a disturbance of industry, a lower rate of tax might well be adopted instead. After the payment of the bounty on cotton manufactures, the surplus proceeds of the tax might be advantageously devoted to bounties upon the manufacture of furniture, the raising of hay and cattle, and upon other industries which give promise of

successful development under such a stimulus. And a large part of it could be devoted with excellent results to the improvement of education and other great public purposes.

But whether this specific remedy of tax and bounties be applied is a minor consideration. The essential need is by some means or other to diversify industry at the South and counteract the tendency to spoil the cotton market by overproduction. And the present epoch, while the people are freed from debt through the virtue of short cotton crops, and are their own masters,—the present is the time for study and action leading to the end in view. We have had enough depression this year to emphasize the need of preparing in fat years for the lean ones which are liable to follow; and the lesson should be eagerly acted upon.

Let us keep on building factories, and take away all the profit we can from the outside districts, which are parasites upon the South, and let us plant more orchards and vineyards and broad fields of varied crops; let us raise the best sorts of grasses and forage crops, and cover the land with lowing herds and thrifty creameries. In a word, let us follow the example of England, with her wool; France, with her wine, and New England, with her fisheries, and make use of our staple product as a special advantage through which to secure wealth for a complete and rounded and self-reliant industrial system. Such must be our objective; the ways and means of reaching it must be an ever-present problem.

Matthew Whitaker Ransom: A Senator of the Old Regime

By ROBERT LEE FLOWERS,

Professor of Mathematics in Trinity College

When Matthew Whitaker Ransom died at his home in Northampton county, North Carolina, a few months ago, there passed away a man who for nearly half a century occupied a commanding place in his State and for many years an important place in our national life. He belonged to that class of Southern statesmen which has almost disappeared. He was the product of a civilization, which, despite all its limitations, has yet a peculiar charm for those of the present generation. The old order has changed, but we still feel the fascination of ante-bellum Southern life, and admire the men whom it produced. General Ransom was one who received from the old order the best that it could give, but who adapted himself to the changed conditions after the civil war, and achieved success under the new order of things.

He was born in Warren county, North Carolina, October 8, 1826. He was the son of Robert and Priscilla (Whitaker) Ransom, a grandson of Seymour and Burchett (Green) Ransom, and of Matthew Carey and Betsy Anne (Coffield) Whitaker, and a grand nephew of Nathaniel Macon. With a long line of distinguished ancestry back of him, he was by inheritance, a type of the best product of our Southern life. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847. During his college course he gave evidence of more than usual power, and when President Polk attended the commencement exercises at Chapel Hill, Ransom was chosen to deliver the "Salutatory." The correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who accompanied the Presidential party, in writing to his paper said, "Of the compositions by the young disciples of Cicero, the Salutatory by Mr. Ransom was unquestionably the best. He had the advantage of the most fertile field, however, and the most popular theme. His welcome to the President of the United States was superior to anything of the kind throughout the whole expedition—his welcome to the people at large was also in fine taste; while the beauty and the

finished elegance of the welcome to the ladies drew down upon his devoted head repeated rounds of applause."

The same year that he was graduated, Ransom was admitted to the bar, and began at once the practice of his profession in his native county, at the same time taking an active interest in politics. His father was an ardent Whig, and it was natural that he should be of the same political faith. For one who had an ambition to succeed in political life, the prospects were not inviting, for the county was Democratic by an overwhelming majority. Young Ransom very soon took a high stand as a lawyer, and the success which he achieved brought him into prominence in the State. In 1852 he was placed on the Whig ticket as presidential elector. By a strange turn of political affairs, the legislature, which was Democratic, elected Ransom, a Whig, to the position of Attorney General over Hon. William Eaton, who was a Democrat and a lawyer of prominence and ability. After retaining the position for three years, Ransom resigned. In 1853, he married Miss Exum, of Northampton county, to which county he soon after changed his residence. It was during his incumbency of the office of Attorney General of the State, that new political conditions arose and Ransom found himself no longer in sympathy with his party. He became a supporter of the Democratic party, and in 1858 and again in 1860 he represented his adopted county in the General Assembly. He had large landed interests, and he became a planter on an extensive scale.

Just as Ransom was coming to take an active and influential place in public life there were beginning to be heard in the distance the mutterings of the storm which was to cover this section of the country with darkness and despair. The dangers which threatened the Union were evident on all sides. Ransom was a Southerner by inheritance and by all the ties which he held most dear, yet to his mind the greatest calamity that could befall the people and the land he loved, would be the dismemberment of the Union. Secession, he believed, was not the best way to remedy the peculiarly unfortunate situation which slavery had brought about in the nation. In 1856 he delivered an address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina, in which he made an earnest plea for the preservation of the Union. In the course of his address he said: "This is the question which this

generation has to settle, not only for itself, but for generations in all time to come—the most momentous question that ever engaged the souls of patriots—the preservation of the Union of the States and people of America. I shall not stop to inquire, neither my inclination nor the proprieties of the occasion permit me to inquire, whether the constitution established a Federal or a National Union—whether sovereignty resides with the peoples of the States as bodies, or in the people of the United States as a whole. These questions belong to other places and times—they now threaten the Union with no danger, and are almost forgotten in the happy fact that whatever its peculiar character may be, the Union has well answered the purposes and hopes of those who formed it. But there is a danger—a dark and gloomy danger—an appalling and overwhelming danger—which hovers in black clouds over our government and liberties, and casts a livid and frightful shade over this beautiful land. It is Dismemberment which agitates the bosom of the Republic.

. We hear it discussed in social circles, proclaimed by the press and advocated in public councils. Let us not be deceived by sounds. Dismemberment means nothing less than the disruption of the government. Disunion contemplates anarchy, war, civil war, havoc and might. It can contemplate nothing else. And after it is all over, if it ever shall be over, where will we find ourselves? How shall we stand in our own eyes and the eyes of the world? As you appreciate the blessings of good government, the priceless inheritance of civil and religious liberty, the universal esteem of mankind, and the fate of our race for all future ages, as you reverence the memory of our Fathers, and love the honor of our country, as philanthropists, patriots, and Christians—I implore you, by all of these considerations, to use your influence to preserve and immortalize the Union of these States and the Constitution under which we live, and God grant that that Constitution and that Union, enrobed in the mantle of Washington, may last forever.”

Ransom was an ardent Unionist, and he made every effort to prevent secession. By February 1st, 1861, seven States had declared themselves out of the Union and had recalled their representatives from Washington. Early in February, 1861, a bill was passed by the legislature of North Carolina for the election

of delegates to a convention, with a provision that each voter should also at the same time cast a ballot for or against holding the said convention. By a small majority this measure to call the convention was defeated. In the meantime the war between the States had virtually begun, and President Lincoln had called on North Carolina for troops. The legislature of the State called a convention, and on May 20th the State passed the ordinance of secession. Ransom, ex-Governor Swain, and John L. Bridgers, Esq., were sent as peace commissioners to Montgomery, Ala., where the confederate congress was in session. It was still hoped that something could be done to avoid civil war. All efforts for peace having failed, an ordinance of secession already a reality, civil war already begun, Ransom enlisted as a private soldier, but before beginning active service he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel of the First North Carolina Infantry. The records of the war show that he was a brave and courageous soldier. He was wounded at Malvern Hill, and desperately wounded at Drewry's Bluff. He was promoted to the position of colonel of the Thirty-fifth Infantry, and later made a brigadier-general. In 1865 he was made major-general—though his commission was never delivered—and General John B. Gordon has recorded that it was "for most distinguished gallantry."

General Ransom surrendered at Appomattox Court House and returned to his home in Northampton county to begin life again under a new order of things. He set himself to the task of restoring peace and of building up again the devastated country. How faithfully he did this is shown in the following extract from a letter written by Major T. L. Emry, of Weldon, N. C. :

"When the war was over I saw him almost daily. The fortunes of war had broken him in pocket, but not in spirit. I well remember his telling me that the first money he had in 1865 was obtained by sending a wagon-load of turkeys, ducks, geese, and pork to Petersburg, Va., a distance of sixty miles, and how glad he felt when the gentleman whom he had sent with the wagon came back and handed him the money for the sale of the same. He had prior to the war purchased much land in Northampton county. Of course the war left this almost valueless to him; but not for one moment did he despair. He made the best arrangements possible with his former slaves and went to work with

almost renewed vigor. His law practice which he had before the war soon came to him again, and in a few years, despite the short crops, mean labor, and low prices, General Ransom was again 'the man' of this section. Everyone looked to him for aid and counsel. Though in financial straits himself, all who knew him said: 'General Ransom will help me out,' and many a one did he aid. Never through all this trying period, from 1865 to 1873, did I know him to be anything but the same courteous gentleman—brave, energetic, of almost superhuman energy, ever ready to help a friend, especially an old soldier—trying in every way, by word and action, to reunite the country and heal the wounds of the war."

During the next few years Ransom delivered many addresses, and he contributed much towards bringing about a better condition of things. In May, 1870, he was invited by the women of North Carolina to deliver a memorial address over the confederate dead in the capital of the State. He delivered this address, as he himself said, "when the ink was not dry upon the paper which proclaimed to the Southern people that their friends had not been allowed to honor the graves of the confederate soldiers at Arlington." In the course of his speech he said, "I thank God there are flowers enough in this beautiful land of the South to strew upon the graves of those who fell alike in the gray and the blue, and there are hearts pure enough and hands gentle and generous enough to perform this holy duty."

His conciliatory attitude is also clearly shown by the following extract from a newspaper report of an address delivered in Salisbury in 1873: "The speaker foresaw the early return of a day of thorough reconciliation between the sections lately engaged in deadly conflict and still estranged by the yet lingering passion kindled by war and kept alive by the arts of the demagogue. He could see the returning sense of justice, the growth of a more fraternal feeling, and a consciousness of mutual dependence and coöperation for the grand purpose of building up and maintaining the mighty nation it seemed the purpose of Providence to have founded. . . . It was a speech for the nation to hear, for it was so full of wise counsel and hopeful suggestion that its influence would be most happily felt in allaying sectional animosities and kindling afresh the fire of a common patriotism."

Probably one of the greatest services he rendered his State was in securing a writ of *habeas corpus* from Judge Brooks in 1870, which brought about the release of a large number of citizens who had been seized and imprisoned by Kirk, who was acting under orders from Governor Holden. A test case had been prepared and application was made to Chief Justice Pearson for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The writ was granted and served on Kirk, but he had refused to appear in court. Pearson declined to take any further steps, and feeling was running so high that it was feared bloodshed would be the result. As the only means of relieving the situation, General Ransom applied to Judge Brooks, a federal judge, and convinced him of his power to intervene. Kirk was brought into court by order of the federal judge, and the prisoners were released. This action relieved a condition of affairs which was becoming very critical.

In 1870 Governor Zebulon B. Vance was elected to the United States Senate, but his disabilities had not been removed and he was refused admittance. The legislature of 1872 elected Ransom to the senate to fill the vacancy thus created. It was a time that called for men of calm judgment and true manhood. There were men in the senate who were hot-headed and vindictive, and it was fortunate that a man of Ransom's temperament and ability should represent the State at this critical time. The purposes and aims which dominated him, the generous and patriotic spirit which he manifested are clearly shown by the first speech which he delivered in the senate in 1875. The senate had under consideration a resolution for the admission of P. B. S. Pinchback as senator from Louisiana. Many bitter and vindictive speeches had been made, calculated, not to allay, but to stir up sectional feeling. With a hope of doing something to cool the fires of passion Senator Ransom delivered an extended speech on "The South Faithful to Her Duties," which was so free from passion, so magnanimous in spirit, so noble in purpose, so eloquent in expression, that it attracted wide attention. In the course of his speech he said: "For nearly three years I have sat silently in this chamber with the hope that by pursuing a course, as I thought, of impartial and patriotic duty I might have some influence in satisfying Northern senators that the South desired peace with the North and a restored and fraternal union of all the States of

the Republic. I came from the true State of North Carolina to the senate of the United States with a sacred purpose to reconcile the once divided people of my country, to harmonize all sectional differences and disputes, to bury in oblivion every bitter recollection of war, and to convince the people of the North that our people of the South sincerely desired to live with them in concord under the common protection of a constitutional and united government. Before this greatest and best desire of my life, the desire of having a part in restoring the union of the States firmly in the hearts of all our people, all other passions sank into insignificance. This was the object of my political existence. To accomplish it no sacrifice seemed too dear, except the dishonor of my State and the South. I knew this inestimable blessing to my country could only be consummated by our doing full justice to the North, and by the North doing full justice to us, and I had faith that both sections would be equal to that great duty.

. . . . I had, too, and still have, this thought, one that to many of you may appear strange and unnatural, but still sincere and true and ardently cultivated in my bosom, that as I had fought for the South, and its cause had failed and the Union had been established, it became me as a true man to render to the government of my country, now embraced by me, the same devotion—for I could have no greater—that I had exhibited to the South. . . . I shall send no firebrands to the South to incense and inflame her proud people. I shall send no poisoned arrows to the North to rankle in the bosom of her peace. I shall endeavor to hold up the light of truth to both sections, that each may see in the other much to commend and something to forgive and forget. And should unjust assault be made upon any State of this union, be it North or South, I shall spring to her defence with whatever of courage or ability I may have."

Senator Ransom was re-elected to the senate in 1877, again in 1883, and again in 1889. He represented his State in the senate for twenty-four years. At the close of this period, by a coalition of the Populist and Republican parties the legislature was lost to the heretofore dominant party and a senator of different political faith succeeded him. The length of time Ransom served as senator shows how acceptable he was to the people of the State. He seldom delivered a set speech in the senate, but by his

faithful attention to duty, by his tact and uniform courtesy, he became exceedingly popular in Washington, and useful to the people of his State. During President Cleveland's administrations he exerted great influence with the dominant party. He was a strong supporter of Cleveland in almost all the policies which he advocated.

During a long career in the senate, he was a power in politics in his own State. In campaign years he spoke in all sections of the State, and his canvass always resulted in arousing great enthusiasm. He was a man blessed with a magnificent figure—tall, erect, and commanding in appearance. His language was always chaste. He resorted to no abuse of his opponents. He was one of the few political speakers whose crowd at the close of his speech was always larger than at the beginning. His personal popularity was very great, and he had wonderful power of winning and holding the allegiance of men. He was so affable and gracious to all classes of people that it was sometimes intimated that he was actuated by policy. How strongly this was denied by those who knew him best is clearly shown in the following extract from a letter from a man who was for many years a close personal friend:

"It has been suggested that my warm-hearted, genial friend was a man of policy. Doubtless that suggestion emanated from a total stranger, for surely not one of the hosts who ever saw him advancing with the glad smile and open arms of welcome, or in the railroad coach, where he invariably greeted everyone, white or black, before taking his seat, could feel that there lay any policy behind it all. I recall one incident of the many during our long friendship, that should dispel the slightest shadow of such a suggestion. One afternoon I was passing General Ransom's headquarters, when he commanded a brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia. He was standing in front of his tent door, and on recognizing me he ran to me, threw his arms around my neck, and almost forced me to stop for a chat. Could policy have prompted such an act towards a soiled, ragged private, who could assist him in no way? No, it was but the generous outpouring of a soul that all recognized, and I pity the few who could not understand it."

Ransom's idea of dealing with political opposition is shown in

a letter which he wrote to his brother, General Robert Ransom, in 1880. He had been informed by his brother of some opposition to his re-election which was developing in the eastern part of the State. In a letter in reply to the one giving him the information he said, in part:

"North Carolina has been so good to me that I studiously deprecate difference or crimination with any of her citizens. Magnanimity, high conduct, a grand dignity, superior to trifles and to small or bad men, are invincible with North Carolinians. Every time an opponent, or any of his faction, proposes to strike at me, I intend to answer the complaint by some new service to our State, by greater and more manifest generosity to my adversaries, and by showing an utter indifference to the flies that may light about my horns. Of course, if my honor should be assailed I should attend to it very differently. . . . Enemies are a terror. It is a thousand times easier to conciliate than to crush. Cæsar very often filled his legions with his enemies. Excuse all this. I am generally right in my views." . . .

As soon as his term of service in the senate was completed, President Cleveland appointed him minister to Mexico. His dignified bearing, his courteous manners, and his generous spirit made him exceedingly popular with the people of Mexico. He was very successful in bringing to a satisfactory settlement several perplexing questions which arose during his term of service. On his retirement from diplomatic service, after two years' stay in Mexico, his work in cementing the friendly relations between the two countries received the highest commendation. President Cleveland, in a letter to the writer, says: "I was very glad to appoint him (Ransom), on his retirement from the senate, as minister to Mexico, where he performed his duty to my entire satisfaction; and I was pleased to hear, after his return, that he had prospered in business. I do not wonder at the high place he held in the affections of the people of his State."

After his return from Mexico he devoted his time and energies to his large landed interests. He delivered occasional addresses in the State, but took no very active part in political affairs. He owned several thousand acres of land, and he became a planter on an extensive scale. His relations with the negroes, of whom he employed a large number, were always friendly. The negro

race looked on him as their friend. His liberal views were expressed in a speech delivered in the senate in 1875, in the course of which he said: "I would impair no right of the colored man. I would protect him faithfully in every right secured to him by the constitution, and especially by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments. I would protect him in his liberty, his citizenship, his right to vote. I would go further and educate him and elevate him to the high position of all the duties and capacities of an American citizen. I would take him by the hand and lift him up and sustain him. I would never oppress or depress him because he is poor, ignorant, and a colored man. I would give him every opportunity of improving his physical, mental, and moral condition; and I would oppose and denounce any man or any party who would undertake to proscribe him and deny him these rights and these privileges. The laws, the constitution of my country, guarantee to the negro these rights, and I will never violate them. But while I would endeavor most faithfully to do full and complete justice to the colored man, let me once for all say that I would never consent that the white people of the South, the white people of the country, should subordinate their rights, their attainments, their capacities, their prestige, to the colored man. On this subject my convictions are firmly fixed—immutably fixed and settled."

General Ransom died in 1904, at the age of seventy-eight. He lived to see many of his cherished hopes in regard to the reuniting of his country realized. In accomplishing this end he played no small part. The conciliatory spirit manifested by him and other Southern men, like Lamar, and Hill, and Gordon, should receive permanent recognition from the nation. The movement to erect in the capitol grounds at Raleigh a monument to his memory, is one which should commend itself to the generosity of a grateful people.

session was held in New York city March 20th, at which time Dr. Barnas Sears, president of Brown University, was elected general agent. To his wisdom, tact, and exhaustless energy, much of the success of the Peabody board is due. It was he who outlined the policy of the board and carried it through to its marvellous success, becoming, as Mr. Winthrop said, "a perfect pilot of a perfect scheme."

This policy and its execution divides the history of the trust into two distinct and well-defined periods. The first, embracing a period of about twelve years, 1867 to 1879, was devoted almost entirely to building up State systems of free primary instruction. The success of this work created, of course, a demand for trained teachers. The second period, therefore, was devoted to efforts to supply this demand by the establishment and development of institutes and normal schools.

The prosecution of this work was a most delicate task. As is the case with all people who have suffered defeat the people of the Southern States were in an extremely sensitive mood, and looked with suspicion upon the Greeks bearing gifts. The attitude assumed by the board toward those whom they wished to help was therefore a matter of the first importance. In this the trustees were most wise and most fortunate. They had no terms to dictate to a prostrate people; no foreign theories to force upon them; no assumption of superiority to wound their pride. They did manifest a desire to coöperate with the people in their own efforts to rebuild their States; they did show an earnest intention of consulting those whom they were to aid, as to the best method of doing so; they did make a most earnest effort to approach their great work from the point of view of the people in whose interest they labored. Guided by the generous spirit of George Peabody, the trustees at no time manifested any disposition to interfere with State laws, or to break down social or political barriers which circumstances had forced the people to erect.

With the same spirit in which they were approached, the people of the Southern States received the gift. In his second letter of trust to the board, written in 1869, Mr. Peabody thanked them with all his heart for the "cordial spirit" with which they received the trust, and for the energetic effort they were making to carry out the plans of the board. From beginning to end har-

state of prostration as to all means of education is rarely witnessed." In Georgia, offers of aid were treated with indifference. In Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi "neither law nor public sentiment required free schools." No public schools existed in Louisiana outside of New Orleans. Texas had used her magnificent school fund for military purposes. According to the testimony of her own governor, no State in the Union was behind Arkansas in educational provisions. The situation in Tennessee was little better than that in the other States.

It was while affairs were in this almost helpless condition that George Peabody, "moved by the Holy Ghost," came to the rescue "of the suffering South for the good of the whole country." Having already elicited the admiring applause of the civilized world, by public gifts surpassing in their munificence and in the wisdom of their conception anything previously known to history, he now added to the long list the greatest and noblest of them all. Of the many gems in the coronet which encircles his immortal brow, none other shines with such lustre as that which symbolizes his great gift to the cause of education in the Southern States.

Though Mr. Peabody had long cherished the idea and had fully discussed it with confidential friends, it was not until February 7th, 1867, that his purpose was made public. On that date he addressed a letter to those to whom he wished to commit the trust. Their names were a guarantee of the generosity of his motive, the largeness of his purpose, and the wisdom of its execution. They were: "Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; Hon. Hamilton Fish, of New York; Right Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, of Ohio; General U. S. Grant, of the United States Army; Admiral D. G. Farragut, of the United States Navy; Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia; Hon. John H. Clifford, of Massachusetts; Hon. William Aiken, of South Carolina; William M. Evarts, Esq., of New York; Hon. William A. Graham, of North Carolina; Charles Macalester, Esq., of Pennsylvania; George W. Riggs, Esq., of Washington; Samuel Wetmore, Esq., of New York; Edward A. Bradford, Esq., of Louisiana; George N. Eaton, Esq., of Maryland; and George Peabody Russell, Esq., of Massachusetts." The letter, he said, was about a subject which had long occupied his mind before he left England:

"I refer," he continued, "to the educational needs of those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and the not less disastrous consequences, of civil war.

"With my advancing years, my attachment to my native land has become more devoted. My hope and faith in its successful and glorious future have grown brighter and stronger; and now, looking forward beyond my stay on earth, as may be permitted to one who has passed the limit of three-score-and-ten years, I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before.

"But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth, and, in those portions of our nation to which I referred, the urgent and pressing physical needs of an almost impoverished people must for some years preclude them from making, by unaided effort, such advances in education, and such progress, in the diffusion of knowledge, among all classes, as every lover of his country must earnestly desire.

"I feel most deeply, therefore, that it is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are less fortunate; and, with the wish to discharge as far as I may be able my own responsibility in this matter, as well as to gratify my desire to aid those to whom I am bound by so many ties of attachment and regard, I give to you, gentlemen, most of whom have been my personal and especial friends, the sum of one million of dollars, to be by you and your successors held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States of our Union; my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinctions than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them.

* * * * *

"In making this gift I am aware that the fund derived from it can but aid the States which I wish to benefit in their own exertions to diffuse the blessings of education and morality. But if this endowment shall encourage those now anxious for the light of knowledge, and stimulate to new efforts the many good and noble men who cherish the high purpose of placing our country foremost, not only in power, but in the intelligence and virtue of her citizens, it will have accomplished all that I can hope."

In addition to the one million dollars referred to, Mr. Peabody donated bonds of the State of Mississippi amounting, with interest, to about eleven hundred thousand dollars. Two years later he added other securities to the amount of one million

By the close of this period the common school system had been adopted by every State contemplated in Mr. Peabody's endowment. In 1879, therefore, Dr. Sears was able to write: "Of the two grand objects which the board has from the beginning had in view, namely, the promotion of common school education, and the professional training of teachers, the former, or primary one, has been so far attained that it may, in great part, be safely left in the hands of the people, and our chief attention henceforth be given to the latter." The time was now come, therefore, when the sentiment of the people must be shaped towards this great end; and with the same wisdom and energy which he had displayed in the development of the common schools, Dr. Sears now began to prepare the way to add this "crowning part" to the State systems.

But it was not to be his good fortune to do more than begin this work. Worn out by his long and courageous struggle with the forces of illiteracy he dropped his task and sank to rest, September 6, 1880. On the third of the following February the board elected as his successor, J. L. M. Curry, soldier, diplomat, statesman, teacher—a man to whom the "little ones were dear." It so happened, therefore, that the two periods in the history of the trust are almost exactly co-incident with the services of the two general agents. As Dr. Sears was the great leader in the organization of free public schools, so Dr. Curry became the great leader in the development of the profession of teaching in the Southern States. It may almost be said that he created the profession there.

It has already been stated that at the time of the creation of the Peabody trust there was not a normal school in all the Southern States, and no demand for any. Twelve years had wrought some change, not so much in sentiment, as in conditions. In some of the States feeble beginnings had already been made when Dr. Curry took up the work. In Louisiana and in Tennessee, for example, excellent normal schools, since become famous, were supported largely by the Peabody fund. But there were no well supported State normals yet to be found. The general public had not yet reached that stage in the development of the school systems when the need for such institutions was felt. The teachers, indeed, felt the need of better training, but their

The Peabody Education Fund

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"Education: A debt due from present to future generations."—George Peabody

The recent decision of the Peabody Education Board to dissolve its trust is an announcement to the public that its work has been done, the noble purpose of its founder has been accomplished. There is a world of meaning wrapped up in this simple fact. For more than thirty years the Peabody Education Fund has been a potent factor in the educational life of the Southern States. Created in 1867 by Mr. George Peabody, a native of Massachusetts, but at the time a wealthy banker of London, and administered through subsequent years by Dr. Barnas Sears and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, educational statesmen, it has been a steadily flowing fountain of timely financial aid and moral inspiration to a brave people in their efforts to beat down the forces of poverty and illiteracy. In its history may be read the history of the educational revival of recent years in the Southern States, which has received nowhere else so complete an acknowledgment of its success as in the dissolution of the Peabody trust.

The destitute condition of the Southern States in 1865, politically, socially and financially, is too well known to bear repetition here. In no respect, however, was their condition more deplorable than in their educational life. Save in a few colleges, struggling for mere existence, their seats of higher education were completely overthrown. Their splendid systems of private academies were almost wholly destroyed. There were no normal or industrial schools. Not a single one of all the Southern States supported a system of public schools, and what is worse, there was no public sentiment favoring them. In Virginia, people and legislators doubted the wisdom of the constitutional requirements for public schools. In North Carolina, the public school houses, remains of the system built up with so much labor and ability by Calvin H. Wiley, were mostly "occupied by squatters," and among the people there was an alarming indifference to education. Of South Carolina Dr. Sears said that "a more complete

monious coöperation between benefactors and beneficiaries marked the administration of the trust.

In this spirit the trustees and their general agent approached their task of inducing the States to establish and maintain systems of free primary instruction. This was "the objective point, the goal of all efforts, the animus of all addresses, the underlying motive of all appropriations." In the prevailing conditions, it was necessary to work through individual schools, but the general agent always looked beyond these to the end he contemplated; and aid was given to such schools in proportion to the influence they would exert on the general system. This policy grew out of the conviction that a small number of strong schools, certain to succeed, was better than a large number of weak ones, likely to fail. To have scattered their fund all over the Southern States in dribblets, without giving any schools sufficient assistance to maintain life, would have invited failure. But examples of success, not of failure, were needed to induce the Southern States to take hold of the work. Of the great majority of the people, those who were not prejudiced against free schools were ignorant of their nature and operation. Ignorance would soon harden into prejudice if the people saw only inferior schools. Men may be convinced of the unsatisfactory character of existing schools, and yet, if they never see any that are models of excellence, may despond of ever seeing much improvement. So thought the Peabody board and its able agent.

Following this idea the board adopted a comprehensive plan for the general improvement of schools rather than the doling out of charitable aid to all who were in want of the means of education. The fund was anything but a charity fund; the board anything but an eleemosynary board. So far from adopting the charity idea of helping the weak, the trustees deliberately adopted the contrary policy of helping only the strong. "We aid those most," wrote the general agent, "who help themselves most. If the people do little, we do little; if they do nothing, we do nothing. . . . It is best for all the States to be helped just when they are taking hold of the schools in earnest." One-fourth the cost of establishing and maintaining the school—this was the proportion usually contributed from the Peabody Fund, and this only on condition that the remaining three-fourths be pledged by some

responsible person, or by the municipal government of the place. In 1871 \$108,900 contributed by the Peabody trustees was the direct cause of the expenditure by the people themselves of \$550,000. During the first ten years of the administration of the trust the sum distributed was \$984,450. Mr. Winthrop estimated that this had involved an expenditure by the people of no less than \$10,000,000. The greater part of this large sum went into permanent improvements, for in selecting schools to which aid should be given, not present conditions, but future results, were considered. In no case would aid be given to schools which would cease to exist after the withdrawal of Peabody support. As early as 1876 Dr. Sears was able to report that twenty-four cities to which aid had been given amounting to \$135,000, had assumed the entire support of their schools; and that aid had been withdrawn from "more than two hundred village and country schools," which had become self-supporting. In this way all over the Southern States in favorable communities were "sprinkled" model schools which were destined, as Dr. Sears so clearly foresaw, to develop into State systems.

His vision was not misleading. In every Southern State today a system of public schools is maintained. The dozens of model schools planted by Dr. Sears and the Peabody board have grown into thousands. Practically every town or city of two thousand inhabitants in the States included in Mr. Peabody's gift supports a system of public schools; and hundreds of villages and rural districts maintain public schools by local taxation. Local taxation for school purposes has become the watchword of the educational forces of the Southern States, and around this rallying cry day by day, the great common people are gathering. To bring this to pass millions of dollars have been expended by a people whose country less than forty years ago suffered all "the destructive ravages and not less disastrous consequences of civil war." Most effectively did Dr. Sears and the Peabody trustees, with their co-laborers, accomplish the first part of their great task.

The year 1879 has been designated as the time at which the first period of the history of the trust closed. During this period \$1,136,750 had been distributed in the Southern States, about 90 per cent. of which was devoted to the development of schools.

dollars, together with bonds of the State of Florida, which, with overdue coupons, amounted to \$384,000. But both Florida and Mississippi later repudiated their bonds, so that the board of trustees realized nothing from them. Even with this reduction the gift was the largest, up to that time, ever made by a private individual for educational purposes.

In the management and use of this fund the board of trustees was given an absolutely free hand. Power was given to it to make all necessary rules and regulations; to obtain an act of incorporation; to provide for the expenses of the trustees and of any agents they chose to appoint; to fill vacancies in the membership of the board; and, after thirty years, if it were deemed expedient, to close the trust and distribute the funds, not less than two-thirds to educational purposes in the Southern States, the balance wherever the board thought best. The only condition placed upon the trustees was the request that Mr. Winthrop be chairman, and Governor Fish and Bishop McIlvane vice-chairmen.

As distinguished as were the names, as eminent as was the ability, as high as were the characters of the members of the original board, subsequent additions, if they could not surpass, certainly have not fallen below them. Among these have been four presidents of the United States—Hayes, McKinley, Cleveland, and Roosevelt; two chief justices of the Supreme Court of the United States—Waite and Fuller; distinguished members of State judiciaries, like Chief Justice Manning, of Louisiana, and Chief Justice Endicott, of Massachusetts; great lawyers, like Joseph Choate and Hoke Smith; great financiers, like Drexel, Childs and Morgan; great preachers, like Bishop Whipple and Bishop Lawrence; great statesmen, like Hoar and Olney; great scholars, like Gilman. What other cause than that of education could have enlisted the active support and coöperation of men of such commanding abilities, such large experience, such varied interests, as these?

Such, then, was the famous Peabody trust. Its fate lay wholly within the hands of the trustees. Upon the wisdom of their policy depended the results hoped for by its generous founder.

The board held its first meeting and effected an organization February 8th, 1867, in the city of Washington. The second

birth; Curry, of Southern birth—the one captured the hearts of Southern men by his love and sympathy, the other won the ears of Northern men by his eloquence and earnestness. Behind them, upholding their hands, encouraging their hearts, stood the Peabody board, composed of the leading business men, statesmen, scholars and teachers of the nation, regardless of sections, distributing the wealth of the great Northern banker for the benefit of the Southern child—a constant reminder of the oneness of the American people.

felt its stirrings in the air." The thing was done; men began to see that the strength of the teacher was the strength of the school; and all over the Southern States went up a demand for strong teachers. One by one the States fell into line until this "crowning part"—normal schools—had been placed as the cap-stone of every State system of public instruction in the Southern States, except one.

No part of its work was regarded by the Peabody board with greater satisfaction than this. As the years went by and the influence of this work became more and more apparent, the donations from the Peabody fund were made more and more liberal. In the year 1875-1876 only 7.5 per cent. of the contributions was made to teacher-training—a term which includes not only normal school work, but also that of institutes and educational journals, to both of which the board contributed generously. During the next year the percentage used for this purpose was 18.4; then 26.1, and in 1879-1880 it rose to 76.4. After this, with the exception of two years, when it was 71.6 and 72.8, it never fell below 81.5. In the year 1892-1893 the percentage used for teacher-training was 100.

During the year 1901-1902 there were 41 State normal schools in the States in which the Peabody board worked. Many of them received their first impulse from the Peabody fund. They received annual appropriations from the public treasuries to the amount of \$426,974. They owned property valued at \$3,415,496. Their faculties were composed of 483 trained and experienced teachers. They taught 7,694 students who were themselves preparing to be teachers. These figures are not large, but the revolution in public appreciation of trained teachers, which they reveal, is large with meaning. "The nation that has the best schools, will be the first nation," says Jules Simon. "If it is not so today, it will be so tomorrow." To which let us add: The nation which has the best teachers will have the best schools. If it is not so today, it will be so tomorrow. The people of the Southern States are daily growing in appreciation of this truth. This step forward they owe largely to the wise expenditure of a few hundred thousand dollars, "plus the heart and brain of Curry and Sears and their colleagues and followers."

It would be absurd, of course, to suppose that the work of the

Peabody trust was confined to the narrow limits herein discussed, as broad as they are. In every way in which it was possible to touch the life of a people for its betterment, the Peabody trust touched the life of the people of the Southern States, and everywhere it acted as an inspiration. Industrially, politically, and socially, they are indebted to it for much that is best in their lives.

To be sure no one will claim for the Peabody board the sole honor for the great educational progress of the Southern States. There are dozens of other agencies which rightly claim a share in this work. In 1882 came the Slater fund, \$1,000,000, for the education of the negro. Later has come the Southern Education Conference and the organization of the General Education Board and the Southern Education Board, the result of whose work it is yet too early to estimate. But it is not to underestimate the importance or the significance of these agencies to say that they received their inspiration from the philanthropy of George Peabody and the work of the Peabody board, which held out to them its strong helping hand. Then, too, it is not to be supposed that the Southern States, in an era of public education, would have held aloof, if left alone, from this wonderful world movement. The spirit of the age must have made itself felt. And yet in a certain sense the great school systems of these States, as they are today, are the result of the work of the Peabody board. This board and its agent suggested the idea to the Southern people. The model schools established in central localities first persuaded them that they could establish and support such schools; and induced them to do so in spite of their poverty. The idea had been "projected upon the spirit of a self-reliant and unconquerable people," and great results followed. But the gardener who prepared the ground and sowed the seed is no less entitled to a share of the fruit than he who nourished and cultivated the plant.

The public school systems of the Southern States are lasting memorials no less to the generosity of Peabody, the patriotism of the Peabody board, the courage and wisdom of Sears and Curry than to the wise foresight of the Southern people. Each year sees them widen their sphere of influence; each year sees them send their roots deeper and deeper into the hearts of the

in which we live, our measuring of life by material standards, lead as swiftly to world-weariness and indifferentism as the half-hearted dilettanteism of the sheerest worlding. But "these contemporary forms of indifferentism are not final. We shall doubtless specialize more, rather than less, and yet the narrowing tendencies of absorption in one's own specialty may be resisted."

"A quiet mind that recalls the enduring lessons of history, a meditative mind that perceives the secret of vitality in true books and true men, a sane mind that sees life wholesomely and humanly—that is what one would cultivate if he would share the inexhaustible freshness, the unceasing energy, which make the daily gladness of the world."

In the two essays on the College Professor, Mr. Perry knows his ground thoroughly. He has an intimate knowledge of academic conditions in the United States. He was for a number of years a popular professor of English literature at Williams College and afterwards at Princeton. In his youth he sat at the feet of German professors, though it is doubtful if he was ever wholly under their spell; but he came to understand their passion for scholarship and to appreciate the value of technical training. He likewise saw that your famous expert is often but a segment of a man,—over-developed in one direction, atrophied in all others. As an antidote for this narrow and deadening sterility to which the college professor is peculiarly liable, Mr. Perry offers Russ Pratt's formula of life as given by Russ's adopted daughter: "He saws wood, sits in the house, and goes down street." "Is that not an admirable formula? Labor, reflection, social contact!"

Having been for years identified with colleges and being now a "literary fellow" with a cosmopolitan point of view, Mr. Perry writes with full knowledge of the ways of academic communities and searching criticisms of the glories and the limitations of the academic career, of the value and even of the foibles of the college professor.

In his "Routine and Ideals"* Mr. Le Baron Russell Briggs writes of education not as an outside observer, but as a college man of wide experience. Mr. Briggs, for so many years the dean

*Routine and Ideals. By Le Baron Russell Briggs, Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904.

pleas for it were more often than not put down to self-seeking ambition. It is not a difficult matter to bring a people to see the need of good schools, but strange as it may seem, the task is doubly hard to make them see that the key to the situation is the teacher; that the level of the teacher determines the level of the school. Normal schools, as Dr. Sears said, though first in the order of nature, are last in the conception of the people. Let it be known that the State proposes to expend a large sum of money in the training of teachers, and a cry at once goes up that the interests of the children are to be sacrificed for the sake of a few selfish and ambitious teachers. In 1881 this was the prevailing view among the people; and legislative bodies are rarely, if even ahead of the people, in their ideas of public policy.

It was this view that Dr. Curry set himself to combat. Every way in which it was possible to touch public opinion, he used; every opportunity to mould it that came to him, or that he could make, he seized. As Dr. Edwin A. Alderman says: "He had the genius for giving himself out, and the equipment of intellect and genius necessary for his many-sided duties. Before the legislatures of every State, from the Potomac to the Gulf, from college platforms, in great national gatherings, by country cross-roads, and in little villages wherein some impulse stirred a community to better its life, his voice was heard for twenty years." It is said that he addressed more legislative bodies as a private citizen than any other man of his day. "His long political experience, glowing eloquence, educational wisdom, and admirable blending of 'fiery zeal' and conservative policy, lifted him at once to a position above governors and legislators, and made him the 'guide, philosopher, and friend' both of educators and statesmen." Where Curry led they soon learned to follow. "And so," to quote one of his most eloquent pupils, "that solemn, majestic thing, called public opinion, got born, and a few men as earnest as death became somehow what we call a movement, and the movement, led by this splendid figure, wherein were blended the grace and charm of the old time with the vigor and freedom of the new, became a crusade, and young scholars had their imaginations touched by it and their creative instincts awakened by it, and the preachers saw their way clear to push it along, and the politicians, ever sensitive to the lightest wind of popular desire,

Some Contemporary American Essayists

BY WILLIAM P. FEW,

Dean and Professor of English in Trinity College

Human life is in such an intimate sense the subject matter of literature that every competent critic of literature must be a student of life. So it has come to pass that many English men of letters, such as Bacon, Addison, and Lamb, have written essays on the art of living. Mr. Bliss Perry, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the most distinctly literary magazine in the country, has lately printed a volume of essays in which the note most often struck is not letters but life.*

Under such subjects as *The Amateur Spirit*, *Indifferentism*, *The Life of a College Professor*, *College Professors and the Public*, and *Hawthorne at North Adams*, Mr. Perry has treated some interesting phases of present day American life. The central theme of the book—the significance of the amateur spirit in carrying forward the work of our modern world—is illustrated from many fields, with abundance of knowledge and sureness of judgment. The title essay is an illuminating discussion of the “possibility of combining the professional’s skill with the zest and enthusiasm of the amateur.” The amateur as here defined is the man who practices an art or sport—painting or golf—because of his love of it, and not for money; while a professional is one who makes his sport or his art his constant business. There must be a marked distinction between the amateur and the professional spirit and this distinction manifests itself in many forms of activity. On the side of the amateur is spontaneity, versatility, plasticity, enthusiasm, the capacity for taking high cuts, while on the side of the professional is trained skill, mature knowledge, sureness, effectiveness. The amateur’s plasticity of mind and trick of turning his hand to many things were characteristic qualities of the American pioneer. “The knack of getting things done and learning the rules afterwards” has worked wonders in America. The self-made man rather than the trained worker is still perhaps our representative man.

**The Amateur Spirit*. By Bliss Perry. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904.

Mr. Perry is evidently much in sympathy with the amateur, but he gives a fair estimate of the superior value of the trained professional. "The real workaday progress, the solid irrefragable advance in any art or profession, has commonly been made by the professional. Pasteur was a professional, and Helmholtz, and Huxley. John Marshall was a professional jurist. Mr. John Sargent is a professional painter of portraits, and Mr. Secretary Hay is a professional diplomatist."

While too much praise cannot be given to the multitude of self-made Americans who have contributed so largely to making this the richest and most prosperous country in the world, yet there is need today to emphasize the value of trained experts, especially in statecraft and diplomacy. The spoilsman and the amateur reformer are alike enemies to the public good. Already in America there is demand for specially trained men for the professions of law, medicine, the army, the church; but even here more rather than less emphasis needs to be laid. Ours must be not "a nation of amateurs" but a nation of professionals, if it is to hold its own in the coming struggles. Professional in method and amateur in spirit, is Mr. Perry's counsel of perfection. "Is it an impossible ideal, this combination of qualities, this union of the generous spirit of the amateur with the method of the professional?" "The personal enthusiasm, the individual initiative, the boundless zest of the American amateur must penetrate, illuminate, idealize, the brute force, the irresistibly on-sweeping mass, of our vast industrial democracy."

The essay on Indifferentism approaches the subject from the side of the man "who cares little." As a text Mr. Perry uses Signor Pococurante, the consummate indifferentist in Voltaire's "Candide," the wittiest book of the eighteenth century. Signor Pococurante becomes the type of the man whom nothing pleases, in whom the critical faculty is highly developed, who sees faults everywhere, who dislikes everything he possesses. Pococurantism is as old as Solomon; and Mr. Perry studies the phenomenon as it is found in the many varieties of disillusioned men who have felt that the game is not worth the candle.

It is a far cry from Pococurante, a Venetian nobleman of the eighteenth century, to America of the twentieth century; but our excessive devotion to the utilities, the fierce competitive struggle

common people. And though there may be found yet an occasional advocate of the long fossilized idea that it is not just for the State to educate one man's child with another man's money, the voices of these idle dreamers are drowned in the loud appeals everywhere heard in behalf of the childhood of the land. The ideas of Peabody, of Sears, and of Curry have captured the Southern people; they are committed, with a unanimity and a determination not found in any previous policy, to the training of all the children of all the people at public expense; and whatever else it may be found necessary to sacrifice in the future, the great common schools of the great common people shall abide.

Though it has been impossible in this brief article even to mention any of the services the Peabody board rendered the nation aside from its school work, one such phase of its great service must not be passed over. Its work was a national work, as broad as the nation's spirit, as enduring as its life.

George Peabody came to the rescue of the suffering South for the good of "the whole country." His gift, as Mr. Winthrop said, was the "earliest signal manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation" between the sections. It involved not only a recognition of the great losses the war had inflicted upon the Southern States, but also the responsibility of the nation for that loss. The rebuilding of these States was a national, not a sectional, problem; the dangers and weaknesses of poverty and illiteracy are not local. The first real step toward reconstruction and reunion was taken when leading men of Virginia and of Louisiana, of North Carolina and of South Carolina and of Maryland, met with those of Massachusetts and of Pennsylvania and of New York, in "a little upper chamber" in Willard's Hotel in Washington, for devising means to build up the waste places which the war had left behind it. These waste places were found not only in the broad fields of the Southern States, but likewise in the nation's bleeding heart. In the work of redeveloping the one and of healing the other, the Peabody board called to the nation's service two great leaders whose lives, rich as they were with meaning, stood first of all for Americanism. For more than thirty years Sears and Curry went up and down the land teaching and preaching the principles of nationality. Sears, of Northern

of Harvard College, is easily one of the most popular and useful college officers in the country. He has been a prime favorite with many generations of Harvard men, and to the general public he has already made good his right to speak on educational subjects, by his first published book, "School, College and Character."

It is significant that Mr. Perry closes his essay on College Professors and the Public with a practicable application of the fine words of a venerable professor, spoken in reply to a young colleague who had complained of the waste of time from the half-hour spent each morning at the required chapel service: "If you are turning a grindstone, every moment is precious; but if you are doing a man's work, the inspired moments are precious." So Dean Briggs calls the essay (really published addresses, they are) sermons or a single sermon; and the text is twofold: "Be thou faithful unto death," and "Where there is no vision the people perish." The text is a most apt one; for "Routine and Ideals" is a call to young men to be "there" and be "there" not only in the high and ambitious moments of life, but on the "obscure dead levels that take the heart out of any one who does not see the glory of common things." But this essay is not a glorification of drudgery; routine is a means to an end. It must have an ideal in it and round about it. "In such a practical life as every man or woman ought to lead, such a practical life as educated men and women are bound to lead or be false to their trust, it is the vision that abides and commands."

In three other essays, Harvard and the Individual, Discipline in School and College, and The Mistakes of College Life, Dean Briggs discusses practical phases of education. He writes with a candor and simplicity rare in educational discussions. There can at no time be the faintest suspicion that he is crying his own wares. He is not a retainer in behalf of any favorite theories of education. He speaks, out of a full experience, of the few certain, fundamental things that we really know about this much talked of subject. He himself says in the preface that the book contains no new ideas and only a few old ones. This sort of compelling candor pervades the entire book, and makes it most refreshing and stimulating. I have rarely read a book that so reassures me as to the validity of educational processes and the value of educational results. Education—its methods and results—is as

vital as any other question, particularly in our democratic America, where so much in our civilization is experimental and problematical. A perfectly frank and honest discussion of what is being done and achieved in education is valuable. Such a discussion Dean Briggs furnishes us in this book and its predecessor.

The book is brimful of the attractive personality of the author, and it is written in the easy, winning style, of which Dean Briggs is always master. His quiet humor, his sympathy with all kinds of men, even incorrigible freshmen, his enthusiasm for his work, his untiring devotion to the difficult task of saving college boys, all stand out from every page of the book. These qualities combine to make "Routine and Ideals" one of the few readable and humanly interesting books that deal with the subject of education.

Dean Briggs has pointed out how boys may be developed into men, and how character may be made in men by three things—intelligence, constant practice, and something hard to define, but not too fancifully, called an ideal. In a recently published small volume entitled "The Business Career in its Public Relations,"* Mr. Albert Shaw has set forth what these same qualities have accomplished in the material upbuilding of this country. We are accustomed to hear only abuse of American business methods and commercialism in general. On the other hand Mr. Shaw believes that we are not at heart—appearances sometimes to the contrary notwithstanding—in this splendid country of ours, engaged in a mad struggle and race for wealth. "We are engaged rather in the greatest effort ever made in the world for the upbuilding of a higher civilization."

Economic progress and the increase of wealth have diffused general well-being and opened the door to a larger majority of men than was ever known in any country before the day of the practical utilization of steam power and other great inventions which led to the rise of "capitalism." One may be keenly alive to the hideous evils and inequalities of modern industrialism and yet be glad to believe, with Mr. Shaw, that this mightiest force of our time may be made to furnish a soil and an atmosphere in which idealism can grow, bud, blossom, and bear glorious fruit. But

*The Business Career in Its Public Relations. By Albert Shaw, Ph.D., Editor of the American Review of Reviews. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company, 1904.

this result can only be obtained when the highest ethical standards have been applied to the conduct of business affairs. Business men must feel their responsibility for the general welfare, and be animated by a desire to be of service to their fellow-men. Already this is coming to pass in America. Business men today constitute the most progressive and constructive class among us, and in the main their influence has made for progress and general human betterment.

In recognition of this, America's chief contribution to civilization, and with a purpose to enthrone in the conduct of business affairs the same ethical standards that belong rightly to governmental administration, to educational administration, or to the best professional life, Mr. H. Weinstock has established in the University of California a lectureship on "The Morals of Trade." The first lectures on this foundation were last year given by Mr. Albert Shaw, the editor of the *American Review of Reviews*, and these lectures compose the book which has lately come from the press. Mr. Shaw is a trained scholar, who has had large observation of business, social, and political conditions in this country. He is a constructive, not a destructive critic—and, like most other men who bear an active part in the great onward movement of our time, he is an optimist, even if sometimes in spite of the facts. Such an appeal as this book makes to young men who will enter business, must do good; and the book ought to be widely read, particularly in the South, where poverty has been our great curse and where material progress is now the first step toward that high standard of civilization which we are destined to reach.

Dealing more specifically with literary subjects than either of these three volumes, but withal vital and helpful in its treatment of American conditions, is Mr. Paul Elmer More's "Shelburne Essays."* Like some others of our most cultivated men, Mr. More does not regard modern progress with complacency, but looks with the utmost doubt and anxiety upon the drift of the times. The contentions of commerce are to him a desolation and a woe, and his ear does not hearken after the "indistinguishable roar" of the streets or the noisy jargon of the market-place. To

**Shelburne Essays—First Series*; by Paul Elmer More. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

remove himself "far from this our war," he took upon himself to live two years as a hermit among the pine forests of Maine, in the peaceful valley of the Androscoggin river. These essays are the first fruits of this sojourn in the wilderness. They show a wide range of subjects, from "A Hermit's Notes on Thoreau" to "The Religious Ground of Humanitarianism."

