

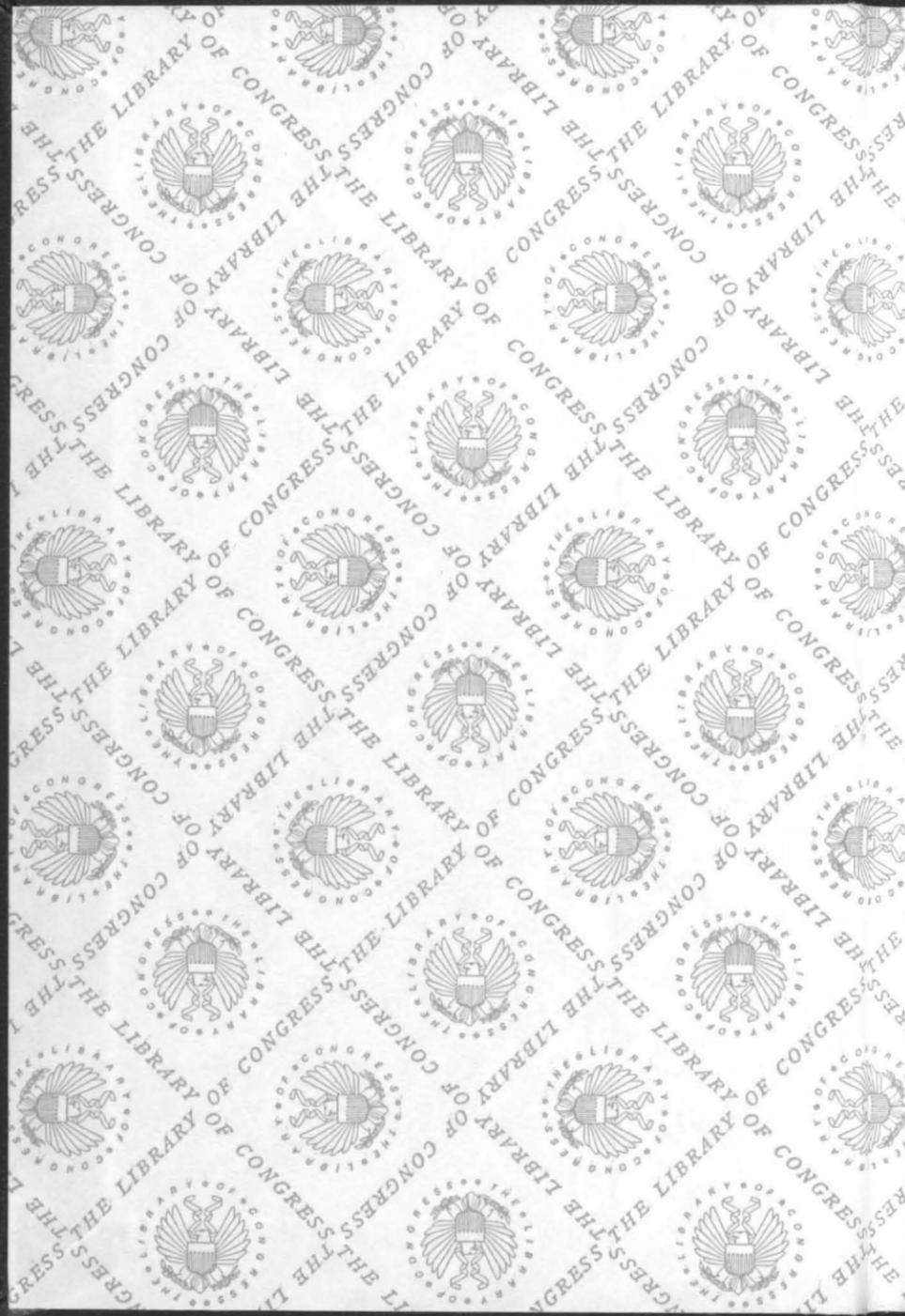
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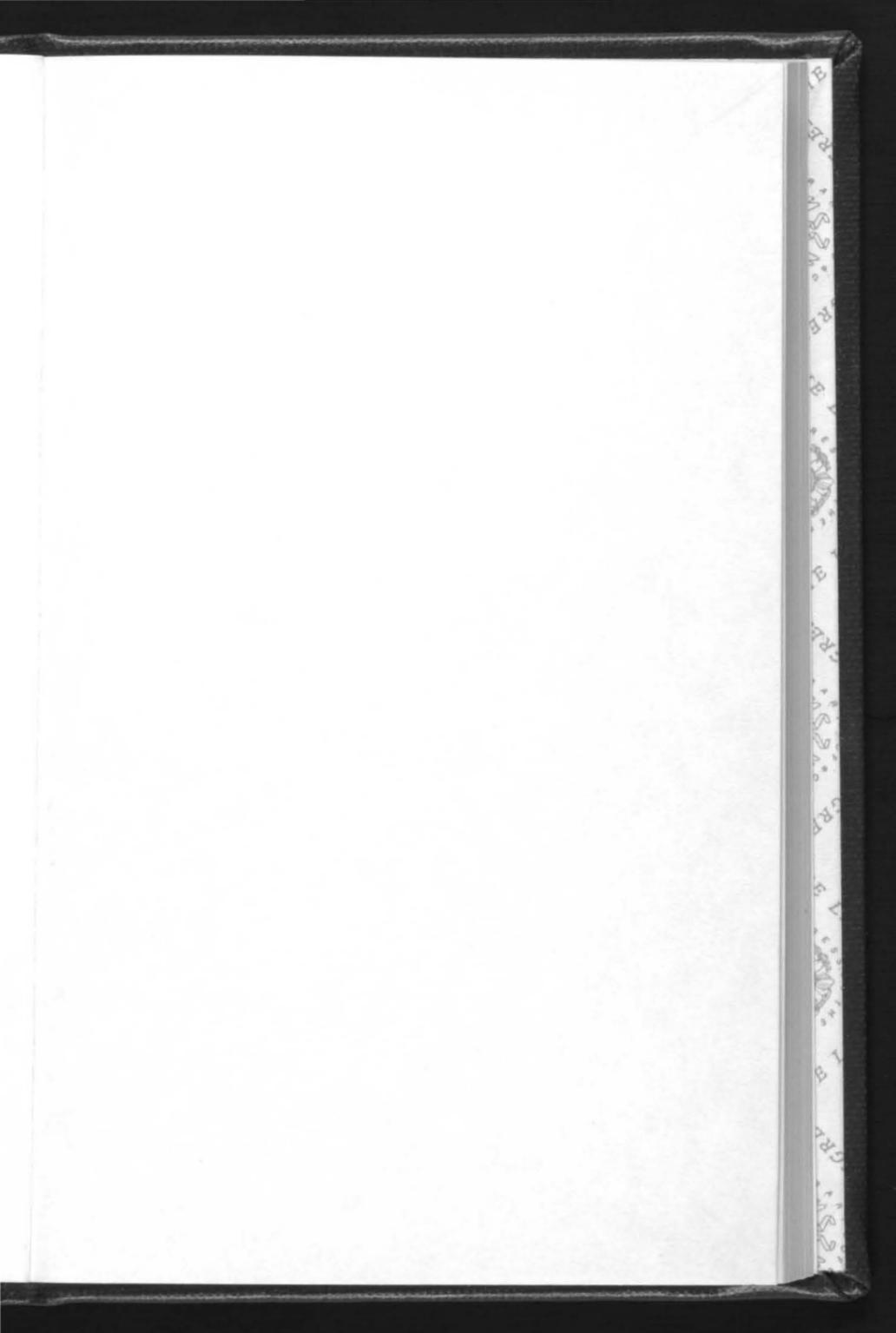
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THE
OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

SIXTH SERIES,

1888.

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BOSTON:
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS are prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history, among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be permanently sustained in Boston and established with equal success in other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: "Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Plymouth," by MRS. A. M. DIAZ. "Concord," by FRANK B. SANBORN. "The Town-Meeting," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Franklin, the Boston Boy," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "How to Study American History," by PROF. G. STANLEY HALL. "The Year 1777," by JOHN FISKE. "History in the Boston Streets," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather's account of Governor Bradford, from the "Magnalia;" (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod, from Bradford's Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson's Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville and others, upon the Town-Meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin's Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner's oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson's poem, "Boston."

The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for

the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams, and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the Great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium;" (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England;" (4) an original account of "The Revolution in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode;" (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALISTER. "The Times that Tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters

of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm;" (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the Men of the English Commonwealth Planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies Grew Together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry Opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*," "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England;" (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America;" (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, on Disbanding the Army; (4) The Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) The *Federalist*, No. IX; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-Hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first-prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning-Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But this object is liberally construed, and a constant aim is to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history, and our indebtedness to the long past. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889 and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures, the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.—11th Century: Lan-

franc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died, 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I crowned, 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastille fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's *History of the English People*; (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the *Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf*; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia*; (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's *Cosmos*; (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's *Annals*; (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by REV. W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: the Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOULD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase," by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888. "The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for the year were as follows: (1) Verrazzano's Account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's Account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) The Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" (5) Selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) The Declaration of Independence; (8) The French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS; "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON; "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the

Sioux nation; "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH; "Among the Zunis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, Ph.D.; "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) Extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) Extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Philip's War; (5) The Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;"; (6) Extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the Cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazar Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The lectures for 1891, under the general title of "The New Birth of the World," were devoted to the important movements in the age preceding the discovery of America, the several lectures being as follows: "The Results of the Crusades," by F. E. E. HAMILTON, Old South prize essayist, 1883; "The Revival of Learning," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "The Builders of the Cathedrals," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW; "The Changes which Gunpowder made," by FRANK A. HILL; "The Decline of the Barons," by WILLIAM EVERETT; "The Invention of Printing," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "When Michael Angelo was a Boy," by HAMLIN GARLAND; "The Discovery of America," by REV. E. E. HALE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," from the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury; (2) Extract from More's "Utopia;"; (3) "The Founding of Westminster Abbey," from Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey;"; (4) "The Siege of Constantinople," from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;"; (5) "Simon de Montfort," selections from Chronicles of the time; (6) "Caxton at Westminster," extract from Blades's Life of William Caxton; (7) "The Youth of Michael Angelo," from Vasari's "Lives of the Italian Painters;"; (8) "The Discovery of America," from Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father.

