

The Citizen

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"There are some who desire to know with the sole purpose that they may know, and it is curiosity: and some who desire to know that they may be known, and it is base ambition: and some who desire to know that they may sell their knowledge for wealth and honor, and it is base avarice: but there are some, also, who desire to know that they may be edified, and it is prudence, and some who desire to know that they may help others, and it is charity."—S. BERNARD.

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Life and Education.

THE President of the Conference of Charities and Correction, at its recent session in Toronto, had more than the eloquence of the speaker, he had the eloquence of the subject, when he described in a passage of breadth and vigor the sphere of influence of that conference:—

"The hosts of those for whom we must care, whose errors we must correct, for whose failures we must atone, for whose sins we and ours must suffer. They have been described to us as the talus of society, the detritus, breaking down under the attrition of the heat and frost, the drought and the rain, which so constantly attack them, and falling to the foot of the cliffs,—as captive hosts marching in sad and dismal ranks in the triumphal procession of strong, all-conquering material progress,—as the parasites, securing a living without exertion of their

own...We have heard of them as great and dangerous armies,...reaching, when we include all in one great category, the criminals of all grades,...the paupers, tramps, mendicants, the insane, epileptic, idiotic, inebriate, the deaf and mute, the blind and diseased, into millions upon this continent."

Such words, we say, have the eloquence of the subject. They appeal to the earnest mind, thoughtful of the possibilities of social betterment. The deliberations of this conference, representative of the United States and Canada and composed for the most part of experts and officers in all branches of relief of the poor and care of the degenerate and criminal, upon the problems of asthenontology, to use the approved word, "the science of weakness," must be of vital interest to every citizen, and must render valuable even a summary statement of its conclusions.

Does education lead to crime? Does it decrease crime among the delinquent class? The extravagant hopes of the advocates of public elementary education forty years ago now seem an Utopian dream, and yet the waking truth is full of consolation. Education is beyond doubt a factor in the amelioration of evil conditions, and an element of strength and comfort to the weaker members of society. Such is the testimony of the conference in many new aspects. For instance, the Bethel Relief Society of Detroit report that alien Jewish paupers come to us, to the extent of 85 per cent. from countries having no popular education, and of 15 per cent. from countries possessing national systems of instruction. The operation of a free kindergarten system has been attended with most excellent results in tenement districts of San Francisco, where, out of nine thousand children taken in hand, only one was consigned to the reformatory. The reformatories for children, too, under the new system of industrial training, do really reform, in a percentage of instances, calculated on a basis of over one hundred thousand cases, of from 75 to 82. Such testimony, we say, is fresh

successive stages by which Pennsylvania and Philadelphia lost their pre-eminence. He hardly pays sufficient attention to the great natural advantages of a port like New York, or to the wise forethought which connected that city with the great lakes and the still greater West by cheap water routes, paralleled in turn by railroads of easy grade, while Pennsylvania slowly and reluctantly abandoned its turnpikes for canals, and its canals to foster railroads. It is much to the credit of Philadelphia that, even when hopelessly deprived of its shipping, it found compensation in a great industrial growth. It is not easy to accept Mr. Fisher's views as to the growth and improvement of the public schools, for undoubtedly the system under which they have grown up still leaves much room for reform to bring them up to the standard of those in New England and in the West.

The closing chapter of Mr. Fisher's 'Pennsylvania' is by no means a satisfactory one, and it would be better to recast it in another edition. The penultimate chapter, that on the Civil War, with its meagre description of Gettysburg, might well be omitted, and replaced by a more exact account of the political parties in Pennsylvania at the close of the last century.

In both his books Mr. Fisher has told the story of Pennsylvania with a freshness and vigor that compensate for want of exact detail; and his historical method is a vast improvement on the dry pages of Proud and Gordon, the formerly accepted authorities. Such books as Mr. Fisher has given us will do much to spread a general knowledge of the real influences in the growth of the Commonwealth; and, while no doubt new editions will gain by revision and by the use of recent works, his two volumes are a positive gain for a clearer knowledge of the real history of the state in its early days of proprietary government and in its colonial life. With all their shortcomings, these two modest books are well worth the attention of students and teachers and of all earnest readers. Without at all accepting Mr. Fisher's very positive opinions as to the relative importance of the Quakers, the Germans, and the Scotch-Irish in their respective shares in the history of Pennsylvania, it is due to him to say that we get in his pages almost for the first time a clear and connected account of their relations to one another, and to the great events of our history. Even Episcopalians will hardly feel flattered by the tribute he pays to them and to the leadership of the venerable Bishop White, and their ecclesiastical rivals will no doubt protest against his harsh judgment as to the motives and results of their share in our local history.