Mr. More has read widely in the literature of the world. He was for several years an instructor in Harvard University, where his chief work lay in the fields of Greek and Latin literature and the philosophy of ancient India. He is now the literary editor of the *New York Evening Post*. To an uncommonly wide acquaintance with the literature of the past—he confesses that he was actually better acquainted with the aspirations and emotions of the old dwellers on the Ganges than with those of the modern toiler by the Hudson or the Potomac—he adds the born critic's penetration, keen appreciation of literature, and sanity of judgment. For their knowledge, insight, and interpretative power these essays make up one of the most significant contributions to critical writing that have appeared in America within recent years.

These four volumes, particularly the first three, are alike in that they are enquiries into the real forces that are making for American civilization. They—each in its own way—reflect some of the most wholesome tendencies of our time. They are stimulating, for they are apt to make Americans more hopeful of their country; and it is only in epochs of hopefulness that worthy achievements may be expected.

BOOK REVIEWS

GREAT ENGLISHMEN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Sidney Lee. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—xxiii., 337 pp.

THE TEMPER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLISH LITERATURE. By Barrett Wendell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904,—viii., 360 pp.

These two volumes emphasize the fact of the growing intellectual intercourse between England and America. The lectures of Mr. Sidney Lee, one of the most scholarly critics of England, were delivered at Lowell Institute, in Boston, in 1903; those of Professor Barrett Wendell, of Harvard University, were delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, on the Clark foundation, in the year 1902-3. Mr. Lee is one of a long line of English scholars who have lectured in this country. Professor Wendell is the first American scholar to deliver a series of lectures concerning English literature at an English university. The latter is naturally more concerned about his mission and message. He is much concerned about "the world-need of a closer union, of better mutual understanding," between the two countries. He says in his preface: "Loyal Englishmen can never be Americans, nor loyal Americans Englishmen; but no patriotic loyalty can ever affect the truth that Englishmen and Americans are ancestrally brethren. And whoever does his best to strengthen the sense and the ties of our kinship does a good deed for the future of this puzzling world." His visit to Cambridge led to some warm personal friendships and, furthermore, brought to the author a "new, wonderful, lasting sense of human fellowship" with the English worthies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both of the lecturers, by a striking coincidence, spoke of Shakspeare, Spenser and Bacon; but with Mr. Lee they are the central figures in a study of the Renaissance in England, while with Mr. Wendell they are studied only as contrasts with the seventeenth century writers. Neither writer has done work of a higher order than is to be found in these volumes.

Mr. Sidney Lee, as one of the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and especially as the author of the latest

and most authoritative life of Shakspeare, has established his right to speak authoritatively on Elizabethan literature. The book now under review is the result at once of the most scientific study of the minutest details in the literary history of the period, and of a certain large and vital interpretation of the age as a whole. One cannot praise too highly either the accuracy and breadth of knowledge displayed or the literary style with which the most striking features of the Elizabethan age are delineated. It is a fascinating book either for the scholar or for the cultivated reader of general intelligence. The introductory chapter is a summary of the principal tendencies and achievements of the Elizabethan—or Renaissance—period, which begins with “the wonderful enlightenment of Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* and culminates in the achievements of Bacon and Shakspeare.” The passion for extending the limits of human knowledge, the love of beauty that followed the recovery of classical literature and the study of contemporary European literature, the expansion of thought that came with Copernicus and Columbus, the literary influence of the Bible, the newly awakened national spirit—all these are sketched by the author in a few suggestive, and at times eloquent, sentences. All the men of that time—and notably the five men he studies in the later chapters of the book—had something of the versatility of the age; men of letters were also men of action, and *vice versa*.

“The children of the Renaissance scorned narrowness of outlook. . . . Avowed specialism was foreign to the large temper of the times.” Hence arises, however—except in Bacon and Shakspeare—the failure “to do the one thing of isolated pre-eminence which might have rewarded efficient concentration of effort.” Mr. Lee puts his finger too upon the strange paradox of this age—the alliance of good and evil; “the better angel” and “the worser spirit” of Shakspeare’s Sonnets “represent with singular accuracy the ethical temper of the age.” This paradox of the period as a whole is writ large in the lives of More, Bacon, and Raleigh, whose careers were strangely inconsistent with the ideals they expressed in their writings. Even Sidney and Spenser “strained their nerves until they broke in death, in pursuit of such will-o’-the-wisps as political or military fame,” while Shakspeare himself, who “mastered the whole scale of human aspirations,” had “worldly ambitions of commonplace calibre.”

The five chapters giving the salient facts and the principal characteristics of these six great Elizabethans are models of biography and criticism. The seventh chapter, entitled "Foreign Influences on Shakespere," is one of the most illuminating essays yet written on the great dramatist. In addition to the uniform excellence of the whole book should be mentioned the full table of contents, the bibliographies at the beginning of each chapter, and the carefully prepared index.

Professor Wendell's book lacks the charm of Mr. Lee's—the wealth of personal incidents and characteristics. In it is evident, however, the same thoroughness of work, the same genuine scholarship; there is an added note of thoughtfulness. The book is really a setting forth of a thesis. Believing that literature is "the lasting expression in words of the meaning of life" and "the unconscious expression of national temper," the author has endeavored, first, to get at the essential characteristics of the English people in the Elizabethan age; these he finds to be spontaneity, enthusiasm and versatility. The first part of the seventeenth century saw the decline of the drama and the lyric, which decline was synchronous with the disintegration of the national temper, the breaking up of the ardent youthful integrity. Even the prose of the seventeenth century lacks the fervid integrity of the Elizabethan age—"the rhythmic ebb and flow which should suffuse meaning with the throbbing strength of half-repressed imaginative fervor." The most characteristic note of all the men of the mid-seventeenth century is that of personal isolation, even in the "clashing tragedy of the civil war"—a change from the national to the deliberately individual point of view. National integrity is lost in the misunderstandings and prejudices of the Cavaliers and Puritans. "When the world is ablaze, only those can express themselves who stand aside," and so we have the individual note in Walton, Sir Thomas Browne, Vaughan, Marvell, Hobbes—most of all, in Milton, whose solitude "is rather the inevitable solitude of his disintegrating time;" he is a great man, "inevitably apart." The national integrity was restored again in the age of Dryden, when, as John Richards Green says, modern England begins. Mr. Wendell suggests in a brief chapter at the end the characteristics of the age which began with the Restoration.

The main point of the book, however, is to show the divergence of the paths of England and New England, the Elizabethan age being the period common to both countries. One of the main tendencies of the Elizabethan age was that toward Puritanism, which, however, found its expression, not in literature, but in the establishment of a republic beyond the seas. English Puritanism became more and more narrow and bigoted in the seventeenth century—it lost the qualities of the earlier Puritanism. In New England, however, the spontaneity, enthusiasm and versatility of Elizabethan Puritanism were retained in the intense, transcendental ideals of the new world. "American vestiges of the Puritan spirit are Elizabethan still—springing straight from the integral elder days which mustered as well the imaginative masterpieces of poetry and of the drama." The American principle of ideality behind the law is a survival of the Elizabethan age.

This summary may serve to give some idea of Mr. Wendell's thesis, worked out with great ingenuity and much thought. Like most theses it is strained in places, but in the main the student will agree with it. The book is not so full an interpretation of seventeenth century literature as Professor Dowden's "Puritan and Anglican," but as a general survey of the whole period—giving unity to a great mass of details and tendencies—it is clearly one of the most successful books yet written on English literature. The style is in every sense admirable—except, perhaps, in a tendency to outdo Matthew Arnold in repeating phrases, and to use such words as "diuturnity." One very bad typographical error is seen in "Keat's," on page 59. E. M.

THE CLANSMAN. By Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905,—374 pp.

THE LION'S SKIN. By John S. Wise. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905,—404 pp.

Neither of these novels had its origin in the artistic impulse. One is the result of a purpose to glorify the Ku Klux Klan and to show the venom of men in the North, who after Lincoln's death established reconstruction governments in the South; the other is a brief for the political opinions held by a Southern Republican

after the war, who, on account of social ostracism, became a citizen of New York—an unwilling exile from his native State. The authors are alike in their attitude to the civil war, and in their glorification of Abraham Lincoln as the sympathetic friend of the South, whose untimely death was the beginning of a direful reign of terror in this section. They are alike, too, in their conception of the scalawag, the carpet-bagger, and the newly enfranchised negro—described by Mr. Wise as such “a gang of political rapsallions as were never before seen in any civilized government.” At this point, however, they part company. Mr. Wise thinks that the danger of negro domination was not serious, at least in Virginia, which “never had, nor had she ever occasion for, the secret Ku Klux Klan, or any kindred organization.” There are in his book interesting sketches of life in Richmond and at the University of Virginia just after the war; but the last part of the book is largely a political pamphlet, setting forth the corruption and insincerity of the Democratic party in Virginia and the victory and final defeat of Mahone. The author is thoroughly aware of the inheritance by the South of political methods and social ideals engendered by opposition to reconstruction governments.

Mr. Dixon, on the other hand, giving his story the background of the Piedmont section of South and North Carolina—where the evils of reconstruction were especially pernicious—tells the story of the rise and growth of the Ku Klux Klan, which, in his opinion, was the means of saving Southern civilization. He compares them with the Knights of the Middle Ages who rode on their Holy Crusades; throws around the Klan the glamor of religious zeal, and sees in the deeds of these Scotch-Irish of the Carolinas the spirit of the Scotch Covenanters. The author has evidently thoroughly investigated all available sources to give local color to his story. He has gone at the task of presenting the entire contemporary spirit with his accustomed energy and zeal. He has reproduced the stirring times. If the results of his studies had appeared as a series of newspaper articles—say, in the *New York Journal*—one would perhaps have no serious complaint to urge. Indeed, one may say that the spirit of the book is better than that of the “Leopard’s Spots,” if for no other reason, because of the evident sincerity of his appreciation of the character of Lincoln.

But Mr. Dixon is not a successful novelist; one has only to compare him with Joel Chandler Harris or Thomas Nelson Page, who have both written reconstruction novels, to see the difference between men who have artistic power and a man who writes altogether with a purpose in view. The power of sustained creative effort, the charm of language, the art of managing conversation, the restraint of the artist—all these are foreign to him. The book is full of such sentences as this: "My politics is bounded on the North by a pair of amber eyes, on the South by a dimpled little chin, on the East and West by a rosy cheek." One may not have a very good opinion of Thaddeus Stevens and yet feel the absurdity of this characterization: "As the nostrils of the big three-angled nose dilated, the scream of an eagle rang in his voice, his huge, ugly hand held the crook of his cane with the clutch of a tiger, his tongue flew with the hiss of an adder, and his big, deformed foot seemed to grip the floor as the claw of a beast." The story is full of horrible situations—such, for instance, as the negro brute rehearsing the story of a crime that has already harrowed the feelings of the reader. The book might attain the sale of a million copies and yet not establish itself in the minds of critics as anything but a piece of melodramatic writing.

Does it accomplish any good? If so, one might pardon artistic defects. It stirs up prejudice in the minds of Southern people, who know the story of those awful days. A man who wishes to lead the Southern people in the right way should follow the great leaders of the South in allaying the bitter memories of the past. This point might be waived if it accomplished good in the North; it is written in such a spirit and with such an utter lack of art as to defeat this object. The answer to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is not found here—it is in Page's "In Ole Virginia," Harris's "Uncle Remus," Miss Glasgow's remarkably fine novels, Robert E. Lee's letters, the speeches of Lamar and Grady. These have won and will win the good will of the North—the North that Mr. Mabie writes about in this number of the *QUARTERLY*. Finally, the effect of such books as Mr. Dixon's is to hinder very decidedly that better understanding of the negro problem that is now under way in all parts of the country. Mr. Dixon's attitude to the negro—notwithstanding what he may say about some individ-

uals of the race—is one of bitterness as to the past and pessimism as to the future.

The only excuse for the publication of such a book is that in a democracy there should be the opportunity for untrammelled expression of opinion. It is to be hoped that restorative and constructive forces, North and South, will make it impossible for its spirit to prevail in the national consciousness.

E. M.

THE TRUE HENRY CLAY. By Joseph M. Rogers. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1904,—388 pp.

If one wants some chatty incidents about several of our prominent Americans, let him peruse one of our "true" biographies. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, who set the series a-going in his "True George Washington," meant a "true" life to be something more of an intimate personal life than the formal political biographies. From that standpoint his own book was a success. Many general readers will ever go to it for certain phases of Washington's life. But such a book cannot take the place of a political life. For example, what the world wants to know about is his part in American political life, his career as a statesman. They will need to have this career presented in the entirety, and by sections. It must logically, and somewhat chronologically, be unfolded for the reader. "The True Henry Clay" contains twenty-seven chapters, nearly everyone of which treats of some phase of character or occupation which ran through more than one period of Clay's life. The result is that overlapping and confusion which proceeds from an excessive use of the topical method.

Mr. Rogers's book has the redeeming feature of being interesting. He has been able by his method to introduce a large number of anecdotes, and the career of Clay was rich in anecdotes. He presents his facts in a quick, nervous manner. The narratives always run, being rarely interrupted by philosophy. The impression produced on the student is, however, that there is a lack of balanced judgment in this. To take an illustration, one finds this statement in regard to the famous charges of 1825: "That there never was a corrupt bargain nor anything like it, is now accepted as certain, as undoubted as any fact in history" (p. 124). Now

a man with scientific sense of history would not have made this statement. He would not have been so positive in his conclusion; for John Quincy Adams's "Diary" makes it very probable that Clay's friends had reason to expect that Clay would be secretary of state before they voted for Adams.

Of small errors the book has its full share. It does not appear that Clay spent many years collecting evidence that the cry of bargain was false (p. 124), it is not accurate to say that Van Buren got the British mission because he took the side of Mrs. Eaton (p. 177). It seems a little unusual to say that Jackson vetoed the bill to recharter the bank in order to get the support of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia was the seat of the bank's greatest power, and it boded Jackson no good in Pennsylvania to veto the bank bill. His friends considered the act as of very doubtful propriety. Lastly one must note that the bank controversy has been treated in ignorance, as it appears, of the recent work on that subject by Professor Catterall.

J. S. BASSETT.

TRUSTS, POOLS AND CORPORATIONS. Edited with an Introduction by William Z. Ripley. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1905,—xxx., 477 pp.

Professor Ripley has inaugurated with this book a new series of volumes of "Selections and Documents in Economics." A similar volume on "Trade Unionism and Labor Problems" is in preparation by Professor Commons, one on "Sociology and Social Problems" by Professor Carver, and one on "Taxation and Public Finance" by Professor Bullock. Each volume in the new series is to be a collection of economic reprints, planned for use specifically as a text book supplementing the standard treatises. In the words of the editor, this new series "denotes a deliberate attempt at the application of the case system, so long successfully used in our law schools, to the teaching of economics. With this end in view, each chapter is intended to illustrate a single, definite, typical phase of the general subject." The concrete data so placed in convenient form at the disposal of the student will serve as "a basis for analysis, discussion and criticism."

The present volume is made up of reprints from the writings of such leading authorities upon trusts and corporations as Professor J. W. Jenks, Professor Ripley, Dr. Edward S. Meade, Hon.

P. C. Knox, and Hon. James Smith, Jr. As an instance of the method pursued, the over-capitalization of trusts is given a concrete illustration by the reprinting from the *Political Science Quarterly* of Dr. Meade's account of the capitalization of the International Mercantile Marine Company. Similarly, the report of Hon. James Smith, Jr., receiver of the United States Shipbuilding Company, is used to furnish a concrete instance of fraudulent finance. Such reprints and documents make admirable raw material for detailed class room study and the use of them will do much to give vital interest to economic instruction. The collection of such material, carefully edited and drawn from the most authoritative sources, will in the present volume, and doubtless in those to follow, afford substantial aid toward the application of improved methods to secure the effectiveness of economic teaching.

W. H. G.

LABOR PROBLEMS. By Thomas Sewall Adams and Helen L. Sumner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905,—xv., 579 pp.

This book has been written to furnish a convenient text for the study of American labor problems by undergraduate students. Its authors "have preferred to cover a broad field imperfectly, rather than a narrow field in detail." After an introductory chapter upon the "Genesis of the Labor Problem," Book I, under the sub-title "Evils," is made up of chapters upon the labor of women and children, upon immigration, the sweating system, and poverty and unemployment. Book II is entitled "Remedies" and is devoted to the consideration of strikes and boycotts, labor organizations and employers' associations, agencies of industrial peace, profit sharing, co-operation, industrial education, labor laws, and the material progress of the wage earning classes. There are valuable appendices on woman and child labor laws in the United States, profit sharing in the United States, and earnings and unemployment in 1901. Helpful lists of references and of supplementary readings are provided at the ends of chapters for those who wish to make detailed study of the various topics.

The authors of this work have performed a useful service in compressing into a single volume so large an amount of information upon a subject which is ever increasing in importance.

Besides its availability for use with college classes, their book will have a distinct value as a handy book of reference. As a book to be read from first chapter to last, it will not make a strong appeal, for, with the general reader, carefulness and good judgment will not atone for a colorless style and a lack of fresh interest.

W. H. G.

YALE INSURANCE LECTURES. Delivered in the Insurance Course at Yale University. 2 Volumes. Vol. I., Life Insurance. Vol. II., Fire Insurance and Miscellaneous. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1904,—245 pp. and 357 pp.

Yale University, in the academic year 1903-4, inaugurated a new and unique course in insurance, consisting of an extended series of lectures on the several phases of the general subject delivered by experts and leaders in the insurance world. These lectures were at first published in the columns of the *Yale Alumni Weekly*, and have now been given more convenient and permanent form in two substantial volumes. The course aimed "to give the student such a knowledge of the fundamental principles of insurance and such a view of its extent and its methods of operation as would enable him to judge accurately of its power as an economic force, and would further prepare him for wise action when the duties of his profession or business required him to guard himself or others from possible loss. It was further intended to furnish a broad, preliminary view of insurance for those who intended to enter it later, either as a business or as a profession." Both of these aims were admirably carried out.

The resulting volumes will also be of great value to those who are already actively engaged in insurance work. The insurance agent who reads these lectures will gain a broad understanding of the subject which should add to his success in securing business. Broad knowledge of the fundamental principles of insurance should give intelligence and effectiveness to the presentation of the claims of a particular company. On the other hand, the individual who has acquired such knowledge will be better able to act wisely in choosing such a policy contract as will meet his particular needs.

The first volume is devoted to the subject of fire insurance. Among the many expert lecturers were John F. Dryden, John A.

McCall, and James W. Alexander. Besides a consideration of life insurance from the historical, economical, actuarial, and medical standpoints, there are accounts of office organization, the agency business, the investment of insurance funds, fraternal insurance, and government regulation of life insurance companies. The second volume gives equally authoritative discussions of fire insurance, marine insurance, accident insurance, liability insurance, steam boiler insurance, corporate surety bonding, government insurance and insurance law.

W. H. G.

LITERARY NOTES

The Library of Congress, through its Manuscripts Division, has undertaken to publish in a number of volumes the Journal of the Continental Congress. This edition is to be based on the original manuscript, which has never before been fully published. The supervision of Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, chief of the division, is guarantee that no pains will be spared to make the work all that modern scholarship requires. The first volume, which deals with the year 1774, meets these expectations. It is a most careful piece of editing and printing. The notes which Mr. Ford has supplied from many sources, include marginal notes on the original manuscript, and memoranda from labels and wrappers. The first volume contains 143 pages and eleven illustrations.

The Third Annual Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi has just been issued by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department. It contains 259 pages and includes in eight appendices some valuable reprints of early Mississippi material. Among these are "Documents concerning the Aaron Burr Conspiracy, from the Journal of Cowles Mead;" and material from the journals of Governors W. C. C. Claiborne, Winthrop Sargent, Robert Williams, and David Holmes. The report shows that the director has planned the work of his department on the lines of public documents and manuscripts. If this course is pursued continuously it ought to yield much valuable history for the State and for the Southwest generally.

Professor Felix E. Schelling, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has in his "Book of Elizabethan Lyrics," and "Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth," proved himself to be a scholarly and discerning critic of Elizabethan literature, has now gathered together a volume of entertaining and instructive sketches—mere "waifs and strays" of his weightier studies in the literature of the age of Elizabeth and James. The volume bears the title of "The Queen's Progress and Other Elizabethan

Sketches." It comes from the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and both in print and illustration is an excellent example of book-making.

"The Biennial Report and Recommendations of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina to Gov. Charles B. Aycock for the scholastic years 1902-3 and 1903-4," is a pamphlet of great interest to all who wish to know the substantial progress made in North Carolina in educational work. It emphasizes anew the superior work done by ex-Governor Aycock and Superintendent Joyner in arousing enthusiasm for public education and—what is better—in accomplishing tangible and far-reaching results. Some of the noteworthy facts are: that there has been an increase of 7.8 per cent. in the white enrollment and 6.9 per cent. in the colored enrollment during the past two years; that there has been an increase of 2.34 weeks in length of white school term and of 2.3 weeks in length of colored school during the past four years; that there are now 877 rural libraries; that 150 local tax districts have been established during the past two years; that consolidation of school districts, county supervision and the organization and systematization of the work have all been steadily advanced. The superintendent's recommendations indicate a liberal policy for the future; it is interesting to note that the legislature, just adjourned, carried out many of them. His words on the education of the negro were heeded and North Carolina has fortunately escaped any danger of Vardamanism. Under the careful supervision of Mr. Charles L. Coon, there may be expected a decided improvement in the colleges and schools of the negro race. Mr. Joyner has the co-operation and best wishes of all friends of education in his work during the next four years.

The January number of the *Sewanee Review*, appearing as it does with improved mechanical features, emphasizes once more the sterling quality of this magazine, now in its thirteenth year. The improvement in its get up is due to the superior work of the University Press which will henceforth print the magazine and do other publishing work. The publication of the late Bishop Quintard's "Memories of War" is announced for April. The *Review* presents an interesting table of contents, notably, "The

Servant Problem in a Black Belt Village," by Walter L. Fleming; "Hamlet's Mouse Trap," by Henry Thew Stephenson; "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," by William S. Bishop; "Swinburne's Poetic Theories and Practice," by E. G. Hoffsten; "The Influence of Fergusson on Burns," by W. L. Myers; and "Thomas U. Dudley," by William P. Du Bose. The high standard of articles established by Professor Trent and now maintained by Professor Henneman is one of the most encouraging facts in contemporary Southern life.

Southern men are to write four out of the twenty-eight volumes in the series on "The American Nation," being published under the editorship of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart. President Lyon Gardiner Tyler, of William and Mary College, is the author of the volume on "England in America." Professor John Spencer Bassett, of Trinity College, will write on "The Federalist System;" Professor George Pierce Garrison, of the University of Texas, on "Westward Expansion," and Professor John Holladay Latané, of Washington and Lee University, on "America the World Power."

The published report of the Hampton Negro Conference of 1904 contains matter of great interest and value and must make upon the reader a strong impression of the social importance of the work being performed by this agency. There are included in the report many striking papers on such topics as "The Negro and Life Insurance," "Negro Women and Domestic Service," "The Negro Death Rate—Especially from Tuberculosis."

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem (Charles Scribner's Sons), and Professor W. B. Smith's "The Color Line" (McClure, Phillips & Co.), are two very significant and important books on the everlasting negro problem. They will be treated in an extended review in the July number of the QUARTERLY. On account of a misunderstanding the article which was to have appeared in this number had to be delayed.

Professor Albert S. Cook is doing a genuine service for students of English literature by bringing out a series of Yale Studies in English (Henry Holt & Co., New York). Himself a prolific writer

and an untiring investigator, he is stimulating the spirit of scholarly research in the minds of his students. The latest books—numbers 27 and 28 in the series—are editions of Ben Jonson's "Poetaster" and "The Staple of News"—the first by Herbert S. Mallory, instructor in English at Yale, and the second by De Winter, instructor in rhetoric at Yale. Both of them are doctorate dissertations. Each play is carefully edited as to text and has an introduction, notes, bibliography and glossary which give evidence at once of scientific methods and literary appreciation.

Dr. John Porter Hollis, Acting Professor of History and Economics in Southwestern University, Texas, is the author of a monograph upon "The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina" in the series of Johns Hopkins University Studies.

Dr. Paul Skeels Peirce has recently published a monograph on "The Freedmen's Bureau" in the University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics and History.

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AGENTS FOR MAILLARD'S FINE CANDIES

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South Atlantic Quarterly.

Washington Duke

BY WILLIAM P. FEW,

Dean and Professor of English in Trinity College

The death of Mr. Washington Duke, in Durham, N. C., on May 8, closed a most remarkable career. He was born in 1820 in Orange, now Durham County, North Carolina. His father was a respected man in the rural community in which he lived; but he had a large family and to his son came no inheritance at all. The son began life as a small farmer on rented land. Under the old régime in the South the small farmer had slight opportunity to rise. But this was an uncommon man and no untoward circumstances could bind him down. Ability, energy, and industry had their reward, and each year leaving him better off than the preceding, by 1860 he had bought and well stocked a farm of 300 acres.

He raised one crop of cotton and it brought but five cents a pound. Living in the bright tobacco belt of North Carolina, he early turned to the cultivation of tobacco. Before the outbreak of the civil war he had made up his mind to become a manufacturer of tobacco, and in a small way was actually launched in this enterprise when the war came. He entered the confederate army. After the fall of Richmond he was captured and sent to prison. A few weeks later when the war was over the government sent him to New Bern, N. C., and from thence he walked 135 miles to his old home. Arrived there he found himself the possessor of a neglected farm, two blind army mules, and fifty cents in money. But he realized, as few others realized until long afterwards, that there was a new day in the South; and with his four motherless children he at once set about rebuilding his ruined home. In 1865 he was forty-five years old, and was at this advanced age beginning life anew with practically nothing, and in a country stricken with poverty and devastated by war.

From small beginnings many marvelous careers have been worked out in America, but not in America have I ever heard of a successful life begun under such unpromising circumstances; yet he became a wealthy man and laid the secure foundation upon which has been built up by himself and two sons a very great fortune. From the beginning their manufacturing enterprise was successful and from year to year it has grown until now it has encircled the world, and the sun never sets on their factories and warehouses.

These brief facts will be sufficient to indicate the extraordinarily successful business career of Mr. Duke. But marvelous as has been this accumulation of wealth under circumstances unparalleled even in America, where the self-made man is almost the rule and where fortunes have been achieved with magic swiftness and in gigantic proportions that stagger the imagination, still more marvelous is the spirit that controlled this wealth and the disposition that was made of it. For Mr. Duke became not only the builder of the largest fortune ever amassed in the South, but he became the South's foremost philanthropist. His helpfulness knew no bounds. He had come up out of grinding poverty, he had lived through a period of intense sectionalism and bitterness; but his character came out untouched by these fires of adversity that had tried it. He helped churches, and hospitals, schools and colleges, men and women, democrats and republicans, negroes and whites. In these miscellaneous gifts he perhaps distributed more money than any other one man who ever lived in the State.

But the largest recipient of his wealth was Trinity College, which will stand as a monument to his philanthropy. Before he began giving money to it this was a poor, struggling college in Randolph County. He brought it to Durham and became the founder of the New Trinity. Finding it wholly inadequate to the needs of modern education, he left it strong enough to rank in equipment and standards of work with the better colleges of New England and other parts of this country.

But, after all, the amount of his giving is not so significant and characteristic of the man as the spirit in which he gave his money and in which he sought to develop this institution. It might well happen that the will of a living college should be curbed by the will of a living or dead founder. It has happened that the

founder or benefactor of a college has hung his own personality about the college like a body of death. The personality of Mr. Duke has indeed left an enduring stamp on Trinity College; but his influence has ever been liberating and inspiring rather than narrowing and deadening. His voice was always raised in behalf of truth and right and always against bitterness and narrowness, whatever forms they might assume. The qualities which dominated his character—liberality, broad-mindedness, and genuine goodness—are just the qualities which having entered into this college, must make it great in its mission of service to the State and nation.

It was for Trinity College perhaps a fortunate circumstance that after the civil war Mr. Duke became a Republican. He was a Republican from careful thought and serious conviction, largely because, as he said, he believed in the Republican policy of public improvements. He never sought office and had no relations to politics other than those of an intelligent and interested citizen. But, joining the Republican party in the early years after the civil war, he became one of a weak and despised minority. This might well have developed in him a spirit of bitterness and resentfulness, but it had the opposite effect of developing a catholicity in his feelings and judgments. Living through a period of civil war, disunion and dissension, he early saw the wisdom of putting aside all partisan heat and sectional hatred. While he had his own convictions which he maintained stoutly, yet he did not seek by force to impose them upon others. Many of his close friends and most of his employés were of a different political faith; but in his friends he looked only for sincerity and genuine excellence, and in business he applied no tests other than availability and efficiency.

So in religion he became a liberal. He was a man of strong religious nature. But his devout intensity did not breed in him any tinge of bigotry or intolerance. He combined the amiability of a genuinely pious and gentle soul with the wideness and generous forbearance of men who do things on a large scale.

Still more noteworthy and representative of the character of Mr. Duke was his quick determination, after the war, to turn at once from the dead past, to live in the present and face towards the future. The war ended, he at once felt himself a loyal citizen

of a reunited country and became wholly national in his feelings, his political and civic thinking, and his business operations.

But these are in a sense negative qualities and might almost spring out of indifference to others and to their welfare. Mr. Duke was a man of action. With him gifts must prove their uses. He did not care for things that yielded no dividends. His very goodness was progressive and creative. A spirit of genuine helpfulness animated him from early life. When quite a boy he seems to have dedicated himself to the service of men. He once said: "Since I was twelve years old I have been trying to make the world better for having lived in it." When his first factory had grown to considerable size and he had begun to employ a large number of people, he organized a Sunday school in one room of the factory, and out of that Sunday school grew the church to which he belonged at the time of his death—the church built for factory operatives and until now attended by many of them, as well as by most of the teachers and students of Trinity College. And it has been the policy of his company, wherever they have put down a manufacturing plant to build also a church.

Mr. Duke never placed upon the College a hampering restriction of any kind and never embarrassed it by a personal wish or preference. His interest in it, however, was always active, and always made for progress and improvement.

The College having thus been made strong in its search for the truth which makes men free and thus fortified by the spirit and the example of its founder, developed a power that enabled it, something more than a year ago, to promulgate under most trying circumstances a declaration of principles on the subject of academic freedom that was not only a new thing in the South, but was so clear-cut and fearless in its pronouncement as to startle the entire country.

This brilliant victory in the ancient cause of free speech was saved from being an empty achievement by the working, undoc-trinaire character of the College, which had been so firmly established in the principles of truth seeking and truth speaking, to which Mr. Duke's triumphant example had lured and led the way. The College was not fighting for a mere academic privilege, but for the elementary and vital right to live unhampered and to work

without restraint for the promotion of freedom, liberality, catholicity, national integration, and all the causes most precious to our Southern people, and for keeping alive here the fires that have lighted every nation in christendom on the way that leads to material prosperity and to the intellectual and moral worth upon which depends all individual and national greatness.

Mr. Duke's philanthropy did not rest upon a weak sentimentality, but it was based upon a sound principle. This may be illustrated by a saying of his, set, as was much of his talk, in imagery somewhat homely but shrewdly just and impressive in its very homeliness, a saying to which he on more than one occasion gave utterance: "Some people say that I ought to give my money to the poor. I don't think so. They would soon eat it up. I want to give my money to help people who are able to feed themselves."

The benevolent and genuinely Christian character of Mr. Duke is illustrated in his attitude toward the negroes, an attitude assumed early in life and kept to the end. He was always interested in them and sought by all possible means to assist them. He was in 1890 invited by the negroes of Durham to give an educational address. He could not do this, but sent them a letter which was full of good sense and concern for the negroes' welfare. He built and equipped a hospital for them in Durham, and all his life was liberal in his gifts to negro schools and churches. His charity to negroes was abundant, but even more wise and benevolent was his treatment of them as an employer. It is largely due to him that the relations between the negroes and whites are better in Durham and the negroes more industrious, prosperous, and contented than I have known elsewhere. There is no negro problem in this community. It is quite certain that no other man who has lived in this State was so loved by the negroes. Hundreds of them viewed his face the last night on which his body lay in his Durham home, and thousands of them lined the streets as his body was carried to its last resting place.

These qualities all go to show Mr. Duke a most remarkable and withal very wise man. In the eight years I have known him he has often reminded me of Abraham Lincoln. He had an unequalled sense of proportion and instinctive recognition of the eternal fitness of things, and intuitive knowledge of what is right

and proper. And these make up the most useful gift vouchsafed to men on earth—the gift of unerring wisdom—wisdom that is not the product of intellect alone, but comes out of a full, harmonious character, and at its highest becomes a sort of moral instinct that almost compels a man to live his life wisely, just as the natural instinct compels the bird to sing its song. This unerring wisdom seems to me to have been the supreme gift of nature to Lincoln and likewise to Mr. Duke. The two were alike again in the sure command of a homely but shrewd humor; both were brimful of that mirth which, according to Dr. Johnson, always measures the size of a man's understanding.

With this quiet strain of mirth ran a deep and persistent undertone of pity and tragic tenderness. The mystery "of all this unintelligible world" weighed heavily on both their minds. "The poor human race," was a phrase often on Mr. Duke's lips. This matchless humor and womanlike tenderness had their common origin in the naturalness and humanity of the man, in a heart that sought the widest good and loved the widest joy.

The Fourteenth Amendment and Southern Representation

BY JAMES WILFORD GARNER, PH. D.,

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The emphatic pronouncement of the Republican party in its last national platform in favor of the reduction of the Congressional representation of certain Southern States, the introduction of bills at the recent session of Congress by Senator Platt and Representatives Sherman and Morrell to carry out the Republican mandate and the popular agitation to which these proceedings have given rise make it worth while to inquire into the purpose and meaning of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment and to consider some of the practical difficulties that seem to stand in the way of the enforcement of the constitutional provision. The clause in question provides that when the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of a State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. It is well known that the purpose of this provision was to offer an inducement to the States of the South to grant by voluntary action the right of suffrage to the freedmen who by the Civil Rights Act had already been made citizens and by the Reconstruction Acts had been allowed to vote for delegates to the several conventions which framed the reconstruction constitutions in 1868. At that time it was believed that the advantages of increased representation in Congress would appeal strongly to the white people of the South and that the penalty of a reduced representation with the corresponding loss of influence in national affairs would deter them from discriminating against the negro in granting the franchise. Before, however, an opportunity had been afforded for testing the efficacy of this provision, the Republican leaders reached the conclusion that the inducement offered would prove insufficient to accomplish the chief end for which the amendment had been adopted, namely, the enfranchisement of the negro. The Fifteenth Amendment was therefore proposed

and ratified for the purpose of correcting what was now regarded as an error of judgment on the part of those who were responsible for the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment.* The new amendment, to use the language of the Supreme Court, conferred upon the negro an exemption not only against the power of the States, but also of the United States from discrimination on account of race or color in determining the right of suffrage.† In the place of a premium or inducement it imposes upon the States an obligation to treat both races alike in bestowing the franchise. Thus what the Fourteenth Amendment permits subject to a prescribed penalty the Fifteenth forbids. It is a question, therefore, worthy of more attention than it has received, whether the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment has not been superseded by the Fifteenth and consequently rendered obsolete. The debates on the proposed amendment in Congress seem to indicate that some of the prominent leaders believed that the purpose of the new amendment was not merely to supplement and perfect the plan embodied in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, but to supersede it altogether with an entirely new rule. Mr. Blaine admits that the "effect and potency" of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was "seriously modified" by the adoption of the Fifteenth, and that by it "the nation neutralized and surrendered the contingent right it before held to exclude him [the negro] from the basis of apportionment." Continuing he says, "Congress is thus plainly deprived by the Fifteenth Amendment of certain powers over representation in the South which it possessed under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Before the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the negro from the suffrage, the next step would be for Congress to exclude the negro from the basis of apportionment. After the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the negro from the Suffrage, the next step would be for the Supreme Court to declare the act unconstitutional and therefore null and void."‡ According to the view of Mr. Blaine, therefore, the penalty prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment for abridgement of the suffrage has been abrogated by the Fifteenth. This is certainly

*Compare Wilson: *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*. Vol. III, p. 661.

†U. S. vs. *Recse*, 92 U. S., 214.

‡Twenty Years of Congress, vol. II, p. 418.

the logical and reasonable interpretation. The Fifteenth Amendment empowers Congress to pass appropriate legislation to enforce the right which the amendment creates, but it does not authorize Congress to permit an abridgement of that right, provided a State is willing to suffer the penalty prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The penalty prescribed by the Fifteenth Amendment for race discrimination in the bestowal of the franchise is not reduction of representation, but the absolute nullity of the State law which allows it. And where, as in the Mississippi case, the Supreme Court of the United States holds that there is no discrimination there is of course no punishment.

Admitting, however, that the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was not superseded by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment and that Congress did not thereby lose its power to enforce the penalty prescribed for the denial of the suffrage to certain classes we are confronted by several practical obstacles which make an equitable enforcement of the constitutional mandate a difficult if not an impracticable task. In the first place, there must be an actual denial or an abridgement by the State or by those who act for the State in order to bring the case within the purview of the Fourteenth Amendment. Denial by individuals or associations of individuals, however effective, is not denial in the sense of the constitution, for the Supreme Court has interpreted the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment as being directed against State action and not against the action of individuals.* Notwithstanding this rule of interpretation two of the bills introduced in Congress at the recent session, for the enforcement of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment include in the list of States whose representation it is proposed to reduce, several whose constitutions and laws contain no restrictions on the right of suffrage except the usual age and residence qualifications. Apparently these bills were framed on the assumption that the suffrage although allowed by the law is in effect denied in these States by fraud, violence or intimidation of individuals. Again, the question arises whether it is a denial of the suffrage to impose reasonable preliminary conditions such as the registration requirement as a means of protecting the electoral privilege against fraud and regulating the exercise of the right. Undoubtedly this requirement deprives thousands of

*U. S. v. Cruikshank, 92 U. S., 542.

adult male citizens in every State of the suffrage because of failure to register at a specified time whether on account of sickness, temporary absence, change of residence or other cause. The State courts in the absence of constitutional provision on the subject have always upheld the registration requirement as a legitimate regulation for the protection of the suffrage privilege and not a denial of the privilege. But if Congress should hold otherwise then it would be necessary to ascertain by some practicable means how many adult male citizens in each State are actually deprived of the right to vote by the registration requirement. How this information could be obtained is difficult to see. According to the census of 1900 there were 325,943 males of voting age in Louisiana. Of these only 93,000 are enrolled as voters. Is it to be assumed that the 233,000 persons whose names are not on the registration lists have been denied the right to register or is it reasonable to assume that a large portion of them voluntarily neglected to register or through sickness, absence or inconvenience voluntarily remained away? In the latter case there is no denial and there should of course be no reduction of representation. Only those who upon application within the time fixed by law are refused the right to register for reasonable causes should be excluded from the basis of apportionment and the numbers of such persons must be ascertained by Congress before it can take intelligent action. Likewise the size of the vote cast at the election cannot be accepted as any indication of the extent to which the suffrage has been abridged. In Mississippi for example there are according to the last census 349,177 male inhabitants twenty-one years of age and over. At the recent presidential election but 58,500 votes were cast in this State. It is of course preposterous to assume that the other 290,000 adult males who did not vote were denied the privilege of doing so. It is well known that in the Southern States where a nomination is equivalent to an election there is an appalling lack of interest in the general elections and that only an insignificant proportion of those qualified ever take the trouble to go to the polls. Abstention from voting therefore does not indicate denial and cannot be made the basis of a reduction of representation. As an aid to a more intelligent understanding of some of the difficulties involved, the following table based on the census of 1900 and the election returns of 1904 is submitted:

STATE.	Males of Voting Age	Votes Cast 1904	Illiterates of Voting Age		Total Illiterates	Principal Qualifications for the Suffrage.
			White	Negro		
Alabama.....	413,862 Registered 194,472	108,845	31,614	108,035	139,649	Ability to read and write or ownership of 40 acres of land or property assessed at \$300. Payment of all taxes. Payment of poll tax. Payment of poll taxes for two years preceding. Payment of all taxes.
Arkansas.....	313,836	111,174	23,523	39,092	62,615	No qualification except the usual age and residence requirements.
Florida.....	139,602	35,360	6,558	24,291	30,849	Ability to read and write or ownership of property valued at \$300. Payment of poll taxes for two years preceding.
Georgia.....	500,752	109,128	32,458	125,789	158,247	No qualification except the usual age and residence requirements.
Kentucky.....	543,996	435,000	65,517	37,011	102,528	Same as Maryland.
Louisiana.....	325,943 Registered 93,136	65,000	32,039	90,599	122,638	Ability to read the constitution or understand it and give a reasonable interpretation thereof when read by an election officer. Payment of all taxes assessed for last two years.
Maryland.....	321,903	224,224	15,678	24,462	40,253	Ability to read and write except in case of persons who were entitled to vote before 1867 and lineal descendants of such persons. Payment of poll tax.
Missouri.....	856,684	617,294	45,410	14,917	60,320	Ability to read and write or ownership of property assessed at \$300. Payment of all taxes.
Mississippi.....	349,177 Registered 120,000	58,500	12,293	105,764	118,057	Payment of poll tax.
North Carolina.....	417,578	210,000	54,474	68,184	122,658	Payment of poll taxes for three years preceding except in case of soldiers and sailors of the civil war. Voter must make written application in presence of registration officer stating name, age, residence, etc. Education and understanding provisions now obsolete.
South Carolina.....	283,325	55,134	15,860	83,651	99,516	
Tennessee.....	487,380	160,000	52,418	53,433	105,851	
Texas.....	737,768	234,064	51,790	61,993	113,783	
Virginia.....	447,815	155,000	36,493	76,860	113,353	

From this table it will be seen that the principal qualification for the suffrage in those States is either one or more of the following: payment of a tax, usually a capitation assessment; ability to read or write the English language; sufficient native intelligence to understand the ordinary meaning of a passage in the constitution; and ownership of a small amount of property. Commenting upon the question of whether the representation of a State which prescribes such qualifications as the above should be reduced in accordance with the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment, the late Judge Cooley, one of the foremost authorities on American constitutional law declared, "It is not likely, however, that any such position would be sustained. To require the payment of a capitation tax is no denial of suffrage, it is demanding only the preliminary performance of public duty and may be classed with registration or observance of any other preliminary to insure fairness and protect against fraud. Nor can it be said that to require ability to read is any denial of suffrage. Ability to read is something within the power of any man: it is not difficult to obtain it and it is no hardship to require it. On the contrary, the requirement only by indirection compels one to appropriate a personal benefit he might otherwise neglect. It denies to no man the suffrage but the privilege is freely tendered to all, subject only to a condition that is beneficial in its performance and light in its burden."* If, however, these restrictions are to be construed as amounting to a denial of the suffrage, Congress must ascertain the aggregate number in each class who are thereby deprived of the right to vote. Obviously this is impossible. Where the payment of the poll tax is voluntary as in Mississippi thousands of persons neglect to pay the tax not necessarily because they are unable to do so but because they feel too little interest in the election to comply with this reasonable requirement. If, however, there be any who from pecuniary circumstances are unable to pay the tax required, to such persons and to such only is there a denial of the suffrage and they alone should be excluded from the basis of apportionment. Certainly there is no practicable method of ascertaining their numbers.

The problem of ascertaining the number of those excluded from the suffrage by the educational test is less difficult. At present

*Principles of Constitutional Law, 3rd Ed., p. 291.

the decennial census returns show the number of male illiterates twenty-one years of age and over in such States. But, as the percentage of illiteracy is rapidly decreasing, it would be necessary to take the census biennially in order to obtain an equitable basis of exclusion. The problem, however, is greatly complicated where, as in Mississippi and as was the case in South Carolina from 1895 to 1898, the "understanding" provision exists as an alternative qualification. By the terms of the Mississippi constitution every illiterate man of reasonable intelligence white or black is eligible to registration under the "understanding" clause which the Mississippians have always insisted was intended to enlarge and not restrict the suffrage. Whatever may be said against it as an ingenious device for admitting the ignorant white man and excluding the negro the Supreme Court of the United States has declared, in a case in which this question was the main issue, that there was no evidence that this provision was taken advantage of to discriminate against the negro and that it was not therefore in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.* Congress, therefore, has no right to assume that all of the 118,000 male illiterates of voting age in the State are denied the suffrage. In fact the contrary should be the more natural presumption. Certainly those who advocate a reduction of representation would be the first to admit this as regards white illiterates. If this be true Congress must ascertain the aggregate number of illiterates who upon application to be registered have failed to pass the "understanding" test and exclude them and no others from the basis of apportionment. There can be no denial until there has been an application and a test, and, as relatively few of the illiterate classes ever feel sufficient interest in the election to submit to an ordeal which might prove embarrassing to them, it would be necessary for Congress to require them all to make application for registration and submit to the "understanding" test and through some agency of its own ascertain the number who failed to pass. This is of course impracticable. The same difficulty is presented in ascertaining the numbers actually excluded by other provisions in the Southern State constitutions. The bills introduced in the Senate at the recent session of Congress by Mr. Platt, of New York, and in the House by Mr. Sherman, of the same State make no provision for ascertaining

**Williams v. Mississippi*, 170 U. S., 218.

this indispensable preliminary information but merely assume that the suffrage has been denied. "Whereas" runs the preamble to their bills, "Congress is satisfied" that the right to vote in certain States has been abridged in certain proportions, therefore be it enacted that the representation of the said States in Congress be reduced in the same ratio. It is evident from the language of the preamble of both bills that they are directed against negro disfranchisement yet strangely enough both include in the list of States whose representation is to be reduced the names of at least five (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee and Texas) none of whose constitutions or statutes contain any provision which by reasonable construction can be said to be aimed at the disfranchisement of the negro. The only requirement of these States which might exclude any considerable number of persons is that the voters shall have paid a small tax.* On the other hand Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, all of which States contain a negro population of voting age in numerical strength not far different from that of Florida, are to suffer no loss of representation under the Platt and Sherman bills. Looked at in the most charitable light the Platt and Sherman bills are unequal in their operation, lacking in consistency and are based on mere assumptions as to the number of persons in each State who have been denied the suffrage. The bill introduced by Mr. Morrell is more in accord with reason and the constitution in that it proceeds on the assumption that before Congress may reduce the representation of the State it must ascertain the proportion in which the suffrage has been denied to the male citizens of such State. It authorizes the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor to procure this information through the Census Bureau by means of a biennial census and report the same to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the 4th of March, 1907, and biennially thereafter. The bill does not, however, undertake to settle the all important question of what constitutes a denial of the suffrage. Nor does it lay down any rule or standard for ascertaining the extent of denial in the various cases described above.

*As evidence, for example, of the Georgia attitude, it may be stated that three years ago a proposition to amend the constitution with a view to negro disfranchisement was introduced in the legislature and received only three votes.

Italian Immigration Into the South

BY EMILY FOGG MEADE

The South needs white labor, but does the South want the immigrant? This is a question which is agitating business men throughout the Southern States. The negro population has proved unequal to the task of furnishing an increasing supply of efficient labor, and the negro must be supplemented—perhaps to some extent supplanted—by the white man. But is the immigrant of today the kind of white man whom the South stands ready to welcome?

Irish, Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians, no matter how poor, have always been welcome. They once formed the bulk of our immigrants. In their place are now coming Austro-Hungarians, Poles, Italians, and Russian Jews. These people were only one per cent. of the immigrants in 1869. In 1902, they constituted 70 per cent. of the total. The Italians, mainly from Southern Italy and Sicily, come in the largest numbers, some 200,000 yearly.

Our liberal immigration laws have been severely criticised. The immigrants are illiterate, poor, badly nourished and unskilled. It has been said that "they are beaten men from beaten races, representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence," degraded, criminal, quiescent, lacking initiative and responsibility, or the capacity for taking advantage of new opportunities; these immigrants have a low standard of living, which they are not inclined to improve if they prosper; and they are likely in a few years to fill our almshouses, insane asylums, and hospitals. Furthermore, the influx of large numbers of unskilled laborers intensifies the struggle for existence among the laboring class, the more so because these new people do not seek the farms, but crowd into the large cities, complicating the problems that confront municipal administrators.

The South should most carefully consider this problem of immigration. From no other source can the Southern States obtain their labor which they need; and yet, with the negro already on the land, to bring in the Italian and the Slav may greatly add to social and economic difficulties, now almost insurmountable.

This paper attempts to show the qualities of the Southern Italian as an agricultural laborer, and to reach a conclusion as to his adaptability for Southern needs.

To the ordinary American the Italian is a dirty, undersized individual, who engages in degrading labor shunned by Americans, and who is often a member of the Mafia, and as such likely at any moment to draw a knife and stab you in the back. The newspapers are to blame for this impression. They are quick to publish sensational tales of disorder, strikes and murders, but overlook the significant facts that show progress among these newcomers. Only recently have articles been written showing an appreciation of this frugal, moral and industrious people.

Hitherto, in America, the Italian immigrant has settled in the city, and here he has not had a fair chance to show what good was in him. Essentially a country dweller, life in New York and Chicago too often worked upon him for evil. Several reasons may be advanced in explanation of this tendency to settle in the city. While nearly all the Southern Italians come from rural districts, they do not live on isolated farms, but are crowded together in closely-built villages, going to work every day on their little farms in the surrounding country. They are a gregarious people, and this characteristic, added to their ignorance of English, causes them on landing in the United States to seek their own people. They know nothing of our farms, and their long years of painful effort, when the taxes were so heavy that after paying them they had scarcely anything left, make them think farming is unprofitable. They wish to find remunerative labor, but as they are unskilled workmen, they are obliged to go to work on the railroad, on construction of large buildings, about mines, as street sweepers, and in factories. Because of this tendency Americans have failed to recognize that these apparently unskilled laborers are really skillful farmers of the kind needed in many parts of the country. This may be shown by the success of Italians who have been settled in Southern New Jersey for the past thirty-five years, long enough for a second generation to grow up.