The Leaflets for 1883 are now mostly out of print. Those for 1884 and subsequent years, bound in flexible cloth or paper covers, may be procured ~~for thirty five cents per volume.~~

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published, during the last eight years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors have entered upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an

average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of this *general series* of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first twenty-eight numbers, which are now ready:

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio.* 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. 18. The Constitution of Switzerland.* 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. 26. The Agreement of the People. 27. The Instrument of Government. 28. Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament.

* Double number, price ten cents.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a Manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House.*

*Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1891.*



Old South Leaflets.

SIXTH SERIES, 1888.

No. 1.

THE
Early History
OF
Oxford.

FROM GREEN'S SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

It is in the reign of Henry the Third that the English universities begin to exercise a definite influence on the intellectual life of Englishmen. Of the early history of Cambridge we know little or nothing, but enough remains to enable us to trace the early steps by which Oxford attained to its intellectual eminence. The establishment of the great schools which bore the name of universities was everywhere throughout Europe the special mark of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervor of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more civilized East. Travelers like Adelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad. The earliest classical revival restored Cæsar and Virgil to the list of monastic studies, and left its stamp on the pedantic style, the profuse classical quotations of writers like William of Malmesbury or John of Salisbury. The scholastic philosophy sprang up in the schools of Paris. The Roman law was revived by the imperialist doctors of Bologna. The long mental inactivity of feudal Europe was broken up like ice before a summer's sun. Wandering teachers like Lanfranc or Anselm crossed sea and land to spread the new power of knowledge. The same spirit of restlessness, of inquiry, of impatience with the older traditions of mankind, either local or intellectual, that had hurried half Christendom to the tomb of its Lord, crowded the roads with thousands of young scholars hurrying to the chosen seats where teachers were gathered together. A new power had sprung up in the midst of a world as yet under the rule of sheer brute force. Poor as they were, sometimes even of a servile race, the wandering scholars who lectured in every cloister were hailed as "masters" by the crowds at their feet. Abelard was a foe worthy of

the menaces of councils, of the thunders of the Church. The teaching of a single Lombard was of note enough in England to draw down the prohibition of a king. When Vacarius, probably a guest in the court of Archbishop Theobald, where Beket and John of Salisbury were already busy with the study of the canon law, opened lectures on it at Oxford, he was at once silenced by Stephen, then at war with the Church, and jealous of the power which the wreck of the royal authority and the anarchy of his rule had already thrown into its hands.

At the time of the arrival of Vacarius, Oxford stood in the first rank among English towns. Its town church of St. Martin rose from the midst of a huddled group of houses, girt in with massive walls, that lay along the dry upper ground of a low peninsula between the streams of Cherwell and the upper Thames. The ground fell gently on either side, eastward and westward, to these rivers, while on the south a sharper descent led down across swampy meadows to the city bridge. Around lay a wild forest country, the moors of Cowley and Bullingdon fringing the course of the Thames, the great woods of Shotover and Bagley closing the horizon to the south and east. Though the two huge towers of its Norman castle marked the strategic importance of Oxford as commanding the great river valley along which the commerce of Southern England mainly flowed, its walls formed, perhaps, the least element in its military strength, for on every side but the north the town was guarded by the swampy meadows along Cherwell, or by the intricate network of streams into which Isis breaks among the meadows of Osney. From the midst of these meadows rose a mitered abbey of Benedictines, which, with the older priory of St. Frideswide, gave the town some ecclesiastical dignity. The residence of the earl within its castle, the frequent visits of English kings to a palace within its walls, the presence again and again of important parliaments, marked its political weight within the realm. The settlement of one of the wealthiest among the English Jewries in the very heart of the town indicated, while it promoted, the activity of its trade. Its burghers were proud of a liberty equal to that of London, while the close and peculiar alliance of the capital promised the city a part almost equal to its own in the history of England. No city better illustrates the transformation of the land in the hands of its Norman masters, the sudden outburst of industrial effort, the sudden expansion of commerce and accumulation of wealth, which followed the Conquest. To the west of the town rose one of the stateliest of English castles, and in the meadows

beneath the hardly less stately abbey of Osney. In the fields to the north the last of the Norman kings raised his palace of Beaumont. The canons of St. Frideswide reared the church which still exists as the diocesan cathedral, while the piety of the Norman Castellans rebuilt almost all the parish churches of the city, and founded within their new castle walls the church of the Canons of St. George. We know nothing of the causes which drew students and teachers within the walls of Oxford. It is possible that here as elsewhere the new teacher had quickened older educational foundations, and that the cloisters of Osney and St. Frideswide already possessed schools which burst into a larger life under the impulse of Vacarius. As yet, however, the fortunes of the university were obscured by the glories of Paris. English scholars gathered in thousands around the chairs of William of Champeaux or Abelard. The English took their place as one of the "nations" of the French University. John of Salisbury became famous as one of the Parisian teachers. Beket wandered to Paris from his school at Merton. But through the peaceful reign of Henry the Second Oxford was quietly increasing in numbers and repute. Forty years after the visit of Vacarius its educational position was fully established. When Gerald of Wales read his amusing Topography of Ireland to its students, the most learned and famous of the English clergy were, he tells us, to be found within its walls. At the opening of the thirteenth century Oxford was without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools of the Western world. But to realize this Oxford of the past we must dismiss from our minds all recollections of the Oxford of the present. In the outer aspect of the new university there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the "High," or looks down from the gallery of St. Mary's. In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a medieval town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging-houses, clustering around teachers as poor as themselves in church-porch and house-porch — drinking, quarreling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets — take the place of the brightly-colored train of doctors and heads. Mayor and chancellor struggle in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers who follow their young lords to the University fight out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars from Kent and scholars from Scotland wage the bitter struggle of North and

South. At night-fall roysterer and reveler roam with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunges into the Jewry, and wipes off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern row between scholar and townsman widens into a general broil, and the academical bell of St. Mary's vies with the town bell of St. Martin's in clanging to arms. Every phase of ecclesiastical controversy or political strife is preluded by some fierce outbreak in this turbulent, surging mob. When England growls at the exactions of the Papacy, the students besiege a legate in the abbot's house at Osney. A murderous town-and-gown row precedes the opening of the Barons' War. "When Oxford draws knife," runs the old rhyme, "England's soon at strife."

But the turbulence and stir is a stir and turbulence of life. A keen thirst for knowledge, a passionate poetry of devotion, gathered thousands around the poorest scholar and welcomed the barefoot friar. Edmund Rich — Archbishop of Canterbury and saint in later days — came, a boy of twelve years old, from the little lane at Abingdon that still bears his name. He found his school in an inn that belonged to the abbey of Eynsham, where his father had taken refuge from the world. His mother was a pious woman of his day, too poor to give her boy much outfit besides the hair shirt that he promised to wear every Wednesday; but Edmund was no poorer than his neighbors. He plunged at once into the nobler life of the place, its ardor for knowledge, its mystical piety. "Secretly," perhaps at eventide when the shadows were gathering in the church of St. Mary's, and the crowd of teachers and students had left its aisles, the boy stood before an image of the Virgin, and, placing a ring of gold upon its finger, took Mary for his bride. Years of study, broken by the fever that raged among the crowded, noisome streets, brought the time for completing his education at Paris, and Edmund, hand in hand with a brother Robert of his, begged his way, as poor scholars were wont, to the great school of Western Christendom. On his return from Paris he became the most popular of Oxford teachers. It is to him that Oxford owes her first introduction to the Logic of Aristotle. We see him in the little room which he hired, with the Virgin's chapel hard by, his gray gown reaching to his feet, ascetic in his devotion, falling asleep in lecture-time after a sleepless night of prayer, with a grace and cheerfulness of manner which told of his French training, and a chivalrous love of knowledge that let

his pupils pay what they would. "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the young tutor would say, a touch of scholarly pride perhaps mingling with his contempt of worldly things, as he threw down the fee on the dusty window-ledge, where a thievish student would sometimes run off with it. But even knowledge brought its troubles; the Old Testament, which with a copy of the Decretals long formed his sole library, frowned down upon a love of secular learning from which Edmund found it hard to wean himself. At last, in some hour of dream, the form of his dead mother floated into the room where the teacher stood among his mathematical diagrams. "What are these?" she seemed to say; and seizing Edmund's right hand she drew on the palm three circles interlaced, each of which bore the name of one of the Persons of the Christian Trinity. "Be these," she cried, as her figure faded away, "thy diagrams henceforth, my son."

The story admirably illustrates the real character of the new training, and the latent opposition between the spirit of the Universities and the spirit of the Church. The feudal and ecclesiastical order of the old medieval world were both alike threatened by the power that had so strangely sprung up in the midst of them. Feudalism rested on local isolation, on the severance of kingdom from kingdom, and barony from barony, on the distinction of blood and race, on the supremacy of material or brute force, on an allegiance determined by accidents of place and social position. The University, on the other hand, was a protest against this isolation of man from man. The smallest school was European, and not local. Not merely every province of France, but every people of Christendom, had its place among the "nations" of Paris or Padua. A common language, the Latin tongue, superseded within academical bounds the warring tongues of Europe. A common intellectual kinship and rivalry took the place of the petty strifes which parted province from province or realm from realm. What the Church and Empire had both aimed at and both failed in, the knitting of Christian nations together into a vast commonwealth, the Universities for a time actually did. Dante felt himself as little a stranger in the "Latin" quarter around Mont St. Geneviève as under the arches of Bologna. Wandering Oxford scholars carried the writings of Wyclif to the libraries of Prague. In England the work of provincial fusion was less difficult or important than elsewhere, but even in England work had to be done. The feuds of Northerner and Southerner which so long disturbed the discipline of Oxford witnessed at any rate to the fact that North-

erner and Southerner had at last been brought face to face in its streets. And here as elsewhere the spirit of natural isolation was held in check by the larger comprehensiveness of the University. After the dissensions that threatened the prosperity of Paris in the thirteenth century, Norman and Gascon mingled with Englishmen in Oxford lecture-halls. At a far later time the rebellion of Owen Glyndwyr found hundreds of Welsh scholars gathered around its teachers. And within this strangely mingled mass society and government rested on a purely democratic basis. The son of the noble stood on precisely the same footing with the poorest mendicant among Oxford scholars. Wealth, physical strength, skill in arms, pride of ancestry and blood, the very basis on which feudal society rested, went for nothing in Oxford lecture-rooms. The University was a state absolutely self-governed, and whose citizens were admitted by a purely intellectual franchise. Knowledge made the "master." To know more than one's fellows was a man's sole claim to be a "ruler" in the schools; and within this intellectual aristocracy all were equal. The free commonwealth of the masters gathered in the aisles of St. Mary's as the free commonwealth of Florence gathered in Santa Maria Novella. All had an equal right to counsel, all had an equal vote in the final decision. Treasury and library were at the complete disposal of the body of masters. It was their voice that named every officer, that proposed and sanctioned every statute. Even the Chancellor, their head, who had at first been an officer of the Bishop, became an elected officer of their own.