It is, however, no small merit thus in two books of moderate size to have given

the salient points of the rise and growth of Pennsylvania, and to leave the beaten track of dry chronicle for the broader road of inquiry—not always, be it said, with philosophic insight—as to the causes of the changes that mark the successive epochs of our colonial life and of our growth into a great commonwealth. After all, a little book, with all its comfort and convenience for the reader, does not give the author always or often scope enough for details; and Mr. Fisher has assumed either more knowledge in his reader, or more confidence in his summary of facts and in the opinions he bases on them, than may well be justified. He has sometimes sacrificed space for indulgence in his rather colloquial phrases. If history is no longer written in a stilted style, yet there is a certain dignity in the subject that ought to be kept in mind. The absence of any authorities or references, either in the text or in notes, is of itself somewhat likely to lead to doubts as to the absolute safety of putting too much reliance on Mr. Fisher's summaries of antagonistic parties and opinions. To give his books a lasting value, he should supply a fuller bibliography, and enable students to refer to the sources of his own statements both of facts and of his inferences from them.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

SOUTHERN STATESMEN OF THE OLD REGIME.

By William P. Trent, M. A., Professor in the University of the South. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York, 1897. 8vo., pp. 293.

The biographical studies which make up this volume were originally prepared as a course of lectures to be given at the University of Wisconsin. Their purpose goes far to explain their character and form. There is from the first page to the last an argumentative attitude. The persons under discussion are not presented to us from a universal point of view, but from the particular platform of a Southern man exhibiting his heroes to a somewhat hostile audience. The lecture form lends itself well to such a treatment, and the author's frankness and courage are very attractive. One thing is particularly pleasing. Professor Trent, an out-and-out Southern man, occupying a prominent position in a Southern university, deals with the statesmen under consideration with a frank recognition of the folly and fatuity they displayed in upholding slavery, and does not hesitate to condemn the "South's peculiar institution" as utterly immoral and demoralizing. He tells us in his preface: "My opinions are the results of my own studies, based chiefly upon Southern materials; and I am willing to change all or any

of them, when they are proved to be erroneous, but I am certainly not to be turned from any of them by unstinted personal abuse." This passage makes us aware that, if the young student of history has dared to think and speak for himself, and has grasped the truth that pro-slavery statesmen fought vainly and in a bad cause, his auditors have not all reached his point of progress. It is the sad misfortune of the South that so many of its people cannot dissociate the courage and devotion of the past from the bad cause which called them out.

The statesmen selected for study are Washington, Jefferson, John Randolph, Calhoun, Stephens, Toombs, and Jefferson Davis. The choice is defended in the preface as inevitable. Yet surely it is a curious selection. If so broad a man as Washington, so unsectional in temper and in influence, were chosen, surely Jackson, Clay, and Benton should not be rejected, as they are, "because they came to stand for ideas distinctly Western." Rejection on this basis tends to obscure the fact that the South never became wholly shut up to pro-slavery views, and tends to substitute the South of sentiment and secession for the South of geography and fact. As Washington stands over against Richard Henry Lee, and Marshall against Jefferson, we should note the names of Jackson, William Campbell, Preston, Clay, Benton, and John J. Crittenden as representatives of types as truly Southern as those presented in this volume.

There is not much to be said in criticism of the earlier lectures. The point of view is largely that of the 'American Statesman Series,' Mr. Adams's 'Randolph' and Professor Von Holst's 'Calhoun' being followed with particular closeness, as their ability abundantly justifies. The treatment of Robert Toombs does ample justice to the good side of the man, and deals with extreme tenderness with the offensive side of his abounding personality. It is no disservice to the present age to hear what can be said for this aspect of a vigorous and influential pro-slavery leader. What we most feel is that Alexander H. Stephens is a little lowered by the companionship in the lecture in which he is so closely compared with Toombs. In our judgment, despite the personal intimacy, Stephens was incomparably the greater man.

It is only when we come to the lecture on Jefferson Davis that we feel that, despite the most creditable effort to be unprejudiced and dispassionate, Professor Trent has failed. The lecture is strained in tone and treatment. There is no shrinking from the truth. The weakness of the premises on which the whole fabric of Davis's career was built is pitilessly exposed. But when it comes to pressing home the responsibility for adopting such false premises, we have an exculpation in place of an historical judg-

ment. The fact that we were born south of the Mason and Dixon line does not justify us in reversing moral judgments. We can recognize the high capacity of Davis for leadership, the sincerity of his motives, and the honesty of his conduct; but we should not refuse to see that his construction of the Constitution was due to mere wrong-headedness, and his rash career in leading a great group of states along the path of secession was criminal—doubly so when the object in view was, as is here admitted, the perpetuation of the anachronism of human slavery. Let us save our sympathy for the misled and deluded masses, while we kindly but firmly say that the statesmanship which develops and presses a false construction of law in the interest of immorality and inhumanity is criminal.