There are two types of settlements in Southern New Jersey, Vineland and its vicinity, founded by Signor Secchi di Casale, to which the Italians came under leadership; and Hammonton,

which is of special interest because of its natural, unorganized development. In both cases the Italians have become successful farmers and good citizens.

For many years the pine barrens of New Jersey were considered worthless. Within the last twenty-five years, however, there has been a growing appreciation of the real value of the sandy soil, which requires a fertilizer, moisture, and above all, thorough cultivation. When properly treated, it produces excellent crops of fruits and vegetables, sweet potatoes being a specialty. This land could not compete with the productive West in growing heavy crops, but the healthful climate attracted New Yorkers and New Englanders who disliked long, cold winters, or who had contracted lung or throat diseases. Land was cheap, but it was hard work to clear it, for it had to be grubbed out. Besides the pine growth, it was covered with scrub oaks and a thick undergrowth. There were also swamps to drain. A cheap labor force was required, and it was here that the first Italians who came to Hammonton became of value. When many acres of land were planted in berries, pickers were needed. Italians who are used to gathering olives are admirable berry-pickers. Accordingly it became customary to bring Italian families from Philadelphia for the berry season.

A few Italians came to Hammonton before 1865, but it was not until after the war when the demand for fresh fruit and vegetables arose, that the possibilities of New Jersey soil became apparent, and a direct immigration began. Among the first to come had been a Charles Campanella from a small town in north eastern Sicily, near Messina: Mr. Campanella first brought over his brother, and, as the two prospered, they were followed by relatives and friends, until now more than half the inhabitants of that town are in the United States, and other Italians from the rural districts about Naples have been the forerunners of many others from their native towns. Some of the pickers also have been pleased with the country life and the opportunity to buy cheap land and have settled here. The main object of the Italian is always to make a home. If he comes without his family, he finds work at the neighboring brick yard, on the railroad or on a farm, and saves until he has enough to buy land. When he has his family with him, they may live in one room in the house of another

Italian, until they save enough for a home. If the land is wild land, the Italian takes his leisure time to clear it. When the land is finally placed under cultivation, he asks one of the building and loan associations for a loan, which is usually enough to build a house. He gradually pays off the debt, and often buys new land in this way. Italians have bought out many of the old settlers since 1880. The sons of the farmers went west or to the cities, and the older generations having retired or died, the farms were sold to the newcomers.

On the small farms the work is frequently done by the women and children, while the father continues his work at the brick yard or at the factories, or on the railroad. In most cases the Italian farmer, in addition to managing his own place, plows and clears land for American farmers, and works at odd jobs during the winter to increase the family income. Frequently the whole family goes as berry pickers to the better strawberry region further south, as well as for later crops in Hammonton. Cranberry picking is considered so remunerative that well-to-do Italians leave their farms to earn \$75 for a good season.

The average holding of Italians is 14.6 acres. The principal selling crop is berries with sometimes sweet and white potatoes, tomatoes, peaches, and pears. Grapes are extensively grown for their own use, but the sour wine made from them is occasionally sold in Philadelphia. The Italian works the New Jersey soil with great success. His careful hoeing and fertilizing, his continuous patient work, his family labor, and his few wants, make it possible for him to derive a comfortable living where an American would starve.

The Italians have added materially to the wealth of this community. They have brought much valuable land into cultivation, and they have maintained good farms. In 1903, 237 Italians were assessed on \$130,415, 15 per cent of the total real estate of the towns. The houses built by the Italians are plain, but substantial. The assessment on personal property is \$9,000 out of \$89,525.

The Italian savings are valuable assets of the local bank and the building and loan associations, thus adding to the available capital of the community. In the Peoples' Bank, \$56,614 or 21.7 per cent is owed to the Italians, while \$26,231 or 29.5 per cent

is deposited by them in the savings department. In one building and loan association 129 out of 553 shares, averaging $5\frac{1}{2}$ shares to a holding, are owned by Italians, while in the other association, 79 out of 460 stockholders or 17 per cent are Italians.

The children who are brought up in the country environment are strong and well grown. They have the advantage of good schools where they come in contact with American children. They speak excellent English, for many of them learn English at school, instead of on the streets, as in the cities where they learn slang and the broken speech of other foreigners. The children obtain American ideas, and as they grow older, they improve in appearance and intelligence. When they go to homes of their own, marked improvements in the manner of living are noticeable. Those who remain in Hammonton identify themselves with the interests of the community.

Many parts of the South are still covered with pine forests, similar to those in New Jersey. Before settlements are made, the roots and underbrush must be grubbed, and the swamps drained. The climate of the South is less rigorous than that of New Jersey, and is better suited to immigrants from Southern Europe. The products are much the same. The negroes of the South have paid little attention to home gardens, and in many parts of the South localities are entirely without the fruit and vegetables that might be so easily grown. Wherever Italian farmers have settled, their gardens are always models. They have introduced some of their own vegetables to Americans, and they adopt American plants, for instance, asparagus, celery and rhubarb. Several thousand Italian farmers are already located in the South. In Louisiana they are used in the sugar cane region with success; while, in a recent number of the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, Mr. Stone gives an interesting description of their value in the cotton regions. There are strawberry growers in Independence, La., farmers about Greenville, Miss., truck farmers near Memphis, and many Texan cities, and vine growers about Mobile.

Critics of the negro accuse the race of indolence, intemperance, immorality and lack of thrift. The Italians have the corresponding virtues. They are hard, patient workers, willing to do any kind of work, and to do it thoroughly. Although they consume large quantities of their sour wine, they are not an intemperate

people. The records of the Charity Organization societies in large cities, show that lack of work, ill health and general misfortune rather than drink or vice cause Italians to ask for aid. They are an essentially moral people, possessing the domestic virtues to a high degree. The women are invariably chaste. The lapses of the men are most often due to separation from their families.

While a few criminal Italians come to this country, they would never be induced to go to country districts. Violence among Italians is largely the result of overcrowding and the close competition of city life. Italians never harm Americans. They have a great respect for the law which in this country tends to modify their primitive methods of ending disputes. Hammonton is free from crime, and from the fear of crime. Italians never burglarize houses, even when known to be empty. Americans are never afraid to meet them alone, day or night.

Above all, the Italians are a very thrifty people. They can save money on the meagre wages of unskilled labor. This characteristic is noticeable in contrast with the negro. The negro tenant farmer will borrow up to the limit, mortgaging his future. The Italian has only the barest necessities advanced to him. To be sure his standard of living is low, but it is adapted to his means, and it permits the accumulation of property. While the first generation makes no change in its manner of living, the second and third adopt American ways and increase their expenditures, but this is made possible by the previous savings of their parents.

Italians become enthusiastic Americans. No nationality, when once it breaks its ties to the home land, is more anxious to adopt American ways. The children do not care to speak Italian. They demand the freedom of American children; they adopt their dress, their ideas, and their ambitions. Granted that the Southern Italian will prove an acquisition to the South, how are these immigrants to be obtained? They are very poor, too poor to pay extra railroad fares. In New York, they find friends and work. To go South, not only must the railroad fare be provided, but shelter and \$100 or more per family to tide them over until a crop can be raised. The founding of colonies, such as Sunnyside which only failed because of Mr. Carbori's death—demands a large outlay. Mr. Martio Valeria, of Chicago, founded two colonies, at Daphne and Lamberth, with families already used to our city life. This

would be a desirable method, if the people could be induced to make the change. A more practical method is to arrange to obtain immigrants direct from Italy, preferably through a Southern port. Sicilians are especially desirable as they are still wedded to agriculture.

Many small settlements at the North, and notably one at Alexandria, Virginia, have been the result of railroad work. The Italian laborers have been sent to these regions, and they have remained to make a home after the railroad work was done. A colony at Bryan, Texas, now numbering over 500, was founded in this way. The Italians were working on a branch of the Houston and Texas railroad. They were given inducements to buy land on the Brazos River, and have since sent for their relatives. At Rosetta, Pa., the workers in the quarries, have small farms. Even in the coal regions, Italian miners are redeeming some waste land of the railroad.

These facts suggest that the most successful placing of Italian families in the South will result from the combination of small farms, and opportunities to work on railroads or in factories. The mills in need of men spinners, can offer the inducement of small farms. Railroads that are making extensions and wish to build up a population along their lines can promise cheap land which can be developed while the railroad work is carried on, and offer a permanent home for the future. Whenever a few Italians are successfully located, they always act as advertisers to the people at home.

Some system must be devised to arrange for the advancing of money in such a way that it will not seem too heavy a lien on the immigrant's future. Large manufacturers and planters can afford to make the payments; the railroads should be induced to do something, but that will not solve the difficulty. Building and loan associations are sadly lacking south of the Mason and Dixon line. Some similar organization on a large scale could be utilized. Immigrants are coming in increasing numbers this spring. The sale of return tickets has already been very large and the steamship companies are beginning to feel that their accommodations will be inadequate. It is important that the South should share in the distribution of these willing workers.

Andrew Dickson White*

BY CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, PH. D.,
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The autobiography of Andrew D. White, recently issued from the press of the Century Company, is the story of a career that holds out encouragement to all who hope for better things in American political life. It is an account of early training that has borne ripe fruit, of wealth that has been wisely expended, of ability that has won its just recognition. Scholar, educator, diplomat, Mr. White belongs to a class of men not so numerous as we might wish, but of whom for the very reason of their scarcity, we are the prouder. These reminiscences told in a style at once simple and captivating not only disclose to us an ideal career of the scholar in politics but they shed much light upon historic events in which Mr. White, to the great advantage of his country, participated. The two volumes before us possess therefore great historical as well as personal and literary value. They take us into many lands, into the presence of many important personages and into many fields of human activity. The writer's interests were broad and the threads of the narrative lead now into the realms of scholarship, now into the realms of politics, religion, diplomacy, art, education.

Born in a town of central New York, dignified by the classic name of Homer, young White received his earliest education in that vicinity, attending eventually an academy at Syracuse. That his education began early is evident from his confession that while he recalls distinctly events of his fourth year, he holds "not the faintest recollection of a time when" he "could not read easily." His school days at Syracuse were the times of stirring discussions on the slavery question, and so the young boy added to the formal instruction of the academy classes the advantages of listening to the debates of such anti-slavery leaders as Phillips, Garrison, and May, and to the lyceum lectures of such famous men as Mark Hopkins, Whipple and Emerson. The originality

*Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White, with portraits. 2 Vols., Century Company, New York, 1905. Pp. xx., 601; xix., 606.

and independence characterizing Mr. White's later career, when as President of Cornell University, in spite of strong opposition, he dared to blaze a new path in the educational world, totally different from that which the sectarian colleges of the country had for ages been following, seem to have marked him even as a college student. Possibly the original impulse of hostility to narrow sectarian education arose from his own experience in a sectarian college. Mr. White's original hope had been "to enter one of the larger New England universities," but the influence of an ardent high-church Episcopal rector to whom the young man was sent for the finishing touches of his preparatory course induced his father to place him in an Episcopal college of Western New York. The moral influence of this institution, however, was evidently more nominal than real, and the sincere, frank nature of the boy revolted against the life of the college. Many years later Mr. White can still write: "I have had to do since as student, professor or lecturer with some half dozen large universities at home and abroad, and in all of these together, have not seen so much carousing and wild dissipation as I then saw in this little 'Church college,' of which the especial boast was that owing to the small number of its students it was 'able to exercise a direct Christian influence upon every young man committed to its care.'" One year was the limit of endurance, when, in spite of parental remonstrance, the young man fled from the college and took temporary refuge with a former instructor. Eventually in 1851 Mr. White entered the sophomore class of Yale College and the early unfulfilled hope was realized. At Yale even in a class that included among its members several who later achieved considerable distinction, such as Stedman, Davies, Smalley, and Shiras, young White distinguished himself. Here, as in the larger activities of later life, he showed a breadth of interest and sympathy that led him to seek and win honors in varied fields of college life. Literary prizes, the Clark, the Yale Literary, and the De Forest, he won, but his scholarly instincts did not prevent him from actively participating in college athletics. In view of his later distinction in the field of diplomacy, it is interesting to note that the subject of his De Forest prize essay was "The Diplomatic History of Modern Times."

Apparently the young man had not formed any definite notion

about his future career except that he expected to return to college after graduation to give himself "especially to modern languages as a preparation for travel and historical study abroad," but opportunity interfered and sent him abroad at once, instead of back to college to study modern languages. Governor Seymour, of Connecticut, the newly appointed minister to Russia, invited both Mr. White and the latter's intimate college friend, Daniel C. Gilman, later to become first president of Johns Hopkins University and first president of the Carnegie Institution, to accompany him as attachés. The invitation was accepted, and accordingly in December of 1853 these two college friends started for Europe, going first to London and then to Paris. Mr. White did not at once proceed to St. Petersburg, but while the minister and other members of his suite went on to the Russian capital, he remained in Paris to thoroughly familiarize himself with the French language, to increase his knowledge of history and in other ways to prepare himself "for later duties." Living in the family of a French professor where English was an unknown, or at least an unused tongue, listening to lectures at the Sorbonne and Collège de France by such men as Laboulaye and Arnould, enjoying the French drama at the Théâtre Française and the Odéon, and stimulating his interest in the French Revolution by visiting the sites of its famous events, Mr. White must have spent the time in the French capital to excellent advantage. Finally, in the fall of 1854, at the earnest request of Minister Seymour, he tore himself away from Paris, going to St. Petersburg by way of Cologne and Berlin. Thus early did his diplomatic experiences begin.

It was an interesting period of Russian history when the young attaché took up his duties at St. Petersburg. The Crimean War was in progress and Mr. White's duties as interpreter brought him into contact with many men of note. He seems always to have made the most of such opportunities. While performing the work connected with his position in the legation, he did not neglect his reading and studies. Gibbon, Guizot, the preparation of an article on "Jefferson and Slavery," (later published in the *Atlantic Monthly*), occupied his spare time. The Autobiography contains a graphic description of the death and funeral of Czar Nicholas I. and of the ceremonies connected with the accession of

Alexander II. But Mr. White was evidently resolved to build a good foundation, for in a short time he gave up the attractive post at St. Petersburg in order to devote himself to further study at the University of Berlin. Here he heard lectures by such men as Van Raumer, Ritter and Ranke. His characterization of Ranke is interesting and one cannot forbear to quote: "The lectures of Ranke, the most eminent of German historians, I could not follow. He had a habit of becoming so absorbed in his subject as to slide down in his chair, hold his finger up toward the ceiling, and then with his eye fastened on the tip of it, to go mumbling through a kind of rhapsody, which most of my German fellow-students confessed they could not understand. It was a comical sight; half a dozen students crowding around his desk, listening as priests might listen to the sibyl on her tripod, the other students being scattered through the room in various stages of discouragement." Leaving Berlin in 1856, Mr. White traveled in Italy, and in the summer of the same year returned to America. In the fall of the next year he took up his duties as professor of history at the University of Michigan. The two leading motives of his life—diplomacy and education—have now been sounded and we shall not attempt to follow further the chronological development of his career, but simply direct attention to three or four of the important phases of his life.

As a scholar and man of letters Mr. White devoted himself chiefly to history, and his election as one of the earliest presidents of the American Historical Association and the honor of membership in the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin recently conferred upon him, are an indication of the high success which he has attained in the field of scholarship. The natural bent of his mind towards historical studies is evident from the sketch of his early education already given; wealth fortunately opened the way for the gratification of his historical tastes and for the thorough, broad preparation he so wisely gave himself. Mr. White's sympathies as a student of history centered largely in subjects, principles, and the development of institutions. History appealed to him in its broader aspects, rather than in its narrower, specialized forms. It is not the investigation of minute points, but the study of the great movements of human history; not unrelated episodes, but events in their causal relations, that were the goal

of his historical studies. It was not history as a narrative of events, but history as an interpretation of principles, that captivated his interest. To him history became "less and less a matter of annals and more and more a record of the unfolding of humanity." As a student at Yale it was Guizot's "History of Civilization in Europe" that attracted him; the reading of the same author's "History of Civilization in France," he considers an epoch in his life, and his own chief work as an historian is not the narrative of a period, but the story of a great conflict of principles extending through many periods—the Warfare of Science with Theology. One of the great defects of the specialized scholarship of modern times is undoubtedly the failure of its disciples to appreciate the relation between scholarship and life, but Mr. White has not fallen into this pit. Lover of books though he is, he has not become bookish; ardent scholar though he is, he has never failed to view scholarship in its true perspective. His early training and the activities of his later life saved him from this danger, which has fossilized many a scholar. While studying and teaching, he has almost constantly been taking an active part in affairs. While studying the history of the French Revolution, he was talking at the Hotel des Invalides "with old soldiers, veterans of the wars of the Republic and of Napoleon, discussing with them the events through which they had passed;" while continuing his studies in modern history at St. Petersburg, he was observing, at the close range of an interpreter, Nesselrode, the last survivor of the great diplomatists of the Napoleonic period; while on leave of absence from the University of Michigan, he was taking a most active part in the politics of New York as a member of the State Senate.

Thus, while studying, teaching and writing history, Mr. White has been helping to make history, and it is therefore not surprising that his lectures were permeated by a spirit that attracted students. They flocked to hear him, and left his lecture room not only with facts in their note-books but with inspiration and enthusiasm in their hearts. Writes one of these students who has himself achieved fame as a historian and now holds a chair of history in one of our large universities: "I doubt if ever young man spoke more effectively to young men. Full of the life and warmth and color of his own ardent nature, pictorial in their

correctness, glowing with an ethical passion, which his broad and generous culture saved from all taint of bigotry, such words of fire I have not known in any other lecture room."* The testimony of another who heard him when he began his work at the University of Michigan is no less enthusiastic: "His instruction in history was a genuine revelation to those who had been accustomed to perfunctory text-book work, and the hearing of dry, colorless lectures. The exceptional excellence of his instruction consisted largely of the spirit which he infused into his students. He had in a remarkable degree the rare gift of seizing upon the most important principles and causes and presenting them in such a manner as to illuminate the whole course of events with which they were connected. He not only instructed, but what was even more important, he inspired. While he remained in his chair, perhaps no study in the university was pursued with so much enthusiasm by the mass of students as was that of history."† Mr. White studied and taught history with an ulterior motive. He began his work as a professor of history, not so much because he was interested in the past, *per se*, but because he wanted to aid in training up "a new race of young men, who should understand our own time and its problems in the light of history." More highly than historical subjects themselves, he prized the opportunity, through them, "to promote a better training in thought regarding our great national problems."

As an educator, Mr. White's great monument is, of course, Cornell University. It is true the man whose name the institution bears shared in the labors and responsibilities of its founding; he and others have made larger contributions to the university endowment than has Mr. White, and succeeding presidents and faculties have greatly extended the scope and usefulness of the institution, but all have built on foundations laid by Mr. White. Financially, Mr. Cornell may justly be regarded as the founder of this great institution of learning, but intellectually, White was its founder. Cornell University existed in the mind of Mr. White years before a fortunate combination of circumstances made the realization of his plans a possibility. It was an idea born of the dreams and enthusiasm of youth, matured during European

*Prof. G. L. Burr in *Cornell Alumni News*, Nov. 19, 1902.

†*Popular Science Monthly*, XLVIII., 550.

travels and the professional experience at the University of Michigan. While teaching at Michigan he began to plan the ideal university he would found in New York; and when, during these years of dreaming and planning, George William Curtis paid him a visit, the young professor of history dreamt aloud to the man of letters. Speaking in 1868, at the founding of the university, Curtis described in interesting terms the educational plans of the Michigan professor. They were talking together one evening and "There," said Curtis, "in the warmth and confidence of his friendship he unfolded to me his ideas of the great work that should be done in the great State of New York. 'Surely,' he said, 'in the greatest State there should be the greatest of universities; in Central New York there should arise a university which, by the amplitude of its endowment and by the whole scope of its intended sphere, by the character of the studies in the whole scope of its curriculum, should satisfy the wants of the hour. More than that,' said he, 'it should begin at the beginning. It should take hold of the chief interest of this country, which is agriculture; then it should rise, step by step, grade by grade, until it fulfilled the highest ideal of what a university could be.' Until the hour was late the young scholar dreamed aloud to me these dreams."

A decade later the dream was realized. Space does not permit a detailed account of the founding of Cornell University. It was while Mr. White was in the Senate of the State of New York, serving as chairman of the committee on education, that circumstances cleared the way between dreams and reality. But not without a struggle did the project succeed. In 1862 the federal government had made a most generous grant of land to the States for technical and industrial education, but it seemed likely that the advantages expected from the grant would be dissipated in New York by a division of the endowment among several institutions. Mr. White saw the danger and resolved to combat it. His efforts, strange to relate, brought him into conflict with the very man who was to work with him in founding the great university of Central New York. Ezra Cornell, "a tall, spare man, apparently very reserved and austere," chairman of the committee on agriculture, favored a division of the fund between two institutions. But White protested vigorously and exerted

himself to the utmost to prevent such a division. There was nothing bitter or personal in the differences between White and Cornell. Both were too sincerely anxious to accomplish a great good to permit their divergent opinions to entirely estrange them. In fact, in their general purpose to do something for the cause of education, both were really united, and it is not surprising that eventually their views harmonized and Mr. Cornell not only agreed that the land grant should not be divided, but promised to add several hundred thousand dollars of his own in order that an entirely new university might be founded.

The university was new in more senses than one. Not only was it a newly founded institution, but the principles which were to determine its character were essentially new. Cornell University was one of the pioneers in a new educational movement in the United States. It was among the first institutions to adopt ideas and methods entirely different from the prevailing theories and practice, but which have since become well-established principles. Cornell was founded in the age of transition between the sectarian colleges of the past, with their prescribed courses and iron-bound rules, and the new, unsectarian institutions of the present, with their elective courses and elastic rules. Mr. White himself determined almost entirely what the plans of the new institution should be; while Mr. Cornell dealt with the financial difficulties presented by the undertaking, he grappled with the educational problems. He drafted the educational clauses of the university charter, and, after much urging, became the first president of the institution. A man of broad, progressive views, he planned an institution that has indeed fulfilled the needs of the hour. As is so frequently the case, however, only in spite of many obstacles, and in the face of strong opposition from those wedded to the old ways in education, did he push through to success the ideas for which he stood. Entire freedom from sectarian control, recognition of the value of technical and industrial training, fuller recognition of the importance of the sciences, equal educational opportunities for both men and women, are the foundation principles upon which Cornell was built.

The diplomatic services of Mr. White cover a long period, and they brought him into positions of great importance and controlling influence. At intervals from 1854, when he began his

experience in diplomacy as an attaché of the St. Petersburg legation, to 1903, when he resigned from the German embassy, a period of forty-eight years, he served his country abroad. In 1871, when the question of the annexation of Santo Domingo was arousing keen discussion, President Grant sent him as one of the commissioners to that island. In 1879 he went to Paris as a commissioner to the exposition; from 1879 to 1881 he was minister to Germany; from 1892 to 1894, minister to Russia; from 1885 to 1896, a member of the Venezuelan Commission; from 1897 to 1903, ambassador to Germany, serving during that time also as president of the American delegation at the Hague Peace Conference. It is a long record, and we can refer only to a few important phases of his diplomatic career. By personal temperament, as well as by education and training, Mr. White was admirably fitted to be a successful diplomat. His appointments came to him quite unsought; indeed, many of them came as surprises to himself, and more than once he gave up these positions in spite of strong protests from the governmental authorities. The desire of a Democratic President, Mr. Cleveland, to keep him at his post in St. Petersburg was a high tribute to the value of his services.

The crowning work of Mr. White's diplomatic career was, perhaps, his mission to Germany, including his work at the Hague Conference. He went to Germany at a time when many perplexing problems threatened to disturb the relations between the two countries and to make the life of the ambassador anything but pleasant. "It was with anything but an easy feeling," he tells us, that he sailed from New York in the spring of 1897. Chief among the causes of irritation was the tariff controversy, and it seems to have been approaching a climax when he arrived at his post of duty. While German manufacturers were in vain attempting to scale our tariff wall, American farmers were selling their products in Germany at prices which were driving German goods out of the market. Small wonder was it, therefore, that a very hostile feeling grew up in the German empire against Americans, and that Mr. White found "but two newspapers of real importance friendly to the United States." Other embarrassing questions also arose. The protection of troublesome, naturalized American citizens, the Samoan difficulty,

the relations with China, and especially the unfriendly attitude of Germany in the Spanish-American war, kept Ambassador White busy pouring oil on troubled waters. Even the war-cloud seemed at one time to cast its ominous shadow over the two countries, but thanks, largely, to the fine tact and diplomatic skill of the ambassador, the cloud blew over, and the relations between Germany and the United States are today on a much more friendly basis than they have been in many years. It is true the tariff cloud is again visible on the horizon, and it will be interesting to see what course events will take when Germany begins to enforce her new schedules. The cultivation of a better understanding between Germany and the United States ever lay near to Mr White's heart. This he made one of the prime objects of his official and non-official labors, both in this country and abroad. In formal diplomatic negotiations, in public addresses, in private conversations with officials, scholars, business men, in season and out of season, he has labored to bring the two countries together. At the Hague Conference, as president of the American delegation, he strove for the exemption of private property from capture on the high seas and for some definite advance toward international arbitration.

At the allotted three-score-and-ten Mr. White withdrew from active work in the diplomatic service, but the loss of the Department of State has been a gain to the world of letters. The publication of these reminiscences and of sundry articles in the magazines seems to indicate that the years yet remaining in this most useful life are by no means to be devoted to ease and idleness.

War Time in Alexandria, Virginia

By Miss S. L. LEE*

In the little town separated from Washington by the Potomac river over which in the spring of 1861 waved by equal title the flag of the United States and the flag of the State of Virginia, whose fate in the event of a disturbance of friendly relations between the State and National governments seemed bound for weal or woe with that of the nation's capital, the question could not have been other than a burning one: "What will Virginia do?" That it felt the seriousness of the situation is indicated by the summing up of the events of the year in a local paper in which the record stands: "January 4. Day of humiliation and prayer proclaimed by the President of the United States observed with great devotion in Alexandria. The churches were crowded and prayer meetings were conducted with much solemnity." At an election held February 4 for the State convention the vote stood 1,216 to 202 for referring the question of secession to the people. But the ordinance once passed by the convention there seems no longer to have been any disposition to calculate consequences or question the fates. The proclamation of President Lincoln calling upon the States for troops elicited from the mayor of Alexandria a proclamation enjoining upon the citizens calmness and moderation. These, however, had been flung to the winds. Any one who should have conceived the idea that the conservative old town of ivy, cobblestones, and old fogies not a few, would ask to rest in peace and pursue the even tenor of its way securely nestled under the wing of the capital would soon have found cause to revise his opinion. No where was rebellion more rampant. The ladies were already at work at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association making clothing for the militia, volunteers were drilling to be mustered into the service of the State, and the Mount Vernon Guards, parading with the Confederate colors, were received with joyous acclamations. This was Alexandria's response to President Lincoln's call for

*Miss Lee is the daughter of Mr. Cassius F. Lee, first cousin and life long friend of General Robert E. Lee.

troops, and the work went on with the guns of the "Pawnee" pointed upon the town. A gala time for Alexandria, it seemed, this month of April in which were enacted the most serious events the Republic had yet known. A lady* on her way to Alexandria the day following the passage of the ordinance of secession telling of her meeting on the train with W. H. F. Lee, known as "Rooney," the son of the future Confederate General, says that she can never forget the contrast of his deep depression with the prevalent elation and jubilancy. He said the people had lost their senses and had no conception of what a terrible mistake they were making. The next day, Sunday, Colonel Robert E. Lee was met at the door of Christ Church where he had been attending service by a delegation of gentlemen come from Richmond on a mission to persuade him to place his sword at the service of his State. As they stood there a long time engaged in earnest conversation those who passed them wondered, for the vibrations in the air were intense, every trifle might be full of meaning and for some the question "What will Colonel Lee do?" was only second in interest to "What will Virginia do?" In truth, in that place, on that morning, was decided the issue of a mortal struggle as much more terrible than any known to the din of battle as the human soul is greater than shot and shell, for Colonel Lee had given his consent. Meanwhile the lady above mentioned was seated with the daughter of Colonel Lee at the window of a house near the church. She too shared the suspense and uncertainty and wondered what detained her father so long with those gentlemen. She said he had the day before resigned his commission in the United States army and the house was as if there had been a death in it, for the army was to him home and country.

But, for the most part, all was enthusiasm, joy and eager hope. Was it then in a spirit of reckless gayety and abandon that the solemn crisis was met that was to stamp itself indelibly upon the country and upon every Southern soul that has survived it? The resolutions passed by the Alexandria Riflemen do not give us that idea: "That our first allegiance is due and shall be rendered to Virginia; that we will obey her commands and abide by her fortunes; that in her defense against all assailants whatsoever

*The sister of the writer, Mrs. Tallafarro.

we are ready to risk life and all that renders life desirable; and that to the vindication of her sovereignty and honor we pledge the faith of soldiers and the sacred affection of sons." To men of this stamp the country will not appeal in vain if the hour shall come that calls for the best blood of those who stand for principles held dear and sacred.

With all its fervent good-will to the Confederate cause and the pride and satisfaction felt by the doughty old town when it saw the stars and bars flung to the breeze on the roof of a conspicuously located tavern now known to history as the Marshall House, it may well be doubted whether it dreamed that it was for it to shed the first blood that would flow in its defense. One morning it learned with stupefaction that United States troops had entered the town, that Colonel Ellsworth, commanding the New York Zouaves, in attempting to haul down the flag had been killed and that James W. Jackson, the proprietor of the house, lay there riddled with bullets. Jackson was known to have declared that whoever touched the flag would do so over his dead body, but who had believed that he would in truth constitute himself an army for its defense, or that the declaration was not simple braggadocio? To those who carried the stars and stripes, the stars and bars, symbol of disunion and treason, seemed doubtless a poor rag for which to sacrifice a life, nevertheless they were less than soldiers, less than men, if in their hearts they did not honor a deed of heroism. This event it doubtless was that opened the eyes of the nation at large to the as yet unbelievable fact that what confronted it was war, fratricidal, deadly, implacable.

The writer remembers to have heard G. W. Custis Lee, who during the war was restricted to the unmilitary role of aide-de-camp to the Confederate President, declare at this date that, being himself no believer in secession, were he able to dictate proceedings he would call it revolution and order at once the seizing and fortifying of Arlington Heights. As a revolution in the temper of men's minds none more remarkable can it have been the task of history to record. It was the men who in their zeal for the Union cause had erected in the town a Bell and Everett flag who later chopped in pieces the flag-staff lest it should be used to float the flag of the Union. By a seemingly remarkable

inconsistency the men who regarded secession as the most unpardonable of crimes were those of all others who were most ready to applaud resistance to its forcible suppression as a glorious cause for which a patriot might gladly die.

War time sees manifold changes in Alexandria. The town has been depleted of more than half its voting population. The mother has given her son, the girl has yielded up her lover, and this is no ordinary separation of which the daily post will assuage the bitterness. Many obstacles, hazards of war, risks of interception, and the crime of treason are between her and even the longed-for letter, and much more the interview with its appalling risk.* General Wilcox having issued his proclamation of protection to loyal citizens and punishment for disloyalty and conspiracy, and search having been made for concealed fire-arms of which it had been shown such effective use might be made—and who could say but there were other Jacksons?—the town settled down to monotony, stagnation, and weary waiting. Stagnation it is, though the streets are soon gay with bright brand-new uniforms, sparkling with glittering brass, though one shop has multiplied itself into three and booths have been erected and shanties run up upon vacant lots for the display of provisions and every kind of merchandise that might tempt the ephemeral population. Gay colors, cheap watches and plated ware are largely in evidence. On the streets every novelty is exhibited that might attract a dime or half-dime. Here are views of a whole city displayed in a marvellous stereopticon box. There is a boy doing a thriving business baking and selling waffles—the beginning perhaps of a plutocrat. The streets are well nigh impassable, no city can show a more animated and crowded thoroughfare than the erstwhile drowsy little town. Broadway prices are offered for shop space. One might believe an international bazaar had been opened, such is the variety of color, costume and uniform making a spectacle as diverse as any city of the country could offer to the curious passer-by. Occasionally the scene is perchance diversified by the trundling in a wheelbarrow of a drunken soldier who has been too obstreperous for

*A scout of Mosby's, now the Rev. Frank Stringfellow, who was endowed with the special qualifications and the charmed existence that can alone justify such adventures, visited in various disguises Miss Green, of Alexandria, whom he afterwards married.

the guards to manage and for whom the heroic treatment doubtless proves a prompt restorative. A baggage train consisting of as many as a thousand heavy wagons drawn by six horses passes lumbering over the old streets, and a miracle it seems now that the historic cobble stones survived the services which they rendered to the Union.

No longer might the citizen choose his hour for the household marketing. It was safer to do it at six in the morning, and the marketman assumed the right to dispose of his provisions to whoever brought the largest handful of cash, and was to be heard calling out, "No change for a purchase under fifty cents!" Then one fine day the troops would be ordered off leaving only enough to guard the town—no very difficult task. The civilian encampment would fold its tents and the familiar tranquility would reappear. The playing of a funeral march for a soldier who had begun the journey to his last resting place, a troop of perhaps a hundred "contrabands," men, women, and children, free as flies to try what the world held for them, the arrival of ambulances and vehicles pressed into the service of bringing in the wounded, or the marching and countermarching of troops, would break the silence. The river for miles was a scene of the greatest animation. All classes of vessels, ocean steamers, schooners, and sailing vessels dotted it with brilliant points. Never had the harbor presented such a show of craft, not even in the good old days when the enterprise and activity of Alexandria were held up to the admiration and emulation of Baltimore; yet it represented no trade or traffic; only the fictitious and pernicious activities of war. At night on the surrounding hills the camp fires flamed, flickered and flared in the breeze, bright lights glittered from the hospitals and from some of the houses in the town, while "the pale moon rose up slowly and calmly she looked down," and the silent stars gazed wondering upon the glittering panorama which human discord and passion had evoked.

But what means this daytime crowd gathered on this otherwise quiet street? Surely the whole town must be assembled here. For quite a distance the street is impassable. A riot perhaps, a little insurrection which the small force of guards has been unable to control? Or a hungry mob begging their bread of

the military authorities? Neither of these. The same crowd is to be seen every Monday morning in the same place. They are simply awaiting their turn to obtain a pass at the office of the provost marshal. To visit the camps or to visit Washington, to cross the river into Maryland, to go sailing or "ducking" on the Potomac, to pass the town guards after ten o'clock at night, all these require passes and every Monday morning these passes are issued or renewed.

A "Union Association" formed of loyal citizens of the town is deserving of notice, and the proceedings of its weekly reunions make humorous reading. To one who, having lived through the period, reconstructs in imagination its events and emotions it is not yet perfectly easy to realize that a time could arrive when incidents that seemed so full of gravity and seriousness might be read by all sections of the country—that the deepest and darkest of conspiracies might even provoke a smile. That the members were in all honesty friends to the Union cause we may not doubt; that they were not of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made seems clearly proved. When the occasion arose to make proof of their loyalty they seem always to have been found wanting. Complaint is made of them that while soldiers are giving their lives on the battle-field, these patriots are confining their efforts to saying: "I am a loyal citizen, give me a pass," or to soliciting passes for their friends without their being required to sign the obligation not to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, and that out of two hundred members only three offered themselves for enrollment in the home guards which it was proposed to form. A resolution that flags be raised over the houses and places of business of members was after a good deal of discussion passed to read that they be requested to raise them. A resolution to contribute twenty-five cents for the erection of a line of flags across King street, thus obliging secessionists to pass under the flag, met with little favor. One patriot declared that he wanted to see the Union flag everywhere, but he could discover no reason for the members being taxed to cover a particular part of King street with it. He could not approve of such a pent-up Utica for the flag. It even appears that some presumed so far as to indulge a little humor at the expense of the dictators and autocrats which a state of war had foisted upon the town. At

one of the meetings the provost judge read a note in which some ladies requested information as to the precise manner in which Union ladies were expected to toss their heads. The judge had enjoined upon them to toss their heads to one side but had not stated to which side. The judge explained that he had merely wished to indicate that, as it had been the custom of the secession ladies before the recent election of municipal officers held pursuant to the laws of the government at Wheeling to hold their heads high and toss them to one side (which he illustrated in a manner to raise a laugh), so now that Union men were in control of the town offices he would like to see Union ladies carrying their heads high and if need be a little to one side to show the pride they felt in themselves as loyal citizens.

What, meanwhile, is the Alexandria girl doing, the girl who by rights is a *débutante* and should have been enjoying her rose-bud season at this epoch when the new woman was not yet born? Plenty of gay uniforms are here, all that could be desired in the suggestive bravery of costume which the female heart is reputed to hold dear. But their color is blue, and only the boy in gray may be the target for the darts of her bright eyes. The blue shades into the gray, the gray into the blue, but to overwrought imaginations the slight difference of color symbolized all the difference between heaven and hell. A single one of the days such as chanced to the girl in debatable land, bringing the sweetheart in gray, might atone for many a weary week! No wonder an Alexandria girl sent General Beauregard a set of gold studs containing each a word of which the combination said: "Let us out." The uniforms themselves may have wearied of the dull monotony of certainty, the certainty that in these streets no blood would flow, of the excitement of raising a flag over the house of a suspected citizen (the flag thus having been made to serve alike as the shield and consecration of the patriot and the punishment of suspected treason), of dancing at Marini's hall where a children's dancing school was held, with the postmaster's daughters, and the arresting of little girls who drew suspicion upon themselves by wearing red and white cloaks or bonnets. This was a combination of color in high disfavor and was run down as though it possessed a magic power against which the Union cause would contend in vain.

If such a state of affairs gave birth to conspiracy no one can have a right to be astonished. One of the debates of the Union Association had reference to the necessity for showing passes after ten o'clock at night. It was argued that conspirators could find their opportunity at any hour of the day or night and were not more dangerous after than before ten o'clock. To this some one objected that from the beginning of time crime and treason had sought the cover of the night. It was therefore the part of prudence to lay special restrictions upon the night hours. For the use and benefit of history it must here be stated that the only assemblages of conspirators that were held in Alexandria were held during the day or the early evening by a secret association styling itself "Knights of the Golden Circle," and composed of girls ranging in age from ten to twenty. It was not they who tossed their heads or flaunted the colors of secession, these pious maidens with downcast eyes. The third story room with gable windows where their meetings were held, where they donned the badge of the order and discussed the operations of the society and the sums of money which had been raised, never drew upon itself the suspicion of being a nest of treason.

The oath of initiation which the Knights of the Golden Circle took was as follows:

I solemnly avow in the sight of these presents that I am a true and loyal citizen of the Confederate States.

I swear that I will give no aid or comfort to any enemy or enemies of the Confederacy, and that to the best of my ability I will aid and support the government of the Confederate States.

I swear that I will not marry one who has borne arms for the United States against the Confederate States, nor a Union man nor a Black Republican nor a traitor. So help me God.

In the language of the day the term "traitor" was applied to any one who extricated himself from a difficult position by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States.

As an indication of the very serious light in which the Knights regarded themselves may be reproduced a prayer which was found quoted as having been used at the opening of the Confederate Congress, and was read aloud as an initiatory step of their organization:

Almighty God, Sovereign Disposer of events, it hath pleased Thee to protect and defend the Confederate States hitherto in their conflict with their enemies and to be unto them a shield.

We gratefully confess Thy hand and acknowledge that not unto us but unto Thee belongeth the victory and in humble dependence upon Thy Almighty strength and trust in the justness of our cause we appeal to Thee that it may please Thee to set at naught the efforts of all our enemies and put them to confusion and shame.

O, Almighty God, we pray Thee that it may please Thee to grant us Thy blessing upon our arms and give us victory over all our enemies wherever they may be.

Preserve our homes and altars from pollution and secure to us the restoration of peace and prosperity, all of which we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Savior, to whom with Thee, the Father and the Holy Spirit, we will give all the praise in time and throughout eternity. Amen and Amen.

It would be more interesting to have to report of these zealous Knights that they became blockade runners and endured hardships, persecutions and imprisonment in the cause to which they were vowed; but as the occupation in which they engaged was of a purely commercial and financial character it affords little room for romance. Their long hours of enforced dreariness were consoled by manufacturing little articles such as bows, neckties, pincushions and penwipers sometimes with a deftly concealed Confederate flag embroidered in one corner as the open sesame to the heart of a purchaser chosen with discrimination. But it was hard to drain the purses of Southern sympathizers to buy useless superfluities, when the supply of their daily necessities at exorbitant prices was a problem. It was absolutely necessary to draw upon the resources of the enemy to fill the exchequer. The younger of the Knights were selected as purveyors to the wives of officers of dainty rosettes for infants' sleeves, collars and crochet work. Who shall reproach those who thus unwittingly gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, or blame the Knights for the secret exultation in which they indulged when they saw the Union babies innocently disporting their handiwork? By this means, and by virtue of the never failing talisman they were able to smuggle through the lines a sum of United States money and were delighted by the acknowledgment of it through the columns of a Baltimore paper. They also received intelligence that it had been placed in the hands of the Confederate President, and would be appropriated to the woman's gunboat fund. The Knights also sent a box of clothing and blankets to the prisoners on Johnson's Island and received in return an

album containing the autographs of the prisoners, on the flyleaf of which is pasted a clipping from a contemporary newspaper as follows:

Oh! who has not heard of that isle on Lake Erie
 So guarded today, so unheeded before,
 Where the truthful and brave stroll all listless and weary
 Their hearts far away from its wave-sounding shore.

The sun rises red on thy waters, Lake Erie,
 And gladdens the day with its rich golden hue;
 Oh! who will e'er tell of the thoughts dull and dreary
 Now curtaining with sadness the souls of the true!

Where cannon boomed loud 'mid the storm of the battle
 And riders lay breathless their horses all foam,
 Those hearts that ne'er quailed with the musketry's rattle
 Now melt at the thought of dear faces at home.

The bugle call wakes with its reveille token
 From night's fitful slumbers those heroes so true,
 From sweet dreams of "Dixie" unconquered, unbroken,
 To muse and to sigh till the welcome tattoo.

The storm blasts of winter sweep over Lake Erie,
 In silence we bear our lost comrades to rest;
 No more will they stroll with the listless and weary,
 They sleep their last sleep in this isle of the West.

As the military were holding their services in old Christ Church one or two families applied for and obtained permission to remove the cushions of their pews. Of course the Knights were there to supervise operations. Moreover, they had business of their own. While the cushions were being taken one of them removed the silver plate which designated General Washington's pew and carried it away in triumph. "If we do not take care of it, it will be stolen," they argued. But this enterprise so auspiciously begun was destined to end in failure and discomfiture. The plate was safely stored at the Knights' headquarters and the incident was considered closed. But one morning an officer called at the residence of the senior warden of the church and demanded the return of the plate. The gentleman protested his entire ignorance upon the subject. The officer replied that the plate had disappeared simultaneously with the removal of the cushions, that it was known to be the work of certain persons and could therefore be traced. Investigation being made, the ab-

stracted article was discovered and ruefully restored. As a proof that the Knights had not miscalculated it did not long remain in its place. The plate was not, however, in the nature of a relic. General Washington did not thus designate his own pew and the present plate answers the purpose.

As there were no overt acts of hostility on the part of the citizens against the authorities, it might have been due to irritation caused by the feeling that the very air was hostile, that an order was issued for the expulsion of a considerable number of them. The *Alexandria Gazette* of which a small edition was published at that date stated that it was not able to ascertain the exact number of citizens to whom the order was sent, but there were several hundred. One morning an officer alighted from his horse and approaching three little Knights who were walking together near their homes requested the addresses of certain persons. Of course the Knights did not know, notwithstanding that the father of one of them was among the number. The officer replied "Perhaps you will know more in a few days." The order which the officer was engaged in distributing ran as follows:

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
DEFENSES SOUTH OF THE POTOMAC.

ALEXANDRIA, VA., June 29, 1863.

In pursuance of an order of the War Department, you are hereby notified to appear at this office forthwith and make satisfactory proof of your loyalty to the Government of the United States of America, and failing to make such proof within forty-eight hours after receiving this notice, you will be sent outside of our lines.

Persons so removed will be sent by boat to City Point. Heads of families will be allowed to take their families with them, together with a reasonable amount of personal baggage, not exceeding one hundred pounds, including the trunk or package, to each grown person, and the necessary wearing apparel of the children accompanying them. They will not be allowed to take any supplies, stores or medicines, nor any letters, correspondence or writings of any kind whatever.

All such persons to whom this notice is sent will, without further order, deliver their baggage at the dock, foot of Prince street, at 9 o'clock Monday morning, July 6, 1863, with a complete inventory of the same. All such baggage will be examined, and if contraband articles are found the entire baggage of the person attempting to take such articles out will be confiscated, and no goods will be allowed to pass unless so delivered, examined, inventoried and approved.

They will also at or before that time send to this office a list of the members of their families who are to accompany them, with the full name and age of each person.

The parties, and the members of their families, accompanying them, will report at the foot of Prince street on Tuesday morning, July 7, at 9 o'clock a. m. No person will be allowed to go on board excepting those so to be sent South.

By order

H. H. WELLS,
Lieut. Col. and Provost Marshal,
Prov. Mar. Gen. Defences South of Potomac.

A week later there was sent to certain persons who had received the above order the following:

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
DEFENCES SOUTH OF POTOMAC.

ALEXANDRIA, VA., July 6, 1863.

An opportunity is hereby allowed you to appear at this office and by taking the oath of allegiance, or giving other satisfactory security, you will obtain permission to remain in Alexandria.

Respectfully,

H. W. WELLS,
Lieut. Col. and Provost Marshal General
Defences South of Potomac.

The order may have been only designed to test the temper of the citizens. That it caused dismay and perplexity is certain, but there was no thought of accepting the alternative. Rumors soon circulated that the order would be rescinded, but an inquiry at the provost marshal's office elicited the response that it would be carried out. If there was dismay, there was also rejoicing. An old lady dreaded to inform her husband that he was to be ejected from his home in his old age. When he received the news he raised one foot as if about to dance and sang: "I wish I was in Dixie!" Those who were better off aided their poorer friends in their extremity. On July 9, 1863, many citizens were to be seen wending their way to the foot of Prince street where they expected to find a steamer in readiness for their transportation. Friends had congregated and touching scenes of farewell were witnessed. Many hours they waited in the hot sun, the day was wearing on and still there was no steamer. Then the rumor circulated that the order had been rescinded, and the fact was soon officially announced. The baggage was restored to its

owners and they received permission to return to their homes. The whole affair was simply a farce; a delusion and a snare it had been indeed, and very much like a tragedy, to those whose homes had been broken up and effects sold or scattered. Great as was the distress which Alexandrians underwent during these memorable years, the record is one which could be matched, and perhaps more than matched, by any other town in hostile military occupation. But could life ever be quite the same to the girls whose young lives opened so seriously upon a scene of storm and strife as to those the recollections of whose youth now carry them back to days of sunshiny peace? One Knight was the daughter of a Union man and the compassion felt for her in the cruelty of her position can never be forgotten. Would not a serious problem have confronted the United States government had the personal influence of General Lee not lured the South back into the Union,—had the task devolved upon it of governing thousands of Alexandrians from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico?

A writer who has published a volume of his war reminiscences speaks of having first realized that the war was at an end when he heard music and laughter proceeding from a house in Richmond where Federal officers were visiting a widow and her daughters who had been expelled from Alexandria. The truth is that no one was expelled from Alexandria during the war. Union officers had always been welcome guests at the house of the ladies in question when their home was in the Federal lines, and the incident had not the value imputed to it.

A feature of wartime Alexandria not undeserving of mention, is the indifference to fashions in dress which must have made of the streets a variously edifying spectacle to visitors from the world beyond the limits of stockades and blockades. Any wearing apparel that could be resurrected from the archives of the past was not only admissible, but even preferred to the most modern and approved styles. A favorite female headgear in the summer was a drawn green barège calash which shrouded in more than oriental mystery the owner of the head in the rear. The only social entertainment to be placed to the credit of these years was a series of more or less burlesque tableaux in which no attempt was made at high art. One of them, "The return of the

refugees from Dixie," achieved such success in the devising of costumes—still more incredible than those which were already familiar—that the spectators, old and young, were convulsed with merriment.

As the citizens were not disposed to participate in the military services held in old Christ Church, the Episcopalians withdrew to St. Paul's, where like the Pilgrim Fathers they hoped to be permitted to worship after their own hearts. This meant refraining from recognizing the President of the United States as their chief magistrate by using the prayer for him contained in their ritual. All went well with this weekly reunion of sympathetic souls until one Sunday morning, when several wearers of the too familiar uniform were observed in one of the pews. In the midst of the prayers the congregation became aware of a confusion of sounds breaking in upon the familiar words of the liturgy. The wearer of one of the uniforms, a captain of Illinois cavalry, had advanced to the front of the chancel, and finding no attention paid to his injunction to read the omitted prayer, began reading it himself. By this time the congregation had become thoroughly aroused, some were on their feet, some sitting up in their pews staring in blank amazement, while a few continued reverently making the responses as long as the officiating clergyman's voice was heard, and in the clerical duet the latter prevailed over the intruder. The officers who had accompanied the chaplain were called upon to lend their aid. A vestryman, inspired for the occasion with an unwonted vigor, seized the first who entered the chancel and threw him back over the railing. A squad of soldiers now charged up the aisle with fixed bayonets and the clergyman's arrest was accomplished. He was led down the aisle with his young daughter clinging to his surplice crying: "You shall not take my father!", amid a volley of prayer books and a pitcher of water hurled from the choir gallery by a Knight, which wrought no damage to friend or foe. The clergyman was conducted through the street in his surplice to the regiment's headquarters, and the military governor, after telegraphing to Washington for instructions, released him. This event, commonly known as the "battle of St. Paul's Church," the only battle of the war which was fought in Alexandria, now appears in a light rather ludicrous than heroic, but every episode of a war

cannot be glorious. A newspaper styling itself the *Local News*,—alias the *Alexandria Gazette*,—which the following day published an account of the affair, was set on fire in the night and its archives destroyed. This has served to commemorate the incident, for the paper does not fail yearly to announce: "This is the anniversary of the burning of the *Gazette* office." St. Paul's Church was not again used as a place of worship but was converted into a hospital, as sooner or later befell most of the churches.