If the democratic spirit of the universities threatened feudalism, their spirit of intellectual inquiry threatened the Church. To all outer seeming they were purely ecclesiastical bodies. The wide extension which medieval usage gave to the word "orders" gathered the whole educated world within the pale of the clergy. Whatever might be their age or proficiency, scholar and teacher were alike clerks, free from lay responsibilities or the control of civil tribunals, and amenable only to the rule of the Bishop and the sentence of his spiritual courts. This ecclesiastical character of the University appeared in that of its head. The Chancellor, as we have seen, was at first no officer of the University, but of the ecclesiastical body under whose shadow he had sprung into life. He was simply the local officer of the Bishop of Lincoln, within whose immense diocese the University was then situated. But this identification in outer form with the Church only rendered more conspicuous the dif-

ference of its spirit. The sudden expansion of the field of education diminished the importance of those purely ecclesiastical and theological studies which had hitherto absorbed the whole intellectual energies of mankind. The revival of classical literature, the rediscovery as it were of an older and a greater world, the contact with a larger, freer life, whether in mind, in society, or in politics, introduced a spirit of skepticism, of doubt, of denial, into the realms of unquestioning belief. Abelard claimed for reason the supremacy over faith. The Florentine poets discussed with a smile the immortality of the soul. Even to Dante, while he censures these, Virgil is as sacred as Jeremiah. The imperial ruler in whom the new culture took its most notable form, Frederick the Second, the "World's Wonder" of his time, was regarded by half Europe as no better than an infidel. The faint revival of physical science, so long crushed as magic by the dominant ecclesiasticism, brought Christians into perilous contact with the Moslem and the Jew. The books of the Rabbis were no longer a mere accursed thing to Roger Bacon. The scholars of Cordova were no mere Paynim swine to Adelard of Bath. How slowly and against what obstacles science won its way we know from the witness of Roger Bacon. "Slowly," he tells us, "has any portion of the philosophy of Aristotle come into use among the Latins. His Natural Philosophy and his Metaphysics, with the Commentaries of Averroes and others, were translated in my time, and interdicted at Paris up to the year A.D. 1237, because of their assertion of the eternity of the world and of time, and because of the book of the divinations by dreams (which is the third book, *De Somniis et Vigiliis*), and because of many passages erroneously translated. Even his logic was slowly received and lectured on. For St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first in my time who read the *Elements* at Oxford. And I have seen Master Hugo, who first read the book of *Posterior Analytics*, and I have seen his writing. So there were but few, considering the multitude of the Latins, who were of any account in the philosophy of Aristotle; nay, very few indeed, and scarcely any up to this year of grace 1292."

We shall see later how fiercely the Church fought against this tide of opposition, and how it won back the allegiance of the universities through the begging friars. But it was in the ranks of the friars themselves that the intellectual progress of the universities found its highest representative. The life of Roger Bacon almost covers the thirteenth century; he was the

child of royalist parents, who had been driven into exile and reduced to poverty by the civil wars. From Oxford, where he studied under Edmund of Abingdon, to whom he owed his introduction to the works of Aristotle, he passed to the University of Paris, where his whole heritage was spent in costly studies and experiments. "From my youth up," he writes, "I have labored at the sciences and tongues. I have sought the friendship of all men among the Latins who had any reputation for knowledge. I have caused youths to be instructed in languages, geometry, arithmetic, the construction of tables and instruments, and many needful things besides." The difficulties in the way of such studies as he had resolved to pursue were immense. He was without instruments or means of experiment. "Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered," he complains afterward; "and these instruments are not to be found among the Latins, and could not be made for two or three hundred pounds. Besides, better tables are indispensably necessary, tables on which the motions of the heavens are certified from the beginning to the end of the world without daily labor; but these tables are worth a king's ransom, and could not be made without a vast expense. I have often attempted the composition of such tables, but could not finish them through failure of means and the folly of those whom I had to employ."

Books were difficult and sometimes even impossible to procure. "The scientific works of Aristotle, of Avicenna, of Seneca, of Cicero, and other ancients, cannot be had without great cost; their principal works have not been translated into Latin, and copies of others are not to be found in ordinary libraries or elsewhere. The admirable books of Cicero de Republica are not to be found anywhere, so far as I can hear, though I have made anxious inquiry for them in different parts of the world, and by various messengers. I could never find the works of Seneca, though I made diligent search for them during twenty years and more. And so it is with many more most useful books connected with the sciences of morals." It is only words like these of his own that bring home to us the keen thirst for knowledge, the patience, the energy of Roger Bacon. He returned as a teacher to Oxford, and a touching record of his devotion to those whom he taught remains in the story of John of London, a boy of fifteen, whose ability raised him above the general level of his pupils. "When he came to me as a poor boy," says Bacon, in recommending him to the Pope, "I caused him to be nurtured and instructed for

the love of God, especially since for aptitude and innocence I have never found so towardly a youth. Five or six years ago I caused him to be taught in languages, mathematics, and optics, and I have gratuitously instructed him with my own lips since the time that I received your mandate. There is no one at Paris who knows so much of the root of philosophy, though he has not produced the branches, flowers, and fruit because of his youth, and because he has had no experience in teaching. But he has the means of surpassing all the Latins if he live to grow old and goes on as he has begun."

The University of Bologna has celebrated its eighth centennial the present summer. Some of the young people have read about the celebration and how honorary degrees were conferred by the old university upon Lowell and other Americans and Gladstone and other Englishmen. The orator of the occasion was the poet Carducci. Translations of interesting passages from his oration are given in an article on the celebration, in the *Nation* for July 19, 1888. The orator showed how the University of Bologna formed the model for other universities in Europe, the statutes of two at least in the extreme north, those of Upsala and Glasgow, being mere copies of the statutes of Bologna; and he dwelt, as Mr. Green does in the passage in the present Leaflet, upon the democratic character and influences of the early universities. "The constitution was democratic. The fervor of liberty which warmed the Italian city had, it seems, invaded also those beyond the mountains. These Franks, these Germans, these Bohemians and Poles, coming from their feudal castles, their abbeys and their lordly chapters, learned to subject themselves to civil order, felt the advantage of living in common, and got to desire equality. After strange journeys by sea and over the Alps, students of all Europe meeting here found again their native countries in the 'nations' which constituted the University; had their State in the University; and, in the common use of the Latin tongue, aspired to that higher unity, that civil brotherhood of peoples for good, which Rome had sent out with its law, which the Gospel had proclaimed in spiritual things, which the civilization of to-day wishes with reason."

Laurie's *Rise and Early Constitution of Universities* is the best book on the subject for the young people and the general reader; it contains special chapters on the early history of the universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, and Prague. The careful student will read the criticism of Mr. Laurie's work by Rev. H. Rashdall, in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1888. Mr. Rashdall's own article on the *Origines of the University of Paris*, in the same review for October, 1886, is a most learned and

valuable study of early university history. Its first paragraph thus states the important place of the university of Paris in the life of the middle ages: "*Sacerdotium, Imperium, Studium*, are brought together by a medieval writer as the three mysterious potencies or 'virtues' by whose harmonious coöperation the life and health of Christendom must be sustained. To the medieval mind the *studium* did not, any more than the *sacerdotium* or the *imperium*, represent a mere abstraction. As the secular hierarchy was crowned by the Holy Roman Empire, as the sacerdotal order throughout Christendom looked for its head and centre to the city of the seven hills, so the intellectual life of medieval Europe found its concrete embodiment in an intellectual hierarchy, no less distinct and definite than the secular or the spiritual, whose head and centre was the university of Paris. To the university of Paris, whose four faculties were likened by medieval imagination to the fourfold river of Paradise, could be traced as to their ultimate source and fountain-head all the streams of knowledge by which the whole church was watered and fertilized. In the university of Paris—the 'first school of the church'—France possessed her equivalent to the Italian papacy and the German Cæsarship in the politico-ecclesiastical system of Europe. . . . For the appreciation of the intellectual, social and ecclesiastical life of the middle ages, a knowledge of the university system is as important as a knowledge of the feudal system or of the ecclesiastical system, or of the constitutional history of particular states."

Mr. Rashdall's article is based on the great German work on the Universities of the Middle Ages by Father Denifle (*Die Universitäten des Mittelalters, bis 1400*. Von P. Heinrich Denifle), to which he pays this high tribute: "The first real book on the subject as a whole is likely to be, in a sense, the final one. Of the thoroughness, the patience and the vast learning which have been brought to bear upon the task, it would be impossible to speak with sufficient admiration. When the work shall be complete, comparatively scanty gleanings will, in all probability, be left for future workers in the way of collecting fresh materials, and not very much in the way of better critical appreciation and interpretation of them." Mullinger, in the preface to his history of Cambridge, makes the same high estimate of Denifle's work, which is likely to remain the great authority in this field. The older German authorities were Savigny and Meiners. The various general histories of education treat, of course, of the rise of the universities in the middle ages. John Henry Newman has written much on the medieval universities, etc. The valuable article on *Universities* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Mullinger, contains references to many valuable books. See also the references in Poole's Index, under the head of *Universities*.