Jefferson Davis has many points in common with the English embodiment of constitutional wrong-headedness, Charles I. This likeness is to be seen in Professor Trent's plea. In justifying Davis's conduct in leaving the Senate, but remaining in Washington and there carrying on correspondence in the interests of secession, he says: "For my own part, I have little hesitation in affirming that when Jefferson Davis took his leave of the Senate he did it with the thorough approval of his conscience, and with a real sadness of heart. He showed none of the blatant elation that characterized many of the shallower spirits who imitated him; but alas! he took a step which, while deserving our sympathy rather than our hate and scorn, certainly blasted his career. He was a brave man and a true man, whom the gods, wishing to destroy, had first made mad—the mistakes of fathers, as well as their sins, being visited on their children." Does not this remind us of Macaulay's famous passage in the essay on Milton? "The advocates of Charles * * * usually decline all controversy about the facts, and content themselves with calling testimony as to character. * * * We charge him with having broken his coronation oath; and we are told that he kept his marriage vow! We accuse him of having given up his people to the merciless inflictions of the most hot-headed and hard-hearted of prelates; and the defence is that he took his little son on his knee and kissed him!" But the quotation need not be given at length; it is too familiar. Neither Charles nor Jefferson Davis can be excused from responsibility for a long and terrible civil war on the ground of mediocre talents or honesty of purpose. Nor is there any fear that the future will ever reverse the verdict of the past, and find in their favor. It were, then, a thousand times better that the secession movement should be allowed to sink with the pro-slavery propaganda into the limbo of the crimes of mankind against man than that the outworn

plea that men are not responsible for their deeds, if they but mean well, should be forever revamped. If slavery was a crime against humanity, secession was a crime against a great nation with a God-given destiny to fulfill.

While we feel it our duty to emphasize this point, we feel that these lectures will make profitable reading for all who will take them up. In style they are direct and pleasing, though occasionally marred by inexact and careless use of words. A few minor statements are open to controversy, but the accuracy and transparent honesty of the work throughout are worthy of the warmest praise. One curious error is constantly repeated in connection with the oft-cited name of John Taylor, of Caroline, who invariably appears as "of Carolina."

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

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MARIA THERESA and JOSEPH II. By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, D. D. The Macmillan Company, London and New York. 2 vols.

In their former issues, the publishers of this 'Foreign Statesmen Series' have given a single volume to each biography. In picturing the reigns of Maria Theresa and her son this method is abandoned, for, as the publishers explain, the reigns are too closely connected to be satisfactorily treated except as parts of a whole. During the period of the co-regency—1765-80—the influence of Joseph upon the great Empress was gradually increasing, and it is impossible "to attempt an account of her political action without taking into consideration the character and views of her son." Moreover, Dr. Bright regards the social reforms undertaken by Joseph during the ten years of his sole rulership as but the fulfillment of measures initiated in his mother's reign. However this may be, unity was given to the foreign policy during the whole period by the system of Kaunitz, which justifies Dr. Bright in making the volumes before us the first and second of a single work rather than distinct biographies of two rulers.

To any student interested in the political and historical development of Europe, it must be evident that the half century following the death of the emperor, Charles VI., was among the most momentous periods in history. It has, indeed, been somewhat neglected, owing to the overwhelming importance assigned to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras succeeding it, yet it is by no means improbable that the earlier years give us the key to the later developments. Even if we neglect such reflected importance, it is no small claim for distinction that a period should possess four such giants in politics as Frederic of Prussia, Catherine of Russia, Lord Chatham, and the Austrian Empress. Nor were

Louis XV., of France, and Kaunitz pigmies, if indeed the latter was not the mainstay of the Austrian policy.

It is in harmony with other works in this series and to the credit of Dr. Bright, that neither hero-worship nor national pride prevents his assuming an attitude of impartiality toward the actors whom he presents to his readers. An Englishman, he does not hesitate to expose the utterly selfish and ignoble policy pursued by his country during the period of its alliance with Austria, including the abandonment of that ally when Russia made a higher bid for English aid. An admirer of the shrewd and powerful nature of Frederic the Great, he admits—as, indeed, all conscientious critics must admit—the unscrupulous character of that prince. No deception was too low, no desertion too base, for use by the Prussian Government, if by that means its position in Europe could be improved. It was, indeed, the Prussian policy in 1756 which prepared the ground for Kaunitz's famous alliance with France, Prussian duplicity being the deciding argument at the French court. Even upon her new ally Austria could not place real dependence. For the listlessness of France we cannot hold Louis or his ministers directly accountable. The alliance had never been popular with the whole court, and it was this division of interests, together with the inefficiency of French governmental methods, which prevented the fullest co-operation of France with her Austrian ally. The effect was no less disastrous to the empress. When, in 1759, the Austrians and Russians had won the battle of Kunersdorf, or in 1760, when Laudon had regained the larger part of Silesia, a strong movement by France on Frederic's western frontier would have completed the triumph, but the opportunity was not improved. It is probable that France, as England before her, considered Austria more as a subordinate than as an equal, and that Choiseul was ready to use her victories as a basis for favorable terms of peace with England, even if such action should deprive the empress of the legitimate results of her active policy.

Finally, in the alliance with Russia we can see the same motives leading to the same results. From Elizabeth, indeed, much real aid was obtained, for she was as much incensed against Frederic as was her sister empress; but when Joseph tried to join forces with Catherine, he found, as before, that Austria was to be used only as a cat's-paw, this time in the war between Russia and Turkey.

This brings us to the causes of the unsuccessful which seemed continually to follow the empress. At no time except in her alliance with Elizabeth were Austria's desires coincident with those of her ally. England and France were