The last scene of the war which was enacted at Alexandria was the return of absentees to homes deserted for four years, which had been quitted with never a thought that the stars and bars would not celebrate a joyous home-coming. But Jackson's flag, flung to the breeze over the historic tavern where Washington had been wont to give "the prince of caterers" his invariable order for canvas back, madeira and hominy, was the first and last emblem of the Confederate States that was destined to wave over the town. What they saw when they returned was the flag of the Union robed in black and the houses draped in mourning pursuant to a military order. It is no wonder if, prostrate and humiliated as they were, the citizens had obeyed the order in a spirit that made of the act a mockery, and failed yet to comprehend that the tragedy which robbed the nation of its chief had dealt the heaviest blow to the Southland,—that beyond any other portion of the Union it was the South whose right it was to mourn.

Exemption of College Endowments From Taxation

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Nearly all modern States levy taxes on their citizens for the support of higher education. According to the decisions of the courts and the text-books on finance, taxation must be for a public purpose—that is to say, the revenues from taxation must be expended for the common benefit. In some cases an act of the government results not only in the promotion of the public welfare, but also in a special benefit to the individual concerned. In such a case the individual is properly called upon to pay a fee, covering a portion of the cost, for the benefit conferred. To this class belongs the work of the State in higher education. Undoubtedly there is a benefit of a high order conferred on the recipient of college instruction, and he is rightly required to pay a portion of the cost in the form of a tuition fee. Considering the cost of the service and the individual nature of the benefit conferred, it may well be doubted whether the State should not throw a larger portion of the cost on the student. What is here insisted on, however, is that there is a common as well as individual benefit in the maintenance by the State of educational institutions. If the work of the institutions were limited to the conferring of a special benefit on those of its citizens who might receive instruction in their walls, the collection from the whole people of revenue for their support would in nowise be either justifiable or constitutional. It is only because of the public nature of the service rendered that any educational institution can be legally supported by public funds.

The work of the college or university is public, because its benefits are diffused. Because of the superior education of those students who in later life are legislators, laws for the whole people are more wisely enacted. Because of the superior education received by those students who become judges and administrative officers, the laws are the better interpreted and executed. Other students, on account of higher education, become better physi-

cians, better ministers, better leaders in any of the activities of life, and in this way the general public receives benefits from institutions maintained by public funds.

If without State aid to higher education a sufficiently large proportion of citizens were well prepared for leadership in college under private or church control, there would then be no need or justification for the State to enter this field. What the State does in this realm should properly be considered as supplementary to what is done by non-State agencies. There is doubtless no State in the Union better provided with colleges and universities than Massachusetts, nor any State having a larger proportion of highly educated citizens; yet this State does not support any academic institution of higher education, nor does there appear to be any reason why it should do so. Years ago Massachusetts founded its Institute of Technology, there being at that time no school of this kind in the State, and in this way it supplemented the institutions already in existence. In 1890 Georgia established its first State institution for the education of girls. This college was not a duplicate of any of the several already in operation. Its title, "The Georgia Normal and Industrial College," indicates the nature of the work done, and there was then no similar institution in the State.

If, again, it were possible to maintain colleges and universities by tuition charges there might not have been any need for State aid to higher education, but everyone knows that there is not a college of high grade in America so supported. Trinity College (N. C.) for example has about 400 students and charges a tuition fee of \$50.00. If all the students paid this fee it would mean an income of \$20,000.00, which would give less than \$700.00 to each of the professors and instructors. This would not allow anything for running expenses or for the use of a valuable plant. The entire tuition fees would not in fact provide for the cost of grounds, buildings, library, and laboratories.

The relation of the State to higher education is analogous to its relation to infant industries, as this, at least, is seen by protectionists. The infant industry is not able to maintain itself unaided because of foreign competition. But the existence of the industry in this country would be for the public good, and so it is proper for the State to impose a burden on the public by means

of tariffs or bounties in order to protect the young industry. In this way the State does not start factories, but it aids those already in existence and encourages the organization of more.

Now, higher education is an industry which is not self-supporting—not because of any competition, but from the very nature of the case. One method of aid would be for the State to appropriate to each college within its territory money proportionate to the amount and quality of work done, such aid being supplemental to the usual fees. Such a plan has, in fact, been used in England with respect to elementary education. Much can be said in favor of this method of aid, but doubtless more against it. It has never found favor in this country. The States have aided higher education by the establishment and maintenance of distinct institutions which have been kept under their control.

Now, the work done by colleges not controlled or supported by the State is of a public character. President Eliot says: "The reason for treating these institutions in an exceptional manner is that, having no selfish object in view or purpose of personal gain, they contribute to the welfare of the State. Their function is largely a public function; their work is done primarily, indeed, for individual, but ultimately for the public good. . . . The fact that the property of these public trusts is administered by persons who are not immediately chosen or appointed by the public obscures to some minds the essential principle that the property is really held and administered for the public benefit; but the mode of administration does not alter the use, or make the property any less property held for the public." A State is as much benefitted in having one of her sons trained in a non-State college as in one controlled and supported by the State. The University of Georgia did a good service for the State when it educated George F. Pierce, who became one of the bishops of the Southern Methodist Church. Emory College did a similar service in training Atticus G. Haygood, who also was one of the bishops of the same church. E. Y. Atkinson, one of the governors of Georgia, was educated by the State University, while Allen G. Candler, another governor, was graduated from Mercer University, a Baptist institution. The non-State colleges serve the State as truly and as effectively as those institutions maintained by public taxation.

If, then, the State believes that the cause of higher education is

of so much importance that it taxes the people in its interests, and if such institutions cannot be supported by tuition fees, the State ought in all fairness and consistency to relieve from taxation college property the income from which is wholly spent in this public work of higher education. This is the main argument for the exemption of college endowments.

Other reasons, however, can be given. Such exemptions encourage gifts to educational institutions. Quoting President Eliot again: "For the public to enact laws which tend to discourage private persons from giving property to the public for its own use is as unwise as for the natural heir to put difficulties in the way of a well-disposed relative who is making his will." Not to exempt such endowments from taxation, and at the same time to maintain institutions of higher education from public revenue, is almost equivalent to the governing powers saying: "We should prefer to tax the people in order to educate them in institutions under State control, rather than have higher education provided otherwise and without cost to the public treasury." For the State to provide these institutions at a merely nominal cost to the student, and at the same time to tax endowments of colleges where a tuition charge is necessary, is to pursue a policy the tendency of which is to weaken all but the State institutions and those already well endowed. The policy of exemption is a fair one with respect to the very large proportion of citizens who, while paying their full share of taxation, prefer to send their children to the non-State institutions.

Some objections, however, are made to this policy of exemption even by those who recognize the benefits accruing to the State from the work of the private and denominational colleges. One objector will ask why factories should not also be exempted from taxation since they do much good to the community by furnishing employment and increasing trade. The answer to this is easy. Factories undoubtedly may be of great benefit. However, they not only pay expenses, but when well conducted yield profits to their owners. As a general rule the factory which does not pay expenses, and profits besides, is not a benefit, but a detriment, to society. It has already been pointed out that no institution of higher education can be maintained by tuition fees. These fees must be supplemented by income from endowments or grants

from the State. If this were not so the support by the State of its own colleges would be a needless and an unreasonable burden on the taxpayers.

Another objection is that exemption of endowments of denominational colleges from taxation would involve a union of church and State. A union of church and State implies that one of the two is subject to the control of the other in whole or in part. One of the most clearly defined and emphasized principles of our government has been the separation of church and State; yet church buildings have always in this country been exempt from taxation. If this does not involve a union of church and State, why does the exemption of college property involve such a union? The exemption laws, however, do not apply to denominational institutions as such, but include all colleges and universities not operated with a view to profit. Some of the most notable and most useful institutions, such as Harvard, Cornell and Johns Hopkins, are under neither State nor denominational control.

Another objection that is sometimes offered is that exemption would result in unequal competition. Let us examine this. Suppose two stores of equal value and desirability, side by side, one belonging to a college, the other to a private citizen. These buildings will yield exactly the same rental. If the private citizen has invested in the building the savings of a life time, it would not enable him to get any higher rent than if the property had come to him as the unexpected bequest of a distant relative. Neither will the fact of the exemption or taxation of college property affect the rental. Each owner will get the highest rental that can be had. Certainly there is no inequality here as between the occupiers or renters. But what of the owners? Suppose the net rental, including taxes, to be \$1,000 and suppose taxes to be \$200; the private owner would pay this amount to the State to be used in some way for the public benefit, and the \$800 he could and would use just as he pleased. Now, if there is exemption the college trustees receive an income of \$1,000, all of which is used for the public benefit in the cause of education. The trustees are under moral and legal obligation to make this use of the income, and if they were to attempt to divert the funds they could be enjoined by judicial process. There is no hardship to the private owner that the trustees be given the privilege of using the entire net income of the building for a public purpose.

Another may claim that the State has need of all obtainable revenue and therefore cannot afford to allow any exemption. Considering the laxity with which the present laws are administered this objection can hardly be a sincere one. The taxation of endowments, moreover, would simply divert funds from one kind of public use to another and would not increase the amount of revenue for public purposes.

An ideal law, in the writer's opinion, would exempt from State taxation all property of whatever description owned by educational institutions. Personalty, such as endowment funds, should be exempted from local taxation also, for the local government is usually put to no trouble or expense because of such property. Grounds and buildings directly and immediately used by the college in the work of education should also be exempted from local taxation, for though the benefits conferred in the matter of education are local only in a small degree, there is much local benefit from the money expended in the community by the students and professors

It hardly seems fair however that all real estate not directly used in the work of the college should be exempted from local taxation. If a certain piece of property had been yielding taxes to a city why should its treasury suffer loss when the property is purchased by a college which may be a hundred miles away. The income is used for the public work of education, it is true, but it is the State and not the city government that undertakes this work. It is quite possible that all the real estate so owned in the State might be in one or two localities, in which case those local treasuries and those only would suffer a loss of revenue. It would be well if the State treasurer would pay back to the treasurer of the college the money paid for local taxes, as is done in Maine, though the average citizen or even legislator would likely think this too complicated a process.

In order to prevent a certain possible abuse the State might well require that as a condition of exemption the entire income of property exempted should be used directly in the work of education. Suppose for example a given piece of property to net a clear income of five per cent. after a payment of two per cent. for taxes. A college might borrow money at five per cent. to buy this building and it would net seven per cent. to the col-

lege. After payment of interest two per cent. would be left with which to reduce the principal. In about twenty-five years the college would own the property without incumbrance. During this time, while the treasuries of the State and local government have suffered a loss, there has been because of the exemption no increase of expenditures in the State for higher education.

As to existing laws, California is the only State that does not exempt from taxation the grounds and buildings of colleges not operated with the purpose of private profit, and that State has by special act exempted the Leland Stanford, Jr., University and the California School of Mechanical Arts. Eight States exempt no more than grounds and buildings. Twenty-six States exempt in addition endowments in the form of personal property. Of this number at least four also exempt buildings owned by colleges and occupied by its professors or officers. Pennsylvania and New Hampshire seem to have special rather than general laws on the subject of exemption. Connecticut exempts all endowment funds and also real estate of Yale, Wesleyan and Trinity, each to the extent of an annual rental of \$6,000.

The laws of Maine are unique. Personalty is exempt but not real estate aside from college grounds and buildings. The treasurer of the State, however, will refund to the college treasurer taxes, State and local, on such real estate to the amount of \$1,500 annually. In this way the college is relieved within the limit named of all taxes, while the cost of relief from local taxes is borne by the State as a whole rather than by the localities in which the real estate is situated. The most favored institution in the matter of exemption is Brown University of Rhode Island. That University enjoys not only the exemption of all its property from taxation, both State and local, but each professor is exempted to the amount of \$10,000. Only four States, Delaware, Kentucky, North Carolina and South Dakota, exempt from taxation all property of colleges. North Dakota exempts all personalty and all real estate to the amount of forty acres for each college.

In the charters of a few colleges it is stipulated that their property, in whole or in part, shall be free from taxation. The Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case declared such charters to be contracts and they may not be impaired by subsequent legislation. A statute law exempting property is not a contract and it may be abolished at the pleasure of the legislature.

Blockade Running and Trade Through the Lines Into Alabama, 1861-1865

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"When commercial intercourse is thus refused its usual direct roads, it seeks a new path, by the most circuitous course, with all the persistency of a natural force. The supply will work its way to the demand, though in diminished volume, through all the obstacles interposed by man. Even the contracted lines about a beleaguered city will thus be pierced by the ingenuity of the trader seeking gain; but when the blockade is extended over a long frontier, total exclusion becomes hopeless."—Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. 1, p. 877.

BLOCKADE RUNNING.

For several months after the secession of Alabama, its one important seaport—Mobile—was open and export and import trade went on as usual. The proclamation of Lincoln, April 19, 1861, practically declared a blockade of the ports of the Southern States. A vessel attempting to enter or to leave was to be warned, and, if a second attempt was made, the vessel was to be seized as a prize.* By proclamations of April 27 and August 16, 1861, the blockade was extended and made more stringent. All vessels and cargoes belonging to citizens of the Southern States found at sea or in a port of the United States were to be confiscated.† As the summer advanced the blockade was made more and more effective until finally, at the end of 1861, the port of Mobile was closed to all but the professional blockade runners.‡ The fact that the legislature in the fall of 1861 was fostering various new industries and purchasing certain articles of common use shows that the effects of the blockade were beginning to be felt.§

*See Messages and Papers of the Presidents.

†Messages and Papers of the Presidents.

‡In 1860, the South exported \$150,000,000 worth of cotton and Mobile was the second cotton port of America. Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy*, pp. 439, 533. Besides the regular ship channel there were two shallow entrances to Mobile Bay through which blockade runners passed.—Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, p. 134. Regular water communication with New Orleans was kept up until 1862 through Mississippi Sound.—Scharf, p. 535; Maclay, *A History of the United States Navy*, vol. 2, p. 445.

§Miller, *Alabama*, p. 167. Acts of the Called Sess. (1861), p. 123. Acts of 2nd Called and 1st Regular Sess. (1861), pp. 151, 168, 214, 278.

At first the general confidence in the power of King Cotton made most Southern people desire to let the blockade assist the work of war, and, by creating a scarcity of cotton abroad, cause foreign governments to recognize the Confederate government and raise the blockade.* The pinch of want soon made many forget their faith in the power of cotton; there was a general desire to get supplies through the blockade and to send cotton in exchange. The State administration was distinctly in favor of blockade running and foreign trade†. In 1861, the legislature incorporated two "Direct Trading Companies," giving them permission to own and sail ships between the ports of the State and the ports of foreign countries for the purpose of carrying on trade.‡ The general regulation of foreign commerce, however, fell to the Confederate government which was distinctly opposed to all blockade running not under its immediate control and supervision. The State authorities complained that the course of the Confederate administration was harsh and unnecessary. The State was willing to prohibit blockade running on private account, but insisted that its public vessels be allowed to import supplies needed by the State. The complaint about restrictions on trade was general throughout the Southern States and, in October, 1864, the Southern governors in a meeting in Augusta, Georgia, Governor Watts, of Alabama, taking a leading part, declared that each State had the right to export its productions

*The blockading force before Mobile in 1861 often consisted of only one vessel, (Soley, p. 134), and the people of Mobile believed that foreign nations would not recognize the blockade as effective. There was an English squadron under Admiral Milne in the Gulf, and on August 4, 1861, the *Mobile Register and Advertiser* said that a conflict between the English and United States forces was expected; the English were then to raise the blockade.—Scharf, p. 442.

†This, however, was not the plan favored by Ex-Governor A. B. Moore, who, on February 3, 1862, wrote to President Davis stating his belief that the permission given by the Federal fleet to export cotton was a Yankee trick to get cotton to leave port in order to seize it. He thought that the Confederate government should forbid all exportation of cotton until the close of the war. "This leaky blockade system should be deprecated as one [in which the parties] are either dupes or knaves and [is] not in the least calculated to demonstrate the fact that our cotton crops are a necessity to the commerce of the world." If cotton was not a necessity to Europe, then the sooner the South knew it the better; if it was a necessity, the sooner Europe knew it the better.—*Official Records, Ser. IV., vol. 1, p. 905.*

‡Acts of February 6, and December 10, 1861.

and import such supplies as might be necessary for State use or for the use of the State troops in the army, State vessels being used for this purpose. The governors united in a request to Congress to remove the restrictions on such trade.* But the Confederate administration to the last retained control of foreign trade. Agents were sent abroad by the Treasury and War Departments† who were instructed to send on vessels attempting to run the blockade, first, arms and ammunition; second, clothing, boots, shoes, and hats; third, drugs and chemicals that were most needed, such as quinine, chloroform, ether, opium, morphine, and rhubarb. These agents were instructed to see that all vessels leaving for Southern ports were laden with the articles named. Such part of the cargoes as was not taken by the government was sold at auction to the highest bidder. These blockade auction sales were attended by merchants from the inland towns, whose shelves were almost bare of goods during three years of the war‡. For two years military and naval supplies were the most important articles brought into the Southern ports. The Alabama troops were in great need of all kinds of war equipment, and the State administration made every effort to obtain military supplies from abroad. Shipments of arms from Europe were made to the West Indies, generally to Cuba, and thence smuggled into Mobile and other Gulf ports. The shipments were always long delayed while waiting for a favorable opportunity to attempt a run. A large proportion of the blockade runners making for Mobile were captured by the United States vessels.§ Dark nights and rainy, stormy weather furnished the opportunity to the runners to slip into or out of a port. Once at sea,

*O. R. Ser. IV, vol. 3, p. 735; Ser. I. vol. 33, pt. 3, p. 805.

†The Confederate War and Treasury Departments required that each steamship coming and going should reserve one-half its tonnage for government use. The owners of an outgoing vessel had to make bond to return with one-half the cargo for the government and the other half in articles the importation of which was not prohibited by the Confederate government. The Confederate government paid five pence sterling a pound on outgoing freight, payable in a British port. On return freight £25 a ton was paid in cotton at a Confederate port. The expenses of one blockade runner for one trip amounted to \$80,265.00; while the gross profits were \$172,000.00, leaving a net gain of \$91,735.00 on the trip.—Scharf, pp. 481, 485.

‡Joseph Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*.

§Soley, pp. 44, 156.

nothing could catch them, since they were built for fast sailing rather than for capacity to carry freight.*

Most of the arms secured by Alabama came by way of Cuba, as did nearly all the supplies that entered the port of Mobile, or were smuggled in on boats along the coast. Havana was 590 miles from Mobile, and between these ports most of the blockade trade of the Gulf Coast was carried on. One shipment, welcomed by the State authorities, was a lot of condemned Spanish flintlock muskets which were remodelled and repaired and placed in the hands of the State troops. Machinery for the naval foundry and arsenal at Selma and for the navy yard on the Tombigbee was brought through the blockade from England *via* the West Indies. The Confederate government besides taking its own half of each cargo had the first choice of all other goods brought through the blockade and usually chose shoes, clothing, and medicine. The State could only make contracts for the importation of supplies; it could not import them on its own vessels. The Confederate government paid high prices for goods, but on the whole paid much less than did the private individual for the remainder of the cargo when sold at auction. The merchants made large profits on the few articles of merchandise secured by them. Speculators bought up lots of merchandise at Mobile and carried them far inland to the small towns and villages of the Black Belt and further North and secured fabulous prices in Confederate money for ordinary calico, shoes, women's apparel, etc. The central part of the State was more completely shut from the outside world than any other section of the South. The Federal lines touched the northern part of the State, but the traffic carried on through the lines seldom reached the central counties. Consequently, the arrival of a merchant in the Black Belt village with a small lot blockade calicoes, shoes, hats, scented soap, etc., was

*See Taylor, *Running the Blockade*. A typical blockade runner of 1862-1864 was a long, low, slender, rakish sidewheel steamer, of 400 to 600 tons, about nine times as long as broad, with powerful engines, twin screws and feathering paddles. The funnels were short and could be lowered to the deck. It was painted a dull gray or lead color, and the masts being very short, it could not be seen more than two hundred yards away. When possible to obtain, one-fifth anthracite coal was burned, and when running into port all lights were turned out and the steam blown off under water.—Scharf, p. 480; Soley, p. 156; Spears, vol. 4, p. 55.

a great event and people came from far and near to gaze upon the fine things exhibited in the usually empty show windows. Few had sufficient Confederate money to buy the commonest articles, but some one could always be found to purchase the latest useless trifle that came from abroad.*

In exchange for goods thus imported the blockade runners carried out cargoes of cotton. As has been stated the Confederate administration was in charge of cotton exportation. The Confederate treasury department purchased in Alabama 134,252 bales of cotton for \$13,633,621.90—that is, \$101.55 a bale. This cotton was to be sold abroad for the benefit of the Confederate government. Nearly all the cotton purchased by the government was in the great producing States of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Alabama furnished more than any other State. In 1864, 3,226 bales of cotton were shipped from Mobile by the Treasury Department and the proceeds applied to the support of the Erlanger Loan. To avoid competition between the departments of the government, it was agreed, June 1, 1864, that all stores for shipment should be turned over to the Treasury, transported to the vessels by the War Department, and consigned to Treasury agents in the West Indies, or in Europe. It was to be sold finally by the Treasury agent at Liverpool and the proceeds placed to the credit of the Treasury. The export business was under the direction of the Produce Loan Office which had charge of all government cotton and tobacco. Contracts were usually made with companies to whom the government turned over the cotton for shipment. In November, 1864, there were 115,450 bales of government cotton in Alabama, 18,802 bales having been sold. It is hardly possible that it was all exported; some of it was sold through the lines.† It was found very difficult to secure bagging and ties sufficient to bale the cotton for shipping.

It is not likely that after all the State gained much by trade through the blockade. The risks were great and the exporters had to have a large share of the profit, but arms, medicine, and

**Two Months in the Confederate States by English Merchant*, p. 111. Taylor, *Running the Blockade*. Hague, *A Blockaded Family*. *Our Women in War*, *passim*. Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*.

†*Report of A. Roane, Chief of the Produce Loan Office*. Richmond to Sec. of Treasury Trenholm, October 30, 1864, in *Ho. Mis. Doc., No. 190, 44th Cong., 1st Sess.*; *Two Months in the Confederate States*, p. 111.

blankets, were valuable and very necessary. In spite of regulations, the blockade runners brought in more luxuries than necessities, causing much extravagance, and there were people who objected to the practice altogether. In March, 1863, the Mobile Committee of Safety reported that there were several vessels then in the harbor fitting out to carry cotton to Cuba. They were of the opinion that the government ought not to allow them to depart, since the country could not afford to lose the vessels with their machinery which could not be replaced. Governor Shorter agreed with them and a protest was made to the Richmond authorities, but the vessels went out.* Judge Dargan, whom many things troubled, wrote to the Richmond authorities that the blockade runners were ruining the country by supplying the enemy with cotton and bringing in return useless gewgaws.†

From March 1, 1864, to the end of the war, the Confederate government succeeded better in regulating the imports by blockade runners. But after August, when Farragut captured the forts defending the harbor entrance, the port of Mobile received little from the outside world. Before the stringent regulations of the Confederacy went into force, blockade running was demoralized. The importers refused to accept paper money for their goods and thus discredited currency while draining specie from the country. High prices and extortion followed. Cotton, instead of being exchanged for British gold, brought in trinkets, silks, satins, laces, broadcloth, brandy, rum, whiskey, fancy slippers, and ladies' goods generally. Curious enough, there was great demand for these in spite of the wants of the necessities of life, medicine, and munitions of war. Delicate women, old persons, and children suffered most from the effect of the blockade. As Spears says, there were many tiny graves made in the South because the blockade kept out necessary medicines‡.

The blockade reduced the Confederacy; the Union navy rather than the Union army was the prime factor in crushing the South; it made possible the victories of the army. As it was, the blockade runners probably postponed the end of the war a year or more.§ Though the number of blockade runners increased in the latter

*O. R., Ser. IV, vol. 2, p. 462.

†Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, vol. 1, p. 350.

‡Scharf, pp. 484, 486; Spears, vol. 4, p. 56.

§Bancroft, *Seward*, vol. 2, p. 209. Wilson, *Ironclads in Action*, vol. 1, pp. 196, 197.

part of 1864 and in 1865, Alabama profited but little; her one good sea port was closed in August, 1864, by Farragut's fleet, and with the fleet came the last regular blockade runner. As the warships were moving up to engage the forts, a blockade runner passed in with them, unnoticed.*

TRADE THROUGH THE LINES.

The early policy of the Confederate administration was to bring the North to terms by shutting off the cotton supply and by ceasing to purchase supplies which had heretofore been a source of great profit to Northern merchants, and was, on the whole, consistently adhered to during the war. The State administration held the same theory until one-fourth of its people were destitute; then it was ready to relax restrictions on trade. Individuals who had plenty of cotton and little to eat and wear soon came to the conclusion that traffic with the North would do no harm, but much good. The United States wanted the products of the South and made stronger efforts to get them than the blockaded South made to get supplies by the exchange. Until the very last the North was more active in the commercial intercourse than the South, notwithstanding the fearful want all over the Southern country. The policy of the North was to have all trade in Southern products pass through the hands of its own treasury agents who were to strip such products of all extraordinary profits for the benefit of the United States Treasury, and to see that the Confederacy profited as little as possible. The Con-

*Scharf, p. 487; Wilson, 187, 192.

†Scharf, p. 446, says that the press and public sentiment were against allowing shipment of cotton to districts or through ports held by the United States. When in danger of capture the cotton was burned. Polard states that the Richmond authorities were opposed to allowing any extensive cotton trade through the lines or through blockaded ports, because it was believed that the Union finances were in bad condition and would not stand the loss of cotton manufacturing. Moreover, the Confederate authorities were afraid of demoralization caused by contraband trade, and also feared that Europe might consider that licensed trade through ports in possession of the enemy, like New Orleans, was a confession of the weakness of King Cotton, and would refuse to recognize the Confederacy.—*Lost Cause*, pp. 484, 485.

‡The North was determined to show that Cotton was not King, and to do this it must get all the cotton possible from the South by allowing a contraband trade in which nearly or quite all the profits on the cotton should be stripped off, leaving only the bare cost to the Confederate government or cotton planter. The North was willing that the South should sell all its cotton, but the North was to be middle man.—Scharf, p. 443; *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, vol. 1, p. 331.

Confederate States government, when forced to allow some kind of trade through the lines, sought to sell only government cotton or to force traders to traffic under its license. The State administration, at times, worked in its agents under Confederate license in order to get supplies for the destitute in the counties near the lines of the enemy. Few regulations of commercial intercourse were made by the Confederate States, but many were made by the United States. The Confederate States had the problem almost under control; the United States did not and had to try to regulate what it could not prohibit.

An outline of the United States regulations is necessary to an understanding of the conditions along the Confederate frontier from 1864 to 1865:

The proclamation of the president, April 19, 1861, declaring a blockade of the Southern ports, did not effect commercial intercourse by land between the States. An act of Congress, July 13, 1861, authorized the president to prohibit commercial intercourse with the Southern States except such as might be done under license and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. A proclamation of August 19, 1861, directed the enforcement of the provisions of this act, and licenses were issued by the Secretary of the Treasury. An executive order, February 28, 1862, (renewed March 31, 1863), provided for a licensed trade under the Secretary of the Treasury who, on March 4, 1862, issued rules and regulations requiring bond to be made by the trader and a stringent registry of all goods to be kept. A fee of one-half of one per cent. on the value of the goods was charged for each permit. The custom officials in the inland towns were instructed, March 29, 1862, to facilitate this licensed commerce. Regulations of August 28, 1862, provided that in no case should gold or silver be paid for Confederate products. Officials, called "aids to the revenue," were placed on the border trade routes to see that traffic went on according to prescribed rules. Officials were authorized to seize merchandise which ought not to go to the Confederates. Only loyal citizens were to engage in this trade. The war and navy departments instructed army and navy officers to give assistance to those engaged in licensed trade.

March 31, 1863, the Secretary of the Treasury ordered that no coin nor foreign bills of exchange should, under any circumstances,

be paid for Confederate products. "Supervising agents" and "Boards of Trade," appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, were to see that the regulations were carried out. Directions from the war and navy departments forbade any officer to have any interest in licensed trade or to authorize on his own responsibility any trade in Confederate products. They were, however, to give assistance to licensed traders in the way of transportation and protection. A proclamation of April 2, 1863, directed the confiscation of all merchandise from Southern States unless licensed. To this time the various orders, rules, and regulations were rather indefinite as to how far the trading might extend, whether within the Confederate lines or not. The question seems to have been avoided and, as a matter of fact, the traders went within Confederate territory. But a circular of July 3, 1863, from the Secretary of the Treasury stated that while the freest possible intercourse was to be allowed within territory controlled by United States forces, no supplies must be allowed to go to persons within Confederate lines; no trade beyond the Union lines was to be allowed; across the Confederate lines there could be no commercial intercourse. This, it was said, had been the general policy. (If so, it had not been so stated.) There was not so much danger, he said, in purchasing Confederate produce as in selling supplies which were likely to go to the enemy.

Trade regulations of September 11, 1863, divided the Southern States into agencies numbered from one to seven, under the control of a supervising special agent of the treasury. Alabama was included in the first and fifth agencies. A "trade district" was territory in an agency not firmly under the control of the Union arms, but rather on the borderland between the two countries. Here trade was limited to supplying the inhabitants with the necessaries of life. No permit was to be given for trade within the Confederate lines. These and nearly all other regulations seem to mean that no trader was to go within the Confederate lines and bring out goods, but it is quite evident from the evasive language that it was intended to be done. The precautions taken to prevent supplies and coin or bullion from being paid for the Southern produce show that it was expected that the Confederacy would furnish the merchandise.

The regulations of January 26, 1864, provided that any resi-

dent of the Confederacy might bring produce to sell to a treasury agent or to be sold by him, but such a person must take the amnesty oath of December 8, 1863. He would receive twenty-five per cent. of the gross proceeds, and the remainder the agent, after deducting fees and expenses, would pay into the United States Treasury. All payments were to be made in United States paper money, and no supplies could be carried into the Confederacy. After the war, the owner could get his money if he could prove that since taking the oath he had been loyal. An act of Congress July 2, 1864, authorized the treasury agents to purchase for the United States any products of the Confederate States to be paid for out of money arising from captures and confiscation. The authority of the president under the act of July 13, 1861, was revoked except so far as to permit trade with Southern States for the relief of loyal persons within the Confederate lines. No merchandise was to go into the Southern States, except from such places and in such quantities as would be agreed upon by a treasury official and the general commanding a certain district. July 30, 1864, for the purpose of controlling trade, the Southern States were again divided into agencies under supervising special agents, who were also to look after captured, abandoned, and confiscated property. Alabama now formed a part of the first and third agencies. The price paid for Southern products by treasury agents was not to exceed the market value at the place of purchase or three-fourths of the market value in New York. Any person could sell produce to an agent, buy it back at a higher price and then carry it North to sell. The practical effect of this was a twenty-five per cent. tax on all purchases throughout the entire South. All trade was made to go through the hands of the agents. In all regulations it was forbidden to use coin or bullion in payment for Southern products for fear of aiding the Confederacy.

The act of July 2, 1864, was enforced as meaning a twenty-five per cent. tax on all purchases of cotton made in the Confederate States. Besides this charge there was an internal revenue tax of two cents a pound on cotton, and a fee of four cents a pound for transportation permits. For several months after the surrender all these regulations were in force, and at that time affected the people more than ever before. April 25, 1865, the ninth agency

was established in Southern Alabama. A proclamation of May 23, 1865, removed restrictions upon the amount of trade, but the twenty-five per cent. tax on cotton purchases, the internal revenue tax, and the fees for transportation permits were still imposed. A treasury regulation made it possible for any one to sell his cotton, provided he had made it by *his own* labor or by the labor of *hired* freedmen or whites. This kept the slave-holder, who produced most of the cotton, from profiting by the cessation of hostilities. A proclamation of June 13, 1865, ordered that after June 30 all restrictions on trade (except contraband) should be removed; on August 29, 1865, contraband might be admitted on license, and the former commercial relations were resumed, but not until all the cotton produced during the war had either been confiscated or had paid the enormous taxes imposed by the regulations*.

The legislation of the Confederate States was not so full, but the policy was about the same and more consistly enforced. In 1862, the Confederate Congress made it unlawful to sell in any part of the Confederate States in possession of the enemy any cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, molasses, or naval stores†. Licenses, however, for the sale of certain merchandise could be obtained from the Secretary of War. Trade through the lines was not under the supervision of treasury officials but was looked after by the generals commanding the frontier. In 1864, a law of Congress prohibited the export of military and naval stores, and agricultural products, such as cotton and tobacco, except under regulations prescribed by the president‡.

*The various proclamations, orders, regulations, and laws affecting commercial intercourse between the United States and the Confederate States will be found in a compilation of the United States Treasury Department entitled "Acts of Congress and Rules of Regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, in pursuance thereto, with the approval of the President, concerning Commercial Intercourse with and in States and Parts of States declared in insurrection, Captured, Abandoned, and Confiscable Property, the case of freedmen, and the purchase of products of insurrectionary districts on government account." The proclamations of the President will be found in the "Messages and Papers of the Presidents." See also Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 56, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., and No. 23, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 58; Ho. Ex. Doc., 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 36; Ho. Misc. Doc., No. 190, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 39.

†Act of April 19, 1862, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess.

‡Act of February 6, 1864, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 4th Sess.

But the restrictions were not strictly enforced. It was not possible to do so; commerce would find a way in spite of the war. The people of Alabama, were, on the whole, disposed to approve the policy of the Confederate authorities, but, when want and destitution came, the owners of cotton proceeded to find a way to sell a few bales. Early in 1863, north Alabama was occupied by the Federals and trade began along the line of the Tennessee river. Later, there were trade lines to the northwest through Mississippi, and to the northeast through Georgia and Tennessee*. After the capture of New Orleans, cotton was sent through Mississippi to New Orleans, or to the banks of the Mississippi river, and always found purchasers. There was a thriving trade between Mobile and New Orleans during the Butler régime in the latter city.

By the trade through the lines the people of Alabama secured more of the scarcer commodities than by the blockade running. Much of the trade was carried on by firms in Mobile that had agents or branch houses in New Orleans. Three pounds of cotton were exchanged for one of bacon; army supplies, clothing, blankets, and medical stores were secured in exchange for cotton; salt was also a commodity much in demand. For three years, from 1862 to 1864, trade was quite brisk between the two cities, some of it under license by the Confederate Secretary of War and some of it purely contraband. As long as Butler controlled New Orleans there was no trouble†. Whom General Canby went to New Orleans, he reported that English houses in Mobile were making contracts to export 200,000 bales of cotton *via* New Orleans, and expected to realize \$10,000,000 net profits. Canby was of the opinion that the cotton trade aided the Confederates.

*The State officials in 1862-1863, planned to exchange cotton from Mississippi and Alabama with the cotton speculators in Tennessee for bacon. Davis opposed, (Pollard, *p. 481*), but, nevertheless, the change was made. Along the Tennessee river there was much trading with the enemy. In order to conform with the United States regulations forbidding the payment of coin for Confederate staples, the Northern speculators bought Confederate and State money, often at a high price. (\$100 gold for \$225 in Confederate currency or \$120 to \$125 in Alabama, Georgia, or South Carolina bank notes), with which to carry on the cotton trade.—O. R., Ser. IV., vol. II., p. 10.

†Shorter, who was opposed to contraband trade, complained in July, 1862, that the cotton speculators in Mobile had an understanding with Butler and Farragut by which salt was allowed to come in and cotton, in unlimited quantities, to go out.—O. R., Ser. IV., vol. II., p. 21.

The character of the treasury agents in charge of the cotton trade was bad; they were likely to do anything for gain. He stated on the authority of a New Orleans banker, who was the agent of a cotton speculator, that Confederate agents would come to New Orleans with United States legal tender notes and invest in sterling with him, drawing against cotton which was ostensibly purchased from "loyal" or foreign citizens.* The speculators would give information to the Confederates with regard to the movements of the Federals, in order that the Confederates might preserve cotton that would in an emergency be destroyed. The speculators would buy the cotton later.

In 1864, a New York manufacturer testified that he had made contracts with firms in Selma, Montgomery, and Mobile to take pay for debts due him in cotton delivered through the lines at New Orleans. The price was \$1.24 to \$1.30 a pound in New York. Treasury agents made similar contracts for Alabama cotton to be delivered through New Orleans, Pensacola, or through the lines in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Georgia. One agent, H. A. Risley, made contracts with half a dozen persons for more than 350,000 bales of cotton, the bulk of which was to come from Alabama. Most of this, it is needless to say, was not delivered.†

The Confederate officials tried to manage that only government cotton went out under the licenses from the War Department and that only necessary supplies were imported in exchange. But there was much abuse of the privilege and much private smuggling of cotton in 1864, through the Mississippi to New Orleans and the river, and on September 22, 1864, General Dick Taylor (at Selma) annulled all cotton export contracts in the department of Alabama, Mississippi, and east Louisiana. However, he said, the Confederate authorities would purchase necessities imported and would pay for them in cotton at fifty cents a pound. This cotton could then be carried beyond the lines. No luxuries were to be imported under penalty of confiscation.‡

Surgeon Potts, of the Confederate army, stationed at Montgomery, secured medical supplies from the Federal lines in Louis-

*Ho. Ex. Docs. No. 16, 38th Cong., 2d Sess.

†Ho. Rept. No. 24, 38th Cong., 2d Sess.

‡Ho. Ex. Doc., No. 16, 38th Cong. 2d Sess.

iana and Mississippi, both by water and by land, sending cotton in exchange. One of the last reports made to President Davis was by Lieutenant Colonel Brand, of Miles' Louisiana Legion who stated (April 9, 1865, at Danville, Va.,) that on March 21, 1865, a Mr. McKnight, of the Alabama reserves, had presented a permit to General Hodge in Louisiana for indorsement and orders for a grant to escort 1,666,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ pounds of cotton, (about 4,000 bales), through southwestern Mississippi and eastern Louisiana to exchange for medical supplies for Surgeon Potts. Brand was of the opinion that this was merely a scheme to sell cotton and not to get medicines, as he had known of only one wagon load of medical supplies that had gone through his territory to Dr. Potts. McKnight had no government cotton to carry, for there was none in that section of the country, but he expected to buy it as a speculation. This practice, Brand stated, was common. Even government cotton would be sold for coffee, soap, flour, etc., under the name of medical supplies, and these would be sold by the speculators.*

In north Alabama a brisk trade was carried on for three years with the connivance of the Federal officers, many of whom were interested in the fleecy staple in spite of orders forbidding such conduct.† Negroes were given "free papers" in order that they might go in and out of the lines of the armies on contraband trade. The Confederate officials on the border were also often implicated in the traffic or connived at it through a desire to see poor people get supplies.‡

One of the mildest charges against the Federal General O. M. Mitchell was that he had profited by speculation in the contraband trade in cotton while he was in command in north Alabama.

*O. R. Ser. IV., vol. III., pp. 1180, 1181. Davis probably made his last official endorsement on this report, April 10, 1865. He forwarded it to the adjutant and inspector-general, with instructions to look into the matter.

†Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, p. 134. General Grant, July 21, 1863, stated that this trade through West Tennessee was injurious to the United States forces. "Restriction, if lived up to," he said, "makes trade unprofitable, and hence none but dishonest men go into it. I will venture to say that no honest man has made money in West Tennessee in the last year, while many fortunes have been made there during the time." So vexed was General Grant with the speculators that early in 1865 he suspended all permits, but within a month he had to remove the suspensions.—Scharf, pp. 443, 446, 447.

‡Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, pp. 227, 235.

It was alleged that he used United States transportation to haul cotton when the transportation was needed for other purposes. Mitchell claimed that personally he had received no profit from his trade; it appeared, however, that he had used his official position to advance the interests of his brother-in-law and his son-in-law. The discussion over his case brought out the fact that the northern cotton speculator or agent would go into the Confederate lines and buy cotton at ten and eleven cents a pound, Confederate currency,* and take the cotton North and realize immense profits. Mitchell and other Federal officers, it was shown, approved and assisted the trade beyond the lines.†

Individual permits were sometimes given by President Lincoln authorizing the bearers to go within the Confederacy, without restriction, and get cotton, and other Southern produce. Sometimes, after bringing it out, these people lost their cotton to United States treasury agents, because the permission given by the president was not in accordance with the treasury regulations. In north Alabama several agents got into trouble in this way. Lincoln, it seems, understood that the laws gave him authority to issue permits to trade within the Confederate lines.‡ In 1864, when cotton was selling at forty to fifty cents a pound in coin, numbers of Federal officers resigned in order to speculate in cotton. A former beef contractor who had grown rich in the cotton trade was said to have controlled almost the whole of Huntsville. Both hotels, the water works, and the gas works belonged to him, and there was complaint of his extortions§.

Small packages, especially of quinine, were sent South through through the Adams Express Company, which would guarantee to deliver them within the Confederacy. This caused speculation and it was finally stopped.|| Women passed through the lines and brought back quinine and other medicines concealed in their

*Confederate currency was plentiful in the North, where it was made even more cheaply than in the South, and the Southerners did not notice the difference.

†O. R., Ser. I., vol. 10, pt. 11, pp. 291-293, 638-640.

‡Ho. Rept., No. 83, 45th Cong., 3d Sess.; No. 618, 46th Cong., 2d Sess.

§N. Y. *Herald*, April 7, 1864.

||Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*, p. 7. The Southern Express Company worked in connection with the Adams, of which it had been a part before 1861.

clothing. A druggist in middle Alabama determined to carry on a contraband trade in cotton and drugs. The South had prohibited private trade in cotton; the North forbade the sale of medical supplies to the Confederates. But following the example of many others, he went into north Mississippi, loaded a wagon with cotton and carried it to Memphis, then held by the Federals, and sold it for a high price in United States money. He then exchanged his wagon for an ambulance with a white canvas cover on which was painted the word "smallpox" in large letters, and over which fluttered a yellow flag. He loaded the ambulance with quinine, ether, morphine, and other valuable drugs, and other articles of merchandise scarce in Alabama. The yellow flag and the magic word "smallpox" kept people away, and, after many adventures, he finally reached home.* Only by such methods could the beleaguered people obtain the precious medicines.

One of the last contracts on record in respect to trade through the lines was a deal made on January 6, 1865, by Samuel Noble and George W. Quintard, his agent, both of Alabama, to deliver several thousand bales of cotton to an agent of the United States treasury.† There is evidence that some of the cotton was delivered.

The illicit trade in cotton by private parties became so flagrant that in the winter of 1864-1865 a fresh Confederate regiment, which had not yet been touched by the fever of speculation, was sent from the interior of Georgia to guard part of the frontier in Alabama and Mississippi. One of the first persons captured smuggling a cotton train through the line was the wife of the Confederate commanding general, who, of course, released her.‡

*Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*, pp. 7-10.

†*Ho. Repts. 38th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 174.* Before this, Samuel Noble, of Rome, Georgia, representing himself as a "loyal" man (he was introduced and vouched for by George W. Quintard), made a contract with a United States treasury agent to deliver 250,000 bales of cotton from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina. In Alabama at that time he owned 800 bales at Selma, 1,256 at Mobile, and had much more contracted for. The cotton was to be delivered at Huntsville, Mobile, and places in the adjoining States. Noble was to get three-fourths of the proceeds, according to the regulations.—*Ho. Rept., No. 24, 38th Cong., 2d Sess.*

‡Statement of Prof. O. D. Smith, of Auburn, Ala., who was then a Confederate bonded agent operating in north Alabama.

Much of the trade was carried on by poor people who had a few bales of cotton and who were obliged to sell it or suffer from want. This fact caused the Confederate officers to be lax in the enforcement of the regulations.*

The extraordinary prices of cotton in the outside world brought little gain to the blockaded Confederacy. Before the cotton could be brought into the Union lines or beyond the blockade, all the profits had been absorbed by the Confederate speculator, or, most often, by the Union speculators and treasury agents. Theoretically, the regulations of the United States should have brought much profit to the Federal government. In fact, as Secretary Chase reported, the United States did not realize a great deal from Confederate staples brought into the Union lines. These frauds and the demoralizing effects of the system were evidenced by many reports from officers of the army and navy.†

But in spite of the demoralizing effects of the contraband trade within the Confederacy and in spite of the extremely low prices obtained for Confederate staples, much needed supplies were sent in in such quantities as to enable the contest to be maintained much longer than otherwise it would have lasted.

*Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, p. 235.

†*Letter of Secretary Chase to Hon. E. B. Washburne, in Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 78, 38th Cong., 1st Sess.*

The Executive Prerogative in the United States

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Although the indictments of the Declaration of Independence were leveled at the English executive, it is very doubtful if the experience which led up to that revolt had much to do with the failure of the Continental Congress to provide an executive for the new-born American State. Throughout its existence the Continental Congress either acted as its own executive or entrusted such business to committees directly responsible to itself. The need of a strong executive was not so apparent at first, when all patriotic Americans were willing to spend and be spent in a cause which they felt to be glorious. While still under the influence of this impulse the Articles of Confederation were formed (1777) and submitted to the States, with no provision for an executive. The inspiration of the common cause was strong enough to carry the war to a successful conclusion, but even before the Articles went into operation (1781) the weakness of such a system—where Congress had only recommendatory powers, with nobody to enforce its recommendations—began to appear. With the return of peace the impotent confederation fell into greater contempt with every passing day. Men soon realized that the Congress must not only have greater powers, but that it must be backed up by an executive to carry out its decrees.

It is not surprising, then, that the first outline of a constitution presented to the convention in 1787 provided for an executive to carry out the national laws. Yet the members were wholly at sea on the number, qualifications, method of election, term and tenure of office, powers—in fact, on nearly every question concerning this executive. In spite of a strong fear that a single executive would prove tyrannical, this was finally adopted by a vote of seven to three, Virginia being saved from a tie by the vote of Washington. This being settled, the powers to be given and denied to this executive were then taken up. No body of men, in providing for the different departments of government, can foresee

every contingency that may arise and make specific provisions to meet all cases. The convention of 1787, being fearful of tyranny, naturally was loath to confer great powers, unless they were carefully hedged about; yet the debates reveal a desire to reconcile a discreet watchfulness over the executive, with a reasonable independence. That the members realized that some powers, to be exercised efficiently, must be conferred, with few limitations, is shown by the sweeping terms in which the most dangerous of all powers was given, that of the command over the military forces. Naturally, it is from this clause that the prerogative has been most freely developed, yet it has some roots in the peace powers.

It may be well enough to say at the outset that by prerogative is meant the use of discretionary powers, or powers not expressly conferred. Sometimes they may be drawn by implication from specific powers; sometimes they are extralegal, not to say illegal, except in so far as necessity may be said to legalize them.

I.

PEACE POWERS.

1. *The ordinance power.* This power, that of creating "the ways and means for the execution of governmental powers," is clearly vested in Congress by the Constitution. The President is sworn to execute the laws, but if Congress fail to provide the means, he is not authorized to do so. But a few exigencies have arisen when the executive has seen fit to pursue a course which certainly looks very much like the exercise of this power, if not that of real legislation. In 1813 President Madison appointed and commissioned ministers to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain when the Senate was not in session. On reassembling the Senate protested against this as the creation and filling of office without its consent. The power to negotiate treaties and send ambassadors was held not to include the power to create the offices necessary to that end. A similar act by President Monroe called forth another protest (April 20, 1822.)*

2. *Appointment to and removal from office.* The Constitution clearly vests the power of appointment to office in the President,

*Story, Commentaries on the Constitution of the U. S. (5th ed.), sec. 1559.

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, when the appointment is not otherwise provided for by law. The nomination rests solely with the President, and may be withdrawn before it is acted on by the Senate. The appointment is the joint act of the Senate and the executive. The granting of the commission is, then, a duty imposed upon the executive by another clause in the Constitution. However, Jefferson withheld a commission after it had been made out and signed, and appointed another man to the office, although it was one over which he did not possess the power of removal. The Supreme Court held that the first man was entitled to the office, but that it had no power to enforce his rights, not having the right to issue writs of mandamus.* Perhaps an inferior court could. The writer does not know of another similar case.

By the Constitution the President is empowered to "fill up vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session." This clause was intended to prevent a stoppage of the wheels of government through the inability of the executive to make appointments by himself; but since the commission runs until the close of the next session of the Senate, it really enables him to keep in office men who are obnoxious to that body. In the course of his struggle with the national bank, President Jackson found it necessary to secure a secretary of the treasury who would do his bidding. During a recess of the Senate he dismissed Secretary Duane, who refused to change the place of deposit or to resign, and appointed Roger B. Taney instead, and the withdrawal of the deposits was at once begun. Jackson knew that this was contrary to the wishes of Congress; consequently he did not send in the nomination of Mr. Taney after the reassembling of the Senate until near the close of the session. The nomination was rejected and Mr. Taney at once resigned.†

A law of February 13, 1795, allowed appointments *ad interim* in case of vacancies at any time and for any cause in the departments of State, Treasury and War. Although the law was confined to these three departments, it has been applied to others several times, as to that of the Navy in 1823, and to that of the

**Marbury vs. Madison*, 1 Cranch, 137.

†*Schouler, History U. S., IV., 143, 166.*

Postoffice in 1862. A noted case of the exercise of this power to thwart the will of the Senate has recently arisen in the repeated nomination and repeated appointment and rejection of Dr. Crum to be collector at the port of Charleston. It reminds one of the practice of colonial governors of proroguing and dissolving assemblies and calling them to meet in unusual places, to worry them into submission to the will of the executive.