There are many good books on Oxford and Cambridge. Anthony Wood was the great Oxford antiquary; his *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* is invaluable for later workers. Cooper's works on

Cambridge contain great stores of information for the student of that university. Old Thomas Fuller, two hundred years ago and more, also wrote a *History of the University of Cambridge*, which is famous in its way. But these are books for the special student. The general reader will take the new histories of Oxford by Lyte and Brodrick — the latter a small work especially commended to the young people — and Mr. Mullinger's books on Cambridge, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, and *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*. Masson's *Life and Times of Milton* contains most interesting and valuable studies of Cambridge in the 17th century, the Puritan time. Two American scholars who have studied at Cambridge in this later time have written interesting books about that university — C. A. Bristed, *Five Years in an English University*, and William Everett, *On the Cam*. The latter is the best book that the young people can read about Cambridge; it is an eloquent book, it gives much attention to history, and it is especially full about the Puritan time and the Cambridge scholars who came to New England.

Sir Alexander Grant's *Story of the University of Edinburgh* should be mentioned in this general connection. And reference may be made to two books on the *German Universities*, one by an American scholar, Mr. Hart, the other by a German professor, Conrad, translated by John Hutchinson, with a preface by James Bryce, containing some useful comparisons of the German universities with the English and American. But both these works relate to modern German university life. There is no good work in English on the history of the German universities. Read Helmholtz's address on *Academical Freedom in German Universities*, Huxley on *Universities, Actual and Ideal*, and Gladstone on *The Work of Universities*.

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the lecture on the Great Schools of the Middle Ages is 1089, the year when Lanfranc died at Canterbury. He was 84 years old, having been born in 1005, at Pavia in Italy, itself a noted seat of learning. Here and at Bologna he studied law, almost a century before Irenæus first made Bologna famous. While still a young man he migrated from Italy to Normandy with some learned companions, and set up a school at Avranches. Then he left the law and became a monk, and in a few years made the monastery of Bec, of which he was prior, the most famous school in France. He became the friend of Duke William of Normandy, and one of his intimate advisers in the years preceding and following the Conquest. It was in 1066 that William defeated Harold at Hastings and became King of England. Four years afterward Lanfranc was made archbishop of Canterbury, and he lived two years after the death of the Conqueror.

When Lanfranc was a boy, Canute the Dane was King of England.

It was just as he left Italy to open his school in Normandy (1039) that Macbeth in Scotland murdered Duncan. It was while he was prior of Bec that Hildebrand became cardinal, and three years after he became archbishop of Canterbury that Hildebrand became pope (Gregory VII), the greatest pope who ever lived. Three years after that (1076) the Turks took Jerusalem, which provoked the Crusades, the object of which was to redeem the Holy City. The next year (1077) was the year of the famous submission of the emperor, Henry IV, to the pope at Canossa. It was while Lanfranc was at Bec that Peter the Hermit was born at Amiens, not far away, and only six years after Lanfranc's death that he preached the first Crusade. St. Bernard, the great reviver of the Cistercian monastic order and the preacher of the second Crusade, was born only two years after Lanfranc's death. The Carthusian order was founded at Rome by St. Bruno just before Lanfranc died. The four principal schoolmen of the first period — it is customary to divide the history of scholasticism into two periods, the chief names in the later period being Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus — were all living while Lanfranc lived, viz., Roscellinus, Anselm, William of Champeaux, and Abelard. Roscellinus was born not far from Bec about the time that Lanfranc was prior of Bec; Anselm was Lanfranc's successor both as prior of Bec and as archbishop of Canterbury. — Anselm's controversy with Roscellinus and Lanfranc's own controversy with Berengarius of Tours were the two most famous of the early scholastic controversies; William of Champeaux, who was the first great teacher in the university of Paris, was born just as Lanfranc became archbishop; and Abelard, William's famous pupil and successor at Paris, was a boy of ten when Lanfranc died. These are all things easy to remember, they can all be easily related to the life of this great friend of William the Conqueror, and one who remembers so much will have a key to very much of medieval history.

Following are the dates of the founding of some of the more modern universities: Prague, 1347. Cracow, 1364. Vienna, 1364. Erfurt, 1375. Heidelberg, 1385. Leipzig, 1409. St. Andrew's, 1411. Louvain, 1426. Glasgow, 1453. Tübingen, 1476. Upsala, 1477. Aberdeen, 1494. Wittenberg, 1502. Marburg, 1527. Königsberg, 1544. Jena, 1558. Leyden, 1575. Edinburgh, 1582. Trinity College, Dublin, 1591. Strasburg, 1621. Harvard, 1636. Halle, 1693. Yale, 1701. Breslau, 1702. Göttingen, 1736. Moscow, 1755. Berlin, 1809. Bonn, 1818. Munich, 1826. London, 1826.

Old South Leaflets.

Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade.

FROM THE *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi*, BY GEOFFREY DE
VINSAUF, 1192. (*Ricardus, canonicus*
Santae Trinitatis Londoniensis)

When the report had spread throughout the world that the cities of the Holy Land were in possession of infidels, that the holy relics were scornfully treated and trodden under foot, and that the Christians were plundered and despoiled, the empires were moved by the most strenuous exhortation of Pope Gregory VIII, and many men of various nations were aroused, and above all the French and English devoutly took up the sign of the cross, and prepared with all their strength to hurry to the aid of the Holy Land, being incited like David to take vengeance on the Philistines, who were defying, with their Goliath, the oppressed armies of the God of Jerusalem. For the chief pontiff earnestly stimulated all to obtain by these means pardon for their sins, and according to the authority with which he was invested gave them absolution from the guilt of their past transgressions, if they would devote themselves to the performance of so pious and so necessary a work, proving to them that they would deservedly be the happier for undertaking the mission at once, in fervent zeal and without delay. Yea, their journey would be the more praiseworthy, and their endeavors many times more excellent, in behalf of a place, though desolate, yet rendered holier by the divine mystical promise, and which was consecrated by the nativity, dwelling and passion of our Lord. Moreover, it was distinguished, by the divine choice, from every other nation; and being His dwelling, ought to be snatched from the heathen, of whom the Lord had said, "that they should not enter into His Church." They hastened, therefore, with ready zeal and pious emulation to take the cross at the hands of the clergy; so that the question was, not who should take it up, but who had not already done so. The voice of song was now silenced, the pleasures of eating and luxurious

habits were abandoned, the quarrels of disputants quieted, new peace was made between old enemies, causes of litigation were settled by mutual agreement, and for this new ground of quarrel every one who had cause of dispute, even for long-standing enmity, was reconciled to his neighbor. What need is there to say more? By the inspiration of God all were of one accord, for one common cause led them to undertake the labor of this pious pilgrimage.

Richard, then count of Poitou, was the first to take up the cross, and an immense multitude with him; but they did not set out on their pilgrimage, owing to some delay occasioned by a dispute between Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father of Count Richard. An inveterate dispute had excited them to international war, as it had done their ancestors, the French and Normans, from an inexorable and almost uninterrupted feud. The archbishop of the land of Jerusalem, that is of Tyre,¹ was earnest to effect a reconciliation between them, and had fixed the day they were to meet, to take up the cross, at a place between Gisors and Trie. The aforesaid archbishop had come on a mission to animate the faithful, and obtain assistance for the deliverance of the Holy Land, having been specially sent to the king of England, the fame of whose virtues was spread far and wide above all the other kings of the earth, on account of his glory, riches, and the greatness of his power. On that day, after many plans had been proposed, and much spoken on either side, they both came finally to the determination that each of them should take up the cross and depart from his land, it appearing to each a safe precaution against the one invading the kingdom of the other while absent, for neither would venture to go unless the other went also. At length, these conditions having been, with some difficulty, agreed on, the two kings exchanged the kiss of peace, and assumed the cross with the blessing of the archbishop, and with them an immense number of both nations, partly from the love of God and for the forgiveness of their sins, partly from respect for their king; and so great was the multitude that took up the cross on that day, that the people, from the crush and intolerable heat (for it was summer), nearly fainted. The delay in entering upon their march must be reprehended; it was the work of the enemy of the human race, whose interest it is to foment discord and excite inexorable enmity, and by whose instigation the altercation between the

¹ This was William of Tyre, author of the well known history of the earlier period of the Crusades.

kings was revived, and the seeds of discord sown from a very light occasion, that by their diabolical superstition neither was inclined to forego, lest, as it were, his fame and honor should be derogated thereby; as if it were abject and mean to yield obedience to justice and right.

The death of Henry, king of England, put an end to these dissensions, and the vow of making the crusade, which he had deferred fulfilling while in safety, after a lapse of time could not be performed, by the intervention of his death. As a vow must be entirely voluntary, so when taken it must irrefragably be discharged; and he who binds himself by a vow is to be condemned for the non-performance of it, as he could not have made it lawfully but of his own accord and free will. Now King Henry died on the day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of our Lord 1189, and was buried at Fontevrault.

