

The Citizen

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Life and Education.

THE recent convention of the educators of the Middle States at Poughkeepsie readily affords a criterion of some features of the present trend of public education. The convention was marked by the large and increasing representation of high-school men, who made it clear that they are directing their work more and more to prepare students for college, while on the other hand the college professors present recognized and welcomed the movement of the schools. No aspect of present day education is of more significant or more hopeful import than this drawing together of high-schools and colleges. Surely, when the public schools shall foster the desire and prepare the way for the higher education, and the colleges shall recognize the capabilities and resources of the schools of the people, we may hope for some long steps toward a more rational co-ordination of studies and notable economy of time and effort.

Professor Sharpless, of Haverford College, in one branch of the discussion on this question attempted to define the sphere of the small college at this time when the interest in higher education largely centres in the phenomenal growth and activity of the universities. He maintained that the small college should abandon the attempt to follow the university in its standards of admission and methods of instruction and administration, that it should gradually differentiate itself and form a definite part of our educational system. He called attention to the very pertinent fact that while at every previous convention of the association college and university men have insisted upon a decrease of the age at which pupils are prepared for academic work, and while there is much public criticism of the system which delays entrance upon business or professional life until an age thought by the critics to be too advanced, the recent changes in college entrance requirements have been such as to induce a number of leading preparatory schools to add a year to their courses of study. That the small colleges have a distinct mission is undoubted. They stand for the personality of the teacher as against the reality of the great buildings, libraries, laboratories of the universities. They have their dan-

Lamorlière, of Madame Bault, of Turgu, the faithful cook, and of the different municipal councillors, who saw the daily life of the prisoners in the Temple, than to get the same tale at second hand. Not only is truth better served, but an impression of actuality is given which cannot be surpassed by the eloquence of secondary writers. The only absolutely new document is a brief account of certain experiences in the Temple, written by one Daujon, a member of the Commune of Paris. The original of this belongs to M. Victorien Sardou, the celebrated dramatist, and it has never before been printed. Its interest lies mainly in the fact that Daujon was on duty during the massacres of September, 1792, and that it was he who met the drunken murderers who bore the head of the Princesse de Lamballe on a pike to the gardens of the Temple, with the hideous intention of exhibiting it to her dearest friend, Marie-Antoinette. Of the other documents, most are rare and practically inaccessible to students. The most famous is the story told by Rosalie Lamorlière, which was, however, reprinted by M. Campardon in his *'Marie-Antoinette à la Conciergerie'*. This story dictated in her old age to Lafont d'Aussonne must necessarily be regarded with suspicion and cannot be trusted except where corroborated. The means of corroboration are partly supplied in M. Lenotre's volume and special attention should be drawn from this point of view to the report given by Madame Simon-Vouet of her conversation with Rosalie in 1835. It may be said at once that most of the documents would by themselves be of little value owing to the fact that they are mainly recollections, written between twenty and thirty years after the events described, by survivors of a terrible time who had every inducement to exaggerate the virtues and the sufferings of the Queen. But these accounts are sufficiently numerous to be used as checks upon each other and therefore a fair degree of certainty can be arrived at with regard to the points on which they agree. Without going into the minutiae of differences and agreements, it is enough to state here that M. Lenotre is convinced of the accuracy of the story of the Queen's last communion as told by the Abbé Magnin, and that he differs from M. de la Rocheterie (*'Histoire de Marie-Antoinette,'* vol. II, p. 581, note 4) in maintaining that Rosalie's story is correct and that the Queen was after her condemnation taken back to her former prison cell, instead of being transferred, as other witnesses assert, to the usual cell of those condemned to death.

A few words must be said in commendation of the excellent fashion in which M. Lenotre has illustrated his texts. For this task, he was

eminently well prepared by the careful study he has already made of the topography of Paris during the period of the Revolution. Just as it is impossible to understand, for instance, the various accounts given of the taking of the Bastille without having a plan of the Bastille under the readers' eyes, so it is necessary for the right comprehension of the details of Marie-Antoinette's prison life to have a correct knowledge of the topography of the Temple and of the Conciergerie. This knowledge is given by the admirable plans supplied by M. Lenotre. For the first time is it possible to see exactly what the various narrators meant in their allusions to places well known to them but unknown to us. Various mistakes of secondary writers caused by their misinterpretation of their authorities are cleared up by M. Lenotre's plans, and the sense of actuality, which, as it has been said, is given by the reading of the testimony of eye-witnesses, is heightened by the plans of the sites described. Some contemporary drawings and some excellent portraits, notably one of the Abbé Magnin, are inserted, and once again is reproduced that marvellous drawing by David of Marie-Antoinette on her way to execution, which contains in its few expressive lines, the whole story of the miserable, last days of anguish which closed the career of the hapless Queen of France. Better than all words of eloquent pathos is David's more eloquent drawing in its convincing proof that whatever Marie-Antoinette might have done in life to merit chastisement, she gave evidence at the last that at least she had "suffered much."