The Constitution says nothing directly about the power of removal. One of the objections raised to it was that this very great power was vested in the executive alone. No friend of the Constitution appears to have defended this view before the Constitution was adopted, while Hamilton, in the *Federalist* (No. 77) maintained that removal was inseparable from appointment and could be accomplished only with the consent of the Senate. However, Madison afterwards declared that the convention understood that the power was vested in the executive alone, and the first Congress, in providing for the creation of certain offices, adopted this view, the vote being 29 to 22 in the House,* and decided by the vote of the Vice President in the Senate. The power was exercised with moderation until the advent of Jackson. The wholesale removals inaugurated by him revived the discussion, but no attempt to limit the prerogative was successful. In 1867 the Tenure of Office Act was passed over the President's veto with this object in view. The act never was tested in the courts, but it can hardly be defended on constitutional grounds. It was modified for President Grant, and there the matter rested until the advent of President Cleveland. The Senate, a majority of which was of the opposite party, then showed that it wished to sit in judgment upon removals, but the President resisted its demands, and the law was finally repealed, thereby restoring the condition created by the view adopted in 1789.

4. *The recognition of new States.* The President is authorized to receive ambassadors and other public ministers. Since there is no limitation as to what ministers shall be received, it is within his power to recognize a change of government in an old State or the formation of a new State, by the reception of its representative. This has been done several times in our history,

*Ann., 1 Cong., I., 872, 592.

but the power to recognize new States does not belong exclusively to the President. Congress may do the same thing in another way, as in the case of Cuba in 1898. The power to receive ambassadors has been interpreted to include consuls, although they are not diplomatic officers. No consul is allowed to exercise the functions of his office until he has received an exequatur from the President.

5. *Interpretation of the laws.* Inasmuch as he is to execute the laws, the President must be their first interpreter. And his interpretation is the law of the land until it is altered by statute or by judicial decision. This is what is known as a coördinate government, but there can be no doubt that the decisions of the Supreme Court are final and binding upon all alike; yet some of our executives have held that their right to interpret the Constitution and laws was equal, if not superior, to that of the judiciary. Such was the contention of Jefferson in regard to his right to withhold a commission already made out, to mention only one case, and of Jackson in the trouble of the Cherokee Indians with the state of Georgia.* There can be no doubt that Jackson's view of the situation was the sensible one, but neither is there any doubt that he was legally bound to execute the decree of the Court.

A somewhat remarkable use of this power has recently been made which practically amounts to legislation. April 13, 1904, order No. 78 went into effect, construing the service pension act of June 27, 1890. This act provides pensions for soldiers who have become incapacitated for manual labor for any cause whatsoever. Order No. 78 decrees that "if the contrary does not appear, . . . when a claimant has passed the age of sixty-two years he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and is entitled to be rated at six dollars a month," and so on to seventy years, when he is to have twelve dollars. Just what is meant by "if the contrary does not appear" is not quite clear, for the instructions accompanying the order say that "a declaration that a claimant is sixty-two . . . is a sufficient allegation, even if no other disabling cause is set forth." The effect of the order appears to have been the conversion of the act of 1890 into a

*Story, *ibid.*, p. 278; Schouler, *ibid.*, IV., 478; 5 Peters, 1.

service pension law, regardless of the physical condition of the claimant.

An executive may be fully convinced of the unconstitutionality of a measure, but his prerogative of primary interpretation does not justify him in refusing to execute it. Indeed, his right of construction cannot be said to extend beyond the meaning of the act. By the execution of a doubtful law he subjects his subordinates to liability to action for trespass, if the act should be declared void by the courts, but in such cases it is the duty of the legislature to protect them. Should he refuse to execute it, he would in turn be liable to impeachment, should the law be upheld by the courts. The writer knows of no deliberate violation of a statute to test its constitutionality. The conduct of President Johnson in regard to the Tenure of Office Act can be explained in another way. His arguments against some of the reconstruction acts are unanswerable, but when they were passed over his veto he endeavored to execute them.

6. *Legitimation of State governments.* Upon the application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature is not in session, it is the duty of the President to protect a State from domestic violence. It has happened several times that troubles have arisen over the disputes of rival parties claiming to be the legitimate government. In such cases the President must decide which one is legitimate and give it his protection. Here, however, his prerogative is not exclusive, for the Congress may reverse his decision by refusing to admit to seats the senators and representatives chosen by the government of his adoption. Well known, not to say notorious, examples of such interposition in State affairs may be found in the history of reconstruction, as well as in the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island.

7. *The infliction of punishment.* The framers of the Constitution certainly never contemplated the exercise of this power in any way except through the regular channels of justice. Even in waging war wholesale punitive measures are now forbidden by the laws of war, yet a postoffice was recently discontinued at Indianola, Mississippi, to punish a whole community where individuals had made it impossible for the President's appointee to continue in office. The withholding of official news from offending papers was a somewhat similar, though far less serious, exercise of the same power.

II.

WAR POWERS.

A. General Powers.

1. *The disposition of the army and militia.* The right to command the army, which Congress alone can create, is a constitutional power. The President is also commander of the militia when called into the service of the United States, but it rests with him to say when the call shall be made,* unless Congress shall preempt the field. The call is always issued to the governors. Twice in our history, in the second war with England and in the Civil War, several governors defied the call.† Some writers hold that they thereby subjected themselves to court-martial for disobedience, but what penalty could be inflicted? Certainly no such tribunal would try to depose a governor, and there is no other way to deprive him of the right to command the militia until, by some means, it is brought into the service of the United States. The right to dispose of the forces naturally grows out of the right to command, and this power is equally valid in times of war and peace, in foreign and domestic territory. This means that the executive can send them anywhere he sees fit. It would be a case of invasion, if the President should order troops into any State to interfere with its legitimate government, or perhaps even to quell an insurrection against that government, until an application for such help had been made by the legislature or the governor, unless the insurrection was, at the same time, impeding the execution of federal laws. But when there is such hindrance, then the troops are as much at home there as anywhere. It is on this ground that the sending of troops into Illinois and Oregon by President Cleveland in 1894, over the protests of Governors Altgeld and Pennoyer, is to be justified.

Congress once sought to encroach upon the right of the executive to command and dispose of the army by passing an act locating the headquarters of the general at Washington and providing that all orders and instructions should be issued through him or the next in command; that the general could not be removed, suspended, or assigned to duty elsewhere, except at

**Martin vs. Mott*, 12 Wheaton, 19.

†*Schouler, ibid.*, II., 896.

his own request, without the previous consent of the Senate. It is surprising now that an act so clearly in contravention of the Constitution could have been passed, even when partisanship was the ruling passion of the day.

2. *To make rules for military forces.* In Great Britain this is a prerogative of the Crown, so far as it has not been encroached upon by Parliament. Our Constitution provides that Congress shall have power "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." The natural interpretation would be that this grant was exclusive, but such has not been the practice. When necessity seemed to require it the executive has supplemented the work of legislation. A noted case of such supplementary legislation may be found in the order issued by General Scott, in the course of the Mexican War, forbidding certain acts and providing for military commissions to try offenders. In 1863 elaborate "Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field" were prepared by Professor Francis Lieber and issued by order of the President.* They were reissued in the course of the late war with Spain.

The power to command and dispose of the forces does not include the power to increase the army. This was done by proclamation by President Lincoln in 1861, but he never defended the act as legal, pleading only necessity as a justification. The act was subsequently "legalized" by Congress.

B. On Hostile Foreign Territory.

It is hardly too much to say that the power of our executive in conquered territory may be summed up by saying that he displaces the sovereignty and assumes all the powers belonging to it. In the government of such territory, then, he can do anything not forbidden by international law, until Congress sees fit to intervene. It is doubtful, however, if they, through the power to make rules and regulations for the army, can make any rules that would seriously interfere with his freedom. In practice he has always been left untrammelled. It will be necessary to specify only a few things.

1. *The management of foreign relations.* By the laws of war foreign relations are entirely changed. Even treaties are suspended in their operation. The President may forbid all inter-

*Offic. Rec. (Reb.), Ser. No. 125, pp. 148 *et seq.*

course between the occupied country and foreign nations, including our own, or he may open it to the commerce of the world upon such terms as he may see fit. Both in the Mexican and Spanish-American wars elaborate commercial regulations were put in force by the executive. This power has been exercised over territory with which we were nominally at peace. On several occasions different parts of Florida were seized and held for awhile, though at first this was done under cover of a secret act of Congress (January 11, 1811). Fernandina was seized in 1817 and held until title was acquired by treaty in 1821. In 1817-18 General Jackson captured Pensacola, appointed a military governor, and put our customs laws in force. The place was thus held for nearly a year.*

2. *Reorganization and control of the local government.* The President, through his military officials, may change the personnel of the existing government, and even change its character and modify its laws so far as military necessity may dictate. At the outbreak of the Mexican War elaborate instructions were prepared for the officers of the army to guide them in the government of the conquered territory. General S. W. Kearny, who conquered New Mexico, appears not to have understood the extent of his powers. He at once declared the inhabitants citizens of the United States, set up a "civil" government, and ordered an election for a delegate to Congress. Commodore Stockton pursued a similar course in California. Their acts were approved by the executive, except such as purported to confer political rights. In some cases the native officials were retained when they would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Several trials were instituted for treason on account of violations of this oath, but they were not approved of by the President. Such an oath never should have been imposed, for it is hardly allowable to exact anything more than an oath to obey the orders of the military commander.†

In the management of such governments our executives have not always been careful to observe the limitations imposed by international law. Both in the Mexican and Spanish-American

*Thomas, *History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States*, 54 *et seq.*

†Thomas, *ibid.*, 101 *et seq.*, 120.

wars changes were made in the local laws and institutions which were not dictated by military necessity. Another act open to criticism was the infliction of punishment upon a whole community for crimes committed by a few individuals. Such acts were at least questionable at the time, and they are now forbidden by the laws of war. Land grants were declared illegal by our own courts, as the conqueror cannot dispose of the immovable property of the vanquished. The setting up of an admiralty court, with jurisdiction in prize cases, was declared by the Supreme Court to be an infringement upon the right of Congress to establish courts and confer jurisdiction.*

The continuance of the military government in Cuba after the conclusion of peace was a unique exercise of the prerogative. The avowed object of the war was to expel Spain from Cuba, but it was also the desire of this country to see a stable government set up there. For the accomplishment of this end the continuance of the military government was deemed necessary for some time. This case is a little peculiar. The United States refused to accept the sovereignty from Spain, yet the President really exercised the powers of sovereignty until the Cuban government was organized under his direction. The sovereignty has now passed out of his hands, but its present location is at least a debatable question. Since our Congress forbade the government of Cuba to do certain things without their consent, the sovereignty would seem to rest with them instead of the people of Cuba.

C. On Domestic Territory.

1. *Defensive war.* The right to defend the country both against foreigners and rebels is naturally implied from the oath and prescribed duties of the executive. But to wage a foreign war is one thing; to prosecute a civil war under the forms of constitutional government is something very different. In the former case the exercise of unusual powers is likely to pass unquestioned when directed against aliens; in the latter it is directed against citizens who have become hostile, or citizens whose loyalty has become doubtful, or finally against loyal citizens whom it may be necessary to restrain from certain acts for military reasons. In all three of these cases there may be some ground of appeal to rights guar-

**Ibid.*, 203, 206, 228, 307.

anted by the laws of the land; in the last two certainly this is true.

This difference was strikingly brought out at the very outbreak of the Civil War by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade of the Southern ports, thereby changing the foreign relations of a part of the country. The hair-splitting arguments advanced by some natives and foreigners denying the right of the executive to blockade ports open to the world under the laws of the land hardly deserve any notice here. Of more force was the dissenting opinion of four members of the Supreme Court who held that the relation of citizens to their government could not be changed from that of peace to war, which was done by the blockade, except by the war-making power. The majority, however, held that Congress was not empowered to declare war against any State of the Union, but that the courts were bound to recognize the existence of war as a fact. The President, who was charged with the execution of the laws, must be the judge of the force necessary to accomplish that end.* The blockade was subsequently "legalized" by act of Congress. That body also authorized the executive to forbid trade with the States in insurrection, except under license. The right to do this really belonged to the commander-in-chief, without any special authorization, but in the case of a domestic war it was well enough to have some rules prescribed by the legislative body, as they would be more readily acquiesced in.

*2 Black, 635 *et seq.*

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

An Emerson Reminiscence

BY THOMAS H. CLARK,
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It was in the winter of 1878-79 that I first saw Emerson. A Harvard schoolmate had proposed a jaunt on foot to Concord. The British line of retreat was followed and the historic road is less well remembered by one of the pair of pedestrains than the conversation of C—, his companion, a down-easter from Maine. Might a bumpkin from the South have anticipated the miles would be lightened by disputations on Shelley's poetry and the metaphysical doctrines of Hegel? T. H. Green was then an arbiter with many in Cambridge and if C— had preserved his perfect poise when talking to Emerson that day, the Concord Sage would have been more deeply impressed by our visit than he was, for C— could have given him a rhapsody of which Coleridge as a youth need not have been ashamed. My companion had a mind distinguished for searching, ranging curiosity and it was to this characteristic, it may be added, that our sight of Emerson was one.

Arrived at Concord, the bridge, the monument and the Old Manse were "done." A momentary fear was felt returning to the village that the hailstorm of C—'s questions addressed to a caretaker would batter down utterly an ancient roadside structure that showed bullet-marks of the famous battle. Passing through the village, C— was instant to call upon Emerson. A strong demurrer was of no avail. A downright refusal to accompany him availed as little. He went in. I waited near the Wayside and reflected in a pale way of Bronson Alcott and in a less pale, but still moonlit, fashion of Hawthorne and his footfall in the grove on the hillside mounting directly behind the venerable old home. While I stood there C— returned, reporting Emerson as away, but ascertain to return from Boston at six o'clock. He was firm for remaining to see him and while debate was proceeding, a stately woman came towards us, going as I at once surmised on a visit to neighbors at the Wayside. She approached us however and addressing us began to urge us to stay. Learn-

ing she was Mrs. Emerson, I said a word deprecatingly about intrusion. This was promptly put aside. "Mr. Emerson is always glad to see Harvard students." The ground became firm at once and thanking her for her thoughtful courtesy, C— and I made off for Walden Pond. We looked upon that somewhat drear body of water, inspected the ruins of Thoreau's hut and returned to the village only to have a native at the inn where we stopped shatter romantic thoughts of the hermit of the woods. This native told us as something within his own knowledge that some member of Thoreau's family used regularly at intervals to carry him a basket of supplies. After listening for some time to this and other natives talk, catching at such provincialisms as reminded one of the Biglow Papers, in which I had recently immersed myself, C— and I walked on to the Emerson home.

Our ring was promptly answered by Miss Emerson and we were shown into what I took to be the parlor. I saw nothing there but a small reproduction in marble of the lady of Melos and as I had fallen under the spell with which that lady continues to rule the world, I am not ashamed to confess that I noted the existence of not one object besides in the room where we sat. Mr. Emerson came down in a few minutes and conducted us into his library. Here the eye fell at once upon an impressive array of tall black volumes, the lowest in rank on his shelves. With no warrant but fancy I have ever since chosen to associate them with Hindoo philosophy. He began by asking us where we were from and what were our classes in the college. We told him of our respective studies and if there was any ambition in our statements this was dashed. He persisted throughout the conversation in holding us to be freshmen. C— with a bachelor's degree, was studying divinity and our host had an arch speech about his having begun his career as a minister of a denomination, the name of which he frankly confessed he could not recall. C—'s prompting "Unitarian" brought a cheerful "yes" and "ah! my young friends when you grow old you must not suffer your memory to play you tricks like this."

On learning I was from the South, he said he had a classmate from the South. He recalled that this classmate succeeded Calhoun in the Senate, but could not recollect his name. My own prompting, "Barnwell," brought its own cheerful "yes."

Barnwell had been highly regarded by his companions at Cambridge; of none was a future more confidently predicted. Emerson had lost touch with him, however, until after the war, when he learned Barnwell was in a straitened way financially. This moved a number of Barnwell's friends to bestir themselves in his behalf. No initiative was named, but I was persuaded it was Emerson's own. I made bold to inquire whether Barnwell figured in a conversation between two congressmen set out in the essay on "Immortality," where the statesmen are presented as foiled seekers of proof of a life hereafter. Knowing his objection to discussing his own writings, I was reassured by his benignant "no."

Our visit was a brief one. I was lingeringly oppressed with the idea that we were without a true call to be there. As we were leaving he pointed to a well-known lithograph portrait of Lowell, that hung unframed on his door and asked if we knew him. I had to say it was my one keen regret that Lowell had left Cambridge before I reached the university. He added a handsome word about Lowell, the man, and told us how happy Lowell had been to receive his appointment to the Spanish Mission. Following us to the door, he manifested the gravest concern that I had no overcoat with me and from his repeated expressions of fear that I should certainly be ill, I am quite sure that if I had not stoutly put the suggestion away, I could, for once in my life, have worn a philosopher's coat.

I saw Mr. Emerson twice afterwards. Once on the occasion of his last public lecture, that before the Divinity School at Harvard, and again on the occasion of the Bayard Taylor memorial exercises in Tremont Temple, Boston. The friend and helper of those who would live in the spirit, remains stamped in my recollections, ever thoughtful, kindly, with a sort of radiance about him.

Two Books on the Negro

BY CLARENCE H. POE,

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Two recently published books on the race question deserve special consideration. One of these is Thomas Nelson Page's "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem," (Scribner's, \$1.50); and the other is "The Color Line: a Brief in Behalf of the Unborn," by William B. Smith (McClure, Phillips & Co., \$1.50). The first named author, of course, needs no introduction in the South, while Professor Smith, it may be worth while to say, occupies the chair of Mathematics in Tulane University, and is not unknown as a writer on economic subjects.

Mr. Page's book is marked by the same qualities that have found expression in his works of fiction—love of the South, fairness to the negro, and dispassionate handling of facts as he sees them; qualities, by the way, which make "Red Rock" an incomparably more authentic story of Reconstruction than Mr. Dixon's sensational "Leopard's Spots." So Mr. Page's new book, with its sanity and freedom from tantrums, is likely to appeal to the judgment of many Northern men who could never be reached by hot-headed writers, who bring heat, and not light, to bear upon this irrepressible "Southerner's Problem."

In this book Mr. Page does not set himself to argue to any given conclusion, but his purpose is to make a faithful portrayal of the several aspects of the race question. To the negro's training in slavery he devotes one or two chapters, and of the breach between the races, brought about by Reconstruction, he has more to say. But all this is only the background on which he pictures the negro problem of the present.

At times one thinks Mr. Page too pessimistic—as, for example, when on page 9 he speaks of the negro as "owning less than 4 per cent. of the property and furnishing from 85 to 93 per cent of the total number of criminals; with the two races drifting farther and farther apart, race-feeling growing, and with ravishing and lynching spreading like a pestilence over the country." But later on one finds a more hopeful note, and in the concluding chapter

he confesses that as he "has surveyed the entire field," he has come to be more optimistic. And his conclusion of the whole matter is characterized by that broad humanity which those who know him would expect of the author of "Marse Chan:"

"There are only two ways to solve the negro problem in the South. One is to remove him; the other is to elevate him. The former is apparently out of the question. The only method, then, is to improve him."

As to his ideas as to how the negro shall be elevated or improved, Mr. Page writes at some length. He believes that the first step is for the negro to recognize that in striving for equality now he "is fighting, not the white race, but a law of nature, universal and inexorable—that races rise or fall according to their character." The thing for him to do, therefore, is to build up a civilization of his own, inside his own race, founded on character: "The urgent need is for the negroes to divide up into classes, with character and right conduct as the standard for elevation. When they make distinctions themselves, others will recognize their distinctions." Having set himself right in this fundamental matter, the negro will then be prepared to make a proper use of his educational training—the results of which up to this time Mr. Page regards as very disappointing. "It might seem," he says, "that the true principle should be elementary education for all, including in the term industrial education, and special, that is, higher education of a proper kind for the special individuals who may give proof of their fitness to receive and profit by it."

At all times, and under all circumstances, our author would have the Southern white man coöperate with the negro in his efforts toward improvement; but philanthropy, whether from the North or the South, should be so directed as not to break down the black man's self-reliance. In short, Mr. Page here preaches the doctrine which will never be more aptly put than it was by President Roosevelt in a side remark (overlooked by the Associated Press) in his speech on the negro in New York last February: "Help him if he stumbles, but if he lies down let him stay."

If Mr. Page's book is thoughtful and informing, Professor William B. Smith's "The Color Line" is scholarly and profound. I did not take up this book with any prejudice in its favor; I was no even sure of the need of such a work. But my impression after

reading it is that its author has done the South a monumental service.

In the very outset Professor Smith faces the issue unflinchingly. "Is the South justified in this absolute denial of social equality to the negro, no matter what his virtues or abilities or accomplishments?" And with sledge-hammer blows of reason and scientific argument he drives home the irresistible conclusion: "If we sit with the negroes at our tables, if we entertain them as our guests and social equals, if we disregard the color line in all other relations, is it possible to maintain it fixedly in the sexual relation, in the marriage of our sons and daughters, in the propagation of our species? Unquestionably, No! It is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun that, once the middle wall of social partition is broken down, the mingling of the tides of life would begin instantly and proceed steadily. . . . If the race barrier be removed, and the individual standard of personal excellence be established, the twilight of this century will gather upon a nation hopelessly sinking in the mire of mongrelism."

And it is well that Professor Smith has done this work. Have you ever read and been touched by the deep pathos of "The Souls of Black Folk," by that cultured and gifted mulatto, Professor W. E. Dubois? If so, you must have wished to give, fully and definitely, the reasons for the faith that is in you as to the social separation of the two races. And this is the service which Professor Smith has rendered us. A man of deep learning and wide research, he has put the case for the South with such skill and power that his book can not fail to have its effect throughout the country. In the face of his clear exposition of the supreme law of racial integrity, on which the hopes of ages hang, the pathetic pleas of men like Dr. DuBois may excite our pity, but can not sway our judgment. An army of cavalry, with the destiny of a nation in its hands, can not turn aside because a wounded hare lies in its pathway.

Moreover, the South, being irretrievably committed to the policy of social separation, the interests of both races demand that this policy be fixed and unshakable as Gibraltar. This will be better for the negro and better for the white man. Once accepted as inexorable, it will be little thought of as a hardship—little more than you or I think it a hardship that we have no

hereditary titles or were not born to the purple. As Professor Smith himself has said: "In general, whatever tends toward the sharp demarcation of the two races, toward the accurate delimitation of their spheres of activity and influence, will unquestionably make for peace, for prosperity, for mutual understanding, and for general contentment."

As to Professor Smith's conviction that the negro race will die out, as others coming in contact with the Caucasian have died, it is not my purpose to argue. It is enough to say that Professor Smith has vindicated the South's position in a masterly work of logical and scholarly argument, and that his position and the South's is not incompatible with a Christian and philanthropic spirit. Accepting it in the fullest, we are still able to say, as ex-Governor Aycock said to the negroes of our State nearly four years ago:

"No thoughtful, conservative, and upright Southerner has for your race aught but the kindest feeling, and we are all willing and anxious to see you grow into the highest citizenship of which you are capable, and we are willing to give our energies and best thought to aid you in the great work necessary to make you what you are capable of, and to assist you in that elevation of character and of virtue which tends to the strengthening of the State. But to do this it is absolutely necessary that each race should remain distinct and have a society of its own. Inside of your own race you can grow as large and broad and high as God permits, with the aid, the sympathy, and the encouragement of your white neighbors. If you can equal the white race in achievement, in scholarship, in literature, in art, in industry and commerce, you will find no generous-minded white man who will stand in your way. But all of them in the South will insist that you shall accomplish this high end without social intermingling; and this is well for you; it is well for us; it is necessary for the peace of our section."

An Impartial History of a Critical Period*

BY E. WALTER SIKES,

Professor of History in Wake Forest College

In an argument in favor of the Freedman's Bureau, in 1866, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, said: "It cannot possibly be supposed for a moment that the people of the Confederate States feel kindly toward us. I should not at once feel kindly towards any enemy who had conquered me and through whom I had suffered even if I was in the wrong. Such is human nature. Time is necessary to soften all animosities. Time is necessary to overcome prejudice." This spirit is shown in James Ford Rhodes's last volume on the history of the United States during 1864-1866.

Forty years is a vista through which men appear in a different light. In this time the really great men have "come into the possession of their own" and are appreciated irrespective of their views and actions during the war. Furthermore, good qualities are visible now that were unseen and unappreciated at the close of the struggle. Of all the men who took part in the strife, Lee and Lincoln came first into possession of non-partisan appreciation. To others this reward has come more slowly. Sherman's march to the sea has obscured other qualities of the man. His "irreparable damage," his "making Georgia howl," his "smashing things to the sea," and his "making war and individual ruin synonymous terms" have blinded the South to his nobler and more generous qualities. With newspapers and politicians he was never popular; in camp he was nervously restless, though in battle calm, but to a busy brain he joined the unfortunate habit of reckless speech.

When Sherman heard of Lee's surrender he felt sure that the war would soon end. Jos. E. Johnston felt it also and wrote Jefferson Davis: "My men are daily deserting in large numbers. Since Lee's defeat they regard the war as at an end. If I march out of North Carolina her people will all leave my ranks. My small force is melting away like snow before the sun and I am

*A History of the United States. Vol. 5. By James Ford Rhodes. The Macmillan Company. 1904. 698 pp.

hopeless of recruiting it." Sherman and Johnston agreed to meet to discuss the terms of capitulation. When Sherman showed Johnston the telegram announcing the assassination of Lincoln, Sherman says: "The perspiration came out in large drops on his [Johnston's] forehead and he did not attempt to conceal his distress." Unlike Lee, at Appomattox, Johnston's army was not surrounded. Sherman knew this and saw the possibility of guerilla warfare, a thing he was anxious to avoid. To accomplish this purpose Sherman granted probably the most liberal terms ever granted by a conqueror and defended his action by saying: "We should not drive a people into anarchy. The South is broken and ruined and appeals to our pity. To ride the people down with persecutions and military exactions would be like slashing away at the crew of a sinking ship. I will fight as long as the enemy shows fight, but when he gives up and asks quarter I can go no further." Stanton was very bitter toward Sherman for these liberal terms and tried to discredit him in the popular estimation. Sherman wrote his wife: "They (the politicians) are determined to drive the Confederates into guerilla warfare. They may fight it out, I won't."

There were many beautiful things that occurred in these closing days of the war, and none more so than the surrender at Appomattox. Lee was dressed in a new, full dress uniform of Confederate gray "buttoned to the throat" and a handsome sword studded with jewels, while Grant wore a rough traveling suit. Lee had said, "There is nothing left me but to go and see General Grant and I would rather die a thousand deaths." Grant said later, "I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly." The surrender was made and in a few sad words Lee bade farewell to the army. On the side of the victors there was no unseemly jubilee. The soldiers at once fraternized and all began to think of the "home-going."

There was a great contrast in their home-goings. The North had grown rich during the war. At first times were hard and economy was practised; gold and silver disappeared from circulation and gloom and depression followed. In the autumn of 1862, a revival of business began, and till the end of the war trade and manufacturing were active. "It was a period of money-

making and accumulation of wealth," says Rhodes. John Sherman wrote in 1863, "We are only another example of a people growing rich in a great war. Every branch of business is active and hopeful." There were those who thought this prosperity was temporary and artificial, but time revealed that it was real. Of course, the cotton mills were hampered, but still some cotton found its way from the South to the North. There was much illicit trade carried on between the sections and at times with the connivance of those in authority. This trade was one of the greatest difficulties to regulate and much correspondence was had on the subject. Benj. F. Butler was sharply criticised for the part he took in it. Grant and Sherman were opposed to any kind of trade with the enemy. Nevertheless during four years of the war the North consumed more than 1,000,000 bales of cotton, most of which came from territory under the control of the Confederacy.

While the North had grown richer the South had grown poorer. Prices were high, gold and silver were soon scarce and later their currency became worthless. The commonest luxuries were soon given up, and then followed the necessaries. Tea and coffee were used only for medicinal purposes. In Columbia ice could be bought only on a physician's certificate. Common medicines disappeared, causing great distress. Substitutes for quinine were concocted by the physicians. Many devices were designed to secure this drug from the North. A large doll filled with quinine was brought through the lines "for a poor cripple girl," as the owner declared with tears in his eyes. Clothing soon became very scarce. When Jackson took Winchester in 1862, his soldiers discarded their well-worn gray and donned blue uniforms. Jackson had to order them arrested as soldiers of the United States.

There was opposition to the war both in the North and in the South. In the Northwest the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Sons of Liberty thought that the war ought to cease. They held peace meetings and among the nervous caused some excitement. Morgan's raid into Ohio was intended to test this sentiment, but it was found to be very weak. It was thought that the resistance to the draft would create a sentiment favorable to the Confederacy, but it did not. Frequent plans were on foot in Canada

to make incursions into the North and a few were made, but with no important results. Designs were also on foot to free the prisoners in Chicago and to burn New York.

In the South there were also secret societies and peace parties. They were of no service to the Union armies, but they caused much trouble to the Confederate government. It was necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and in many places martial law was declared. This caused much opposition, even from men like Yancey, Stephens, and Vance. "The number of political arrests at the South were fewer than at the North and the large proportion of them were made in the immediate seat of war. The enjoyment of despotic power so noticeable in the proceedings of Seward and Stanton is not apparent in the officials of the Confederacy."

The loyalty of the slave has been well noted. They made no effort to rise. "It is a wonderful picture, one that discovers virtues in the Southern negroes and merit in the civilization under which they had been trained," says Mr. Rhodes. Henry Grady said, "A thousand torches would have disbanded the Southern army, but there was not one." From his prison at Fortress Monroe, Jefferson Davis wrote his wife, "I hope the negro's fidelity will be duly rewarded."

There were great revivals of religion in both armies. There was a profound religious sentiment. Bibles and Testaments were in every hand. Upon request the United States government permitted Bibles to be sent from Philadelphia to the Confederate army.

Comparisons have often been made between the two presidents and their actions under various circumstances. Mr. Rhodes writes in a discriminating and balanced way of the two: "Lincoln was a man of much greater ability and higher character than Davis, yet Davis was a worthy foeman. He had trials similar to those of his Northern compeer. As Lincoln had to contend with Governor Seymour, so had Davis with Governors Brown and Vance. Brown and Vance had what Sir Walter Scott called the 'itch for disputation.' Davis lacked the tact and magnanimity of Lincoln. . . . The Southern president was a born controversialist. . . . Davis received neither sympathy nor support from the vice-president. . . . Those

who like similitudes will recall that Lincoln and Davis each lost a beloved son during the war—'Willie,' at the age of twelve from disease, while Joseph, a little romping boy, died as the result of a fall. If Davis had won he would have been a hard master to the vanquished. . . . The moral heights of Lincoln's second inaugural was beyond his reach."

The treatment of prisoners is one phase of the war that is not yet discussed impassionately. There is evidence to prove any view. Both Northern and Southern prisons were over-crowded, and the life in each was hard. Exchanges were made till May, 1863, when such was stopped by order of General Halleck, probably because of the attitude of the Confederacy toward negro prisoners and their white officers. "To the refusal to exchange prisoners and to the threatened retaliation by the North and to Andersonville at the South are due for the most part the bitterness which has been infused into this controversy." The Confederate government was aware that it could not feed its prisoners in Richmond, and therefore sent many of them South. In 1863 the Andersonville prison in Georgia was established in the very heart of the granary of the eastern part of the confederacy. That this prison was horrible, Southern testimony bears witness. Grant was opposed to exchanges and wrote that it was hard on the men in the prison, but that it was humanity to the men in the ranks, that a system of exchanges would continue the war till the whole South was exterminated. "At this particular time (August, 1864,) to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here" (City Point). Abortive efforts were made to place the blame on Jefferson Davis, but they failed. "The freer judgment of history leaves no stain on his character." Lincoln bore no part in this controversy and never made in messages or letters any charges of cruelty against the Confederates.

Reconstruction was a difficult problem and there are few who praise the way in which it resulted. And yet in view of the passion and radicalism of the day probably no set of men could have done it better. The North was divided. Gov. Andrews, of Massachusetts, declared that opportunity should at once be given to the natural leaders of the South to lead, since they surely would by-and-by. Andrews saw things as they really were, but others

clung to theories. A party in the South at once put forward the preposterous claim that the Confederate States were entitled to all their constitutional rights—just as if there had been no war. Theoretically there was such a claim, practically there was none.

Had the policy of reconstruction been left to the officers and soldiers of the two armies, a plan of mercy would have been offered by one side and necessary conditions accepted by the other. Grant said to Stephens, "The true policy should be to make friends of enemies." Sherman favored Johnston's policy and was not disturbed by harsh negro legislation. Sheridan thought that congress ought to legislate as little as possible for the negro and let his social status be determined by the necessity for his labor. Lee thought the North could "afford to be generous" and that it was the "best policy." Lee, Mallory, and Stephens thought some negroes would be granted the suffrage. But things were not left to them. Johnston tried but was overcome by radical opposition. The break between Johnston and his party ends this fifth volume of Mr. Rhodes's monumental history, and leaves the South divided into military districts.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES*

WHAT IS HISTORY? By Karl Lamprecht. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905,—pp. ix., 227.

The appearance of this little volume is not likely to arouse in America as much criticism as its author's views have aroused in Germany. From his position as professor of history in the University of Leipzig he has announced a new view of historical science which has set the whole Fatherland to disputing. Briefly speaking, he sums up his idea of history in the following introductory words of the book now placed before the public, "History is primarily a socio-psychological science." This means that there are certain laws of social-psychology which bring the actions of great organized groups of men into common currents, that these laws may be more or less distinctly discovered by students of human action, and that when they are discovered and understood we have a science of history. The reviewer ought to explain here that he has taken the liberty in the above sentence to translate the German term *Gesichtswissenschaft* "historical science," and not "history," as the translator of Professor Lamprecht's book has it. It is very doubtful if history and historical science are the same thing. In using the former term most Americans think of a story, more or less dramatic, of the past; while by the latter most of us who use it mean a more or less philosophical statement of the relations of various past events one to the other. This difference is essential to him who writes history. He must decide which of the two things he will do—tell a story or explain human forces and movements.

Historical science, it must be admitted, is a very new and uncertain form of organized knowledge. The data on which it must rest its conclusions are elusive ones. The amount of play given to the human will in controlling the progress of society is so great that it is difficult to say to what extent we can foretell

*Longer reviews will be found as articles in the main body of the QUARTERLY. This accounts for the fact that this department is small in this number.—
EDITORS.

the action of a law. For example, who will undertake to foretell the action of congress in the rate-fixing proposition of President Roosevelt? History gives no law by which so plain a proposition can be prognosticated. But there are some very simple and fundamental laws which one can discover through historical speculation. It is not hard to prophesy, to stick to our illustration, what the effect of our President's present policies will be on his future career; provided no unexpected factor comes in to confuse the situation. Looking at a series of events in the remote past we may undoubtedly explain the relations between many of them more or less clearly; but it is questionable if this makes history a science.

Those American readers who desire to see the argument by which the most recent European investigators undertake to make history a science will turn to this book with interest. It is probable that they will turn from it with weariness. Its terminology is highly philosophical, its form of presentation is greatly rationalized, and its deductions run on in many complicated propositions. It will take more than one or two readings to do the learned author justice.

J. S. B.

THE MASTER WORD. By L. H. Hammond. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905—334 pp.

The most intensely tragic lot in the world today, perhaps, is that of a highly cultivated mulatto in the South. The poignancy of the situation has been expressed in one of the saddest and best written books of recent years, "The Souls of Black Folk" by Professor DuBois, himself a mulatto and one of the best trained of the recent graduates of Harvard University. That a refined, cultivated Southern woman—the wife of Dr. J. D. Hammond, Secretary of the Board of Education of the Southern Methodist Church,—can enter with imaginative sympathy into the same dramatic situation is evinced by the novel now under review. There are other interesting phases of the book. Mrs. Hammond has written, if not a great novel, at least a thoughtful one, full of interesting characters with a background of life in Middle Tennessee. She describes well and can portray characters well; she is weakest in her conversations. Her style is free from the

defects of many popular writers—it is dignified and good taste is manifest throughout the book. Of contemporary writers she reminds one most of James Lane Allen.

That which gives significance to the book, however, is the presentation of the character of Viry, a young girl—nine-tenths white—who grows up in the home of Margaret Lawton whose husband was the father of Viry. Margaret conceives it to be her duty to take care of the child who from the beginning feels an abhorrence of negroes and a yearning for association—on equal terms—with the whites. She gets to be a teacher of a negro school, but despises her work—“separated from all her mental equals . . . shut up to a life long association with unkempt negro children.” “The black blood had poisoned a white woman’s life.” “Then suddenly her thoughts turned away from Bess and in upon her own life, solitary, silent, forever separate from love. The old bitterness welled up afresh, and with a growing, passionate protest against the proud exclusiveness of the race to which she felt that she belonged, and which yet, without pity or compunction, shut her into outer darkness with these whom she despised.” Another negro who has learned to rise above it all by a life of constructive effort for his race says of his earlier feeling: “You don’t know, you can’t imagine, what it is like to be an educated man shut in with a world of utterly ignorant men and women, and to see all round you another world, that you could enjoy, a world of knowledge and wisdom and power, and to be an outcast from it. You can’t think what it is like to walk the streets an educated man with a black skin.” The appeal of Viry to Margaret is pathetic: “Would you open the door of my prison house, and let me come to the people with whom I belong?”

The author, then, realizes the sadness of such a lot. She puts herself in the place of the tragic sufferer, as Shakspeare does in portraying Shylock. What is the working out of such a situation? The breaking down of social lines between the races? No: such a course would be bad for both races. The separation is a part of an eternal law which cannot be violated. What then? The white race must suffer—as Margaret does—because of the sin of bringing into existence “a life that has no right to be.” Phillip had done his wife a great wrong—and this alone she had

felt—but he had done Viry a greater wrong—“the life long misery, the almost certain sin.” When Margaret realizes this she is on a plane where she can truly—not condescendingly—sympathize with Viry; and then Viry at last sees that her lot, if the most tragical, may become the most helpful. She learns the master word—love. Johnston before her had made up his mind that since he was a negro it was “possible to make being a negro worth while,” and she who had before despaired of life to the point of trying to kill herself rises to a new life of love and service for her race, she takes the curse of life and turns it into a blessing. “The best of life is victory, and not escape.” She makes it a triumph rather than a doom. “And then I came to see that that was why love should be—to bear, to stoop, to lift, never to faint nor fail. I had claimed love’s joy, and tried to shirk its burden, and so I had missed its heart. . . . There must be sorrow, some way, somehow, to him who walks in love; there is never any escape.” “Viry,” says Margaret, “if Phillip forced upon you the life of strain, he made the other life possible for you, too.”

The working out of the difficult situation—sometimes as in the love of Viry for Bruce almost too delicate—is altogether satisfactory. The writer is correct in saying that it is “in full accord with Southern thoughts and hopes.” It represents the conclusion, too, reached by Booker Washington when he answered the pathetic plaint of Professor DuBois with the aphorism, “An inch of progress is better than a yard of complaint.” E. M.

THEODORE THOMAS: A MUSICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited by George P. Upton. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905,—vol. 1, 321 pp.; vol. 2, 382 pp.

Mr. George P. Upton, a personal and professional friend of the late Theodore Thomas, has edited two volumes of the life work and programmes of this famous musical director. A part of volume one is autobiographical; but probably the light thrown on this wonderful career by Mr. Upton himself is the most valuable portion of the book. It will be an inspiration to musicians; it will be an incentive to every one who glories in the indomitable development of genius. There are no pretensions at fine writing

—the force lies back of this in the great power of the man. There are few technical terms. This may possibly be explained by the fact that Mr. Thomas was a normal, sane American without the weaknesses and peculiarities of many of his *confreres*. He was a man of broad culture. His appearance neither on the stage nor upon the streets would suggest his profession. Yet the stamp of leadership was so fixed upon him that on one occasion while traveling home, the regular conductor asking for his ticket addressed him as "judge;" not long after, the sleeping-car conductor called him "professor;" and the porter was profuse in his appellation of "boss." To artists under his direction he was "meister" or "maestro."

Theodore Thomas was born in Germany and came to America about 1845, a mere boy wanderer making his bread by playing the violin. An interesting account of his tour through the South when he was fifteen years old is given. Sixty years later he died with the glorious assurance already made that he had given birth in this new continent to a higher musical sense and appreciation. First master of himself and then of a perfectly organized orchestra, he *played* the best music into the hearts and minds of the American people. He introduced Wagner and a great number of concertos, symphonies and chamber music of the old masters for the first time. His programmes, which fill the second volume, are most valuable because they show such careful sequence. Conductors of orchestras will for a long time look on them as standards. It is noteworthy that light "popular" music is "sandwiched" in between the heavy numbers so that the mind is not overtaxed. This was his secret of success in the education of musical taste.

The book, aside from presenting the life and work of Thomas, is full of interesting incidents in the musical history of America during the past fifty years. Leading musicians are sketched by both Thomas and Mr. Upton, while a good idea is given of the general tendencies of the period. But the most valuable part of the book to the general reader is the presentation of the struggles and final victory of a great man. Mr. Thomas will rank with the leading men of America who have achieved enduring and vastly important work. He often grew discouraged in his efforts to cultivate the musical taste of the people. Mr. Upton tells of

finding him in one of these moods. "I guess I am a little blue tonight," he said. "I have been thinking, as I sat here, that I have been swinging the baton now for fifteen years, and I do not see that the people are any farther ahead than when I began, and, as far as my pocket is concerned, I am not as well off. But," and he brought that powerful fist of his down on the table, "I am going to keep on, if it takes another fifteen years."

And he did. First in New York, then in Cincinnati, and later in Chicago he conducted his orchestra, and throughout the entire country he went on his concert tours. Many amusing anecdotes are told of his popular misunderstanding and stupidity. He knew how to endure all this, however. A fitting climax to his career was realized when, just before his death, the Orchestra Hall in Chicago was dedicated. It is his monument. The realization of this dream of an independent building for his orchestra was a striking confirmation of his faith in the people: "Throughout my life my aim has been to make good music popular, and it now appears that I have only done the public justice in believing, and acting constantly in the belief, that the people would enjoy and support the best in art when continually set before them in a clear and intelligent manner." L.

One of the best pieces of historical work done in North Carolina during this year is "The Moravians in Georgia," by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, of Winston-Salem, N. C. In 252 pages is given a clear and attractive narrative of the unsuccessful attempt of Moravians to plant a settlement on the Savannah in the very first days of the history of Oglethorpe's colony. And yet the attempt was not entirely unsuccessful. It became a chief factor in the development of the Moravians in America. It revealed the possibilities of this country to the church in Europe, and led to the renewed activity which eventuated in the strong permanent settlements elsewhere. It had a wonderful influence, also, on the Wesleyan movement; for it was on the way to, and in, Georgia that John and Charles Wesley came into contact with Moravians and got from them some of the most essential ideals of their conduct. This settlement, therefore, which was a failure in an outward way, has been a really historic event, and demands a

consideration by the general historian. Moreover, the story of the struggles and life of the Moravians in Georgia is a part of the history of Georgia settlement. It shows how men lived then, how the frontier was subdued and civilization planted. Miss Fries's book is illustrated, and supplied with an ample index.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford's edition of "The Journals of the Continental Congress," which is being published by the Library of Congress, has reached the third volume. It continues to be notable for its clear and accurate scholarship, its faithful reproduction of the original, and its liberal use of all such requisites of good book-making as suitable type, paper, and margins. There is no better illustration in our history of a wise application of governmental aid to the publication of historical material than this important and ably performed piece of work.

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The
South Atlantic Quarterly.

The Ancestry of General Robert E. Lee

BY WILLIAM HENRY MANN

John Fiske has well said that without genealogy the study of history is comparatively lifeless. The historical student delights as much in tracing back the ancestry of an illustrious personage as does the explorer in searching for the fountain-head of some majestic stream. There is always a desire to know whence came the great men of history and how far the acknowledged law of heredity contributed to the development of their characters. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate that ancestral traits are vividly reproduced than an inquiry into the genealogy of that great Virginian, General Robert E. Lee; and the more closely one studies the characters and environment of his forbears the less one is inclined to marvel at his greatness and goodness. In this son of "Light Horse Harry" and Annie Hill Carter were combined the best blood and traditions of a great commonwealth and the brightest pages of history prove him doubly worthy of his distinguished sires.

The Lees were of pure Norman blood, the line being traceable back to Launcelot Lee, of Louder, in France, who accompanied William the Conqueror upon his expedition to England, and was granted an estate in the county of Essex as a reward for his valorous deeds. At a later day Lionel Lee, at the head of a company of "gentlemen cavaliers," fought with Richard Coeur de Lion in Palestine, and for his gallantry at the siege of Acre, was, upon his return to England, created first Earl of Litchfield, and presented with the estate of Ditchley. This estate was subsequently held by that valiant old knight, Sir Henry Lee, who figures so prominently in Walter Scott's novel, "Woodstock." About the same time several other Lees so distinguished themselves in the Scotch wars as to have their banners suspended in St. George's

Chapel, Windsor, with the Lee court-of-arms emblazoned thereon, and the significant family motto, *Non incautus futuri*.

During the time of Charles I, the Lees were living in Shropshire, probably at an estate called "Coton Hall." They were all intensely loyal to the king, and just after the close of the Civil War, Richard Lee, along with many other cavalier adherents of the unfortunate Charles, emigrated to Virginia. This Richard Lee stated in his will that he was "lately of Stafford Langton," in the county of Essex. It is thought, however, that he was a younger son of the Lees of "Coton Hall," in Shropshire, as he used the coat-of-arms of that branch of the family. He became Secretary of State and member of the privy council in Virginia, and was one of Governor Berkeley's staunchest adherents in holding the colony loyal to the king. This Colonel Lee is described as "a man of good stature, comely visage, enterprising genius, sound head, vigorous spirit, and most generous nature,"—qualities that were literally inherited by his most famous descendant. He first settled in York county, and to his farm of one thousand acres on Porotank creek, he gave the name of "Paradise." Subsequently he was a member of the House of Burgesses from the county of York, and took his seat therein in 1647. Richard Lee was supremely loyal to the Stuarts, and when Virginia passed under the control of the Commonwealth, he visited Charles II, then an exile in Brussels or Breda, where he surrendered Sir William Berkeley's old commission as governor and received a new one from the exiled king. It has been said that he offered to raise the flag of the king in the New World, but this is highly conjectural and has been denied with considerable force. During the latter years of his life, Colonel Lee lived in Westmoreland county, at an estate called "Mt. Pleasant," consisting of two thousand fertile acres, lying along the banks of the Potomac river.

Richard Lee, the second son of the above mentioned Richard, succeeded to the estate in Westmoreland, the eldest son, John, by name, having died unmarried. This second Richard was a graduate of Oxford, and spent nearly his entire life in study. Being deemed "a loyal and discreet person and worthy of the place," he was appointed a member of the council in October, 1667. He married Letitia Corbin, and in 1714, at the age of

sixty-seven, passed away, leaving five sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Richard, the third of the name, married and removed to London, though it is said his children returned to the Old Dominion. Philip went to Maryland and became the head of the family in that commonwealth, while Francis, the third son, died a bachelor. Thomas, the fourth son, inherited his father's scholarly tastes and notwithstanding a lack of early educational advantages, became, through his own efforts, an accomplished classical scholar. He was a man of great industry and considerable business ability, and succeeded in amassing a comfortable fortune. As a citizen and member of the council, he was so highly respected, that when his house in Westmoreland county was burned, Queen Caroline sent him a large sum of money out of her private purse with which to rebuild the mansion, together with an autograph letter. "Stratford" was rebuilt upon a grander scale and became the property of "Light Horse Harry" Lee through his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Thomas Ludwell Lee, and grand-daughter of Thomas, and was consequently the birth-place of General Robert E. Lee. On the death of Sir William Gooch, Thomas Lee became president and commander-in-chief over the colony, and was subsequently appointed governor, though he died in 1750, before his commission reached America. Nevertheless he is still spoken of as the first native governor of the colony. He married Hannah Ludwell, of an honorable English family, and left six sons and two daughters. His brother, Col. George Lee, married the widow of Lawrence Washington.

"Stratford," the ancestral home of the Lees, is still standing in Westmoreland county. It is a stately mansion, shaped like the letter H, and is situated near the bank of the Potomac river. Aside from having been the home of "Light Horse Harry" Lee and the birth-place of General Robert E. Lee, it contains one room in which were born two signers of the Declaration of Independence, while several other scarcely less distinguished persons first saw the light within its venerated precincts. It was named after "Stratford," an estate in England that was owned by the first Richard Lee.

The six sons of Thomas Lee and Hannah Ludwell Lee were Thomas Ludwell, Richard Henry, William, Francis Lightfoot,

Henry and Arthur. Matilda, the daughter of the eldest son, Thomas Ludwell Lee, was the first wife of General "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and it was by this marriage, that the latter came into possession of "Stratford."