Therefore in the same year, after the death of his father, Richard, count of Poitou, having arranged his affairs in Normandy, in about two months crossed over to England, and on St. Giles's day he was received at Westminster with a ceremonious procession; and three days afterwards, viz., on the 3d of September, the day of the ordination of St. Gregory the pope, which was a Sunday, he was solemnly anointed king, by the imposition of hands, by Archbishop Baldwin, in virtue of his office, who performed the service, assisted by many of his suffragans. At his coronation were present his brother John, and his mother Eleanor, who, after the death of King Henry, had been, by the command of her son Richard, the new king, released from prison, where she had been ten years; and there were also present counts and barons, and an immense crowd of men and soldiers; and the kingdom was confirmed to the hands of King Richard. On the 3d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1189, Richard was anointed king, on a Sunday, with the dominical letter A, viz., in the year after leap year. Many were the conjectures made, because the day above that was marked unlucky in the calendar; and in truth it was unlucky, and very much so to the Jews of London, who were destroyed that day, and likewise the Jews settled in other parts of England endured many hardships. Having therefore celebrated the occasion by a festival of three days, and entertained his guests in the royal palace of Westminster, King Richard gratified all by distributing money, without count or number, to all according to their ranks, thus manifesting his liberality and his great

excellence. His generosity and his virtuous endowments the Ruler of the world should have given to the ancient times; for in this period of the world, as it waxes old, such feelings rarely exhibit themselves, and when they do they are subjects of wonder and astonishment. He had the valor of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, and was equal to Alexander, and not inferior to Roland in valor; he outshone many illustrious characters of our own times. The liberality of a Titus was his, and, which is so rarely found in a soldier, he was gifted with the eloquence of Nestor and the prudence of Ulysses; and he shewed himself preëminent in the conclusion and transaction of business, as one whose knowledge was not without active good will to aid it, nor his good will wanting in knowledge. Who, if Richard were accused of presumption, would not readily excuse him, knowing him for a man who never knew defeat, impatient of an injury, and impelled irresistibly to vindicate his rights, though all he did was characterized by innate nobleness of mind. Success made him better fitted for action; fortune ever favors the bold, and though she works her pleasure on whom she will, Richard was never to be overwhelmed with adversity. He was tall of stature, graceful in figure; his hair between red and auburn; his limbs were straight and flexible; his arms rather long, and not to be matched for wielding the sword or for striking with it; and his long legs suited the rest of his frame; while his appearance was commanding, and his manners and habits suitable; and he gained the greatest celebrity not more from his high birth than from the virtues that adorned him. But why need we take much labor in extolling the fame of so great a man? He needs no superfluous commendation, for he has a sufficient meed of praise, which is the sure companion of great actions. He was far superior to all others both in moral goodness and in strength, and memorable for prowess in battles, and his mighty deeds outshone the most brilliant description we could give of them. Happy, in truth, might he have been deemed had he been without rivals who envied his glorious actions, and whose only cause of enmity was his magnificence and his being the searcher after virtue rather than the slave of vice.

After the coronation feast was ended, as we before said, King Richard arose in his father's stead, and, after having received the oath of allegiance from the nobles, as was the custom, in the form of homage, and each having submitted to his sovereignty, he left London and went round his country; and afterwards he set out on a pilgrimage to St. Edmund,

whose festival was at hand; thence he went to Canterbury, and at his command some bishoprics, which, having become vacant, had been kept so by the king, his father, were filled up, and, with the approval of the king, the following were installed bishops: Richard the treasurer, of London; Godfrey de Luci, of Winchester; Hubert Walter, of Salisbury; William de Longchamp, of Ely, whom the king also made his chancellor and justiciary of all England. In like manner, also, the king caused bishops to be ordained to the vacant bishoprics in his other territories. Having prepared everything necessary for his journey, and having set the kingdom of England in order as far as time permitted, he returned to Normandy without delay, and kept the festival of the Nativity of Our Lord at Liens; for his intention of setting out upon his journey and the fulfilment of his vow made him unceasingly anxious, as he judged delay to be dangerous, whilst it was of consequence to commence the journey which was due; wherefore he wrote to the king of France that he was quite ready to set out, and urged that he should be ready also, showing by his father's example that delay was hurtful when everything was prepared. Therefore, in the year of our Lord 1190, with the dominical letter G, the kings met at Dreux to confer about the arrangement of their journey. After many had communicated their opinions, and while the conference was going on, there suddenly arrived a messenger with the news that the queen of France was dead. The king, smitten by the bitterness of this news, was greatly cast down, so that he almost thought of laying aside his premeditated journey; and to augment this bereavement, news was brought that William, king of Apulia, was likewise dead. Overwhelmed by these adverse occurrences, and utterly overcome by the belief that they predicted ill, they abstained from the transaction of the business, and the fire of their zeal in a measure grew lukewarm. However, by the favor of the inspiration of God, who guideth the footsteps of man, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to prevent the ruin of a work planned with so much toil and solemnly arranged, and the turning into condemnation and disgrace what had been disposed for the attainment of good, they recovered their strength, and were animated to proceed and set out, and not to grow lukewarm by unpardonable slothfulness. Now they had agreed together to set out on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that the kings, together with their men, should meet on the eighth day at Vezelai. Whereupon Philip, king of France, setting out from the city of Paris, which is the capital of France,

with a large quantity of provisions, shortly afterwards marched by the chapel of St. Denis, to whose prayers and merits he commended himself, and thus commenced his journey accompanied by a very large multitude. There also set out with him on his journey the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. Who can relate the progress of each with their forces? You might meet them on all sides flocking together and assembling from different parts, and joining together in one army, amidst pious tears; while those who went forward with their friends or kinsmen regarded them with a look of love, and on their departure were unable to restrain the tears from bursting forth, as devotion or sorrow affected them.

King Richard was at Tours with a chosen body of soldiers. Both the city and suburbs were so crowded with the multitude of men that they inconvenienced each other from the crowd and the narrowness of the streets and roads. Therefore, by the command of the king, the royal fleet, being collected together, was ordered to proceed in order, being in number a hundred and eight, not including the ships that followed afterwards. Thus the royal fleet, having been set forward on its voyage by the command of the king, with a fair wind and in close company, reached the destined port of Messina, after having safely escaped the dangerous sand-banks and the perils of the terrible rocks, the stormy straits of Africa, and all the dangers of the ocean. Here they awaited the arrival of the king, according to his command, who was marching with his army by land. When the king departed from Tours with his forces, the inhabitants of the land were terrified by the appearance of so great a multitude. Who could relate the numbers of those who accompanied him, the variety of their arms, the trains of nobles and chosen bands of combatants? Or who could describe the troops of infantry and their bodies of slingers, which those who saw as they advanced in order, from their inmost hearts and with pious zeal forcing out the tears, equally mourned and congratulated their lord the new king, who thus, at the commencement of his reign, without having tasted the sweets of rest, so devotedly and so speedily left all pleasures and, as if chosen by the Lord—undertook a work of so great goodness, so arduous and so necessary, and a journey so commendable. O, the miserable sighs for those that left them! O, the groans of those who embraced at parting! and the good wishes for those who were going away! O, the eyes heavy with tears, and the mutual sobs interrupting the words of the speakers amidst the kisses of those who were dear to them,

not yet satisfied with the conversation of those who were leaving them; and although they grieved, those who were setting out feigned equanimity by the gravity of their countenances, and separated from each other, after long conversations, as if choking for utterance, and, often interchanging a farewell, staid a little longer, and repeated it to gain delay and to appear about to say something more; and at last, tearing themselves from the voices of those that cheered them, they bounded forward and extricated themselves from the hands of those who would detain them.

Thus, in the first year of his coronation, Richard, king of England, set out from Tours on his journey. From Tours he marched to Luti, then to Mount Richard, after that to Celles, thence to Chapelles, thence to Dama, thence to Vitiliacum, that is, Vezelai, where the two kings and their forces were to meet. And because the people of both nations were reckoned to be incalculably numerous, the mountains far and wide were spread with pavilions and tents, and the surface of the earth around was covered, so that the level of the sowed fields which were occupied presented to the beholder the appearance of a city, with its effect heightened by a most imposing variety of pavilions and by the different colors that distinguished them. There you might see the martial youth of different nations equipped for war, which appeared able to subdue the whole length of the earth, and to overcome the countries of all the world, and to penetrate the retreat of different tribes, and judge no place too hard or no enemy too fierce to conquer, and that they would never yield to wrong while they could aid and assist each other by the help of their valor. That army, boasting in its immense numbers, well protected by the defence of their arms and glowing with ardor, was scattered by the intervention of disputes and overthrown by internal discord, which, if combined with military discipline and good will, would have remained invincible to all without; and thus, by the violation of the ties of fellowship, it met with a heavier downfall, whilst it was distracted by its own friends; for a house divided against itself is made desolate.

There the two kings made a treaty for their mutual security, and for preserving good faith with each other in every respect, and for inquiring into all things according to the rights of war, with a view to their equal division. Besides that he who should arrive first at Messina was to wait for the other to follow; after which, each of their friends who had followed them so far on their pilgrimage should return home. The two kings set forward

with their men, and arranged the manner of their march, holding frequent intercourse with great magnificence, and paying each other mutual honor; and being also of one accord, the mighty army, during the progress of their march, performed their duties without complaint or dissention — nay, with joy and alacrity. And as they thus passed along cities and villages with a mighty equipment and clash of arms, the inhabitants, observing the multitude and marking the distinctness of the men by the place of each nation in the march, and noticing their discipline, exclaimed, “O, heaven! what meaneth so great a multitude of men, and so mighty an army? Who can resist their valor? O, noble soldiery in the flower of their youth! O, young men, happy in so much beauty! Were your parents affected with sorrow at your departure? What land gave birth to youths of so distinguished a mien, or produced such fine young soldiers? And who are the rulers of so mighty a multitude that govern with their word such brave legions?” Uttering these words and such like, and following with good wishes those that passed, they paid the most marked attention to the people of different nations and those who were fatigued by the march by testifying all the devotion in their power.

“The Crusades were a series of wars undertaken professedly for the purpose of delivering the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidel, and so named from the cross worn as a badge by those who devoted themselves to the enterprise. These wars, it was held, were rendered necessary, not only by the profanation involved in the fact of Mahometan rule over the country which had been the birthplace and cradle of Christianity, but by the insults and injuries constantly inflicted on Christian pilgrims. . . . If the Crusades disappointed the expectations of their promoters, they achieved some results the benefits of which have been felt from that day to the present. They failed, indeed, to establish the permanent dominion of Latin Christendom, whether in New Rome or in Jerusalem; but they prolonged for nearly four centuries the life of the Eastern Empire, and by so doing they arrested the tide of Mahometan conquests as effectually as it was arrested for Western Europe by Charles Martel on the plain of Tours. They saved the Italian and perhaps even the Teutonic and the Scandinavian lands from a tyranny which has blasted the fairest regions of the earth; and if they added fuel to the flame of theological hatred between the Orthodox and the Latin churches, if they intensified the feelings of suspicion and dislike between the Eastern and the Western Christians, they yet opened the way for an interchange of thought and learning which had its result in the revival of letters and in the religious reformation which followed that revival.