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers.*

Dr. Edward Eggleston in his recent much-lauded volume on *'The Beginners of a Nation'* tells us by way of preface: "The founders of the little settlements that had the unexpected fortune to expand into an empire I have not been able to treat otherwise than irreverently." Now comes Mr. Arber and in his *'Story of the Pilgrim Fathers'* says: "Although the Pilgrim Story must, after the appearance of this volume, assume a somewhat different aspect from that which it has hitherto had; it has been rather heightened than diminished in interest." Dr. Eggleston also declares that he has "disregarded that convention which makes it obligatory for a writer of American history to explain that intolerance in the first settlers was not just like other intolerance, and that their

**The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623 A. D.; as told by Themselves, Their Friends, and Their Enemies.* Edited from the original texts by Edward Arber, F. S. A. 8vo. pp. X. 634. Index. London and Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897.

cruelty and injustice were justifiable under the circumstances"; while Mr. Arber insists that "if we would wish to do but bare and simple justice to the Pilgrim Fathers, we must strip ourselves of a great many ideas and opinions which, in our time, are the unquestioned and universal maxims of everyday life and thought." For our part we like Mr. Arber's point of view much better than we do Dr. Eggleston's. Without for a moment surrendering the eternal basis of moral judgments, or stooping to an outworn casuistry which would justify the means by the end, we cannot but think that historical judgments must be formed under the influence of a very broad consideration of the men and events of each age. We readily concede that no man and no age deserves exemption from the most careful and searching scrutiny of every succeeding time, but we cannot agree that the builders of our nation should be "treated irreverently." Even though we admit the plea of one of Dr. Eggleston's most friendly reviewers that he meant *unreverently* rather than *irreverently*, we are obliged to think that the original word is the better and the significance the same. We have brought to the study of the Pilgrim Fathers a mind biased against their claims to reverence. Our Maryland and Virginia ancestry gave us no liking for their New England ways, nor did we naturally incline to their separatist views in matters ecclesiastical. But as we came to study the story of their lives and deeds the nobility of their natures grew upon us. It was easy to see, as Mr. Arber sees, that the Pilgrim story is full of human weakness, that "it contains every possible dramatic element, nobleness and baseness, bravery and cowardice, purity and impurity of life, manhood and hypocrisy, gentleness and wrongheadedness." And when we came to sum up, it was impossible not to see the rich vein of pure devotion in their lives, or to refuse to bare the head in humble reverence before the hardy men who dared and did so much for the love of liberty and God.

No service can be rendered such men as these so grateful as that which will enable posterity to know them as they were. It is this that Mr. Arber has attempted and largely succeeded in doing in this stout volume. He has hitherto laid us under many obligations for his excellent reprints of old English books, and more recently by his valuable edition of the works of Captain John Smith. His is, therefore, no prentice hand. There is a naïve simplicity about him which is always refreshing, as when he tells us that "it may be necessary to say that we are absolutely impartial. . . . We always start upon any investigation with a *tabula rasa*; and then simply follow the evidence, wherever it may lead us." We can scarcely con-

cede such entire freedom from prepossession in this age to any except the natural scientists, but despite an evident distaste for the policy of "separation" (see p. 5) and an inability to estimate justly the true value of theological controversy (see p. 6), Mr. Arber has acquitted himself with great credit, considering that he is an Englishman and his present field History.

We are not given a bare series of manuscripts. In some cases, despite their length, we could wish for longer citations. We are rather supplied with quotations from the rarer works of the Pilgrim age and some recently recovered MSS., so edited as to supply the reader with the matter of most importance, and, by means of an editorial commentary, with the general setting of the quotations. After some introductory matter, including Cotton Mather's sketch of Governor Bradford, and a note on the Bradford MS., the story of the Pilgrims is dealt with in five sections treating of their life at Scrooby, Amsterdam and Leyden, their Resolution to Migrate to America, and the Voyage to America, embracing forty-five titles and covering three hundred and ninety-four pages. These sections are followed by reprints of the Journal of the Plantation in New England, commonly known as 'Mourt's Relation', Edward Winslow's 'Good News from America', and 'The Complaint of Certain Adventurers and Inhabitants of the Plantation in New England.' Of the last item Mr. Arber says:

"At this time of day, to hope to add anything absolutely new to the sum of what is already known about the Pilgrim Fathers, is like hoping to find the Philosopher's Stone. The New England Scholars and Historical Societies, during the last hundred years, have so cleanly swept this field of history, that not even a single ear of wheat is to be hoped for. We ourselves had no such hope at all. Therefore the more do we rejoice in our good luck in finding the Statement of the Claims in respect of the robbery of the *Fortune* by the French in February, 1622."