The eldest son, Thomas Ludwell Lee, was a member of the Virginia committee of safety that exercised the executive functions for a time after the inglorious flight of Lord Dunmore. Subsequently he represented Stafford county in the Virginia conventions of July 17, 1775, and December 1, 1775. The second son, Richard Henry Lee, became one of the foremost characters in the great Revolutionary drama. After completing his education in England, he returned to Virginia, where, from earliest manhood, he was prominently associated with the public affairs of the colony. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, and in 1774 was elected a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress. As a member of the congress that adopted the Declaration of Independence he introduced the resolution that provided for the appointment of a committee to draft a declaration of the rights of the colonies. According to parliamentary usage he would, no doubt, have been made chairman of this committee, and as such would have been charged with the duty of drafting the great charter of American liberties; but the illness of his wife called him to Virginia, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed to prepare the immortal document. That Richard Henry Lee was eminently qualified for the drafting of state papers has been proved by his very able address to the people of the colonies, that was published in 1774, in which he told the people to "extend their views to mournful events." He was a member of all the Virginia conventions of his time and was one of the great orators of his day, the appellation, "the Cicero of the Revolution," being conferred upon him on account of his skill as a public speaker. After the Revolutionary War he was elected to the Virginia legislature for several terms, and in 1784 was elected to congress, of which body he became president. He opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, but was elected one of the first two United States senators for Virginia under its operation, and remained a member of that body until his resignation in 1792.

Richard Henry Lee is said to have been graceful in person and manners, and so elegant a public speaker that he was accused

of having rehearsed his orations before a mirror. He died at "Chantilly," in Westmoreland county, in 1794, aged sixty-seven years. Hannah Lee, daughter of Richard Henry Lee, married Corbin Washington, and it was their son, John A. Washington, who inherited "Mt. Vernon" from his uncle, Judge Bushrod Washington, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Francis Lightfoot Lee was a member of the House of Burgesses from Loudoun county in 1765, and at a later day represented Richmond county in the same body. He was one of the Virginia deputies appointed in 1776 to secure a concert of action among the legislatures of the various colonies, and was also a signer of the Westmoreland declaration against the Stamp Act. In 1775 he became a member of the Continental Congress, serving as such for five years, and was one of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a member of various Virginia conventions, and after the revolution served for a brief period in the State legislature. William Lee was born at Stratford, but removed to London, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, and for a time acted as agent for the Virginia colony. During the Revolutionary War he was loyal to America and represented the United States as diplomatic commissioner to France, Prussia, and Austria. Arthur Lee was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and practiced medicine at Williamsburg, Virginia, for several years. At a later day he studied law at the Temple, in London, and practiced law in England until 1776. He was secret agent of the colonies in England and in 1776 was appointed a joint commissioner with Franklin and Deane to arrange an alliance with France. After filling diplomatic missions to Spain and Prussia, he was recalled on account of his disagreements with the other commissioners. He was a member of congress from 1781 to 1784, and a member of the treasury board from 1784 to 1789. He died in 1792 at his home "Urbana" in Middlesex county.

Henry Lee, the father of "Light Horse Harry" and cousin to the brothers above mentioned, represented Prince William county in the House of Burgesses, and was a delegate to the convention that brought into existence the independent commonwealth of Virginia.

In the Virginia convention of August, 1774, the roll of which

has recently been discovered, there were four members of the Lee family: Francis Lightfoot Lee, from Richmond county; Henry Lee, from Prince William county, and Richard Lee and Richard Henry Lee, from Westmoreland county. Charles Lee, a brother of "Light Horse Harry," served in the Virginia legislature, and was afterwards attorney-general in the cabinet of President Washington.

Henry Lee, the fifth son of the second Richard Lee, married Mary Bland, a great aunt of the eccentric John Randolph, of Roanoke. A daughter of this marriage became the wife of a Mr. Fitzhugh, hence the connection of the Fitzhugh family with the Lees. Henry, the son of Henry Lee and Mary Bland, married Lucy Grymes, daughter of Lucy Ludwell by her marriage with Colonel Grymes of the council of Virginia, and niece of Bishop Porteus, of England. Lucy Grymes is historically known as the "Lowland Beauty," concerning whose attractions Washington raved in his youthful letters and for whom it is said the "Father of his Country" once cherished a tender feeling. She was married to Henry Lee, December 1, 1753, at "Greenspring" on James river. Greenspring was formerly the home of Sir William Berkeley and probably came into possession of Colonel Grymes through his marriage with Lucy Ludwell, her father Col. Philip Ludwell having married the widow of Governor Berkeley. Six sons and four daughters were born to Henry Lee and Lucy Grymes, the eldest of whom was Henry Lee, familiarly known as "Light Horse Harry," of Revolutionary fame, and subsequently the father of Robert Edward Lee.

"Light Horse Harry" Lee was born January 29, 1756, at his father's estate, "Leesylvania," near the village of Dumfries, in the county of Prince William, Virginia. It was designed that he should enter the legal profession, and to this end he was sent to Princeton College to prepare himself for the further prosecution of his studies in England, under the direction of his kinsman, Bishop Porteus. At Princeton he was distinguished for his morality, genius and diligence, and it was confidently predicted that he would be one of the first men of the country, but the prospects of a bright legal career were annihilated by the beginning of hostilities between England and the colonies. Abandoning all thoughts of success in the forum he accepted the captaincy

of a cavalry company—to which position he was nominated by Patrick Henry—and at the age of nineteen embarked upon what proved to be a distinguished military career. At a later day congress recognized his ability by promoting him to command an independent partisan corps that under his brilliant leadership operated with marked effectiveness in many warmly contested engagements. The surprise and capture of Paulus Hook was due to his bravery and tactical skill, which congress recognized by presenting him with a gold medal emblematical of the event,—a distinction that was not conferred upon any other officer of his rank during the conflict. In 1780 he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of dragoons and was assigned to a special command consisting of equal proportions of cavalry and infantry, formed expressly for him by General Washington, and which was said to be “the finest that made its appearance in the arena of the Revolutionary War.” Colonel Lee enjoyed the unreserved friendship and confidence both of Washington and Lafayette, and served throughout the entire conflict with such eminent distinction that it was said of him that “He seemed to come out of his mother’s womb a soldier.”

After the surrender at Yorktown, he retired to his estate, but later entered upon a civil career that was marked by the same courage, zeal, and loftiness of purpose that characterized his military efforts. In 1788 he was a member of the Virginia convention that was called to consider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, in which assembly were John Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, Benjamin Harrison, and many others of scarcely inferior ability. In 1786 he was a member of congress and was re-elected to that body in 1799. When Washington died in 1799, Colonel Lee was appointed to deliver a eulogy upon the distinguished services of the dead soldier and patriot, and it was in this address that occurs the famous sentence—“First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.” He was a member of nearly all the Virginia conventions of his day and from 1792 to 1795 was governor of Virginia.

In 1798, when the United States began to prepare for war with France as a result of Talleyrand’s insult to the envoys sent by President Adams, Colonel Lee was commissioned a major-general

and he received a similar appointment from President Madison in 1812, but was prevented from engaging in active hostilities by an accident that rendered him unfit for service in the field.

General Lee was an ardent Federalist and when in 1800, the presidential election was thrown into the national house of representatives, so great was his antipathy to the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson that he voted for Aaron Burr throughout the entire contest. Soon after the election of Jefferson to the presidency, General Lee retired to his estate on the Potomac where he lived the peaceful life of a Virginia planter of that period until 1812, when President Madison tendered him a commission as major-general in the Federal army. He accepted the commission and was preparing to enter upon his new duties when an event occurred the result of which rendered him incapable of active military service. General Lee was visiting in Baltimore at the house of a Mr. Hanson, the editor of the *Federal Republican*. During this visit the house was attacked by an angry political mob that had become incensed at some of the utterances of Mr. Hanson relative to the war then in progress. In chivalrously assisting his friend in repelling the attack of the mob, General Lee received wounds that six years later resulted in his death. As a result of these injuries he failed to enter the army, but went to the West Indies with the hope of recuperating his shattered health. His letters to his people while undergoing this enforced exile breathe the loftiest sentiments and give an insight into his character and tastes.

General Lee was a man of classical tastes and advised his children to read "history and ethical authors of unrivalled character." His admiration for John Locke was unbounded. He said, "Do not only study him, but consult him as the Grecians did the Delphic Oracle." He admired Francis Bacon's mental qualities, but condemned his moral character in no uncertain terms. Pope he considered the greatest of the English poets, even placing him above Milton, and did not hesitate to say that Pope's translation of the Iliad was a greater production than Paradise Lost. His three military heroes were Hannibal, Frederick the Great, and Wellington, and to the first-named he gave the honor of being "the first of antiquity in cabinet and field." He admired the military genius of Alexander and Cæsar, but had

no sympathy with the selfish motives that prompted their conquests.

After spending nearly five years in the West Indies without permanent benefit to his physical condition, he embarked for home, but was so overcome with suffering during the voyage that he was landed at his own request, at "Dungeness," on Cumberland Island, near the Georgia coast. "Dungeness" was the home of Mrs. James Shaw, a daughter of General Lee's old friend and companion-in-arms, Gen. Nathaniel Greene. Here he was tenderly cared for until death relieved him of his sufferings. He died March 25, 1818, and was buried at "Dungeness," close beside his compatriot, General Greene.

Thus passed away "Light Horse Harry," the soldier and statesman. Although his fame, to some extent, is overshadowed by his great son's career, he will always be revered as one of the greatest characters of a period that was prolific in great men and noble achievements.

General Lee was twice married, his first wife being his cousin, Matilda Lee, daughter of Thomas Ludwell Lee, of "Stratford," by whom he had four children. The eldest, named for Gen. Nathaniel Greene, died in infancy, and the second followed a few years later. The third son, Henry, was graduated at William and Mary College, and served with distinction in the war of 1812 in which he attained the rank of major. He served as consul to Algiers during Jackson's administration, and was the author of a life of Napoleon, whose military genius he greatly admired. The latter years of his life were spent in Europe where he died in 1837 while a resident of Paris. The daughter of this union married Bernard Carter, who was a brother of her step-mother.

Gen. Henry Lee's second marriage was to Anne Hill Carter, daughter of Charles Carter, of "Shirley," on James river. This union was blessed with four sons and two daughters, namely, Algernon Sydney, Charles Carter, Sydney Smith, Robert Edward, Anne and Mildred. The first son died in infancy. Charles Carter Lee, the second son, was educated at Cambridge and subsequently studied law. He was one of the most courted men of his time, his grace, learning and wit being of such a high order that he was a conspicuous figure in any assemblage. He lived in Powhatan county at an estate called "Windsor Forest," where he died and

was buried. The third son, Sydney Smith Lee, entered the United States navy, and served therein with distinction for thirty-four years. At the siege of Vera Cruz he left his ship and came ashore to take charge of one of the field guns of a battery that was under the command of his brother, Robert E. Lee, at that time a captain of engineers. When Virginia seceded he resigned his commission and entered the Confederate States navy. He was the father of the lamented Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, that gallant *beau sabreur*, who enjoyed the distinction of having been a major-general in the armies of both the Confederate States and the United States. The fourth son, Robert Edward Lee, became the greatest soldier of Christendom, whose character and achievements are the richest heritage of contemporary historians. Anne, the eldest daughter, married William Marshall, of Baltimore, who during the Civil War was an ardent Union man. Their only son was a graduate of West Point and an officer in the United States army during the Civil War. Mrs. Marshall's sympathies, as far as in the nature of things they could be, were with her husband and son, but it is said that she would always qualify her acquiescence in the hope for a Union victory by saying, "But after all, they can't whip Robert." Mildred, the youngest daughter, married Edward Vernon Childe, of Massachusetts, and subsequently went to live in Paris. Edward Lee Childe, the eldest son of this marriage, was a man of literary tastes and wrote a life of his uncle, Gen. Robert E. Lee, in French.

The Carters, from whom Gen. Robert E. Lee sprang on his maternal side, were of an old and honorable English family of the Manor of Garstow, Waterford Parish, county of Hertford. The first of the name in America was the emigrant, John Carter, who was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1649. From the arms and mottoes it is supposed that he was the son of William Carter, lord of the Manor of Garstow, and of the Middle Temple. John Carter was thrice married: first to Jane Glynn, secondly to Anne Carter, and thirdly to Sarah Ludlowe. Of the last named union was born in 1663, Robert Carter, of "Corotoman," in Lancaster county, familiarly known as "King" Carter. This Robert Carter was speaker of the House of Burgesses, rector of William and Mary College, president of the council, and governor of the colony of Virginia. Colonel Carter owned ex-

tensive tracts of land in the northern neck of Virginia, having obtained sixty-three thousand acres in one transfer from Lord Fairfax, of "Greenway Court." On his tomb that formerly stood at the east end of Christ Church, in Lancaster county, he was spoken of as "An honorable man, who by noble endowment, and pure morals, gave lustre to his gentle birth. Possessed of ample wealth, blamelessly acquired, he built and endowed at his own expense this sacred edifice,—a signal monument of his piety towards God. He furnished it richly. Entertaining his friends kindly, he was neither a prodigal nor a parsimonious host." He was twice married, first to Judith Armstead and afterwards to Bettie Landon. John Carter, the eldest son of the second marriage, married Elizabeth Hill, by whom he came into possession of "Shirley" on James river, one of the lordliest of the colonial plantations. Charles Carter, a son of this union, married Anne Moore, and to them was born a daughter, Anne Hill Carter, who became the mother of Gen. Robert E. Lee, through her marriage with "Light Horse Harry" Lee.

From the blending of these two strains of best Virginian blood, came that blameless knight and true gentleman in whom were deftly interblended the majestic graces of the cavalier and the simple virtues of the Puritan; of whom an eminent English authority has said, "A country that gives birth to men like him, and those who followed him, may look the chivalry of Europe in the face without shame, for the fatherlands of Sidney and Bayard never produced a nobler soldier, gentleman, and Christian than Robert E. Lee."

It is not for the writer to discuss in detail General Lee's illustrious career. History has done this, and his fame "fixed as the earth,—immortal as the sun," belongs to the ages.

The South's Interest in the Library of Congress

By J. D. RODEFFER, M. A., PH. D.

The rapid advance in material prosperity in the South has directed anew the attention of the public to those factors that work toward the mental and moral uplifting of the Southern people. The renewal and intensification of interest in these influences is seen in the enthusiasm that has characterized the centennial anniversary of South Carolina College, the installation of a president at the University of Virginia and at Tulane, the Columbia Conference for Education, and the individual State campaigns for the purpose of arousing the taxpayers to a realization of the South's shortcomings in the matter of efficient public education. But all of this educational activity, it will be observed, is centered in the instruction of the youth of the South. No systematic effort has yet been made or contemplated toward the education of adults. This problem, which has hitherto found only a partial solution even in the most advanced communities, is indissolubly connected with the circulation of books by public libraries. An inquiry, then, into the condition of Southern libraries and a suggestion as to the relation of the South to the Library of Congress, will not perhaps be at this time inopportune.

Few persons in the South have an accurate idea of her wealth or poverty in books compared with that of other sections of the Union. From the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education on Public, Society, and School Libraries for 1903, it is seen that in the latter part of that year there were in the United States 6,869 such libraries, each containing 1,000 volumes or more, with geographic distribution as follows:

	Libraries reporting.	Volumes.
North Atlantic division.....	3,006	27,805,980
South Atlantic division.....	548	6,025,022
South Central division.....	484	2,524,283
North Central division.....	2,284	14,542,460
Western division.....	547	3,521,257

The South Atlantic division, as used in this report, includes Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; the South Central division includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory. The former group contained in 1903 an estimated population of 10,931,970, the latter 14,941,636, making a total of 25,873,606 people. The South Atlantic group possesses 55 volumes to each 100 inhabitants, or about one volume for every two people. The South Central group possesses 17 volumes to each 100 inhabitants, or one volume for every six people. The State of Massachusetts, with an estimated population in 1903 of 2,974,021 and with 7,616,994 volumes, possesses 256 volumes to each 100 inhabitants, or five volumes for every two people. The District of Columbia with its 2,712,693 volumes brings up the average of the South Atlantic division much higher than it would have been, had the libraries of Washington been excluded from the comparison. The whole South, including the District of Columbia, possesses only 8,549,305 volumes. Excluding the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Delaware, but including every other State mentioned in the list above, there are in the public, society, and school libraries of the South, that contain 1,000 volumes or more, a total of only 4,398,893 volumes; whereas the libraries of the same class in Massachusetts contain 7,616,994, or a ratio of 4 to 7, with the odds in favor of Massachusetts.

In the case of the larger libraries the disproportion is still greater. There are in the South from the Potomac to the Rio Grande 10 libraries of 50,000 or more volumes each; in Massachusetts there are 27, or a ratio of about 2 to 5½. The significance of this fact is better appreciated when it is remembered that whereas in the one case these 27 libraries are grouped in one State with a land area of 8,040 square miles, in the other case the 10 libraries are scattered through 13 States and two Territories with a total land area of 866,955 square miles and with means of communication much less fully developed than in Massachusetts. Owing to the fact that four of these larger libraries are located in Kentucky and two in Virginia, seven of these 13 States and the two Territories have no library containing as many as 50,000 volumes.

In even the best supplied centers in the South the relative paucity of books becomes apparent upon comparison with other sections. Richmond, Virginia, is an old capital, distinguished for its traditions of culture and scholarship. Its 170,613 volumes place it well in the forefront of Southern cities in library facilities. Yet a person living in the old capital of Hartford, Connecticut, a city with a population somewhat less than that of Richmond, has access to libraries containing 360,313 volumes. With 18 libraries in Richmond and 16 in Hartford, the probability of duplicating works in the former city is greater than in the latter. Similarly the newer towns of Houston and Saginaw have about the same population; yet Houston has 14,916 volumes to Saginaw's 57,104.

The scarcity of books in the South is partly compensated by its nearness to the Library of Congress, a collection of literature which, taken in its entirety, is perhaps the most remarkable in the Western hemisphere. It is unfortunate that this library should still be called by a name which it has outgrown, a name too which is responsible for much vagueness of knowledge on the part of the public concerning its function and mission. The appellation usually applied to it abroad—the National Library—is one preferable, from almost every viewpoint, to its present official name. In justification of the name National Library are the facts that it is a library situated at the nation's capital and supported at national expense, that two copies of all works copyrighted in the United States are by law deposited in the office of the Librarian, and that it is pre-eminently the library of national record.

The magnificent and ornate building in which this library is contained so impresses the imagination and lingers in the memory of visitors to Washington as to be popularly called the Library of Congress without thought of the books that are responsible for the name. The fact is not generally known throughout the South that this collection of books, which was founded by the acquisition of the library of a Virginia president, Thomas Jefferson,* ranks fifth among the great collections of the world, containing in June, 1904, books and pieces as follows:

*For a detailed account of the acquisition of Jefferson's library see W. D. Johnston's *History of the Library of Congress*, Washington, 1904, v. 1, p. 68 ff.

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	Printed books and pamphlets.	Increase during the year.
Main collection.....	1,179,713	78,791
Law library.....	95,954	1,345
Manuscripts (pieces)	121,266	18,151
Maps and charts (pieces)	75,861	6,047
Music (pieces).....	384,418	22,074
Prints (pieces)	158,451	15,079

From this table it is seen that the accessions in printed books and pamphlets during the year ending June 30, 1904, numbered 80,136. In bulk this number compares well with the accessions of other large national libraries, but it is quality rather than quantity that is the final test of the value of a library. In this respect it cannot be denied that the collection of books in our national library leaves much to be desired. Yet this could scarcely have been otherwise in view of the facts that only 20,000 volumes survived the fire of 1851 and that the annual appropriation from that time to 1898 never exceeded \$11,000 for all manner of purchases. Largely through the persistent efforts of the present librarian, Dr. Herbert Putnam, the appropriation for the increase of the library has been steadily raised to a normal approximating \$100,000 a year. And yet with this apparently liberal appropriation, we fall behind the budget of the British Museum with its £22,000 for the purchase of acquisitions.

The fact is that neither in the minds of the public nor in the conception of Congress itself has the Library of Congress been regarded as the National Library. The debates over the appropriation on the floor of the House have revealed a tendency to compare it not with other national libraries as the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, but with other large public libraries in this country; and although it is a library of reference or research and not a circulating library, the number of books furnished to readers has been made the basis for comparing its efficiency with that of the free circulating libraries of the large cities. A juster comparison would be with the British Museum, the most influential library in the world, upon which, too, the Library of Congress has in many respects been modeled.

In comparison with this statement of the increase in the Library of Congress, it is interesting and instructive, with the qualifications just mentioned in mind, to note the accessions to

the 2,000,000 volumes of the British Museum during the year ending March 31, 1904:

(a) Volumes and pamphlets (including 127 atlases, etc., and 1,405 books of music).....	27,370
(b) Parts of volumes (or separate numbers of periodical publications and of works in progress)	64,065
(c) Maps	1,474 in 8,919 sheets
(d) Musical publications.....	7,751

The number of distinct works in all four of these classes, (a) to (d), is approximately 33,322. To this number should be added 3,887 broadsides, parliamentary papers and miscellaneous items and 6,823 manuscripts. In spite of different methods of enumeration a fairly satisfactory comparison is here obtained, particularly in the case of printed books and pamphlets in which the unit of counting is the same.

The comparison can be extended with profit to the use made of the two libraries, the basis of time in both cases being correspondingly widened.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

	1901	1902	1903	1904
Total number of visitors to the Library building.....	832,370	694,009	1,011,766	816,700
Readers, Main Reading Room.....	112,894	119,382	163,182	153,870

BRITISH MUSEUM.

	1900	1901	1902	1903
Persons admitted to view the general collection.....	689,249	718,614	845,369	920,848
Readers, Main Reading Room.....	198,566	200,035	211,244	209,713

When it is remembered that the population of London is about fifteen times that of Washington, and when it is recalled what an important part the British Museum plays in the intellectual life of Europe, the parity of these statistics must appear remarkable. A fact that becomes obvious on a glance at the first table is the steady development of the Library of Congress as a place for research.

Instructive also is the manner by which the 80,136 printed books and pamphlets, received by the Library of Congress during

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the year ending June, 1904, were acquired. The following table taken from the Librarian's report analyzes the method of acquisition:

By purchase.....	30,735
By gift.....	6,100
By copyright.....	9,589
By international exchange: From the United States Government departments and the Smithsonian Institution.....	13,367
Added to Smithsonian deposit.....	4,441
Net gain by exchange of duplicates.....	2,500
Net gain by binding, books and periodicals.....	13,404
Total added,—books, pamphlets, and pieces.....	80,136

One of the salient facts such an analysis reveals is the small proportion—less than one-thirteenth—of the total accessions that are acquired by gift. If the view be extended over the three preceding years, the disproportion will be found, with the exception of the year 1902, to have been actually increasing.

	1901	1902	1903	1904
Gifts.....	9,678	13,564	7,360	6,100
Total accessions.....	76,481	81,971	88,273	80,136
Approximate ratio.....	1-8	1-6	1-12	1-13

This gradual decrease in accessions by gift is probably due to the strong competition of other public libraries, but more especially to the fact that the Library of Congress is not yet regarded as the library of national record. The broad and liberal policy enunciated by the Librarian in his report for 1901 (p. 13) has not yet obtained sufficient recognition. He says:

“The gifts have indeed been numerous, and show gratifying increase over those for last year. But they have consisted for the most part of documents or ordinary publications, and they were gifts of material solely. Not a single gift of money has ever come to the Library; not a single gift, therefore, which added to its collections by deliberate selection. The acceptance of a gift by such an institution implies that the material given will be creditably supported by other material which it is within the power of the Library to buy. The Library can indeed hope to attract gifts only by three means: First, by a building which will house them safely and commodiously—this it has. Second, by administration which will safeguard them and render them useful—this it is developing. Third, by considerable expenditures of its own in the

acquisition of material which will bring the material given into honorable company and will attract notice to it by increasing the reputation of the general collection. These expenditures it must be prepared to make. All three of these factors have operated in the case of the British Museum. Priceless collections have come to it by gift. They have come largely for the distinction of association and service with a collection already the most distinguished in the world, made so by the direct effort of the Government."

The justness of this reasoning is self-evident. It can scarcely be maintained that when the Library of Congress shall enjoy the same degree of prestige among American libraries which the British Museum has been enjoying among English libraries, the small ratio which the gifts now bear to the total accessions will be continued.

In bringing about this desirable status, the South can and should have an important part. The British Museum is only sixty years older than the Library of Congress, yet who will now undertake to estimate its value to the intellectual life not simply of the British nation, but of the whole civilized world? Much of its fame is due to its being a museum of antiquities as well as a library containing 2,000,000 or more volumes. But its chief value, in the estimation of many scholars and investigators, lies in its collection of manuscripts.

It is in this last respect that the Library of Congress is fast becoming pre-eminent among American libraries. In consequence of a recent executive order, it has received from other government libraries in Washington invaluable collections of manuscripts pertaining to the early history of the nation. It possesses already approximately 121,266 manuscript pieces, of which 18,151 were added during the past year. Of these additions a large proportion pertain to Southern men and affairs. Speaking of the noteworthy gifts of the year 1904, the Librarian says (Report, p. 37):

"Never before have so many or so important gifts been received in a twelvemonth, and the acknowledgment, expressed by the Library of Congress, only voices that of all interested in historical studies and the preservation of the records of American history. Mrs. Smith Thompson Van Buren gave the valuable collection of Martin Van Buren papers. Hon. Hempstead Washburne gave the private papers of his father, Hon. Elisha B. Washburne. From William Kent was received the interesting collection of Chancellor James Kent. Mr. J. Henley Smith, of Washing-

ton, has given the papers of William Thornton. Mr. Wendell P. Garrison presented a number of examples of literary autographs, all the more valuable as they concerned the literary activities of the writers. From Mr. Ben. E. Green, of Dalton, Georgia, were received 90 letters written by Duff Green to Richard K. Crallé and Doctor Cabell. Mrs. Anna Shaw Curtis gave the manuscripts of a lecture on 'American literature,' by George William Curtis. Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart added to the Salmon P. Chase collection by the gift of 24 letters and telegrams of Chase to Edward L. Pierce. Hon. W. W. Rockhill adds a Tibetan musical score book to his already notable gifts of Orientalia to the Library. Mr. Bladen T. Snyder, of Washington, gave a portion of the Hebrew Torah on sheepskin. Mr. C. H. Van Tyne deposits the transcripts of historical letters prepared when engaged on his study of Daniel Webster. The late Mrs. J. L. M. Curry gave to the Library, in memory of her husband, a Latin manuscript volume written in Spain, '*Centum affectuum spiritualium*,' of unknown date, and a memorandum book of William Vidal. . . .

"Two very large and important collections have been obtained by purchase—the papers of James Knox Polk and those of Andrew Johnson. The Polk papers were purchased of the adopted niece of the ex-president, Mrs. George W. Fall, of Nashville, Tenn. They contain 10,500 letters and papers, and include all of the Polk papers except those in the Chicago Historical Society, some 1,500 in number. A precise analysis of this collection has not yet been made, but it covers the entire period of Polk's political life and is obviously rich in material bearing upon political history in the Mississippi Valley, his Washington career as Member of the House and President, the manœuvres of faction which led to his nomination, and the events which brought to pass the annexation of Texas and the purchase of New Mexico and California. Its relation to other collections in the Manuscript Division gives it peculiar value. The series of Virginia Presidents is complete—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. The administration of John Adams was a continuation of that of Washington, and that of John Quincy Adams was in a time when new political policies were brought forward to give cause for the existence of parties after the era of good feeling under Monroe. The successful party was that of Jackson and his successors, Van Buren and Polk. The Library of Congress thus possesses the Presidential papers of two of the 'dynasties' that carried on the administration from the foundation of the Government to the retirement of Polk. . . .

"The papers of Andrew Johnson were more recently acquired, and have as yet been examined only in a cursory manner. . . . One of the most interesting papers is the original memorandum of conditions of peace given by President Lincoln to Judge Campbell, of Virginia, on April 5, 1865, after the fall of Richmond. The collection is estimated to contain about 15,000 documents, and was purchased from the grandson of the President, Mr. Andrew Johnson Patterson, of Greeneville, Tenn."

These excerpts from the Librarian's latest report show that the tendency in both gifts and purchases is towards the acquisition of manuscripts having especial bearing on American history. In a library of national record, manuscripts of works significant of the origin, development, and progress of the nation's literature should have an important place. There is yet much to be done in the accumulation of creditable collections of such manuscripts in the Library of Congress, and in this work of the future the South must be relied on for her co-operation and support. To mention only one name in Southern literature,—Edgar Allan Poe,—there can be no question that if the Library of Congress possessed the extant manuscripts of his poems and tales, its prestige would be enhanced abroad, while, owing to their readier accessibility to the scholarship of the world, to the South herself would eventually accrue a richer portion of the heritage which is justly hers.

Some New North Carolina Industries

BY REV. THOMAS A. SMOOT

To attempt a discussion at any length of all of the important new industries that have arisen in North Carolina in the last score of years, would be to overtax the limits of this magazine, as well as to propose for oneself a task of rather discouraging dimensions. In keeping with the implied suggestion of the above statements, only three subjects will be treated, viz., lettuce and dewberry culture, and turpentine distillation from lightwood.

The growing of lettuce in the State as an important branch of industry, does not date farther back than the period 1890-5. During the years previous, one can recall the planting of a row of the vegetable in the garden, to be used for salad, or just to have "something of everything;" but any idea of marketing it would have been regarded as preposterous. The farmer even looked upon the plant with contempt, as being suggestive of an effeminacy unworthy of commercial tastes and values.

During the time indicated above, two enterprising truckers from Baltimore, the Fizzle brothers, began the culture of lettuce in the sandy loam about Fayetteville. The people looked on with astonishment, and predicted failure. How could lettuce be grown under cover in dead of winter? And if successfully grown, was it of any commercial value? Time alone was necessary to make answer as to the practicability of the attempt, and to raise up many imitators of the Fizzelles. At this writing, perhaps two-thirds of the gardens in and around Fayetteville have from two to six beds of lettuce in them, which the ladies usually claim as theirs; while the truck farmer outside the city is pressing the culture of the crop on a large scale. It is estimated that as much as \$100,000 worth of lettuce is shipped from Fayetteville each year. It can be readily seen that such an amount of money is bound to be a considerable factor in the town's prosperity.

It requires considerable labor and expense to put the ground in proper condition, and to provide beds for the plants; but when the preparation is complete, the result is lasting for years. Heavy boards are used to wall in the beds, which are usually

11x60 to 100 feet in dimensions, lying east and west, and sloping toward the sun. Cotton canvas covers are used to protect the plants from cold. These cause a considerable part of the expense. The ground must have been thoroughly pulverized and made very rich in order to insure quick growth and tender lettuce. For the first year, the expense of preparation and cultivation for an acre of lettuce amounts to \$1,000; after that, it is much less. Generally speaking, the net profit on an acre is from \$800 to \$1,000. One trucker just outside the city limits is accredited with clearing \$2,500 a year on three acres, not to mention the crops of beans and other vegetables grown on the same ground after the lettuce has been taken off.

The lands lying along the Upper Cape Fear are said to be as finely adapted to the growth of lettuce as any section in America. Best of all, they lie midway between the semi-tropical region in the far South, where the crop comes very early, and the colder sections North, where it comes several weeks later. This gives the growers in this State an opportunity to strike the markets during this interim.

Two crops are planted annually—one in the early fall, harvested about the first of December; and one in the beds then vacated, which is marketed in the early spring. It is the lettuce of the latter crop that most appeals to the New Yorker's appetite, and which brings the best prices. So famous has it become that the great commission houses of Philadelphia and New York send their representatives each season to Fayetteville and the surrounding country to make purchases for them. These men go to the fields and solicit in person the consignments to their houses.

The plants are taken from original beds, and are carefully set out in the ground prepared for them, with spaces wide enough between to allow the leaves room to spread. They must from the first be watched and worked to hasten growth and to keep insects and disease at bay, for the plant has several deadly enemies. In cold weather the covers are removed on fair days to give the plants the sun, but care must be taken to replace them at nightfall, as one frost would prove destructive to the crop, or at least damage its sale.

When the heads become firm, resembling well-developed cabbages, they are packed in bushel baskets, made for the purpose.

Usually, thirty to forty good heads will fill a basket, but they must be packed very tightly, and if necessary the number must be increased so as to make up the normal weight. Otherwise, it is impossible to make a good sale. Quotations from the markets take the basket as the unit, \$1.25 being considered a fair price, and \$3.00 extra good. It is said that money can be made on the crop even if the former price prevails.

There is no crop more fascinating than that of lettuce, according to those who have had experience in its growth. Many of the most cultured women of Fayetteville raise considerable quantities every year, and aside from financial returns, get wholesome exercise in the out-of-door air that amply repays for the trouble required. The big growers are becoming more numerous, and the tendency is continually to increase the acreage.

It has been stated that the loamy soils are best adapted to the growth of the lettuce plant. Sandy soils are too dry. This statement does not apply to dewberries, however, which thrive in the white, dry sands in a manner that suggests an at-home feeling. It does one good to see the arid sand-plains turned into blooming berry fields. Few scenes more beautiful could be found than these great fields at blooming time, with a sea of snow-white blossoms open, and filling the air with their fragrance. What a change, from scrubby black-jacks and scanty growths of useless sedges, to landscapes of beauty and utility!

The dewberry crop, like that of lettuce, is comparatively new. Many a man of today remembers when, as a boy, a score of years ago, he traversed the abandoned fields, and searched old fence rows, in quest of dewberries, out of which his mother made the best of pies. The pie was indeed good, but the vine was looked upon with more or less contempt, being a nuisance to pedestrians. Who dreamed then that this same stringy, running brier, would at so early a date become a factor in the industrial life of our people? However strange, such is the case, and thousands of dollars are realized yearly from the new industry.

The plants are set in rows eight feet apart, the distance between plants in the row being half as much. On secure stakes along the rows are strung wires, to which the vines are tied, and along which the tendrils are trained, in order to protect the fruit from the dirt, and to render it more easily gathered. In winter,

the extremities of the vines freeze, and this dead material must be cut off. After several years the old stock must be replaced entirely with new settings.

The berries are gathered from the last of May, through June, after the strawberry season is over, and before the time-honored blackberry comes in, and hence, are always in good demand. The harvesting of the crop is often troublesome, owing to the scarcity of labor. A few days' delay means loss, for berries must not be thoroughly ripe when shipped.

After being gathered, the berries are packed in quart baskets, which in turn are placed in bushel crates. They are then ready for the market, which is found anywhere from Baltimore to Boston. Sixty crates to the acre is a good yield, and the price varies from \$3.20 to \$4.80 a crate. From this it will be seen that an acre will bring from \$200 to \$250 if planted in dewberry vines. The same land, planted in cotton, would not produce over half a bale, for the land is of necessity light. A trucker who has twenty acres planted in berries says he can reasonably expect a return of \$4,000 for his crop annually.

When it is considered what vast areas of land lying in the eastern part of the State are adapted to the culture of this berry, one can form some idea of the colossal dimensions the industry may assume in the future. If a traveller over the old Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley railroad, beginning at Sanford, looks from the car window, he will see to his right and left a continuous stretch of sandy plains and hills, covered with scrubby oaks and tough sedges, extending entirely to Wilmington. His first impression will be that he is passing through a hopeless desert of sand, beyond the reach of improvement. But in reality, he is traversing a region that would welcome the dewberry, peach and grape, and which must some day be devoted to these valuable products. The word "must" is used advisedly; for if our own people fail to take advantage of nature's proffered wealth, enterprising settlers from other sections will come in and reap the rich harvests.

An industry of great importance, and in many respects more interesting than either of the foregoing, is that of turpentine distillation from lightwood.

It is a well-known fact that North Carolina no longer holds its place of pre-eminence in the production of "tar, pitch and turpen-

tine." The supremacy in the output of these products went to South Carolina from the Old North State, then shifted to Georgia, and lastly was yielded to Florida. The naval stores business has followed the receding lines of the virgin long-leaf pine, which has melted away like a snow-man in the sun before the fortune-seekers axe. Only rarely is there to be found a tract of land, kept as a legacy by a careful parent, which has virgin pines upon it that have not been boxed. With the passing of this tree, the scarcity of the products taken from it must be more and more keenly felt.

What, therefore, is to be done to meet the world's demand and need for resinous products? The question has already been answered by the discovery of a method of extracting turpentine, and its by-products, from lightwood, vast quantities of which lie strewn all over the territory once covered by the long-leaf pine. Old stumps, roots and logs are to be found everywhere—in the fields, woods and swamps. Time effects fat pine but little, and wherever it exists, there it will remain in a state of preservation for an indefinite period. Great quantities of it, heretofore considered of small value, are being gathered up and shipped to the factories, where it is sold for good prices. The farmer, therefore, gains a double advantage in clearing his fields of stumps.

The old process of making turpentine is well known, consisting in placing the crude rosin in a copper retort and evaporating it by slow fires. The vapors thus produced, when collected in the condenser, form the pure commercial spirits turpentine, while tar and other valuable by-products are found in the residue. The new process of extracting these products from the lightwood itself consists in putting the wood into a great iron retort first, into which open several steam pipes. The steam is then injected into the retort, where, kept under a temperature of from 200 to 212 degrees, the fat pine gradually yields its resinous contents. These are all collected in a condenser, just as the vapors in an ordinary still. But the result is an indistinguishable mass, containing not only turpentine, but tar and numerous other by-products. In order to get the products separately, this whole mass is now placed in a copper retort, similar to that used in distilling the pure rosin, and is evaporated in like manner to it. The final products are "wood spirits turpentine," tar, and by-products too numerous to mention.

These by-products deserve special notice. Several of them, the most abundant in quantity, are utilized in mixing certain paints, in which there is no danger of marring the colors. A number of others are being used for medicinal purposes. The difficulty in their use lies not in the production of them, for it is well known that this hydrocarbon series may be carried on to an almost unlimited extent; but it is in their unstable nature that the trouble rests. What they are today, they may not be tomorrow. However, they are being tightly bottled to prevent, as far as possible, their breaking up, and are being sold in considerable quantities by some factories. Moreover, the most skilled chemists are constantly working toward a method of increasing their stability.

Naturally the naval stores people have fiercely attacked the spirits turpentine extracted from lightwood as being inferior to that taken from the virgin rosin. First, it was assailed on the ground of its yellow color. The lightwood factory's chemist immediately went to work and discovered a means of making it colorless. Next it was claimed the new product was little more than wood alcohol, but that idea was successfully routed. Later the specific gravity of the supplanting extract was assailed, and this claim has been as vigorously met as those above mentioned. The naval stores operators, however, have been able to secure the passage of laws in the different States compelling the lightwood distillers to brand their products as "wood spirits turpentine." This law continually harbors the suspicion in the mind of the public that the new product is somewhat of a humbug, despite the fact that reputable chemists analyze it as essentially the same in quality as the commercial spirits. As a result of the warfare upon their turpentine, the lightwood operators are forced to take six cents less a gallon for it than do the naval stores operators for the commercial spirits.

Despite all drawbacks, the lightwood operator is forging ahead and is making some money. The net profit on the whole output of a cord of fat pine amounts to \$10.00, while the sale of the charcoal that remains runs the amount up \$2.00 more. This charcoal, rich in ignitable gases, is always in demand on local markets, since it makes the hottest fires of any obtainable fuel, and is especially valued in cooking.

The naval stores man is warming up just a little toward the lightwood people. The farmer is often a visitor at the latter's plant, and is asking many questions. He already sees the beginning of the end with him, when all the noble long-leaf giants will be gone. Hence, with an eye that is human, in that it looks to self-preservation, this man who is passing is casting a backward glance along his track, and is beginning to yearn for a share in the rich aftermath of the harvest that he has reaped with such profit.

The next decade must witness a complete reversal of things. The new industry is bound to have the pre-eminence. New discoveries in the value of by-products will add yet greater wealth to the coffers of the lightwood distiller. Millions of cords of lightwood, buried in swamps, hidden in the brush, existing as a nuisance in stumps await his coming. Already there is a steady call for his products by those who know their value. As a concrete example it may be said that the great furniture factories of High Point have been using wood spirits turpentine for years. It is cheaper than the commercial, and just as good, for it is just the same in properties.

There are about thirty of these lightwood distilling plants already existent in the South, and others will spring up rapidly. Most of them have not sufficient capital to press their operation as should be done. What they need is more money, and concentrated effort under some strong leadership. One of the operators says that in the near future a combine will unquestionably be formed which will guarantee to the new industry a permanency and an effectiveness in operation which will usher in for the industry the era of prosperity and development above predicted.

The South and the Manufacture of Cotton

BY CHARLES LEE RAPER,

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The Southern farmer now grows more than eleven million bales of cotton, at least seventy-five per cent. of the world's annual output. Will the Southern business man allow other sections than his own to transform more than nine million bales of this raw material into finished fabric? Will he permit the manufacturer of New England and Europe to reap the great reward of such a process? The answers to these most important inquiries are to be found, it seems to me, in the facts of the past, in a keen analysis of present conditions and tendencies, and in a wise forecast of the future.

What are the facts of the past? For sixty years of her life, the old South was more than the master maker of raw cotton; she was almost an absolute "king," with a domain as wide as the civilized world. In transportation, banking, and manufacturing, she gave forth remarkable evidence of power and energy, though only for the last fifteen years of her life. During the decade closing with 1860 almost eight thousand miles of railroad were constructed by the Southern States, while the New England and Middle States built less than five thousand miles. The year 1860 saw the South possessed of thirty per cent. of the banking capital and forty per cent. of all the real and personal property of the United States, though she had but one-third of the total population and less than one-fourth of the whites. This same year saw her possessed of factories and mills of all kinds valued at about one hundred and seventy-five million dollars.

Southern economic life was, during this decade, becoming diversified. For a half century it had been confined largely to agriculture, and for the most part of one type—the growing of the cotton fibre. Soil, climate, slavery, the cotton gin, and high prices for the raw material—all contributed their part in bringing about this concentration of Southern energy and capital upon the culture of cotton. During this half century cotton was indeed "king." With an average price of about seventeen cents a pound

for the raw fibre, from 1800 to 1840, cotton culture became and continued to be the dominant idea in Southern life and thought. It was cotton that supported in luxuriant style the great baronial estate of the Southern planter. It was cotton that brought him wealth in the shape of land, slaves and money. It was cotton that gave him leisure for reading and meditation, for making brilliant speeches and formulating remarkable theories of government. It was cotton that brought the Southern planters into one community of thinking and acting—into a solid South—and made them free traders, not protectionists.

Before this period of cotton's supremacy, the South had diversified agriculture and manufacture, and from 1845 to 1860 came a revival of industrial life and diversity of farming. With a price of a little more than five and a half cents, in 1845, cotton culture lost much of its control over the mind of the Southern planter. He was then forced to seek new and more profitable fields for his energy and capital, and an average price of almost eleven and a half cents, from 1850 to 1860, was not a sufficient motive power to drive him back again entirely within the cotton fields.

There were other aspects of this old Southern life. This old society, though it was powerful, brilliant and picturesque, was in some particulars not of the permanent type. It was to an extent based upon slavery, and the history of the human race has but one story to tell of an economic and social structure upon such a foundation: it must some day be changed or fall. In spite of the old South's really great achievements, she had one decided hindrance, one dark spot upon her life—negro slavery. This was not only a hindrance to the greatest and highest industrial development of the old South, but its residues—the free negro and the free negro's ghost in politics—are still great obstacles to Southern progress.

What of the Southern people since 1880? War, most severe and disastrous, brought destruction to much of the old system. It abolished slavery, gave economic and political freedom, almost in a moment, to millions of negroes who knew nothing of its meaning and responsibility, swept away Southern leadership in government and agriculture, brought bankruptcy and financial ruin to Southern banks and governmental treasuries, closed or

leveled to the ground Southern factories and mills, consumed, as if by fire, hundreds of millions of Southern wealth, and above these, blotted out by the thousands most valuable lives. While in 1860 the Southern States possessed at least forty per cent. of all the property of the entire country, they were poor by 1870, and they became poorer during the uncertain and gloomy days of Reconstruction. To the South the War brought ruin and poverty; to the North it brought prosperity and wealth. To the South the days of Reconstruction brought poverty and gloom, to the North they brought riches and hope. For the South to have rebuilt her commonwealths, to have restored and diversified her agriculture, to have reconstructed her railroads, banking institutions and factories, to have risen from a low position in 1880 to a high one in 1905—to have done all this within a quarter of a century is an extraordinary comment upon the character and energy of the Southern man.

The new South is not, to any very great extent, a product of outside energy and ability. She is largely a revival and a continuation of the old life, a child born of the old conditions, but reared amid new surroundings. The circumstances and time of her birth were most remarkable. She came from the womb of the ruin and the chaos precipitated upon the old South by the most terrible of wars. She was born at a time when the white man of the South and the white man of the North cherished bitter feelings the one for the other, when the Southern white man and the negro were in many ways fundamentally opposed to each other.

While the new South is a child of the old Southern civilization, her economic and social structure is based upon the principle of the freedom of labor, not upon slavery, and she is built upon a permanent foundation. The child is democratic and believes in education for all; the South before 1860 was aristocratic and educated the few. The child is becoming cosmopolitan, looks upon the world's fields of industry and commerce, while the old South was intensely local in her views.

The new South, though she has witnessed a remarkable resurrection, is still far behind the North in wealth and industrial life. The North had more than fifty years the lead and, while the South was becoming poorer and poorer during the direful days of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the North was gathering

golden returns with marvellous rapidity. While the new South is still far behind the North in economic intelligence, activity and wealth, the first twenty years of her life saw more rapid and remarkable progress than any other section of the entire country. During these years the South had an increase in the value of land and its improvements of sixty-seven per cent., while the whole country saw an increase of only sixty-three per cent.; the South had an increase in the value of farm products of almost one hundred per cent., though her population increased by only forty-four per cent.; the South had an increase in the value of investments in manufacture of all kinds of about three hundred and forty-eight per cent., while the increase for the whole country was about two hundred and fifty per cent.; the South had an increase in the value of factory products of almost two hundred and twenty per cent., while the increase for the whole country was only one hundred and forty-two per cent. These statistics of life and progress, though statistics are often dry and uninteresting, make a brilliant and interesting comment upon Southern industrial ability and energy. These facts of the achievements of the new and infant South, coupled with the data of the achievements of the old South, make an optimistic forecast of the future South most vitally real.

What then of our fundamental question? What of the future of the South in the manufacture of cotton goods? As we have stated, the Southern farmer grows annually raw cotton amounting to more than eleven million bales. Will the South allow New England and Europe to manufacture more than nine million bales of this raw material? Raw cotton sells for ten cents a pound, and one pound of this when converted into its highest forms sells for more than twenty dollars. Who shall reap the great reward? New England? England? The South? The process of converting the lower forms of the raw fibre of only a small part of this output into the higher forms of the finished fabric has done much to make New England immensely rich and prosperous; today the manufacture of cotton goods is probably the most important New England industry. For more than a century the cotton mills of England, in which one-half of the raw cotton of the world has been transformed into all kinds and qualities of fabrics, have been her greatest source of wealth and prosperity. Can

the South take from New England and England their factories, at least many of them, and pour into her own life the vast wealth and marvellous stimulation which their transfer would bring? I am optimistic enough to think that she can, and I believe that the facts in the case will support my conviction.

We have already seen what the old South, though under the restriction of slavery, achieved in manufacture. We have seen what the new and infant South, though under the restrictions of poverty and inefficient negro labor, has begun to accomplish in the various fields of industry. Let us now consider what the South is doing in the making of cotton fabrics. In 1880 the Southern States had less than seven hundred thousand cotton spindles and about twenty million dollars invested in cotton factories. Today they have about eight million spindles, or more than eleven times as many as in 1880. Today they have almost two hundred million dollars in factories, or ten times as much as they had twenty-four years ago. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the capital invested in cotton factories throughout the United States had an increase of about one hundred and twenty per cent., while that invested in the Southern mills saw an increase of about four hundred and twelve per cent. In 1892 the Northern factories transformed into fabric a little more than two million bales, while the Southern mills needed only about six hundred thousand. Today the factories of each section call for about the same amount—about two million bales. In other words the amount manufactured by the Northern factories has not increased during the last twelve years, while the amount used by the Southern factories has increased with extraordinary rapidity.

This is not all the evidence that goes to the support of my conviction—that the South can become the world center of the manufacture of cotton fabrics. There is much, indeed a very great deal, in the general situation to which statistics cannot give adequate expression. By virtue of a gift of nature of a mild though vigorous climate in many parts of the South, it costs less to build factories there than it does in New England. The long and bitter frosts of a New England winter bring damage even to the most substantially constructed building, while the structure in the gentler climate of the South is almost entirely free from

such loss. Water power, another great gift of nature, is there in lavish abundance, and the cold of winter rarely ever by a coat of ice obstructs its utilization as a cheap and efficient motive power of factories and workshops. During the New England winter a river is more valuable for the ice taken from it than for its motive power. The mild temperature of the Southern winter makes it possible to clothe and shelter the factory operative at a low cost, while the extreme cold of a New England winter makes necessary a high cost. The wages of the Southern cotton mill worker are now from ten to twenty-five per cent. lower than those of the New England operative of the same general grade. As the South more and more becomes a maker of cotton fabrics, as her demand for labor becomes greater and stronger, Southern wages will consequently increase, but I believe that it can be maintained that Southern wages will always be lower than those in New England. Wages are regulated not only by what labor can produce, but also by what it costs this labor to clothe, shelter and feed itself. As we have seen, it costs less to house and clothe the Southern worker than it does the operative in New England. It also costs less to supply him with food. The greater part of our food goes to producing heat, not to building or repairing tissue. The expensive part of a working man's living is the fuel for his furnace, so to speak—the production of heat. That the Southern worker is subject to less of this expense and the operative at the North to more of it can with good reason, it seems to me, be claimed.