If, again, of their leaders some showed themselves men of merciless cruelty and insatiable greed, there were others who like Tancred approached the ideal of the knightly chivalry of a later generation, and others again whose self-sacrifice, charity and heroic patience furnish an example for all time. The ulterior results of the Crusades were the breaking up of the feudal system, the abolition of serfdom, the supremacy of a common law over the independent jurisdiction of chiefs who claimed the right of private wars; and if for the time they led to deeds of iniquity which it would be monstrous even to palliate, it must yet be admitted that in their influence on later ages the evil has been assuredly outweighed by the good."—Cox.

The *Expedition of King Richard of England and others to Jerusalem*, from which the passage in the present Leaflet is taken, is said to be the only Chronicle written by an eye-witness of the furious conflicts between Saladin and Richard. The author, Geoffrey de Vinsauf (or Vinosalro), was connected with one of the English monasteries and was the author of numerous works, several of them poetical. He lived to see the death of Richard and the accession of John. His history of the Third Crusade breaks off abruptly at the time when the Crusaders embark to leave the Holy Land, at the end of the year 1192. But what we have fills almost 300 pages of the volume in Bohn's Library, *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, where the English translation is printed along with two other interesting Chronicles.

The number of writings by eye-witnesses of the different Crusades, which still exist, is very large. "There are more materials for a history of the first Crusade," says Von Sybel, "than for any other event of the early middle ages. They consist of official reports, of private communications from individual pilgrims to their friends at home, of many current histories written by eye-witnesses; all these, again, were amplified by writers in western Europe, who were not present themselves, but who drew their statements from eye-witnesses; and finally, after a lapse of eighty years, these documents were collected by one eminently fitted for the undertaking. Whosoever becomes familiar with all these narratives is astonished at the fullness of the life therein depicted, and may hope from such ample materials to obtain a thorough understanding of the course of events." Von Sybel's work on *The Literature of the Crusades* is a critical and most interesting account of all these original authorities, the letters of princes and popes, the letters of Stephen of Blois to his wife while he was on the Crusade, the journal of Raymond of Agiles, a priest in the retinue of the Count of Toulouse, the famous *Gesta Francorum*, the more important Chronicles of Albert of Aix, the painstaking history by William of Tyre, written in 1184, just before King Richard went on the third Crusade, etc. Of the later Crusades we also have many accounts by men who shared in them or knew about them at first-hand. Many interesting passages from these old accounts are given in an article entitled "The Crusades, by Crusaders," in the *British Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, reprinted in *Littell's Liv-*

ing Age, vol. xl. The writer of this article laments the fact that no word of Peter the Hermit, the great preacher of the first Crusade, has come down to us. "A wonderful man was this Peter the Hermit—slight and low in stature, mean in person, but with flashing eye; feeble too, as, clad in hood and tunic of unbleached wool, a coarse cloak scarcely covering his arms, and barefoot, he made his way among camps and courts, among crowded cities and unfrequented uplands, swaying all Europe by the might of his resistless eloquence. Marvelous must this have been. Would that some fragment of even one of his addresses, even a mere sentence or two of his burning words, had been preserved to us. We have many a speech of many a prelate recorded in the monkish annals of these times; we still have that of Urban at the council of Clermont, formal and prosy enough; but the rude eloquence of the soldier-hermit was, most likely, not of a kind for the learned convent writer to waste his glossy ink and choice vellum upon, and so, like the mighty effect that followed, all has passed away." This writer does not do justice to Pope Urban's famous speech, in calling it formal and prosy, although it is hard for us, reading the speech to-day, to understand the extraordinary impression which it made upon the multitudes who heard it. "They displayed an enthusiasm," says one writer, "that human eloquence had never before inspired;" at one point of the discourse, we read, the enthusiasm could be restrained no longer, but burst forth in cries of "God wills it!" uttered in almost every language of Europe. The speech can be found in Mills's *History of the Crusades* and in most of the histories. Some may like to look it up in its place (book iv, chap. ii) in the account of the first Crusade in the famous *Chronicle of the Kings of England* by William of Malmesbury, who was born perhaps the very year (1095) that the speech was made and wrote only thirty years later. "I have thought fit to transmit the discourse to posterity," says William, "as I have learned it from those who were present, preserving its sense unimpaired. Who can preserve the force of that eloquence?" He goes on to describe the uprising of Europe, telling how "all who had heard the name of Christ," even in the most distant lands—the Welshman, the Scot, the Dane, the Norwegian—left their hunting, fishing and drinking, and rallied for the Crusade. "Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship; affection to their country was held in little esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in granaries or hoarded in chambers, to answer the hopes of the avaricious husbandman or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted; they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone. Joy attended such as proceeded, while grief oppressed those who remained. But why do I say remained? You might see the husband departing with his wife, indeed with all his family; you would smile to see the whole household laden on a carriage, about to proceed on their journey. The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the

travellers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions." [Pulcher, another chronicler, makes this estimate, but it is certainly an exaggeration.] "Doubtless, never did so many nations unite in one opinion; never did so immense a population subject their unruly passions to one direction, almost to no direction."

Michaud's *History of the Crusades* is the fullest and perhaps the best. The standard German history, by Wilken, has not been translated. There is an admirable short history in the "Epochs of History" series, by Cox, who also wrote the article on the Crusades in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—and this short history will best serve the young people. The brief history by Dutton is also excellent. Gray's little book on *The Children's Crusade* is a most interesting account of that remarkable episode. Pears's *Fall of Constantinople* is a history of the fourth Crusade. Thomas Fuller's quaint old *History of the Holy War*, written two centuries and a half ago, is full of ultra Protestant prejudices and is not the most reliable history, but is very interesting in itself. In many of the more general histories, Gibbon, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Guizot's and Kitchin's histories of France, etc., the Crusades are treated. The chapter on the Origin and Intent of the Crusades, in Palgrave's *History of Normandy* (vol. iv, chap. x,—read also the interesting sections of chap. xi, on the literature of the Crusades), is especially valuable, and the severe judgment passed upon the motives of the Crusaders should be carefully considered. These motives are also admirably discussed by Allen, in the interesting chapter on the Crusades in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Heeren's *Influence of the Crusades* is an important essay; and Hegel devotes a special chapter to the subject in his *Philosophy of History*. Such biographical works as Morison's *Life of St. Bernard* contain much illustrative matter; and the various lives of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Edward I treat of England's part in the Crusades. Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *The Betrothed*, *The Talisman*, and *Count Robert of Paris*, are novels relating to the time of the Crusades. The first Crusade is the subject of Tasso's great epic, *Jerusalem Delivered*; and the scene of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* is laid in Jerusalem at the time of the third Crusade.

There were seven Crusades, or, as some historians reckon, counting two unimportant expeditions, nine. Allen, in the chapter above referred to, makes the following convenient summary of the seven: "1. The first Crusade, under Godfrey, establishes the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099. 2. The disastrous Crusade preached by St. Bernard, led by Conrad and Louis VII, sets forth in 1147. 3. The third Crusade, under Barbarossa, Philip of France, and Richard of England, is defeated by Saladin in 1190. 4. The Latin Fleet, under Baldwin, achieves the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. 5. Frederick II, having first sailed ineffectually (1218), becomes king of Jerusalem by treaty in 1227. 6. Louis IX of France

makes his disastrous campaign in Egypt, becoming master of Damietta in 1249. 7. He renews the attempt, lands, and dies in Tunis, in 1270." The period of the Crusades, therefore, from the preaching of Peter the Hermit in 1095 to the death of St. Louis, "the truest of all crusaders," in 1270, covers almost two centuries.

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the lecture on the Crusades is 1189, the year when Richard Cœur-de-Lion (32 years old) was crowned king of England. He departed on the third Crusade the next year. This time is about the middle of the epoch of the Crusades. St. Bernard, the great preacher of the second Crusade, had been dead almost forty years; St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order, was about twenty years old; St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, was a boy of seven. The Albigenses, against whom Dominic was by and by to instigate a crusade, were just becoming well-known heretics. The Waldenses were also being heard of; Peter Waldo was driven into exile from Lyons five years before Richard became king. Arnold of Brescia had been burnt at Rome about the time of Richard's birth. In England, Thomas à Becket had been assassinated in Canterbury cathedral when Richard was a boy. Richard died in 1199, ten years after his accession, and was succeeded by John, his brother, who was crowned the next year (1200) and signed Magna Charta in 1215. Simon de Montfort, who did so much to compel the observance of the Charter and to establish the English parliament, was born about the time John became king. Roger Bacon, the famous English scholar, was born the year before John signed the Charter.

Old South Leaflets.

The Universal Empire.

PASSAGES FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF DANTE'S *De Monarchia*.

It very greatly concerns all men on whom a higher nature has impressed the love of truth, that, as they have been enriched by the labor of those before them, so they also should labor for those that are to come after them, to the end that posterity may receive from them an addition to its wealth. For he is far astray from his duty — let him not doubt it — who, having been trained in the lessons of public business, cares not himself to contribute aught to the public good. He is no “tree planted by the water-side, that bringeth forth his fruit in due season.” He is rather the devouring whirlpool, ever engulfing, but restoring nothing. Pondering, therefore, often on these things, lest some day I should have to answer the charge of the talent buried in the earth, I desire not only to show the budding promise, but also to bear fruit for the general good, and to set forth truths by others unattempted. For what fruit can he be said to bear who should go about to demonstrate again some theorem of Euclid? or when Aristotle has shown us what happiness is, should show it to us once more? or when Cicero has been the apologist of old age, should a second time undertake its defence? Such squandering of labor would only engender weariness and not profit.

But seeing that among other truths, ill-understood yet profitable, the knowledge touching temporal monarchy is at once most profitable and most obscure, and that because it has no immediate reference to worldly gain it is left unexplored by all, therefore it is my purpose to draw it forth from its hiding-places, as well that I may spend my toil for the benefit of the world, as that I may be the first to win the prize of so great an achievement to my own glory. The work indeed is difficult, and I am attempting what is beyond my strength; but I trust not in my

own powers, but in the light of that Bountiful Giver, "Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."