This recognition of the diligence of our New England students is as grateful as it is deserved. This quotation, also, indicates that this collection is intended for the general reader, bringing together in a volume of reasonable size, and price, the best results of the original investigations of the past century. We can cordially commend it as well fulfilling its object. The publishers also have made it very attractive in every way. The type is large, the paper and press work excellent, and the binding attractive. A portrait of Governor Winslow is inserted as a frontispiece, and there are maps of the "Pilgrim-land" in Old and New England.

As to the matter of these old world writings,

they are for the most part too familiar to need special comment. The Story of the Pilgrims as Told by Themselves sufficiently describes it. It is a story, as already indicated, of men full of human weakness, but upheld by a divine faith; stooping to pitiful dissensions, but rising to noble resolutions; baffled and downcast at times, but suffering steadfastly persecution, exile, and death for the truth they cherished. A single brief quotation from the closing words of Edward Winslow's 'Good News from New England', will sufficiently indicate the attitude of a man of gentle birth and honorable rank to the undertaking which he was largely instrumental in carrying to a triumphant issue:—

"I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England: and yet because they must drink water, and want many delicacies they here enjoyed, could presently here return with their mouths full of clamours. And can any be so simple, as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine and beer; or the roads and rivers be like butchers' shops and fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands. If thou canst not live without such things; and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other; nor hast ability to employ others for thee; rest where thou art! . . . If, therefore, God hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties, viz., his glory as a principal; and all other outward good things but as accessories: . . . then thou wilt, with true comfort, and thankfulness, receive the least of his mercies."

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

The Witch Persecutions.*

In the last half century the spread of education and the growth of rational views of historical progress have been so great that not alone the Magna Charta and the Declarations of Independence, which have been given to the world in protest against political servitude to tyrant state and monarch,—the outbursts of a people goaded into rebellion,—are preserved and honored in all lands where freemen dwell, but we have become strong enough also to hang beside them the scarlet letter and the witches' brand, not to forget Bonn and Trèves when we remember Runnymede. Nay more we can now realize at what a fearful cost of mental slavery to terrible dogmas, such for example as the be-

lief in witchcraft, our political liberties were in their sixteenth-century beginnings achieved.

Professor Burr gives us accurate translations and reprints of some of the most important documents relating to the witch-persecutions in Europe from Johannes Nider in 1437 to Cotton Mather in 1689. From the reading of these terrible chapters in the history of human thought, one rises impressed with the common goodness of all religions, no less than with the common weakness of all theologies. He recognizes how much more humane, how much more like the Jesus, whose name his Company bore, was Friedrich Spee, in 1631, than our own Puritan Cotton Mather, more than half a century later. If any one doubts the evolution of mankind in word and in deed, let him read these authentic records of doubt in God's power to hold his universe to the good, the true, the beautiful, of man's confession of Satan's omnipotence, his abdication of self-control, his casting off of honor, love and pity, his utter abandonment to irrational thoughts and debauched imaginations, and then turn to Browning and Lowell for evidence of the great change that has come over the minds of men. Galileo's recantation and his reputed "it does move after all" are no whit more remarkable, no more worthy of place in school and library than the torture-extracted confession of Junius, Burgomaster of Bamberg (1628), and the letter secretly written in the midst of his trial to his daughter Veronica, in which he says of the former: "They are all sheer lies and made-up-things, so help me God. For all this I was forced to say through fear of the torture which was threatened beyond what I had already endured." Only the perusal of the contemporary records, reproduced here, can give one an idea of the wide-spread character of these persecutions, which spared neither old nor young, women nor children, rich nor poor, earl nor peasant, having lost all notion of the sacredness of human life, the divinity of truth, the righteousness of honor, the duties of sonship and of fatherhood. How can we of to-day believe that in Würzburg alone "there were children of three or four years, to the number of three hundred, who are said to have had intercourse with the devil" and that there were actually put to death in that city, early in the seventeenth century "children of seven, promising students of ten, twelve, fourteen, and fifteen"—that Satan in person with his followers initiated and confirmed them? Dark has been woman's lot in many ages, but never darker than while the witch-persecutions raged. The Golden Age of Childhood has, in the course of man's upward growth, suffered many an inroad, but none so ruthless as then. In this crazy epoch man abandoned his reason, lost faith in

*'The Witch Persecutions,' edited by George B. Burr, A. B. 'Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History. Vol. III, No. 4. Philadelphia. Published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. 36 pp