The South does not at present possess as much capital, the other great agent of production, as does New England, but this disadvantage will quickly disappear, for capital is a mobile thing and will soon shift to the point of greatest reward to itself. Nor is the South so abundantly possessed of that great skill of the operative and that superb intelligence and organization of the manufacturer, factors which have so greatly blessed the New England mills, but she is rapidly coming into possession of these also. The spirit of general and technical education and of enlightened combination and concentration is already leading the South, and under its guidance greater and greater things will be accomplished. The time has come when the Southern manufacturer is profoundly conscious of the value of the most skilled labor,

of the best machinery, and of the most complete organization of all his activities. The Southerner, as well as the man of the North, now knows that in intelligent combination there is great productive power. Hitherto a lack of an efficient system of transportation has retarded Southern progress, has taken away a great natural advantage—the nearness of the factories to the cotton field,—but the day is now not far distant when the South will come into the possession of this great factor of industrial life. With the completion of the Panama Canal, ships laden in Southern ports will carry the agricultural and manufactured products of the South to all ports of the world, and with this will come a far more efficient railway system.

In answering one of our questions, can the South become the American center of the manufacture of cotton goods, we have considered the facts, analyzed the general situation, and we have been led to the affirmative side. The more sweeping question, can the South become the world center of cotton manufacture, meets with somewhat the same response, though time will not permit me to give detailed evidence. For the South to do this will mean that the whole process of the production of cotton goods will be completed within her own borders and that her own people will reap the great rewards accruing from each part of the process. The Southern farmer produces the elementary utilities in the raw cotton fibre, and these are now worth more than four hundred million dollars a year. The Southern manufacturer will convert these lower form utilities into many and varied higher form utilities—into useful and beautiful fabrics of clothing,—and this process will bring with it great activity and wealth. The Southern transportation agent will come between the farmer and the manufacturer, between the manufacturer and the merchant. His process will add place utilities and will bring great intelligence and unity into Southern industrial forces. Between the creator of the higher form utilities and the consumer of these utilities will come the Southern merchant, who will add time utilities. Each agent in the production of cotton goods adds utilities and values, creates new utilities and values. For a people to carry on all of these processes, for a people to make all of the links of the economic chain of production, is for that people to be vigorous and prosperous. It is this complete

chain of production that converts everything which it touches into wealth and golden life.

For the South to achieve this industrial ideal will bring on one of the greatest of contests. To take the textile establishments from New England will also take from her many of her mills for making steam engines and textile machinery, much of her capital and skilled labor—will in short make a vital thrust at her industrial life. For the South to take from England her supremacy in the manufacture and commerce of cotton goods will mean a far greater and more prolonged contest. The transforming of the raw cotton fibre into finished fabrics has so long been England's staple enterprise, the control of the market of these fabrics has so long been within her hands, so much of her wealth, industrial life, and prosperity, has been wrapped up in these processes, that to take them away would mean nothing short of a life and death struggle. But to conquer England's world-wide market of cotton goods is an ever attractive goal for the ambitious Southern manufacturer.

To win in this great struggle will make the South most vigorous and prosperous, will pour into Southern treasuries millions of capital, will add to Southern productive power by the thousand fold, will make it possible for the Southern laborer to toil under circumstances of greatest reward to himself, will enable the Southern business manager to carry on all of his enterprises under the most perfect method and organization, and will create a Southern society which is busy not only with the material things of life, but also those higher things for which the human heart at its best moments longs. To win in this contest will not only bring the South wealth in lavish abundance, but also those nobler things for which wealth is only a means to an end.

The Executive Prerogative in the United States

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PART II.

2. *The restraint of individual liberty and the freedom of speech.* One of the most highly prized safeguards of the Constitution for the preservation of individual liberty is the provision that the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended except when in case of invasion or rebellion the public safety may require it. This is somewhat indefinite as to who shall do the suspending. Since this clause stands among those imposing certain prohibitions upon Congress it would seem that it was the intention of the convention that the suspension should be done by Congress under the limitations mentioned. The constitutions of Mexico and Brazil, which were modeled upon ours, expressly say that the power of suspension rests with the legislature. Judicial decisions also uphold this view of our Constitution, but many eminent men have held that this was a prerogative of the Executive.* Inasmuch as he undoubtedly has the right to proclaim martial law it might be argued that it is a mere quibble of terms, since martial law *ipso facto* suspends the privileges of the writ. But there is a great difference in the nature of the two. To suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* is really a legislative act, to some extent an act of sovereignty, whereby new conditions are created. On the other hand text writers agree that a proclamation of martial law creates no change in actual conditions, but merely announces the existence of a fact. It is applicable only to the immediate theatre of war.

The first attempt to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* was made at the time of the Burr Conspiracy excitement when the Senate passed a bill for that purpose, but it failed in the House because the excitement was quieting down. Jefferson objected to the power to suspend in any case whatever. General Wilkinson, however, practically brought about a suspension at

*See Whiting, *War Powers under the Constitution* (1871), 202.

New Orleans by disregarding the writ when issued by the courts.* As a consequence the government had to pay damages for false imprisonment. This bit of history was repeated in 1815 by General Jackson, who proclaimed martial law and was fined for disregarding the writ. The natural supposition would be that the power authorized to proclaim martial law should be the judge of the facts justifying it, but on several occasions the courts have inquired into the facts to see whether martial law did in reality exist.

In spite of these examples and of the fact that Justices Marshall and Story were on record as saying that the power of suspension belonged to Congress, Mr. Lincoln, at the outbreak of the Civil War, assumed that it belonged to the Executive and proceeded to exercise it.† The first order affected only the military line between Philadelphia and Washington, but more territory was gradually taken in until the whole Union was included.

At first suspects were simply arrested and confined without being brought to trial, often without being informed of the cause of their detention. A proclamation of September 24, 1862, gives some idea of the class of persons subject to arrest, also of the means then at their command to secure justice. In the words of the proclamation, "All rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, resisting military drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to the rebels, . . . shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commissions." As criticism of the administration was classed under the head of disloyal practices it may be easily imagined that the arrests were numerous. The attention of Congress was called to the matter by members who presented resolution after resolution directed against the abuses of the system. Finally an act was passed (March 3, 1863,) authorizing the President to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* during the war and making his order a sufficient defense in all courts against any prosecution pending or to be commenced for searches, arrests, and seizures. At the same time an effort was made to limit the abuses connected with arbitrary arrests by directing the Secretary of War to furnish the United States

*Story, *ibid.*, p. 215; *Ex parte Bollman*, 4 Cranch, 75.

†Opins. Attys. Gen. (Bates), 1, 74 *et seq.*

courts with the names of citizens of loyal States held as political prisoners and providing for the discharge of all persons so held where a grand jury adjourned without finding indictments against them.

The total number of military arrests was very large, the number exceeding five hundred before the close of 1861. Nor was the law just cited always strictly observed. The charges on which arrests were made varied from the flimsiest to some respectably grave. All classes were affected, from prominent politicians and office-holders to poor laborers and helpless women and children.* As the President could not possibly know the merits of each case, much had to be left to his subordinates, consequently abuses crept in. Often the power was used for spite or to wreak vengeance on a personal enemy. The abuses appear to have been greatest in the border States of Kentucky and Maryland.†

Soon after the first suspension a writ was granted by Chief Justice Taney for John Merryman, a citizen of Maryland, on the ground that the President had no right to suspend its privileges. The writ was disregarded by the general who made the arrest, as also a writ of attachment for contempt in refusing to obey the order. The justice then said that he could do nothing but file his opinion and confess himself helpless.‡ In one or two cases men were fined for making military arrests and disregarding writs of *habeas corpus*, but all efforts to correct the abuses amounted to nothing until the close of the war. Even then military arrests and trials by military commissions did not cease immediately. William Cozzens, of Pennsylvania, was arrested June 26, 1865, but was released by Justice Thompson, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, on the ground that the President no longer had the right to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the rebellion being at an end.§ After the close of hostilities the case of L. P. Milligan came before the Supreme Court. He was arrested in October, 1864, but no report of the arrest was ever made to the judiciary. The grand jury met and adjourned with-

*N. Y. Evening Express, Oct. 7, 1864; and other papers.

†Offic. Rec. (Reb.), serial No 118, p. 96.

‡McPherson, History of the Rebellion, 154.

§Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia, 1865, pp. 415 et seq.; see also 9 Wall., 274; N. Y. World, Oct. 25, 1865.

out returning any indictment. However, the prisoner was not discharged, but was brought before a military commission, which sentenced him to death. The Supreme Court declared the proceedings illegal from beginning to end. Not only had the law of 1863 been violated in that no report of the arrest was ever made, but also the Constitution, in that he was denied the right of trial by jury. The military commission was illegal because it had not been ordained and established by Congress, which alone had power to establish courts. The command of the President did not justify the act, because he was subject to law. Neither did the "laws and usages of war" apply in States where the courts were open and their processes unobstructed. This was not a case arising in the "land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger." Indiana was not a seat of war nor in immediate danger. The proclamation of martial law and the subjection of citizens, as well as soldiers, to the will of the supreme commander, "destroys every guarantee of the Constitution and effectually renders the military independent of and superior to the civil power." The order for the discharge of the prisoner was concurred in by all of the judges, but four of them filed an opinion dissenting from the argument of the majority.* Some political writers have criticised this decision as unsound, holding that such powers must be vested in the Executive for the successful prosecution of a war, but practice has shown that it will be abused, and if there is anything that an American hates, it is the abuse of power. A previous decision had allowed the Executive to begin a defensive war; this one announced that the judiciary could pass upon the extent of such a war and the time when it ended. The decision against the legality of military commissions in time of peace was observed by the McKinley administration in refusing to establish such tribunals in Porto Rico after the conclusion of peace at the request of certain military officials.

Hand in hand with the arrest of individuals went the suppression of newspapers. Metropolitan and country papers suffered alike for references to the "present unholy war" and other like aid and comfort to the enemy. For a time it seems that all

**Ex parte Milligan*, 4 Wall., 2.

Democratic papers were excluded from Kentucky.* The censorship of the press exercised in the Philippines caused no little complaint, and the authority for it was called in question. Certainly it was nothing new. In the course of the Civil War a general order recited that the President would take military possession of the telegraph lines. Newspapers publishing military news not authorized by an official would be denied the use of these lines and the right of transmission by railroad. In Ohio General Burnside went so far as to order sundry weekly papers to send him proof of their matter before it was published.†

3. *Suspension and amendment of State laws.* Several laws of Maryland were silent in the midst of arms. By October 7, 1861, twenty-two members of the legislature had been incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. Seven State officers, the mayor of Baltimore, and a member of Congress, in spite of the privileges guaranteed in the State and Federal Constitutions, were arrested, but were released on taking the oath of allegiance. An election was to be held in November. Troops were sent into the State to guard the polls and arrest suspects, though no application had been made by the legislature or the governor for protection against domestic violence. The laws of Maryland expressly forbade any officer to parade troops in sight of a polling place on election day, except in the city of Baltimore. The sending in of troops with such orders, though a violation of State law, was a preventive measure and herein its justification must be sought. In 1863 General Schenck ordered the soldiers to watch the polls and impose the oath of allegiance as a qualification for suffrage.‡ Governor Bradford protested against this and ordered the election judges to perform their duties as conservators of the peace and to report all infractions of the law, particularly the one forbidding soldiers at the polls. As a counter-move General Schenck then restricted the circulation of the governor's proclamation in certain parts of the State until the President's letter in defense of his order could go with it. At the election in 1864 voters were intimidated and arrested by the military, but the Democrats elected a majority of the Legislature. One was threatened with arrest if he did not

*Appleton, 1864, pp. 394, 451.

†*Ibid.*, 1863, pp. 478, 484.

‡*Ibid.*, 1861, p. 360; McPherson, 153, 309 *et seq.*; Newspapers of the day.

resign, and another was imprisoned on the charge of having raised a rebel flag over his house in 1861.

In March, 1863, the legislature of Delaware passed a stringent law against "evil disposed persons" who had caused armed soldiers to be brought into the State to prevent freedom in elections. November 13 General Schenck applied his Maryland order to Delaware and the same day the governor, William Shannon, enjoined "all civil officers and good citizens" to obey this military order.* Comment would be superfluous.

There can be no doubt that much of the turbulence in Kentucky was due to Federal interference at the polls. Both in 1863 and 1864 martial law was proclaimed and wholesale arrests were made. One prominent candidate fled from the State to escape arrest, and others were not allowed to have their names on the poll books. The lieutenant-governor was arrested and sent South without a trial even by military commission, but escaped from the Confederate lines and resumed his position. In defense of his course President Lincoln said: "By general law life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I feel that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution, through the preservation of the nation."† But the amputation did not cease with the preservation of the nation. The interference in the August election of 1865 was most flagrant and shameless.‡

D. On Hostile Domestic Territory.

1. *Powers over the life and property of individuals.* In general the powers of the Executive are the same as in prosecuting a foreign war, but in some respects they are different. A sort of modern "fork and hook of Morton" was applied to the Confederates in that they were sometimes treated as rebels, sometimes as alien enemies. At the beginning of hostilities President Lincoln announced that Confederate privateers would be treated as pirates and the first captured were actually condemned as such, but the threat of Mr. Davis to apply the *lex talionis* caused him

*McPherson, 312.

†Appleton, 1864, p. 449.

‡N. Y. Herald, Aug. 14, 1865; Cincinnati Commercial.

to recede from this position. At the capture of New Orleans Wm. B. Mumford was tried by a military commission on a charge of treason and was executed by order of General Butler. If he was a citizen of the United States, he was entitled to the form of trial prescribed by the Constitution; if not, he could not have been guilty of treason to the United States.

Before the passage of the confiscation act the work of confiscation and sequestration was begun in New Orleans. All persons, male and female, eighteen years of age, who had not renewed their allegiance, were required to report with a list of their property. General Butler then pushed the work of confiscation, but his arrangement was soon broken up by the President, who ordered that the work be carried on with some observance of the forms of law.* The general leased the confiscated and "abandoned" plantations to his brother and claimed to set down the profits to the credit of the United States. In some cases the commanding general assumed power to make contracts for loyal planters with their slaves who had not yet been set free. General Banks, when in Louisiana, ordered registered enemies to leave and their "abandoned" property was at once seized and the movable part of it sold. The management of the plantations was continued on an enlarged scale. The authority for the acts must be sought in the laws of war, but some of them went beyond what would be sanctioned in a foreign war. The issuance of the emancipation proclamation, however, one of the most striking assumptions of Executive power, was done in the exercise of a belligerent right recognized by the law of nations.

2. *The restoration of government.* The rights belonging to the conqueror are about the same as on foreign territory, but in this case the object in view was different. March 3, 1862, President Lincoln nominated Andrew Johnson for the rank of major-general of volunteers and, upon his confirmation, appointed him military governor of Tennessee. By the terms of his commission he was authorized "to exercise and perform, within the limits of that State, all and singular the powers and duties pertaining to the office of military governor, including the power to establish all necessary offices, tribunals, etc."† September 19, this commission

*Offic. Rec. (Reb.), ser. 1, vol. vx, 575, 592; *ibid.*, ser. No. 123, p. 765.

†McPherson, 179.

was so altered as to allow him to "exercise such powers as may be necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of Tennessee to present such a republican form of government as will entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States therefor." General George F. Shepley, of Maine, and Mr. John S. Phelps, of Missouri, were appointed military governors of Louisiana and Arkansas respectively in August, 1862.

The President's object in these appointments was to assist the loyal people of the seceding States in restoring those States to the Union. The loyal people were now in the minority, but others might be restored to the rights and privileges of citizenship by taking an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the slavery legislation enacted during the war, and the Executive proclamations on that subject, so far as not superseded by law. Whenever the loyal electors so constituted, amounting to one-tenth of the number voting in the Presidential election in 1860, should establish a State government republican in form, it would be recognized by the Executive as the true government of the State.

Members of Congress early showed an interest in the work of restoration, but no definite action was taken by that body until the passage of the Wade-Davis Bill, July 2, 1864. The plan outlined in this differed from the President's in that it required the loyal citizens to be in the majority. They were to elect delegates to conventions and the constitutions adopted by them must disfranchise certain enumerated classes, prohibit slavery, and repudiate the Confederate debt. The fate of the bill was a "pocket" veto. The President, in justification of his course, said that he was unwilling to be inflexibly committed to any one plan, or to declare the competency of Congress to abolish slavery in any State. Nevertheless, he was willing to give his assistance to the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt this plan.*

Evidently the theory at the basis of the President's plan was that of the indestructibility of the States. That is, the States, with their old constitutions and laws, were still in existence for their loyal inhabitants, though disorganized because their officers had fled. But in carrying out the work of restoration the military governors either disregarded the old constitutions and laws

*Proclamation of July 8, 1864.

or amended them when they stood in the way of the realization of new ideas. While this work was going on it was necessary to provide for temporary government in some way. Offices were filled by election or appointment, but the incumbents were always subject to the will of the governor, or in Louisiana to that of the commanding general. In Tennessee a judge was elected, received his commission from the governor, and the next day was assigned to the inside of the penitentiary for a circuit. By order of General Shepley two members of Congress were elected in Louisiana in 1862 and they were admitted to seats. Presidential electors were chosen in Tennessee and Louisiana in 1864. The oath exacted in Tennessee as a suffrage qualification virtually required a renunciation of the Chicago (Democratic) platform, in consequence of which the McClellan electors protested and withdrew.* The votes of Tennessee and Louisiana were not counted.

The loyalists were by no means harmonious, but an irregular convention in Tennessee put forth an amendment to the constitution which met the views of Governor Johnson and it was adopted by a vote of 25,293 to 48, considerably more than one-tenth of the number cast in 1860.† An election was then held for State officers and the new governor was inaugurated about a month after the departure of Governor Johnson, now Vice-President-elect, for Washington. In Louisiana Michael Hahn was elected Governor and was inaugurated March 4, 1864, yet he received a commission as military governor and really held at the pleasure of the President. The factions there were so bitter that great pressure had to be brought to bear from above. Still one could not afford to be indifferent, for, if we may believe newspaper reports, a man was fined fifteen dollars for saying that he was neutral.‡ A constitution was finally adopted, but Louisiana was not so fortunate as Tennessee in escaping the meshes of Congressional reconstruction.

To add still greater variety to the justice administered by the military officers and civilians serving under them the President ordered (October 20, 1862,) the establishment of a provisional

*McPherson, 440.

†Appleton, 1864, p. 769.

‡N. Y. World, Feb. 15 and 22, 1864.

court in Louisiana and empowered it to determine "all cases, civil and criminal, including causes in law and equity, revenue, and admiralty, and particularly all such powers as belong to the district and circuit courts of the United States," its judgments to be final and conclusive.* After the war Congress directed that its records be turned over to the regular United States courts. The legality of all this was affirmed by the Supreme Court, after citing, apparently with approval, the conflicting case of *Jecker v. Montgomery*.†

After the death of President Lincoln the work of restoration was taken up by President Johnson and carried out on the same general plan, with a few modifications. He appointed provisional governors of the other seceding States and directed them to call conventions, and before the end of 1865 he had new State governments in operation.

But beyond that the Executive could not go. Congress had grown restive under the exercise of extraordinary powers by President Lincoln and had, with his assent, enacted into law a few measures designed to restrain his prerogative. The Wade-Davis Bill was designed to take out of his hands the work of reconstruction, but the commanding personality of the President was stronger than the indignant protest of the authors of the vetoed measure. But the accession of Mr. Johnson to the Presidency changed all that and Congress soon began to usurp the prerogatives of the Executive. Attention has already been called to the fact that this spirit became so strong that a bill was passed over his veto, the object of which was to deprive him of the free command of the army, a prerogative guaranteed by the Constitution.

E. On New Territory.

1. *Continuation or change of the existing government.* When Louisiana and Florida were acquired no provision was made immediately for their government beyond vesting the military, civil, and judicial powers of the existing government in the President to be exercised in such manner as he saw fit. In the case of territory acquired by war the President has always been left to his own devices for some time. The military governments

**Offic. Rec. (Reb.)*, i, xv, 581.

†*The Grapeshot*, 7 Wall., 653; 9 Wall., 129.

existing in the territory at the time of cession were all continued, though an effort was made in California to convince the people that it was no longer military. Legislative powers have been used sparingly, but Congress, to whom belongs the right of sovereignty in the territories, have annulled some of the few decrees so passed and the Supreme Court has invalidated one in part. To take the place of military commissions, which had already been declared illegal in times of peace, the President established a provisional court in Porto Rico with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court. But the court held that it was a military tribunal, though established in time of peace, and not a court with jurisdiction in law or equity, hence the right of appeal was denied.* However, Congress recognized its existence and provided for the transfer of its records to the United States district court. The legislative power has been used only once or twice to create new taxes. It has been used to remodel the government. This was done in Porto Rico where the civil government act of Congress was adopted as the basis of the military government and civilians were appointed to office the day before the military yielded to the civil power to avoid an interregnum, as some of the officers provided for in the act had not arrived and military officers could not legally serve after that day. In California the military governor called a constitutional convention and surrendered all his powers to the State government set up by that body nine months before the State was admitted to the Union.

2. *Commercial relations.* Of all questions connected with new territory that of commercial relations has been one of the most unsettled. When Louisiana was acquired Jefferson assumed that our laws must be extended by Congress before they would be in force there, consequently he enforced the old Spanish customs laws, treating the country as foreign to the United States, until Congress ordered otherwise.† However, when the Mexican cession was acquired our revenue laws were put in force in California as soon as news of peace was received, which was several months after the proclamation of the treaty. California had not been brought within any collection district by Congress and had no

*Thomas, *ibid.*, 3066.

†*Ibid.*, 83 *et seq.*

port of entry. These defects the President declared he had no power to cure. But as the rigid enforcement of the law which forbade the landing of goods except at regular ports of entry would work a hardship on the people of California, the military governor gave to merchants the option of paying the duties voluntarily and landing the goods there, or taking them to a regular port of entry and bringing them back in American bottoms. This policy was followed until Congress extended our laws and made San Francisco a port of entry. Strangely enough, the money thus collected was covered into the "civil fund" of California, instead of the treasury of the United States.

This course of the Executive was sustained by the Supreme Court,* but the line of reasoning by which this conclusion was reached is so confused and inconsistent that it is not surprising that the President fell into some errors in dealing with our Insular Possessions. The continuation of the military tariff in Porto Rico and the Philippines for some months after the proclamation of peace was declared illegal on the ground that new territory at once becomes bound and privileged by our revenue laws.† After reading this decision one is at a loss to understand the situation in Tutuila. If the sovereignty of the island is vested in the United States, the Secretary of the Navy is disregarding the decision in not enforcing our laws; if not, the Secretary of the Treasury is violating the law in allowing goods to come into the United States from Tutuila free of duty.‡ Just what prerogative authorizes the Executive to follow this contradictory policy in the Pacific, but causes him to observe the decision of the court by enforcing the Dingley tariff in the Panama Canal Zone—though this was not done at once and the Secretary of War has said that it was a blunder—is more than the writer can say.

**Cross v. Harrison*, 16 How., 164.

†*Insular Cases*, 182 U. S.

‡*Thomas, ibid.*, 325.

The Franklin Bi-centenary

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By reason of the approaching bi-centenary of his birth, fresh attention is being directed to Benjamin Franklin as among the most conspicuous figures in the early history of American letters. Indeed, in the strict sense of the term, there was no American man of letters at the time when Franklin flourished. The man who made the closest approach to this literary distinction was the famous divine, Cotton Mather; and surely he is not properly entitled to be called a man of letters. This fact that there were no American men of letters at the time Franklin lived but emphasizes the remoteness of our colonial history from the present. At the time of Franklin's birth in Boston, the American colonies were under the rule of Queen Anne. At the time of Franklin's birth there was but one newspaper in America, and there was not a printing press south of Philadelphia.

Yet despite these unfavorable conditions Franklin early showed his literary bent. Franklin's father took young Benjamin from school at the tender age of ten and put him in his candler's shop, intending ultimately to fit him for the ministry. In his father's shop the boy gave unmistakable evidence of his love of letters by eagerly devouring the few books in his father's meager library. Only a love of literature amounting to a passion could induce a mere lad to read and re-read such dreary, 'dry-as-dust' theological pamphlets as were found upon the shelves of Josiah Franklin's musty library. Of the entire collection only one book—Plutarch's Lives—would possess any interest for the average boy. But young Benjamin was far from being an average boy. For what average boy would save up his few pennies, as Franklin did, in order to buy Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and when he had read and re-read it, sell it, and with the proceeds supplemented by his scant savings, purchase a copy of Burton's "Historical Collections?" Though his father little realized it, young Franklin was rapidly developing a taste for a more profitable employment than that of molding candles or grinding knives.

When Franklin was twelve, he was apprenticed to his older brother, who was a printer. This apprenticeship, no doubt, had decided weight in determining Franklin's subsequent career. It was while setting type in his brother James's office for the "Boston Gazette," the second newspaper published in America, that young Benjamin began to write, producing two ballads in doggerel verse. At that time the street ballad was the main source of popular information. Franklin, having written up a recent occurrence in this form, at his brother's suggestion hawked his ballads through the streets of Boston. His father, however, disliked seeing his son resort to this device for selling his literary wares, and so he dissuaded him from any farther attempt at ballad poetry by telling him that all such poets were beggars. Thereupon Benjamin gave up the manufacture of ballads and employed his leisure moments in voraciously devouring all the books that came within his reach. So strong was his passion for reading that, as his biographer informs us, he did not scruple to persuade a book-seller's apprentice, who was his friend, to bring him books home from the store furtively at night. These Franklin would read, sometimes sitting up all night in order to finish the book by morning and have it returned to the store without detection.

During this formative period Franklin was strongly influenced by whatever he read. It is interesting to observe what books exerted the greatest influence upon him. Under the influence of a book on vegetable diet which he read, he forthwith became a vegetarian. On reading Xenophon's "Memorabilia," he became a convert to the Socratic method of dispute and subsequently adopted it in discussion of which he was inordinately fond. Influenced by Shaftesbury's and Collins's writings, he soon drifted into skepticism. But, beyond and above all of these, the book which bore most lasting fruit was a volume of Addison, which Franklin read again and again.

It is interesting to note that this remarkable book was the third volume of the "Spectator." This book Franklin literally read, marked and inwardly digested. Upon it he founded his admirable prose style which is a model of clearness, terseness and force. A mere lad, he was held spellbound by the wit, humor and charm of the "Spectator." Its beauty and grace of style sank

into his mind and made a never-fading impression. All the leisure hours at his disposal he devoted to this volume. He set himself exercises from it. He would take some number that especially struck his fancy, jot down the substance in rough notes and, after a few days, reproduce the thought in his own language, imitating the style and manner of the original as closely as possible. He would even turn the essays into verse as an exercise designed to enlarge his vocabulary. Nor did he neglect the arrangement of the thought. He would separate the sentences, throw them together promiscuously, and then re-arrange them in the original order. In this manner Franklin became steeped and saturated, so to say, with the Addisonian style. It served as the model for that succinct, lucid, nervous and vigorous style which Franklin elaborated in his own writings.

Thus equipped, Franklin addressed himself to his literary work, though not yet out of his teens. He contributed a series of letters to the "New England Courant,"—a paper printed by his brother James. The first letter was called forth by the discussion as to the virtue of inoculation as a preventive against smallpox, which discovery at that time divided the Boston public into two hostile camps. Cotton Mather was an ardent advocate of inoculation. The "Courant" maintained that inoculation was an invention of the devil. When the discussion was at its height, Franklin wrote an article and modestly thrust it under the door of the "Courant" office at night, in the vague hope that it might find its way into the columns of that paper. The article was published, and while there is no record of it preserved, it is reasonable to suppose that it was the first of the famous Silence Dogood letters which Franklin contributed to the "Courant."

The authorship of the Dogood letters was not revealed at the time of their publication. They were first ascribed to Franklin in Parton's biography. Franklin, however, claims the Dogood papers in some notes intended for his "Autobiography." These papers are a noteworthy production for a mere boy. They reflect the spirit and style of the "Spectator" in a striking way. They exhibit the same playful humor and grace of style. The papers include a variety of composition,—letters, criticisms and even dreams.

Shortly after the publication of the Dogood papers Franklin

left Boston, setting out for New York, and ultimately made his way to Philadelphia. Every one is familiar with the graphic sketch the author himself gives in his "Autobiography," of his arrival in the Quaker City, seeking employment, and with barely enough money in his pocket to buy him a loaf of bread for breakfast. From Philadelphia Franklin went on a fool's errand to London. After sore disappointment in his mission he found work in London as a printer. Here while setting type for Wallaston's "Religion of Nature Delineated," Franklin was inspired, from sheer disgust with the argument of that treatise, to write a refutation. The result was the trivial pamphlet, "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." Franklin afterwards repented of this stupid effort and endeavored to suppress the pamphlet. It is an atheistic production and does not contribute a whit to its author's reputation.

While leading an immoral life in the great British metropolis Franklin set out for Philadelphia, at the instance of a quondam Bristol merchant, who engaged him as a clerk in his Philadelphia store. Upon the death of his employer he secured work as a printer and continued at this trade afterwards till he made his fortune and retired from business. At first he was employed by a printing house; afterwards he set up a printing house of his own in partnership with his old friend Meredith. This event marked the turn of Franklin's fortune. He conceived the idea of publishing a newspaper in connection with his printing house. At that time there was only one newspaper in America outside of Boston. This was the "Weekly Mercury," published by one Bradford, in Philadelphia. Franklin's plan of establishing a new sheet leaked out, somehow, and his rival Keimer forestalled his move in issuing, on December 28, 1728, the first number of the "Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette." To checkmate this new venture of his rival printing house, Franklin immediately began in the "Mercury" a long series of essays under the pen-name of the "Busybody," written after the fashion of the Dogood papers. The upshot of the matter was that, with the fortieth number of the "Universal Instructor and the Pennsylvania Gazette," the paper passed into Franklin's hands.

The Busybody papers are of the nature of satire. They reflect,

presumably, in an accurate manner the character of the times, the foibles and failings of Busybody's fellow-countrymen. The first paper sets forth the purpose of Busybody, viz., to censure the growing vices of the people, to lecture them on politics and morality, and to lead them to an appreciation of good literature by giving excerpts from the best books. The second paper is a diatribe directed against those who sin against good taste by indulging in excessive laughter on the slightest provocation, or who are guilty of any other folly equally offensive to good breeding. The third paper elicited a spirited reply from his old rival Keimer, in the form of a tract entitled "A Touch of the Times." To this Franklin published a rejoinder ridiculing Keimer. This was followed up by a paper denouncing impostors and mountebanks and exposing the folly of seeking the buried treasures of pirates. This was probably the last paper from Franklin's pen to the Busybody series. The rest were mainly from the pen of Breintnal.

It is evident from a comparison of the Busybody papers with the "Spectator" that Franklin took his cue in these essays from Addison. To be sure, it is a far cry from the Busybody essays to the "Spectator" numbers, and the resemblance is only remote. Still, it is significant that there is a resemblance, however remote. In Franklin's essays, as in the "Spectator" papers, there is no excess of imagery, and the language is plain, simple, terse and direct. The words used are familiar Anglo-Saxon terms, such as are readily understood. The meaning is as clear as daylight and admits of no ambiguity. To this simplicity of language are wedded a keen wit and a racy humor and a certain vigor of style, which give peculiar force and cogency to these Busybody essays.

From the Busybody papers Franklin next turned his attention to the all-absorbing question of the hour, viz., the currency question. Franklin presented his views in a vigorous and cogent pamphlet, "A Modest Inquiry Into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." Judged by present-day notions this pamphlet was false political economy. Yet it carried conviction to Franklin's contemporaries and resulted in a large order for paper money to be executed by his printing house, which proved "a very profitable job and a great help," in the language of the "Autobiography."

After the "Pennsylvania Gazette" came into Franklin's hands,

the moribund journal took a new lease on life and soon developed into a flourishing semi-weekly. Franklin used the "Gazette" as the medium for his reflections and criticisms on contemporary doings and happenings, and contributed liberally to its columns. Occasionally, he even ventured into verse, discarding prose as inadequate to his purpose. The most notable example of verse he contributed to the columns of his "Gazette" is his long poem, entitled "David's Lamentation Over the Death of Saul and Jonathan." This is a close paraphrase of the Scriptural narrative and was written about the time when Franklin, abandoning his atheistic views, formulated a liturgy for his own use, founded the Junto and penned his famous epitaph.

In 1732 there came from the press of Philadelphia three noteworthy publications, all bearing Franklin's imprint. The first was the "Philadelphische Zeitung," the first German newspaper printed in America; the second was "The Honour of the Gout;" the third was "Poor Richard's Almanac." Of these the last, being by far the most important from the point of view of the present study, deserves especial mention.

The "Poor Richard's Almanac" had its origin in the popular demand for almanacs in the American Colonies, as in the mother country at that time. This demand is indicated by the fact that the first piece of printing done in the Middle States and the second done in America were almanacs. The American almanac-makers followed the precedent set by their English contemporaries, of including a hodge-podge of irrelevant matter, in addition to the calendar and allied subjects which find a legitimate place in an almanac. Franklin conformed scrupulously to the traditions of the philomaths even down to the detail of heaping liberal abuse upon the work of rival almanac-makers. He chose for his *nom de plume* "Richard Saunders," a philomath who, for a long time, was editor of the "Apollo Anglicanus." "Poor Robin," an English comic almanac which was so indecent as utterly to shock modern tastes, furnished Franklin the general plan for his "Poor Richard Almanac." From this clue Franklin produced the first number of his world-famous "Poor Richard" in October, 1732. The venture proved a phenomenal success and the almanac went like wildfire.

It is the prefaces to the "Poor Richard Almanac" which arrest

our attention especially. The prefaces, as they appeared from year to year, constitute an admirable piece of prose fiction. They are shot through with a rich vein of rollicking humor and with a vivacity that quickens the reader's interest and entertainment. It is here that we become acquainted with two characters of Franklin's creative imagination,—Richard Saunders and his wife Bridget—whose portrayal is almost as artistic and complete as that of any two characters in the entire domain of English fiction in those times. The author shows a rare acquaintance with human nature in his conception of these characters and his execution leaves little to be desired in definition and distinctness of outline. The broad humor is perhaps somewhat too coarse for modern tastes. But it must be borne in mind in this connection that the standards of literature in the eighteenth century are different from those of the twentieth. It is, therefore, conceivable that Franklin's coarse humor, which perhaps offends modern tastes, was not objectionable to his contemporaries.

The humor of "Poor Richard," however, was not restricted to the preface. On the contrary, it appears throughout the whole book, everywhere relieving the monotony of the prognostications, eclipses, calendars, and so forth. For instance, on one page is found this diverting prognostication, for the edification of sailors. "August, 1739. Ships sailing down the Delaware Bay this month shall hear at ten leagues' distance a confused rattling noise like a swarm of hail on a cake of ice. Don't be frightened, good passengers. The sailors can inform you that it is nothing but Lower County teeth in the ague. In a southerly wind you may hear it in Philadelphia." Sometimes amusement is afforded by the witty turn given a maxim, as "Never take a wife till you have a house (and a fire) to put her in."

Franklin, like other philomaths, adopted the plan of inserting in his almanac pithy, striking sayings and maxims between the remarkable days of the calendar. In this manner he interlarded the calendar with bits of the condensed wisdom of the ages. These maxims he designed to encourage and inculcate principles of thrift, industry and honesty. He introduced this feature as a means of disseminating profitable instruction among the common people, after "Poor Richard" became so widely circulated. I quote a few of these proverbial sentences as illustrating Frank-

lin's felicity at phrase-coining no less than his wisdom in inculcating principles of probity and virtue among the common people, many of whom read no other book than "Poor Richard." "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright." "Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee." "Fools make feasts and wise men eat them." "The rotten apple spoils his companion." "If you would have your business done, go; if not, send." "God heals and the doctor takes the fee." "Necessity never made a good bargain." "Marry your sons when you will, your daughters when you can." These pithy sentences, however, were not all the product of Franklin's own invention. Many of them he borrowed from other almanac-makers. But when he borrowed a trite proverb, he recast it in his own imagination and sent it forth with a fresh stamp upon it from the die of his own invention. Such maxims afterwards passed as new coins and formed not the least element in the success of "Poor Richard."

Moreover, "Poor Richard" contains some of the best short pieces of Franklin's writings. Here may be mentioned "Father Abraham's Address," a masterpiece of its kind. This is a homily which "Poor Richard" put into the mouth of a sensible old man, familiarly known as Father Abraham, and purporting to be delivered at an auction toward the close of the French and Indian War, when the outlook for the future was exceedingly gloomy during those memorable lean years. The effect of this brief paper on the sale of the Almanac was magnetic. It attracted hosts of readers to "Poor Richard." The popular demand for the Almanac was so great in consequence of "Father Abraham's Address" that, when the increased issue was exhausted, the newspapers published the "Address" again and again to satisfy the clamor. Franklin himself published it as a broadside. His nephew, of Boston, printed it in pamphlet form and sent it broadcast through the land. It crossed the Atlantic and was widely circulated in Europe under the caption, "The Way to Wealth." It has been translated into all the languages of the continent, and been twenty-seven times reprinted as a pamphlet in England, to say nothing of the numerous times it has been issued as a broadside in that country. Under the title "La Science du Bonhomme Richard" it has been printed at least thirty times in France. It is, no doubt, the most popular piece of literature produced in the

American colonies, if translation into foreign tongues is any test of popularity.

At the approach of the American Revolution Franklin was sent to England as a special representative of the province of Pennsylvania and subsequently resided abroad most of the time. He was now deeply interested in politics and scientific research. He had little time left for mere literature. In fact, he never cared at any time of his life for literary fame, and was so indifferent to it as never to sign his name to anything he published. Amid his manifold duties as a diplomat he found time to write pamphlets on the burning questions of the day. His undaunted courage in those dark days of the Revolution inspired the drooping spirits of the struggling colonists, and led them on to a successful issue. While abroad, besides his activities in politics, diplomacy and science, he undertook to write a history of his own life, the longest and most interesting of all his works.

It was with great diffidence that Franklin undertook his "Autobiography." The five opening chapters were written during a visit to the Bishop St. Asaph, at Twyford, in 1771. The manuscript was then put aside, and the author's attention was next directed to political matters of a more pressing nature. When Franklin returned to America, he brought the unfinished manuscript home with him. Here he left it, in care of his friend Galloway, when he went back to Europe on his French mission, in 1776. Galloway, meanwhile, turned royalist and his estate being confiscated, the precious manuscript fell into the hands of a Quaker friend and admirer of the author, who made a careful copy and forwarded the original to Franklin, at Passy, with the urgent request that he continue and finish so delightful and profitable a piece of work. Still Franklin was loath to resume the "Autobiography," though glad to recover the manuscript long given up for lost. He was busy with affairs of state and his health was now poor; and these reasons induced him to postpone the task. At length, after being repeatedly urged and entreated by his friends, he took up the "Autobiography" again, in 1788, but only to bring it down to the year 1757. Here he left off a second time and sent a copy to several of his friends and the original to M. le Veillard and Rochefoucauld-Liancourt at Paris. Franklin died shortly after this, and his "Autobiography" was

of course left unfinished. The manuscript met with many strange adventures before the memoirs were published first in a French translation by Buisson, in Paris, in 1791. This version had little to commend it to public favor. It was fragmentary, many passages being omitted or garbled, and the whole work was little better than a travesty upon the genuine memoirs. Then after long reprehensible delay and many vicissitudes the "Autobiography" was first properly published in the Bigelow edition.

The "Autobiography," even in its incomplete form, is by far the most important contribution Franklin made to American literature. Upon it reposes, in the main, his claim to a conspicuous place among American men of letters. As an autobiography it is a model and has proved extremely popular ever since its publication. An idea of its popularity may be formed from the fact that in America alone the work has been republished upwards of fifty times. It is the general verdict of critics that it is the best autobiography in the language. As literature it deserves to rank with "Robinson Crusoe."

Franklin was not a voluminous author. Yet his collected works make a considerable bulk. Few writers have suffered more at the hands of their friends than has Franklin. The excessive zeal of his editors has led them to include too much of mere ephemera in his works. Buisson, Price, Temple, Franklin, Sparks, Parton, Bigelow and all the other editors after them have been overzealous to make their respective editions all-inclusive and definitive. The result is, there is much included in Franklin's collected works which the author himself never entertained the remotest idea of having attributed to him. Much of what makes up the bulk of his writings is mere padding—"remarks," "observations," "essays," "notes,"—which ought, in justice to the author's reputation, to be eliminated. In almost all the editions Franklin is made to stand father to many a brief note or essay which he would have been very reluctant to acknowledge in print. Some future editor would enhance Franklin's fame as a writer if he would only eliminate everything that is of a trivial and ephemeral nature and include such of his writings as are of merit and interest and are designed to perpetuate his name as a man of letters. I am free to admit that this plan would materially reduce the size of his collected works; but it would, at

the same time, greatly enhance their value. Such an edition would, of course, include the "Speech of Miss Polly Baker before a Court of Judicature in New England," "The Witch Trial at Mount Holly," "Advice to a Young Tradesman," "Father Abraham's Speech," "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America," "Dialogue with the Gout," "The Ephemera," "The Petition of the Left Hand," "Martin's Account of His Consulship," "The Autobiography," the Prefaces to the Almanacs, the best essays from the "Gazette," his Letters and the "Parables" and a few other selections.

Franklin was the pioneer of American men of letters. Literary fame, however, had no special attraction for him. As already intimated, so far was he from aspiring to literary distinction that he made it an invariable rule never to sign his name to any paper written for publication. He was too much occupied with making American history to surrender himself to literary work, whether for his own delectation or for the delectation of posterity. Even his "Autobiography," the more is the pity, was left half finished, as is well known. He contented himself with essays and pamphlets; and in this field he is without a peer in Colonial literature. His genius was kindled by the passion for American independence which stirred the hearts of the Colonists, and into that cause he threw himself with all the ardor of his soul. An Addisonian by literary training, he made heavy draughts upon his wit, his humor and his fancy, to approximate the happy style of that great master of English prose. And it must be confessed that in this he has succeeded as perhaps no other pupil of Addison's school has, though his imitators have been legion.

Franklin really produced very little that deserves to live. His literature fame seems out of proportion to his output of genuine literature. He wrote no history that has not been forgotten; he wrote no poetry that oblivion has not swallowed up long since. He created no great characters that have taken hold upon the popular imagination. Yet it is but justice to add that he did portray several minor characters which have contributed materially to the enrichment of American literature. The roster includes Alice Addertongue, Anthony Afterwit, Patience Teacroft, Silence Dogood, Titan Pleiades, Miss Polly Parker, Richard

Saunders and his wife Bridget, with all of whom students of our Colonial literature are well acquainted. While not great characters, to be sure, these are, however, all happy creations and imply in their creator a skill and an invention of no mean order.

I am inclined to doubt that Franklin was unwilling to pay the price of the creation of a really great character, even granting that his genius was equal to the task. The imagination he may have had. But he lacked certain other essentials, such as tenacity of purpose and unflagging industry, which hold the attention upon the subject in hand despite all interruptions and distractions. Franklin, according to the French maxim, had the defects of his qualities. He was a many-sided, versatile man, a veritable genius if we may use that much abused term. His interest drew him alternately into business, politics, diplomacy, science, education (he founded the University of Pennsylvania), journalism and literature. He signed his name to four of the most important documents of his century—the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Alliance, the Treaty of Peace and the Constitution. His versatility and facility induced him to attempt a variety of things. He lacked the singleness of purpose which seems a prerequisite of success in certain fields of human achievement. Consequently, Franklin rarely finished anything requiring undivided and unremitting attention. An essay or a pamphlet which could be dashed off under the inspiration of a passing excitement or a fleeting emotion, a mere bagatelle which did not require continued mental concentration and effort,—this Franklin could do as cleverly and gracefully as any man. But to bestow long-drawn-out effort upon any piece of writing was irksome to him. Therefore, he would abandon any plan of composition which demanded constant, unceasing attention. This is the reason why the Dogood papers were never completed; this is the reason why the Busybody essays were handed over to another hand to be finished; this is the reason why "Poor Richard" was discontinued; this is also the reason why the "Autobiography" was twice begun and twice put aside and finally left only half-written. This same weakness of Franklin's character which, for want of a more suitable term, we may describe, in a negative way, as a lack of singleness of purpose is shown in his habit of shifting from one pursuit in life to another, and not sticking to any one pursuit very long.

This characteristic defect seems to warrant the inference that however great Franklin was—and great he surely was—he nevertheless does not deserve to rank with the very highest type of minds. As another limitation of our author may be mentioned his small appreciation of poetry, as attested by his dismal paraphrases of certain poetic portions of the Scriptures. He lacked too, to a marked degree, the spirit of reverence. He was wanting in the highest forms of grace and taste.

But these few defects were more than offset by Franklin's many excellent qualities as a literary artist. He possessed an unflinching sense of humor, which permeates and enlivens every page he wrote. To this redeeming virtue he joined a keen wit that gave force and point to all his political writings. He had, moreover, the happy art of literary phrasing—of suiting the word to the thing, and expressing his thoughts in clear, concise and pointed language. He made himself a master of a vigorous English prose style which never failed to convey his meaning in words too plain and simple to be misunderstood. He stands unapproached in the pioneer days of American literature, and his achievement in the domain of autobiography remains unsurpassed even in the present time.

Ethical Theory as a Basis for Educational Theory and Practice

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As the title of this paper suggests, a hasty and somewhat disconnected review of ethical theory through four or five periods of its development to the present will be necessary. But on the whole all that shall be said may (with the courtesy of the reader's constructive imagination) be grouped under the psychological or the sociological aspect of ethics.

The distinctive mark of conduct is will. But the will, and hence conduct, is always directed towards some preconceived end which the self has chosen for its own more perfect realization. In order to discover the ethical self we must know what kind of self the self would will, what kind of end his character would lead him to choose, and what kind of end would move him. Therefore it might lend clearness to later discussions to consider briefly the history of the development of the ideal end of moral action in ethics.

The Hedonists tell us that since desire is the foundation of will, it is but natural to will those things that are pleasant. Hence the moral end is pleasure; and the natural end and the proper criterion of moral action, therefore, is pleasure. Thus whatever is pleasant is right; whatever is not pleasant, is wrong. But the impulses of our character, which is one of the features we have decided to pass judgment upon, are towards satisfaction and not pleasure. We desire an object and not the pleasure which comes incidentally with the object. In fact, it is not the object after all that we wish so much as the activity which comes in getting it; for this activity is the only thing which relieves the tension which the felt need of the object to the individual has aroused. The error of Hedonism is, then, in saying that pleasure and not doing, is all there is in experience. The chief criticism of Hedonism is that it bears no relation to character. There is no standard in Hedonism but the individual acts. It is, therefore, not moral for it takes no account of general happiness, but only of personal.

The truth of Hedonism is in its conviction that not the object, but what is in man's own conscious experience is the good.

The utilitarian standard of good is the greatest happiness for the greatest number. The individual theory of the Hedonists is avoided by socializing it. Practically the same objection to Hedonism holds to utilitarianism.

The modern evolutionists try to work over Hedonism and utilitarianism, but in so doing destroy pleasure as an end and substitute adjustment to environment. Spencer says, "The ideal social being is so constituted that his spontaneous activities are congruous with the conditions imposed by the social environment formed by such beings." This standard is all right, but pleasure accompanies it incidentally; social adjustment is the real end, I can scarcely claim kinship with Hedonism and utilitarianism of the old school.

With Kant, the motive for moral action is in the law of the will itself: "Act so that the maxim of thy will can always at the same time hold good as the principle of universal legislation." Kant believed that pleasures were the only objects of desire, and not wishing to accept such as a criterion of action he introduced this universal law from outside of pleasure. Hedonism says that consequences determine rightness of conduct; Kant says, the motive. The law of Kant should be a law governing the desires and not a law separate from the desires. The simple conception of law will not move people to moral action; it is too abstract. Duty without a certain amount of self-satisfaction is empty. We must feel an end to be valuable; must be interested in it. Kant, however, makes two valuable contributions to the moral standard: first, the activity of the will as its own end; second, desire must be subjected to universal law.

The three kinds of Hedonism discussed and Kantianism combined give a theory as to what is the good in moral action something like this: "The end of action, or of the good, is the realized will, the developed and satisfied self. This satisfied self is found neither in getting a lot of pleasures promiscuously nor in obedience to law simply because it is law. It is found in satisfaction according to law." Each desire is the self striving for larger action. But to say that the end is the realization of self, does not content us until we know what kind of self. We might

realize a self that is neither moral nor desirable but purely individual.

In the outset, self realization would imply other persons and a social environment; for a rational person could not realize himself as a person except in a society composed of like human beings. Individuality is a specific capacity and demands a specific environment. Each is a pure abstraction without the other. A man could not exercise any capacity if there were no surroundings. The exercising of capacity is always the establishing of relations to something external to itself. There must be a rational universe, then, before there can be a realization of the rational self. The individual is incomplete and cannot complete himself by himself. He has to have a society in which to complete himself. But it is equally true that society has to have him for its most perfect development. We cannot conceive of a society without individuals in it, though certainly historically the notion of society precedes that of the individual. Aristotle said that an isolated individual must either be a beast or a god. This inter-relation of society and the individual has been prominent in the minds of the great thinkers of all ages. Christ's idea was that men united by the bond of fellowship and love as exemplified in himself should on that account possess a life more abundant. Aristotle stated it from a different point of view when he said that the state was called into existence for the existence of the individual and it continued to exist for his well being. Modern idealists present a theory of society which teaches that morality is a common good realized in individual wills: while modern evolutionists tell us that conduct is moral according as it contributes to social vitality. For the acts of the individual to be moral, then, they must exist as preconceived ends proposed to himself as such, coupled with an attempt upon his part to realize them as acts including the welfare of other individuals in society as well as that of himself. While we may doubt that in the outset of any moral intention he is capable of any other proposal than that which is involved in self realization, nevertheless, before his action can be truly said to be truly moral it must involve others. For the moral end is wholly social. It would be folly for the individual not to will the social welfare since his existence depends upon the existence of the social unity. The law of the moral self must

be: "Seek first the life of thy kingdom and all the rest shall be added unto you." In fact, the purpose of his own self realization must be that he may completely realize the necessary nature of mankind—in other words, that he may fully realize the social ideal, the ideal end which society as an organism has set for itself; that he may realize the needs of society, and the service which he is capable of rendering it.