Now, therefore, we must see what is the end of the whole civil order of men; and when we have found this, then, as the Philosopher¹ says in his book to Nicomachus, the half of our labor will have been accomplished. And to render the question clearer, we must observe that as there is a certain end for which nature makes the thumb, and another, different from this, for which she makes the whole hand, and again another for which she makes the arm, and another different from all for which she makes the whole man; so there is one end for which she orders the individual man, and another for which she orders the family, and another end for the city, and another for the kingdom, and finally an ultimate one for which the Everlasting God, by His art which is nature, brings into being the whole human race. And this is what we seek as a first principle to guide our whole inquiry.

Let it then be understood that God and nature make nothing to be idle. Whatever comes into being, exists for some operation or working. For no created essence is an ultimate end in the Creator's purpose, so far as he is Creator, but rather the proper operation of that essence. Therefore it follows that the operation does not exist for the sake of the essence, but the essence for the sake of the operation.

There is therefore a certain proper operation of the whole body of human kind, for which this whole body of men in all its multitudes is ordered and constituted, but to which no one man, nor single family, nor single neighborhood, nor single city, nor particular kingdom can attain. What this is will be manifest, if we can find what is the final and characteristic capacity of humanity as a whole. I say then that no quality which is shared by different species of things is the distinguishing capacity of any one of them. For were it so, since this capacity is that which makes each species what it is, it would follow that one essence would be specifically distributed to many species, which is impossible. Therefore the ultimate quality of men is not existence, taken simply; for the elements share therein. Nor is it existence under certain conditions; for we find this in minerals too. Nor is it existence with life; plants too have life. Nor is it percipient existence; for brutes share in this power. It is to be percipient with the possibility of understanding. The

¹ The common title for Aristotle from the first half of the thirteenth century.

distinguishing quality of humanity is the faculty or the power of understanding. And because this faculty cannot be realized in act in its entirety at one time by a single man, nor by any of the individual societies which we have marked, therefore there must be multitude in the human race, in order to realize it.

The proper work of the human race, taken as a whole, is to set in action the whole capacity of that understanding which is capable of development; first in the way of speculation, and then, by its extension, in the way of action. And seeing that what is true of a part is true also of the whole, and that it is by rest and quiet that the individual man becomes perfect in wisdom and prudence; so the human race, by living in the calm and tranquillity of peace, applies itself most freely and easily to its proper work; a work which, according to the saying: "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," is almost divine. Whence it is manifest that of all things that are ordered to secure blessings to men, peace is the best. And hence the word which sounded to the shepherds from above was not riches, nor pleasure, nor honor, nor length of life, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty; but peace. For the heavenly host said: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." Therefore also, "Peace be with you," was the salutation of the Saviour of mankind. For it behoved Him, who was the greatest of saviours, to utter in His greeting the greatest of saving blessings. And this custom His disciples too chose to preserve; and Paul also did the same in his greetings, as may appear manifest to all.

Now that we have declared these matters, it is plain what is the better, nay the best, way in which mankind may attain to do its proper work. And consequently we have seen the readiest means by which to arrive at the point, for which all our works are ordered, as their ultimate end; namely, the universal peace, which is to be assumed as the first principle for our deductions. As we said, this assumption was necessary, for it is as a sign-post to us, that into it we may resolve all that has to be proved, as into a most manifest truth.

The first question is whether Temporal Monarchy [or the Empire] is necessary for the welfare of the world; and that it is necessary can, I think, be shown by the strongest and most manifest arguments; for nothing, either of reason or of authority, opposes me. Let us first take the authority of the Philoso-

pher in his Politics. There, on his venerable authority, it is said that where a number of things are arranged to attain an end, it behoves one of them to regulate or govern the others, and the others to submit. And it is not only the authority of his illustrious name which makes this worthy of belief, but also reason, instancing particulars.

If we take the case of a single man, we shall see the same rule manifested in him; all his powers are ordered to gain happiness; but his understanding is what regulates and governs all the others; and otherwise he would never attain to happiness. Again, take a single household: its end is to fit the members thereof to live well; but there must be one to regulate and rule it, who is called the father of the family, or, it may be, one who holds his office. As the Philosopher says: "Every house is ruled by the oldest." And, as Homer says, it is his duty to make rules and laws for the rest. Hence the proverbial curse: "Mayst thou have an equal home." Take a single village: its end is suitable assistance as regards persons and goods, but one in it must be the ruler of the rest, either set over them by another, or with their consent, the head man amongst them. If it be not so, not only do its inhabitants fail of this mutual assistance, but the whole neighborhood is sometimes wholly ruined by the ambition of many, who each of them wish to rule. If, again, we take a single city: its end is to secure a good and sufficient life to the citizens; but one man must be ruler in imperfect as well as in good forms of the state. If it is otherwise, not only is the end of civil life lost, but the city too ceases to be what it was. Lastly, if we take any one kingdom, of which the end is the same as that of a city, only with greater security for its tranquillity, there must be one king to rule and govern. For if this is not so, not only do his subjects miss their end, but the kingdom itself falls to destruction, according to that word of the infallible truth: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation." If then this holds good in these cases, and in each individual thing which is ordered to one certain end, what we have laid down is true.

Now it is plain that the whole human race is ordered to gain some end, as has been before shown. There must, therefore, be one to guide and govern, and the proper title for this office is Monarch or Emperor. And so it is plain that Monarchy or the Empire is necessary for the welfare of the world.

Wherever there is controversy, there ought to be judgment,

otherwise there would be imperfection without its proper remedy, which is impossible; for God and Nature, in things necessary, do not fail in their provisions. But it is manifest that there may be controversy between any two princes, where the one is not subject to the other, either from the fault of themselves, or even of their subjects. Therefore between them there should be means of judgment. And since, when one is not subject to the other, he cannot be judged by the other (for there is no rule of equals over equals), there must be a third prince of wider jurisdiction, within the circle of whose laws both may come.

The strongest opponent of Justice is Appetite, as Aristotle intimates in the fifth book to Nicomachus. Remove Appetite altogether, and there remains nothing adverse to Justice; and therefore it is the opinion of the Philosopher that nothing should be left to the judge, if it can be decided by law; and this ought to be done for fear of Appetite, which easily perverts men's minds. Where, then, there is nothing to be wished for, there can be no Appetite, for the passions cannot exist if their objects are destroyed. But the Monarch has nothing to desire, for his jurisdiction is bounded only by the ocean; and this is not the case with other princes, whose kingdoms are bounded by those of their neighbors; as, for instance, the kingdom of Castile is bounded by the kingdom of Aragon. From which it follows that the Monarch is able to be the purest embodiment of Justice among men.

Again, the human race is ordered best when it is most free. . . . This liberty, or this principle of all our liberty, is the greatest gift bestowed by God on mankind; by it alone we gain happiness as men; by it alone we gain happiness elsewhere as gods. But if this is so, who will say that human kind is not in its best state when it can most use this principle? But he who lives under a Monarchy is most free. Therefore let it be understood that he is free who exists not for another's sake but for his own, as the Philosopher, in his Treatise of simple Being, thought. For everything which exists for the sake of some other thing is necessitated by that other thing, as a road has to run to its ordained end. Men exist for themselves, and not at the pleasure of others, only if a Monarch rules; for then only are the perverted forms of government set right, while democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies, drive mankind into slavery, as is obvious to any who goes about among them all; and public power is in

the hands of kings and aristocracies, which they call the rule of the best, and champions of popular liberty. And because the Monarch loves his subjects much, as we have seen, he wishes all men to be good, which cannot be the case in perverted forms of government; therefore the Philosopher says, in his *Politics*: "In the bad state the good man is a bad citizen, but in a good state the two coincide." Good states in this way aim at liberty, that in them men may live for themselves. The citizens exist not for the good of consuls, nor the nation for the good of its king; but the consuls for the good of the citizens, and the king for the good of his nation. For as the laws are made to suit the state, and not the state to suit the laws, so those who live under the laws are not ordered for the legislator, but he for them; as also the Philosopher holds, in what he has left us on the present subject. Hence, too, it is clear that although the king or the consul rule over the other citizens in respect of the means of government, yet in respect of the end of government they are the servants of the citizens, and especially the Monarch, who, without doubt, must be held the servant of all. Thus it becomes clear that the Monarch is bound by the end appointed to himself in making his laws.

But it must be carefully observed that when we say that mankind may be ruled by one supreme prince, we do not mean that the most trifling judgments for each particular town are to proceed immediately from him. For municipal laws sometimes fail, and need guidance, as the Philosopher shows in his fifth book to Nicomachus, when he praises equity. For nations and kingdoms and states have, each of them, certain peculiarities which must be regulated by different laws. For law is the rule which directs life. Thus the Scythians need one rule, for they live beyond the seventh climate, and suffer cold which is almost unbearable, from the great inequality of their days and nights. But the Garamantes need a different law, for their country is equinoctial, and they cannot wear many clothes, from the excessive heat of the air, because the day is as long as the darkness of the night. But our meaning is that it is in those matters which are common to all men, that men should be ruled by one Monarch, and be governed by a rule common to them all, with a view to their peace. And the individual princes must receive this rule of life or law from him, just as the practical intellect receives its major premiss from the speculative intellect, under which it places its own particular premiss, and then draws its

particular conclusion, with a view to action. And it is not only possible for one man to act as we have described; it is necessary that it should proceed from one man only to avoid confusion in our first principles. Moses himself wrote in his law that he had acted thus. For he took the elders of the tribes of the children of Israel, and left to them the lesser judgments, reserving to himself such as were more important and wider in their scope; and the elders carried these wider ones to their tribes, according as they were applicable to each separate tribe.