Now there is not so much conflict between the demands of society and the motive for self realization as at first appeared. It is true that when we speak of "end of action" we mean some proposed form of satisfying self. For the moral end is always a conception, an idea of an object which will bring self realization. But the realization of this conceived end, which at first is the supreme good to the individual, consists in adjustment to the claims of society and in realizing the end which society has set up for itself. Therefore, the doing the good but fulfills society's claims and meets the individual's needs. For the self realizing its own highest good must and does at the same time realize the highest good of society.

Society, then, is necessarily organically related, and we may summarize this relation and our discussion thus far by giving McKenzie's three-fold definition of society as an organism. He says: (1) Its parts are intrinsically related to the whole of which they are parts; (2) its growth and development are from within; (3) it has reference to an inner ideal or end. It is not necessary to discuss this theory in detail for evidently, so far as the present theses are concerned, it agrees that the welfare of the individual and the welfare of society depend upon the mutual relation which we are attempting here to establish. Just as the individual life is unified by the activity of the will in realizing itself as expressed in an ideal self, so is the life of society unified in its striving towards its moral ideal. The statements of McKenzie are equally true of the individual end of society.

The demands of society that its individuals should become an organic part of itself and not a mechanical aggregation, as well as the demands of individual nature for a social community in which to attain self realization are the vital demands that are satisfied. This theory of society as an organic unit is of course the ground for the evolutionary theory of ethics previously stated.

Spencer's argument is that good conduct produces pleasure because it brings an organism into harmony with his environment. In fact, we call that animal most highly educated which is best adapted to his environment, whether he be man or beast. If this be true, how pernicious is the doctrine so commonly taught to the child that his school days and childhood are the happiest he shall ever see; just as if the longer he lived, learned his environment, became more closely adjusted to it, and functioned more perfectly in it, the more unhappy his life would be!

The foregoing view which we have called subjective adaptation must not lead us to think of the environment as something that is fixed and static. Moral adjustment must be understood to be the joint action of the individual and his environment; for the character of the individual selects and makes his own environment. It is only in so far as it responds to his character that there is any adjustment at all. Adjustment to environment means as much the transformation of existing circumstances as the reproduction of them. The environment must be plastic in the hands of the agent. Even a plant must do more than adjust itself to a fixed environment; it must work over the chemical elements of the soil to suit its own nature. In other words, the soil must adapt itself to the plant. Thus each man's capacity selects from its environment such things as are related to him. Therefore, each man, somehow, has a different environment, which would invalidate the complaint that this theory of society militates against the development of individuality. It calls for and responds to the personality of every individual. "The more we realize that whatever one conceives as proper material for calling out some internal capacity is a part of his environment, in that moment we are conscious that not only does capacity depend upon environment, but environment depends upon capacity." Adjustment, then, must consist in the maintenance and development of those moral surroundings as one's own: to have a moral sense, it means making the environment such a reality to one's self that it becomes a part of character. There is, therefore, such a vital union between the ethical self and the moral environment that they seem to be almost one and the same thing. It is only proper to conclude that when a man wills to realize himself he wills to realize his environment, and if the

realization of self is to him the highest good, the realization of his environment is equally so.

So far we have tried to discover the ethical self in the outward expression of will, character and motive. Conduct we have found to center itself around the end as self realization. Conduct towards his ideal end constitutes what is to the individual the highest good. We found that realization of self presupposed a society of other selves, constituting an organic unit. This relation of the organism to his environment has led us to a discussion of adjustment. Perhaps the best summary of our entire discussion may be given in Dewey's "Ethical Postulate," which is as follows: "The presupposition involved in conduct is this, 'In the realization of individuality there is found also the needed realization of some community of persons, of which the individual is a member: and conversely, the agent who duly satisfies the community in which he shares by that same conduct satisfies himself.'"

Now it is not the purpose of this paper to work out the practical application of this theory in all its details so much as to afford a reasonable basis for such work and for education. But it would be interesting to notice some of its implications in respect to education and educational institutions erected by society as the means to the proper adjustment of the individual to itself. For it is but reasonable to suppose if the foregoing theories are correct that society would contrive by every possible means to secure the most complete adjustment of its individuals to itself, especially if its own life depends upon such adjustment. Now it ought to be apparent by this time that the delicate task that society has before it as an organism, or which the individual has before himself as an ethical being is the maintenance of a proper balance between the rights and duties of the individual and society,—to avoid socialism on the one extreme and individualism on the other. Both of these phases find splendid concrete illustrations in modern society in the shape of labor unions and trusts on the one hand and anarchical institutions on the other. It is the business of society to steer between the two. To do this she must be careful in selecting the educational material for the individual adjustment, to take both the ethical view, which we have tried to present in the first part of this paper, and the social view, which we have tried to present in the latter part of the same.

Or, in other words, of the three elements commonly advanced as necessary for the individual to master before he can become properly adjusted to society, namely: (1) Individual culture; (2) subjugation of nature; (3) and social organization, both the last and the first must have prominent attention in any social institution, or in any method which society adopts for the best adjustment of its individuals to itself.

Again, in reference to the second element, subjugation of nature or adjustment to physical environment just mentioned as necessary for the well being of the ethical self and of society, physical nature must not be thought of as something so different from human nature and from mind. While logically we may think of them as separate, I doubt if the mind in its attitude to them ever acts upon the assumption. Nature certainly does not come from without to the mind and move the mind to comprehend it. The mind constructs nature and is not dependent upon the exterior sensation. The mind is in no sense waiting around to be poured into, or moved to activity, by some external object. Kant says that although our knowledge begins with experience it does not follow that it arises from experience. It is hard to see how the mind could ever act if it had to wait for some sensation to come along and move it to activity. When we speak of studying nature we simply mean that the mind has a certain attitude to that which has within it the same kind of unity as it has within itself, and in fact, is a part of itself, a part which it has constructed for itself. The world of nature is the concrete content to which the mind furnishes the form and to which it thereby gives order. Thus nature and mind are not separate and because of this activity of the mind there can never be this hard and fixed dualism. It is only with this view that we can conceive of education at all. A passive mind furnishes no building point, no ground of beginning for the teacher. The history of the word education implies this self active conception, but our "pouring-in" process so popular even in recent years, is the very reverse of this. Mind is only passive to those who think of "filling" it with objects from without. And there is to such a one an impassible gulf fixed between mind and nature.

In contrasting the self-active-will of character attempting to realize its highest ideal self-adjustment to a social environment,

with the active intelligence struggling to adjust itself to human and physical nature by comprehending their structure and the relations of the individual thereto.

We should like to advance one step further and say that if there is a priority in point of temporal succession in the development of these two aspects of mind which we call self-active-will on the one hand and intelligence on the other, the evidence points to the conclusion that will appears well developed in the life of the child far sooner than the intelligence. The first struggles of the child are for self active expression. His locked up impulses are always striving for expression along some specific lines. They are always dynamic, never static. If this be true, then it follows that children in the early part of their school and home life need such subjects of study as will answer this phase of their nature, such as many of the forms of hand work, and whatever else will give an outlet to their activities, far before they need a training in those more theoretical studies intended to develop the intelligence or power for reasoning. Motor activities should more largely decide the curriculum than at present. But aside from the discussion as to what should be done, let us examine the home and the school and see how far they are in accord with the theories so far advanced.

In the home is found one of the best examples of the individual adjusting himself to society and of society at the same time adjusting itself to the individual. As the young child begins to grow into self consciousness his natural impulses, that is, his semi-formed character, begin to come into conflict with the privileges of the other members of the family, and while this miniature society which we call family yields to him certain concessions in its adjustment to him, it nevertheless rejects certain of his impulses, and clothes certain others with garments of its own manufacture. This process is carried on until later the child's impulses do not have to be suppressed, but directed according to the needs and rights of the family as a unit of which this child is a part. Now in realizing his own impulses and desires in their best setting, he realizes the character of the society in which he is moving, i. e., the family. Perfect adjustment is attained when there ceases to be any conflict between the child and the family. Adjustment here seems not to be so difficult as in other institu-

tions of society, but in truth it is more so, for the family has always lent itself to the task and done its work somewhat more successfully than other institutions.

It certainly does seem that the school from observation of the child in the home could have learned more than it has that both society and the individual are in a constant process of organization. It is incorrect to think of either as static, but rather as changing continually their growth toward their ideal end. This should have rendered long ago the incalculable service to school men of realizing that the course of study adapted to one age could not possibly suit the needs of another. And yet this has not been learned. In proof of it one has but to remember that a large part of the energy of school life today is spent upon studies unsuited to the changed environment, many of which were selected for a civilization belonging to other centuries. In many American communities it is doubtful if one out of five of the studies taught really fits the child directly for the life which he is to live: especially is this true of rural communities. With all of our talk about modern science, nature study, handwork, etc., a careful examination into the course of study even of the most advanced schools will reveal the fact that these subjects do not receive the same attention as the more formal studies do. In 1899 John T. Prince, agent for the Massachusetts Board of Education, collected information from sixty towns of America, showing that the three R.'s still hold the prominent place in all the grades. The United States Commissioner of Education made a similar report some years earlier, using a larger number of cities, which showed that arithmetic has far the greater time in all the elementary grades. The high school and college curriculum proves that the humanities secure more time and better talent than other studies; and yet we are known the world over as an industrial and manufacturing people. Those studies which would lead the child to an understanding of his environment so that he might best work in society do not hold even a prominent place in the schools of our country. The demands of society have had comparatively little influence in shaping our courses of study, in deciding the amount of time which should be spent in the different types of school or in deciding methods of study. The question would naturally arise, "Is the school as it now exists a social or

a moral institution?" Can it be such if the environment and the individual are in a constant state of becoming and developing, while the school remains static in its organization and curriculum? We have tried to prove that the individual cannot be a moral individual unless he realizes the social as well as the individual ideal which are in his case the same. Might we not say that the school also is not moral unless it attempts to realize the social ideal and unless it makes its ideal the same as that of society of which it is a part, to which it is indebted for its existence?

Why should the school not be a miniature society? It seems that its work might be more successfully done if we could get into the habit of regarding the school as a kind of half way house between the home and society. Thus it would continue the work of adjustment between the individual and society. As a matter of fact, it is a magnified individual at present. The individual needs and not the social needs are continually deciding the questions of policy in the school. If the social standard is to prevail in the life of the child after he leaves school, it is unreasonable to suppose that some contrary standard should decide the smallest detail within the life of the school itself. This dualism of school life and social life cannot and does not fail to teach the false notion to the child that somehow his interests are all opposed to those of his surroundings, and if he is to fully realize himself he must do so out of rather than within society. We have tried to show that this very thing could never be done. But, if the school lays its chief stress upon pure individuality and not upon social organism, it is misleading the child to think it is not only possible but desirable. If, however, the school exists as a means of social adjustment some such questions would follow as: How should the school teach social sympathy? How may those powers which are demanded in life be developed, such as good judgment, the emotions, self-reliance, suspended judgment, leadership? etc. The charge is made that these powers are not developed. Let us consider one of them in detail, say, good judgment. All through real life good judgment is called for. Like character, it is a matter of slow growth through experience. It cannot be taught as some subjects, from a text book, but must be acquired even at the risk of the numerous errors attending the

experiments of the learner. The teacher who attempts to train the child as to the quickest way of doing things doubtless removes too far the risks of blundering. Children who run no risks will develop no judgment and no self-reliance. Judgment is trained only by experiments and by doing. How can one be expected to acquire good judgment if the opportunity for judging is always carefully forbidden him? There are numerous incidents occurring in each day's school life which if left to the pupils to work out for themselves, even if they did blunder, would develop their power of deciding for themselves as they are required to do in actual life.

But if society sets the standard and in the main selects the course of study pray what does the individual contribute to the school, some may ask? If our discussion about the will impulses, character, etc., is true we could readily answer that he contributes the raw materials which are the starting points in education. For while his native instincts are not moral, they are not necessarily immoral, they may become moral if they are given a proper outlet through a moral end which is valuable to them as a means of expression. For rest assured these instincts will find expression. They are to be modified so as to fit the environment of the child. The school, with its clearer knowledge of what constitutes valuable material, must so clothe these impulses of his that a character shall be produced which will wish to will only that which is a realization of the best self, and to hold the will upon ends that are ethical because they assist in discovering the ideal self. But for the school to be a truly ethical institution, it must keep clearly before itself that nothing can permanently help anyone except what helps him to help himself. The individual must realize himself. It is not the task of the school to realize the individuality of the pupil for him, but to help him to discover it for himself. It is to bring his attention to the means of self realization. Its work, then, is largely selective. The teacher is to help the pupil select those ends which to him are the embodiment of his desire for self expression and self realization in a society composed of personalities like himself. Then, too, if the school is to be truly a social institution it must be thoroughly conversant with the needs of society, that it may know the world in which the individual is to function. It can hardly be

expected to teach him how to realize the social self unless it knows the elements constituting the society with which he must first become familiar before he can be expected to aid in its organic growth.

The one important end which the teacher should never lose sight of is that the moral end is to be made more distinct with each day; for only when it is consciously and clearly conceived as valuable to the child is it a motive of sufficient power to move him to acquire it. Whenever it is so clearly conceived by him, then is there the feeling of worth, or the tension set up by desire to attain that ideal condition. This is what constitutes the very essence of interest and it is only when this tension is felt by the child that study is interesting, divided attention impossible, concentration probable, and mental development assured. But, because this process starts with the impulses does not signify that every impulse is to be developed, for instance, those of a kleptomaniac. We are to cultivate good impulses and with them crowd out the bad ones. This we have learned from the evolutionary doctrine of the survival of the fittest. A nurtured plant, as it responds to cultivation, shades the hostile weeds around it and by shutting out their sunlight finally kills them. The inspired writer suggests that we overcome evil by doing good. The good impulses only are to receive training.

Education must begin with the child though it ends with society. The child furnishes all the means we have for his own education, however clearly society suggest the ends. Education, then, must look for an analysis of its problems to a psychological and to a sociological theory of ethics combined as aspects of the same experience. The problems which are presented by these studies are, therefore, fundamental and inevitable to a reasonable understanding of principles which guide in education, if it is once granted that the educator desires and society must have a truly moral personality in the citizen.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to repeat that the ethical self is the social self. Society or the individual are mere abstractions when taken apart one from the other. That institution is most truly ethical which helps the individual to realize his best self,—which is his social self. And, that institution is most truly social which recognizes society as an organic growth, and endeavors to

help the individual organisms discover their functions in the social unit. Both the home and the school as ethical and social institutions must look to society for standards but to the active impulses of the child for resources in perfecting the true self. Education thus is the one great charity because it teaches the individual how to help himself to that which is the best to him; and that if he loses himself in society he will surely find himself in the realization of the best self, which is the only true good.

Some Facts About John Paul Jones

BY JUNEUS DAVIS,

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Thanks to the generous and untiring zeal of our late ambassador to France, the grave of John Paul Jones has recently been discovered in Paris, and his remains have been removed by the government to this country for interment at Annapolis. This discovery has revived the interest which our people have always taken in the career of this illustrious captain of the seas, and has of late provoked much discussion in the magazines and newspapers of the various incidents in his life, and, in particular, of the reason for his change of name. The reason for this change of name has ever been a puzzle to his biographers. Most of them pass it by with the mere statement that "he changed his name for unknown reasons." Some few attempt to account for it upon theories, which, while they may be plausible, yet do not appeal to the intelligent reader. Of these there are three, which perhaps seem most plausible, and which, one or another, are generally accepted as true by most people. I will proceed to give these, and the reasons which occur to me for rejecting them as unsound and without anything but conjecture to support them.

Sherbourne, who was, I believe, the first American biographer of Jones, says, on page 10: "Our adventurer, being at length freed from the trammels of apprenticeship, made several voyages to foreign parts, and in the year 1773 again went to Virginia to arrange the affairs of his brother, who had died there without leaving any family; and about this time in addition to his original surname, he assumed the patronymic of Jones, his father's Christian name having been John. This custom, which is of classical authority, has long been prevalent in Wales, and in various other countries," and having built up his edifice to this point, he immediately proceeds in the next breath to demolish it with the naïve remark, "although it is not practiced in that part of the island in which he was born." This idea was not original with Sherbourne, but was taken by him from an article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, which, Sherbourne says in a note on

page 11, he "learned from Mr. Lowden, the nephew of Jones, a respectable merchant, now (1825) resident at Charleston, S. C., was written from the lips of Mr. Lowden's mother for that work by Dr. Duncan, of Dumfries, Scotland." Nor did it come from "the lips of Mr. Lowden's mother," as is plainly apparent from the context in Sherbourne and from the account given in the life of Jones commonly ascribed to his niece, Miss Jannette Taylor, but it was developed in the imagination of Dr. Duncan.

Now whoever heard of a Scotchman rummaging among the traditions and customs of the Welsh in a search for a change of his name? And whoever heard of such a custom being prevalent in any part of Scotland? Besides, at this period of his life, Jones was a matured man, twenty-six years of age, had come to settle definitely in America, had turned his back forever on his native land, and was never again to see a single member of his family. In fact, it was in 1771 that he saw his relations in Scotland for the last time.* No one can read his life and his correspondence, without being impressed by the fact that his interest in his family was prompted more by duty and sentiment than by any real love or affection. He was often in England after 1771, but he never went near his family or evinced the least desire to see any of them. In truth he had risen far above the humble gardener, his father, and while he at times corresponded with his family, he moved in a different world in which they had no part. If it was filial affection which induced the patronomic of Jones, is it not certain that his family would have known it? Would he not out of the same love have hastened to tell it to his mother who was then living, if not to his sisters? The mere fact that he did not do so, that he studiously concealed it from them, is to my mind the strongest refutation of this surmise of Dr. Duncan. It must be remembered also that when he took upon himself the name of Jones, or shortly afterwards, he dropped the prænomen John and usually called himself Paul Jones

In the life of Jones by his niece, Jannette Taylor, the only mention of this event is as follows (page 31): "At the time when Paul settled (or, more properly, supposed he meant to settle,) in Virginia, it would seem that he assumed the additional surname of Jones. Previous to this date, his letters are signed John Paul.

*Taylor, 23.

We are left to conjecture the reason of this arbitrary change. His relations were never able to assign one; there is no allusion to the circumstances in the manuscripts which he left, and tradition is silent on the subject." The italics are mine.

I take it that "tradition," as here used, meant tradition among the family in Scotland, and as so used, I admit the truth of it. But that tradition was silent in North Carolina, I deny, though it had not, at that time, spread beyond her border. We were ever proud of our traditions in this State, but clung to them so tenaciously that we were loath to let them stray abroad and be known to other people.

Another theory, and the wildest of them all, but one which also has its believers, is that John Paul came to America and took the name of Jones to conceal his identity and avoid arrest for the murder of the carpenter Maxwell. Now, when Paul flogged Maxwell for his mutinous conduct, he was in command of the ship John on his second voyage in her. He discharged Maxwell at the Island of Tobago in May, 1770. Maxwell immediately had Paul haled before the Vice-Admiralty Court for assault, but the complaint was dismissed as frivolous. Later on, in England in 1772, he was charged with the murder of Maxwell, and it seems that an indictment, presumably for murder or manslaughter, was found against him. A complete and perfect contradiction of this calumny is to be found in Brady, pages 9 and 10, and Miss Taylor's book, pages 18 and 20, where she gives the affidavit of the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, who heard the complaint of Maxwell, and of the master of the ship on which Maxwell died.

So that it seems abundantly proven, not merely that Paul did not flee England on this account, but positively that he disdained to fly and met and boldly confronted the charge. In a letter written by Paul to his mother and sisters, speaking of this occurrence, dated London, September 4, 1772, he says: "I staked my honor, life and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me."

Another theory is the one first advanced by Buell in his "Life of Jones." This book is one of the latest attempts at an extended history of Jones, and in spite of some errors, is an exceedingly

interesting work. Though written more than one hundred years after the death of Jones, and after numerous writers had seemingly exhausted every available source of light and information, he gives many incidents, and interesting ones too, in the career of Jones that were never heard of before. Some of these are highly colored and seemingly very improbable, and some without support in fact. But it is no part of this article to criticise Buell's book, save that part which refers to the reason for Jones's change of name.

Buell says, page 1, that John Paul's older brother William was adopted in 1743 by a relative named William Jones, a well-to-do Virginia planter, while he was on a visit to Kirkbean Parish, and that William then took the name of Jones. On page 6 he says: "Old William Jones died in 1760, and by the terms of his will had made John Paul the residuary legatee of his brother (William) in case the latter should die without issue, provided that John Paul would assume, as his brother had done, the patronymic of Jones. On his visit to Rappahanock in 1769, Captain John Paul legally qualified under the provisions of the will of William Jones by recording his assent to its requirements in due form."

Naturally the reader would presume that the statement of an historical fact so positively made was based on record evidence, but not so. The entire statement is without support in every particular. I have a duly certified copy of the will of William Paul, dated March 22, 1722, procured in May last from the clerk of the Circuit Court of Spottsylvania county, Virginia, and taken from the records on file in his office. It begins thus: "I, William Paul, of the town of Fredericksburg and county of Spottsylvania in Virginia, being in perfectly sound memory, thanks be to Almighty God," etc., etc. The third clause of the will is in these words: "It is my will and desire that my lots and houses in this town be sold and converted into money for as much as they will bring, that with all my other estate being sold and what of my outstanding debts that can be collected, I give and bequeath unto my beloved sister, Mary Young, and her two eldest children, in Arbigland in Parish Kirkbean, in the Stewartry of Galloway, and their heirs forever. And I do hereby empower my executors to sell and convey the said lots and houses and make a fee simple therein, and I do appoint my friends, Mr. William Templeman

and Isaac Hislop, my executors, to see this my will executed, confirming this to be my last will and testament."

This sister, Mary Young, afterwards married a Mr. William Lowden, who removed to this country and was a merchant in Charleston, S. C., as late as 1825. Both of the executors renounced, and one John Atkinson was appointed administrator and gave bond in the sum of five hundred pounds, the amount fixed by the court. The will was admitted to probate December 16, 1774. It is subscribed "William Paul," and the attestation clause is—"William Paul, having heard the above will distinctly read, declared the same to be his last will and testament in the presence of us." Three several times in the will does the testator solemnly declare his name to be William Paul, and the name of his brother John Paul is not mentioned within the "four corners" of the instrument. But this is not all. In June last, I wrote to the clerk of the Circuit Court of Spottsylvania county that it was asserted that one William Jones, planter, died in Fredericksburg about 1760, leaving a will in which he devised all of his property, including a plantation on the Rappahanock, to William Paul or John Paul, and asking him if this was true. In reply, he wrote me that William Jones did not mention the names of William Paul or John Paul in his will, and that the only tract of land owned by him, so far as the records showed, some 397 acres, had been sold in his life time. These facts would seem to be a complete refutation of Buell's statement. Yet, very nearly all of the many writers who have of late been filling the newspapers and magazines with articles about Paul Jones, have adopted Buell's theory and asserted it positively and confidently, without even giving Buell the credit of the discovery. Let us take one instance of the reckless manner in which these articles are written. A sketch of Paul Jones, written by Alfred Henry Lewis, is now running in the *Cosmopolitan*. In the August, 1905, number, Mr. Lewis gives the same account as does Buell for Paul's change of name. He says that in the month of April, 1773—mark the date—Paul landed on the Rappahanock at the foot of the William Jones plantation, where his brother William was then living; that he found him on his death bed, and his last words were that his name had been William Paul Jones since he inherited the plantation from William Jones, and that he, John, must take the name of John

Paul Jones at his death, with the plantation. In the September number is printed, with the continuation of his article, a cut of William Paul's tombstone, bearing the name of William Paul—not William Paul Jones—incribed upon it, and the date of his death as 1774.

Is it not very singular, to say the least, that, if William Jones was a relative of Paul's, and while on a visit to Kirkbean adopted William Paul, who then took the name of Jones, this fact was not known and well known to all of the members of the family? How could such an important event in the quiet, secluded life of their humble home have been forgotten. And yet it was not known to his niece, Miss Taylor, who, as said before, came to this country to compile and write the life of her uncle, nor was it heard of until it was told to Buell by the great grandnephew of Jones in 1873.

The Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady, in an article which appeared in the July, 1905, number of *Munsey's Magazine*, challenges this statement of Buell, exposes its fallacy, and declares his belief in the North Carolina tradition. And he gives strong and convincing reasons for his view of the matter. He says Buell wrote him, that he got his information from one William Lowden, whom he met in St. Louis in 1873, and who was a great grandnephew of Paul Jones. Against this, besides the record evidence above quoted, we have the equally positive statement, quoted hereafter, made by William Lowden, the nephew of John Paul, to Mr. Hubbard, of Virginia, in 1846, that he took the name of Jones out of affection for Willie and Allen Jones, of North Carolina. Which of the two statements should carry the more weight to the unbiased mind—the statement of the nephew, made in 1846, to a lineal descendant of Willie Jones, or the one made years later by the great grandnephew to Buell? The question suggests but one answer. But to my mind the grand nephew gives testimony in support of my contention. He says that John Paul Jones took the name of Jones from William Jones, and the name from William to Willie is but short. I admit this, but the rest of his statement is utterly disproved by the cold, dispassionate evidence of a court of record.

I have thus endeavored to show how utterly unreliable, how entirely unfounded, is the voice of history. Let us see now, what

tradition, as it has come down to us in North Carolina from our forefathers, may have to say. It will be conceded, I believe, by all who knew him, that my father, the late Hon. George Davis, was one of the most learned, most painstaking, and intelligent students of the history and traditions of our State. To th^{ere} he devoted a very large portion of his leisure moments, with much labor, keen delight and untiring study. Soon after I began the practice of law in his office, about 1870 or '71, he told me, as a fact well known to, and accepted by, the men of the older generation in the State, from whom it had come to him, that soon after coming to Virginia, in 1773, Paul met Willie Jones and paid him quite a long visit at his home, "The Grove" in Halifax county, N. C.; that he conceived a great attachment for Jones and his most accomplished wife and out of affection for them added Jones to his name.

The following is an extract from a letter dated Saratoga, Buckingham county, Virginia, February 22, 1876, first published in the *Baltimore Sun* and afterwards in the *Charleston News and Courier*: "While no revolutionary biography can boast more public events of vivid and intense interest than that of Paul Jones, none is so bare and meagre in personal detail; even the fact that he has immortalized a name which was his only by selection and adoption, is slurred over in history with a calm statement that 'he changed his name for unknown reasons.' As the reasons were not unknown, and, however difficult to obtain later, were then easily accessible, it appears to have been rather a lack of careful and intelligent investigation, than of facts, which caused their suppression. . . . In 1773 the death of his brother in Virginia, whose heir he was, induced him to settle in Virginia. It was then he added to his name, and henceforth was known as 'Paul Jones.' This was done in compliment to one of the most noted statesmen of that day, and, in the love and gratitude it shadows forth, is a reproach to a people who could neglect in life and forget in death. It appears, that, before permanently settling in Virginia, moved by the restlessness of his old seafaring life, he wandered about the country, finally straying to North Carolina. There he became acquainted with the two brothers, Willie and Allen Jones. They were both leaders in their day, and wise and honored in their generation. Allen Jones was an orator

and silver tongued. Willie Jones, the foremost man of his State, and one of the most remarkable men of his time. . . . His home, 'The Grove,' near Halifax, was not only the resort of the cultivated and refined, but the home of the homeless. . . . And it was here the young adventurer, John Paul, was first touched by those gentler and purer influences, which changed not only his name, but himself, from the rough and reckless mariner into the polished man of society, who was the companion of kings, and the lion and pet of Parisian salons. The almost worshiping love and reverence, awakened in his hitherto wild and untamed nature, by the generous kindness of the brothers, found expression in his adoption of their name. The truth of this account is not only attested by the descendants of Willie Jones, but by the nephew and descendant of Paul Jones, Mr. Lowden, of South Carolina. This gentleman in 1846 was in Washington, awaiting the passage of a bill by congress, awarding him the land claim of his distinguished uncle, Paul Jones, which had been allowed by the Executive of Virginia. Hon. E. W. Hubard, then a member of congress from Virginia, had in 1844 prepared a report on Virginia land claims, in which the committee endorsed that of Paul Jones. This naturally attracted Mr. Lowden to him, and, learning that Mrs. Hubard was a descendant of Willie Jones, he repeated both to Col. Hubard and herself the cause of his uncle's change of name, and added that amongst his pictures hung a portrait of Allen Jones."

I have quoted largely from this interesting letter, because so many of the statements contained in it are true beyond contradiction, and because it is so strongly corroborative of the tradition I am seeking to sustain. Col. E. W. Hubard, of Virginia, married Miss Sallie Eppes, who was a granddaughter of Willie Jones. He was a member of the 29th congress, and in 1846 a bill was introduced in that body for the relief of the representatives of Paul Jones, which passed both houses. This bill, however, was by some mischance, lost in the senate, and did not become a law. In the next congress, it was again introduced, and finally passed in March, 1848. As early as 1787, congress had recommended the settlement of Jones's claim for "pay, advances, and expenses" amounting to £9784 16s. 1d., but a full half century elapsed before justice was permitted to be done to the memory of

one who had rendered such invaluable and illustrious services to this country. What a commentary upon the gratitude of republics!

Paul Jones's will was executed in Paris on July 18, 1792, the day of his death. A duly exemplified copy of it was admitted to probate in Philadelphia on May 25, 1848, and Frances E. Lowden appointed administratrix *de bene esse cum testamento annexo*, and the government paid to her the sum of \$21,202.44 for Jones's share of the prize money from the ships *Betsey*, *Union*, and *Charming Polly*, captured by his squadron off the coast of England, his pay from June 21, 1781, to May 1788, \$5,040, and \$2,598.42 for moneys advanced by him for the government, aggregating the sum of \$28,840.86.

Again. I have before mentioned the fact that Jones had a nephew named Lowden, who lived in Charleston, S. C., in 1825.* Now, what more natural and reasonable than that this nephew should be in Washington, when this bill claimed the attention of congress, to give his personal aid and attention towards its passage, and the final accomplishment of a tardy act of justice.

It may seem strange that this cause for Paul's change of name should be known to Mr. Lowden, and not to Mrs. Taylor, Jones's sister, and her children. But then there were many strange and at this period unaccountable incidents in the life of this singular man. It would seem that there was not much love lost between the Lowdens and the Taylors, and therefore little or no correspondence between them. The following is an extract from a letter from Jones to his sister, Mrs. Taylor, dated Paris, December 27, 1790, and taken from Miss Taylor's book, page 519. "I duly received, *my dear Mrs. Taylor*, your letter of the 16th August, but ever since that time I have been unable to answer it, not having been capable to go out of my chamber, and having been for the most part obliged to keep my bed I shall not conceal from you that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that mutual tenderness and affection, which would do so much honor to themselves and to the memory of their worthy relations. . . . Though I wish to be the instrument of making family-

*See Sherbourne, note to page 10. Miss Taylor, page 14.

peace, which I flatter myself would tend to promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step, that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination."*

Miss Taylor gives no explanation of this bitter feeling between the two sisters, and this letter is the only allusion to it in her book. I venture to say that it was caused by the will of William Paul and the fact that he gave all his estate to his sister Mary, who afterwards married William Lowden. Every lawyer of experience well knows that there is nothing so well calculated to create bitterness and discord in a family as an unequal distribution of his estate by one of its members.

Mr. Lowden moved to this country, at what time is unknown to me, and lived in South Carolina, while the Taylors remained in Scotland. It is easy to see that he may well have heard of this tradition, about which I am writing, after he came to this country and have convinced himself of the truth of it; and at the same time that it should not be known to the family who remained in Scotland.

That distinguished and accomplished gentleman, the late Col. Cadwallader Jones, of Rock Hill, S. C., who died in 1899 at the age of 86 years, in his genealogical history of the Jones family, page 6, says: "Willie Jones lived at 'The Grove,' near Halifax. These old mansions, grand in their proportions, were the homes of abounding hospitality. In this connection, I may mention that when John Paul Jones visited Halifax, then a young sailor and stranger, he made the acquaintance of those grand old patriots, Allen and Willie Jones. He was a young man, but an old tar, with a bold, frank, sailor bearing, that attracted their attention. He became a frequent visitor at their houses, where he was always welcome. He soon grew fond of them, and as a mark of his esteem and admiration, he adopted their name, *saying that if he lived he would make them proud of it.* Thus John Paul became Paul Jones—it was his fancy. He named his ship the Bon Homme Richard in compliment to Franklin; he named himself Jones, in compliment to Allen and Willie Jones. When the first notes of war sounded, he obtained letters from

*The letter from Mrs. Taylor to which the above is an answer is not published in Miss Taylor's book.

these brothers to Joseph Hewes, member of congress from North Carolina, and through his influence received his first commission in the navy. I am now the oldest living descendant of General Allen Jones. I remember my aunt, Mrs. Willie Jones, who survived her husband many years, and when a boy I heard these facts spoken of in both families."

The distinguished historian of South Carolina, the late General Edward McCrady, of Charleston, S. C., in a letter dated April 3, 1900, says: "Mrs. McCrady was the granddaughter of General Wm. R. Davie, of revolutionary fame, who married the daughter of General Allen Jones, of Mount Gallant, Northampton, N. C. Tradition in her branch of the family has been, that it was Allen Jones who befriended John Paul and not his brother Willie . . . It was in honor of Allen Jones that he adopted the name of Jones as surname to that of Paul."

Col. W. H. S. Burgwyn, in his sketch of "The Grove" in volume 2, No. 9 of the North Carolina Booklet, mentions a letter received from Mrs. Wm. W. Alston, of Isle of Wight county, Virginia, a granddaughter of Willie Jones, over eighty years of age. She writes: "You ask did John Paul Jones change his name in compliment to my grandfather, Willie Jones. I have always heard that he did, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. Not only have I always heard it, but it was confirmed by my cousin, Mrs. Hubard, wife of Colonel E. Hubard, from Virginia, while in Washington in 1856* with her husband, who was a member of congress. She there met a nephew of John Paul Jones, who sought her out on hearing who she was. He told her of hearing his uncle and the family speak of the incident often and his great devotion to the family, so that in my opinion you can state it as an historical fact."

So that, to whatever branch of the Jones family we turn, whether to the descendants of Allen or of Willie, and whether living in North Carolina, or South Carolina, or Virginia, we find the same well cherished tradition that Paul took the name of Jones out of love for one or the other of these two brothers. And who shall say that this tradition, so long and so well preserved and sustained, even through a century and more, does not carry with it much greater weight and authority, than the wild sur-

*This is an evident error and should be 1846.—J. D.

mises of *soi-disant* historians. It matters not for the purposes of this article, whether it was from love of Allen or love of Willie, so that the fact remains.

But we are not left to tradition alone for authority; there are writers who rise to the dignity of historians who also testify to this fact. John H. Wheeler, the historian of North Carolina, was a most indefatigable gatherer and collector of the traditions and historical events of this State. While not always strictly accurate in his details, yet his works are of acknowledged value and high authority. In his reminiscences, page 198, he says: "The daring and celebrated John Paul Jones, whose real name was John Paul, of Scotland, when quite young, visited Mr. Willie Jones at Halifax, and became so fascinated with him, and his charming wife, that he adopted this family's name. In this name (John Paul Jones) he offered his services to congress, and was made lieutenant, December 22, 1775, on the recommendation of Willie Jones."

In Appleton's Encyclopedia, volume 3, page 462, is a sketch of Allen and Willie Jones and of Mary Montford, wife of Willie Jones. I quote from this: "It is said that it was in affectionate admiration of this lady (Mrs. Willie Jones) John Paul Jones, whose real name was John Paul, added Jones to his name, and under it, by the recommendation of Willie, offered his services to congress."

In the article on John Paul Jones in Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History, volume 5, page 189, the writer says: "Jones came to Virginia in 1773, inheriting the estate of his brother, who died there. Offering his services to congress, he was made first lieutenant in the navy in December, 1775, when out of gratitude to General Jones, of North Carolina, he assumed his name. Before that he was John Paul."

One of the latest works on the life of Jones is that written by the Rev. C. T. Brady, and published in 1900. He had access not only to all previous works on this subject, but also to a large number of rare books, pamphlets and manuscripts not available to the earlier writers. He also says, that, in none of the correspondence of Jones which now remains, does he allude to his change of name. He says, page 10: "Very little is known of his life from this period"—that is, after his coming to America—

“until his entry into the public service of the United States. . . . During this period, however, he took that step which has been a puzzle to so many of his biographers, and which he never explained in any of his correspondence that remains. He came to America under the name of John Paul; he re-appeared after *this period of obscurity* under the name of John Paul Jones.”

Mr. Brady mentions the claim advanced by the descendants of Willie and Allen Jones that it was out of affection for this family that Paul changed his name; and while he mentions it without any expression of his belief or disbelief, yet he gives what I have always considered a strong reason for its support. No thoughtful student can follow the career of Paul without being struck by the almost magic transformation, in a short period, of the rough sailor into the polished gentleman and courtier, whose ease and grace of person and charm of manner made him distinguished even in the aristocratic circles of Paris. What brought about this marvellous re-incarnation of the man? He went to sea an apprentice at the age of twelve, and a few years later was engaged in the slave trade, in which he continued, rising to the position of first mate of a slaver, until 1768, when he was twenty-one years of age. So that during the formative period of his life, when the nature of a man is most susceptible, and when it is generally and most easily shaped and moulded by the surrounding influences of his daily life, we find him engaged in the most brutalizing and degrading of services, one well calculated not merely to blunt and sear, but to kill all the gentle and refining tendencies which God may have implanted in his soul. So we may well ask what wrought this transformation? When he quit the slave trade, he still continued to follow the sea until he came to Virginia in 1773. So far we find in his life no explanation of this change. It must have taken place during that “period of obscurity” which followed, until he stepped forth in the full blaze of public notice as the Senior First Lieutenant of the Continental Navy in December, 1775. As I said before, Mr. Brady gives, what has ever seemed to me, the true explanation. Speaking of the friendship which sprang up between Willie Jones and Paul, and the invitation from Willie Jones to Paul to visit at his plantation (page 12), he says: “The lonely, friendless little Scotchman gratefully accepted the invitation—the society of gentle people

always delighted him, he ever loved to mingle with great folk throughout his life, and passed a long period at 'The Grove' in Halifax county, the residence of Willie, and at 'Mount Gallant' in North Hampton county, the home of Allen. While there, he was thrown much in the society of the wife of Willie Jones, a lady noted and remembered for her grace of mind and person. The Jones brothers were men of culture and refinement. They were Eton boys, and had completed their education by travel and observation in Europe. That they should have become so attached to the young sailor as to have made him their guest for long periods, and cherished the highest regard for him subsequently, is an evidence of the character and quality of the man. Probably for the first time in his life Paul was introduced to the society of the refined and cultivated. A new horizon opened before him, and he breathed, as it were, another atmosphere. Life for him assumed a new complexion. Always an interesting personality, with his habits of thought, assiduous study, coupled with the responsibilities of command, he needed but a little contact with gentle people and polite society, to add to his character those graces of manner, which are the final crown of the gentleman, and which the best of contemporaries have borne testimony he did not lack. The impression made upon him by the privilege of this association was of the deepest, and he gave to his new friends, and to Mrs. Jones especially, a warm-hearted affection and devotion amounting to veneration."

No other of Jones's biographers, so far as my limited library has afforded me the means of research, has ever attempted to account for this phase of his character. Certainly the argument advanced by Mr. Brady is not only very plausible, but is reasonable and grounded upon well attested tradition. Since this article was written, Mr. Brady, in an article before mentioned, gives his voice in favor of the tradition I have related.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

BOOK REVIEWS

A PRIMER OF FORESTRY. Part I, *The Forest*, 1903, 89 pp. Part II, *Practical Forestry*, 1905, 88 pp. By Gifford Pinchot. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Among the many admirably useful publications of the United States Department of Agriculture these little volumes deserve especial mention. They are written in a most simple and readable style and lavishly illustrated. The first volume contains forty-seven full-page plates and eighty-three smaller illustrations; the second contains eighteen plates and forty-seven smaller illustrations. No wide awake person from ten years to three score and ten can fail to be interested in text or illustrations or both. Whoever reads is sure to be impressed with the necessity for intelligent and systematic treatment of our forests.

In the first volume, Mr. Pinchot, who is at the head of the forestry work of the national government, tells the story of forest life in chapters entitled *The Life of a Tree*, *Trees in the Forest*, *The Life of a Forest*, and *Enemies of the Forest*. The second volume describes the actual practice of scientific forestry, closing with a short account of forestry abroad and of the progress which has been made at home. These volumes will do much to create an intelligent public opinion in favor of the husbanding of our forest resources. They should be much in demand. G.

THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
By John A. Fairlie, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company,
1905,—xi., 274 pp.

Dr. Fairlie presents in this volume an enlightening survey of the whole field of national administration. As he suggests in his preface, it is indeed surprising that there has not been published long ago a comprehensive and systematic work on this subject. His book is concrete evidence of the increased interest in, and importance attached to, administrative questions. The author has made a thoroughgoing and accurate study based upon a wide acquaintance with the general and special authorities. Useful lists of references are furnished at the head of each chapter. The

volume will make good reading for any citizen who is interested in getting a connected view of the federal government in its manifold activities. Many chapters will have a special value. For instance, the student of public finance will welcome the compact and clear statement of the functions of the Department of the Treasury contained in chapters 7 and 8. Other chapters can be drawn upon for a statement of the action of the several departments of the government in promoting, fostering and regulating industry. Especially interesting are the chapters on the general and special administrative powers of the President, on the participation of the senate and congress in matters of administration, and on the part played by the Cabinet in our administrative system. It would be fortunate if there were available similar well prepared surveys of the administration of at least the most important States. G.

THE MORAVIANS IN GEORGIA, 1735-1740. By Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem, N. C., 1905; pp. 252.

The Moravian settlement in Georgia was planted by Bishop Spangenberg and nine associates in 1735. It received reinforcements till the numbers reached forty-seven. It was settled on the banks of the Savannah near the town of Tomochichi, the Indian chieftian whose aid was so valuable to the colony in its earliest period. The Moravians proved themselves admirable frontiersmen, working steadily, planting homes noted for cleanliness and comfort, and cheerful, sober, and thrifty in the manner. They liked the community and seemed to be beginning a prosperous career when the difficulty was raised which drove them from the colony. They had as a body embraced that doctrine of non-resistance for which the Quakers were also widely known. They accordingly refused to bear arms and, in the exposed condition of the colony in the war with Spain, in 1739-1742, this was a ground for much complaint by the rest of the inhabitants. Although Oglethorpe was induced to give them a particular exemption from military service, the people insisted that they should do their share in driving off the enemy; and the result was that the Moravians abandoned their settlement and went to Pennsylvania, the last of them except two going in 1745. The short period of their stay did not do much to affect the history of

Georgia; but it showed what a large infusion of sober and thrifty German blood might have done for the place.

This incident finds a faithful and competent historian in Miss Fries. Her narrative is drawn chiefly from Moravian records in Salem, N. C., Bethlehem, Pa., and Herrnhut, Germany. It is presented in a distinct and interesting style, with a due sense of proportion and a reasonable appreciation of the human element. It would be difficult to find anywhere a better picture of the struggles of the early days of settlement than that which is here given of a Georgia community. It is worth to the student, and to the general reader as well, many volumes of categorical description of political charges; for this is a real picture of real life. It is important, too, for the presentation it contains of the early relations of Moravians and Methodists, and it makes it seem probable that but for the attempt on the Savannah river the Moravian church might not have been planted in England or in America. The book is well illustrated and has a serviceable index. It is not free from proof errors, as "Tyreman" for Tyerman, and one must smile at the persistency with which there appears the expressions Moravian "Church" and Methodist "denomination."

J. S. B.

A NEW ERA IN OLD MEXICO. By G. B. Winton. Smith and Lamar. Nashville, viii., 203 pp.

Dr. Winton, at present editor of the *Nashville Advocate*, was for several years a missionary in Mexico. From his observations of Mexican life and his study of Mexican history he has written this interesting book as "a guide to intelligent observation and to further studies upon the part of others." He hopes that it may "contribute to a better understanding between near neighbors." Three chapters deal with the geography, the products, and the population of the country. As a background for the Mexico of today several chapters are given to the various periods of history. The influence of Spain and of France is treated in a discriminating and enlightened way. Naturally the most interesting part of the book is found in chapters 16-20 in which the author presents the great changes that have taken place since 1876. Although the book has to do with a rather wide range of subjects, it is a concise and well written interpretation of a country about which Americans as a rule know but little. E. M.

THE NAPOLEONIC EXILES IN AMERICA. A STUDY IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1815-1819. By Jesse Siddal Reeves. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 134.

Dr. Reeves gives himself the task of recounting the history of the attempt of the friends of Napoleon to settle a colony in America out of the old soldiers of their hero. The interest in the movement centers around the unfortunate enterprise called Champ d'Asile, on the Trinity river in Texas. It appealed to many people in France because to some it seemed good to rid the country of a class of men who might prove useful to those who should try to put a Bonaparte on the throne in the future, and to many others because there was a tendency for some of the old soldiers of the Emperor to spend their days in idleness under the impression that ordinary work was beneath their dignity.

The Texas settlement reached Galveston in the spring of 1818 and received a warm welcome from the brothers Lafitte, who having been driven from Barataria by General Jackson, had made this place their headquarters. From the pirates they received valuable aid and proceeded to the site selected in the interior. A brave proclamation was then issued announcing that they took the land because it was unused, that they sought to occupy it peacefully both as regard white people and Indians, but that if attacked they would know how to defend themselves. They applied to the Spanish authorities for a grant of the place on which they selected, but received for reply only an armed expedition which had orders to break up the settlement. Before such an expedition they offered no resistance, claiming that they understood that the Spanish force numbered 1200 against the 200 armed men of the colony. The upshot was that the colonists retired to Galveston, lured on by the certainty of supplies there. Here they dispersed to various parts.

The story of the "Napoleonic Exiles" is told with much particularity and fairness. It fills an important gap in the history of the settlement of the Southwest, and by writing it the author has wrought a good service. The story, which is full of adventure, is presented in an easy and attractive form—relieved by literary allusions which mark the writer as a man of culture.

J. S. B.

LITERARY NOTES

Mr. Charles L. Coon, of the North Carolina Department of Education, has done a genuine service by publishing his "Facts About Southern Educational Progress," prepared under the direction of the Campaign Committee of the Southern Education Board. There has been so much said in recent years of the educational awakening in the South—so many glittering generalities indulged in and so many roseate pictures drawn—that a scientific and accurate study of actual conditions is timely and necessary. Mr. Coon brings to the study wide observation, extensive study of facts and a fearless candor. Statistical tables are interspersed with incisive remarks of the author and quotations from distinguished men. The pamphlet of 124 pages is a veritable storehouse for writers and speakers on Education in the South. Part I. deals with Southern Population Statistics by States; Part II., Important Constitutional Provisions Relating to Public Education and a Summary of School Taxation Laws; Part III., Financial Ability to Levy School Taxes; Part IV., a Summary of School Laws; Part V., Southern Educational Statistics in Detail; Part VI., Looking to the Future, or Some Campaign Suggestions. This pamphlet has back of it the endorsement of the Campaign Committee of the Southern Education Board and of the Superintendents of Public Instruction in the South. Without such endorsement it should make its way by the absolute value of the work. The keynote is struck on the title page by a quotation from Emerson: "Men like flattery for the moment, but they know the truth for their own. It is a foolish cowardice which keeps us from trusting them, and speaking to them rude truth. They resent your honesty for an instant, they will thank you for it always." In this spirit we believe the Southern people will accept Mr. Coon's very searching analysis of conditions as they are.

Professor Walter L. Fleming, of West Virginia University, has prepared for the New York State Education Department a syllabus on the "Reconstruction of the Seceded States, 1865-1876."

In no other book or pamphlet in this period will we find so much that is suggestive and helpful to students. Under the following subjects the author has arranged references and suggested topics for study: "The Aftermath of War," "Problems of Reconstruction," "Political Parties, 1864-66," "Plans and Theories of Reconstruction," "'Restoration' by the President," "Congress Rejects the 'Restoration,'" "'Reconstruction' by Congress," "Carpetbag and Negro Rule," "Restoration Overthrown," "Undoing of Reconstruction," and "Results of Reconstruction." In the appendix are printed representative contemporary letters, reports, editorials, etc. Professor Fleming shows in this, as in all of his other work, that he is a scholar of rare industry and insight. Readers of the *QUARTERLY* look forward to his approaching history of Alabama with much interest.

The American Book Company has brought out Rolfe's edition of Shakespeare's plays in a new and more attractive edition. The notes have been improved by omitting many that could have no possible value for a student beginning the study of Shakespeare. High schools and colleges will find the edition to be the most satisfactory, perhaps, of all editions for text-book work. The binding, paper, print, and editing are admirable.

Dr. Charles Lee Raper, of the University of North Carolina, has nearly completed his "Principles of Wealth and Welfare," a text-book in economics for high schools. It will be published by the Macmillan Company.

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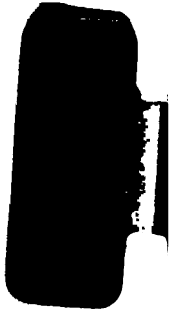
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