Hence it is plain that whatever is good, is good for this reason, that it consists in unity. And because concord is a good thing in so far as it is concord, it is manifest that it consists in a certain unity, as its proper root, the nature of which will appear if we find the real nature of concord. Concord then is the uniform motion of many wills; and hence it appears that a unity of wills, by which is meant their uniform motion, is the root of concord, nay, concord itself. For as we should say that many clods of earth are concordant, because that they all gravitate together towards the centre; and that many flames are concordant because that they all ascend together towards the circumference, if they did this of their own free will, so we say that many men are in concord because that they are all moved together, as regards their willing, to one thing, which one thing is formally in their wills just as there is one quality formally in the clods of earth, that is gravity, and one in the flame of fire, that is lightness. For the force of willing is a certain power; but the quality of good which it apprehends is its form; which form, like as others, being one is multiplied in itself, according to the multiplication of the matters which receive it, as the soul, and numbers, and other forms which belong to what is compound.

To explain our assumption as we proposed, let us argue thus: All concord depends on unity which is in wills; the human race, when it is at its best, is a kind of concord; for as one man at his best is a kind of concord, and as the like is true of the family, the city, and the kingdom; so is it of the whole human race. Therefore the human race at its best depends on the unity which is in will. But this cannot be unless there be one will to be the single mistress and regulating influence of all the rest. For the wills of men, on account of the blandishments of youth, require one to direct them, as Aristotle shows in the tenth book of his *Ethics*. And this cannot be unless there is one prince over all, whose will shall be the mistress and regulating

influence of all the others. But if all these conclusions be true, as they are, it is necessary for the highest welfare of the human race that there should be a Monarch in the world; and therefore Monarchy is necessary for the good of the world.

“It has often happened that the thought and life of an historical period have been impersonated in some one man of genius, who has been its type and embodiment for later times. Thus — to take the best known cases — the speculative genius of Greece is summed up in Plato, and the scientific in Aristotle; the romance and passion of the Renaissance are mirrored in Shakespeare, the ideal side of Puritanism in Milton, and the eighteenth century in Goethe. There are only two examples where a single life has in this way taken in and reproduced an entire period or phase of civilization, so as to stand alone as its sufficient monument. As Homer represents to us the pre-historic age of Greece, and as his verse bears down to us the melody and splendor of a time which we are only beginning to see by glimpses from other directions — so in Dante we have a transcript or reflex, curiously complete, of the many phases of mediæval life, in a form at once ideal and intense. All the glow of its romance is behind the transparent veil he has woven about his own ‘New Life.’ All the ardor of its faith is seen in the visions of unutterable glory that crowd his ‘Paradise.’ All its subtleties of speculation are found in the arguments and comments of his ‘Banquet.’ The terrible or revolting realisms of its creed fill the thronged circles of his ‘Hell.’ Its whole scheme of redemption is displayed in the steep ascents of his ‘Purgatory.’ Its partisan passion, its capacities of pride, wrath and hate, come to a hot focus in some of his ‘Epistles,’ or are reflected in the incidents of his career. Its fond dream of universal sovereignty, its allied ideal Empire and Church, has its completest expression and defence in his treatise on the Divine right of ‘Monarchy.’ There is no other name in literary history which is, in anything like so large a sense, a representative name.” — *Allen.*

“The voice of six silent centuries” Dante has been called by one, “the soul of the middle ages” by another. As the first great writer to use the language of the people, as in so much besides, he was the first great modern man. He stands at the parting of the ways, is the bond of union rather, between the old time and the new. Ruskin has said, “The central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante.” “In all literary history there is no such figure as Dante,” says our own Lowell. Tributes equally high from many thinkers equally great might be quoted to show the young people how important it will be for them to study Dante. It is especially as the representative of his own century that attention is here directed to him.

His mind took in all the interests of his time, and the historical references and relations of his works are so constant and varied that it has been well remarked that the whole history of the time becomes a commentary upon Dante and Dante a commentary upon the time.

The *Dante Handbook* by Scartazzini, translated, with additions, by Thomas Davidson, is the best general manual for the student; it contains a good life of Dante, accounts of his various works, and references to all the important illustrative books. The volume on Dante by Mrs. Oliphant, in the series of "Classics for English Readers," is simply written and quite within the comprehension of any of the young people who will be interested in the subject. Symonds's *Introduction to the Study of Dante* is an excellent work, and special attention is directed to the first chapter, on Early Italian History. Miss Rossetti's *The Shadow of Dante*, Miss Blow's work on Dante, and Botta's *Dante as Philosopher, Patriot and Poet*, are all valuable books; in the latter read especially the chapters on Dante's Patriotism and his Political System. Dean Church's little book on Dante, which is one of the best, contains a translation of the *De Monarchia* in the appendix. The notes to Longfellow's translation of the *Divine Comedy* and Norton's translation of the *New Life* are of much value. The various translations of the *Divine Comedy* and the *New Life* are well known. A translation of the *Convito*, by Sayer, has recently been published in England. Lowell's essay on Dante in *Among My Books*, 2d series, should be read by everybody; there is no better essay upon Dante. Lowell also wrote the article on Dante, embodying much from his essay, in the *American Encyclopædia*. The careful article on Dante in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is by Oscar Browning. The interesting essay on Dante by Joseph H. Allen, from which the passage quoted above is taken, is in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Carlyle's lecture on Dante, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, is very eloquent and striking, notable as the first strong word upon Dante spoken by a modern Englishman. Macaulay's essay upon Dante should be noticed, and the words of Gladstone, who is a devoted student of Dante. All the great modern Italians have been ardent lovers of Dante, in whom they find the prophet of "New Italy." Read Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets* and other works touching Dante, Mazzini's interesting essay, and Hermann Grimm's essay on *Dante and the Recent Italian Struggle*, in the volume of his essays translated by Miss Adams. Read in connection Michael Angelo's two sonnets upon Dante. Milman's pages upon Dante, in his *Latin Christianity*, and Bryce's, in his *Holy Roman Empire*, are specially important as treating Dante's relations to the life and thought of the middle ages; the latter takes up particularly the *De Monarchia*.

Dante's *De Monarchia*, from which selections are printed in the present Leaflet, is one of the noblest and most noteworthy of the many works in which, from the time of Plato's *Republic* and Augustine's *City of God* to the

time of Campanella's *City of the Sun*, More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Harrington's *Oceana*, Kant's *Eternal Peace*, and Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, brave idealists have sketched a better social organization. There was nothing dreamy or romantic in Dante's work; it was one of the most serious and practical political tracts, in its purpose, ever written. The work is divided into three parts — the first intended to show that mankind must be politically united in order to realize its true destiny; the second, to demonstrate that it belongs to Italy to effect that union; the third, to assert the separation and independence of the State from the Church. The poet in our time dreams of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Dante could think of the world's political unity only under the form of one great empire. But it is important to fix the mind on what is essential in Dante's scheme, not on what was local and accidental. German scholars have observed that it is in our own federal republic that Dante's conception finds its truest realization. The Italian Botta says: "It anticipates in some measure the plan adopted by Washington and his compeers in the Constitution of the United States, differing, however, in this, that while the American Republic extends to states geographically and ethnographically integrant parts of the same country, the Italian empire, as proposed by Dante, would have embraced all the world, and have placed Italy, in relation to other nations, as the sun to the planets, whose influence unites them in their harmonious movements, while it gives them free scope in their appointed orbits. . . . In advocating the union of mankind under the leadership of Italy, Dante did not intend to place other nations under her military despotism. The revival of the empire he contemplated was not that of the Asiatic monarchies, neither was it that of Charlemagne or Charles V. His plan, grand in its conception, resting on the basis of liberty, both national and individual, was derived, on the one hand, from ancient Rome, where the emperor was but a citizen charged with the high office of tribune, and with the defence of popular rights against the patricians; on the other, from the idea of modern governments founded on the political union of municipalities belonging to the same nation. Hence the idea of Dante did not necessarily involve monarchical institutions, as is commonly believed, but simply the concentration of social power into an individual or collective authority, which should exercise the common sovereignty for the good of the people. Admitting all forms of government, as circumstances might require, the plan of Dante was adapted to all nations, their different characters, traditions, and wants. It was essentially liberal and democratic."

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the life and times of Dante is 1289, the year of the battle of Campaldino, in which Dante fought. This battle effected the overthrow of the

Ghibellines in Italy; the date is therefore serviceable for fixing in mind the period of the long conflict between the papal and imperial factions known as the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which began just a century and a half before. Dante was now entering upon active life; he was twenty-four years old, having been born in 1265. Dante returned from this battle, we read, "to his studies and his loye." The year after the battle was the year of the death of Beatrice, whom Dante had first met sixteen years before, when both were in their ninth year. Dante's *Vita Nuova* is the story of his love for Beatrice. His *Convito* is a philosophic treatise. Dante was a profound student of philosophy, influenced chiefly by Aristotle (whom he always means when, as in the passages in the present Leaflet, he speaks of "the Philosopher" or "the Master") and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, died the year that Dante first met Beatrice; Albertus Magnus died six years later; Duns Scotus was probably born in the same year with Dante; and William of Occam, the last great schoolman, five years afterwards. With Dante's life it is thus easy to connect the whole later history of scholasticism, as it was easy to connect its earlier history with the life of Lanfranc. William of Occam was born the same year (1270) that St. Louis, the leader of the last Crusade, died before Tunis; the epoch of the Crusades was thus ending just as Dante's life began. It will be remembered that Prince Edward of England accompanied King Louis on the last Crusade. He returned to England in 1272, and succeeded his father the same year — as Edward I. The time of Edward I, as all the young people who have studied English history know, was the time of Wallace, Baliol and Bruce. It was by Edward that Wallace was put to death; but it was Edward's successor, Edward II, whom Bruce defeated at Bannockburn, in 1314. The famous battle of Morgarten, in Switzerland, the victory of the Swiss confederation over the Austrians, came the next year, 1315; the beginning of the Swiss confederation and the exploits of William Tell, if there were a William Tell, belong to the years just before this, the years when Dante in Italy was writing his *De Monarchia*. Rudolph of Hapsburg became emperor, "king of the Romans," when Dante was a boy. The very year of Dante's birth, 1265, was the year when the first real Parliament met in England, summoned by Simon de Montfort, who had won the victory of Lewes the previous year. It was in the year of Dante's birth that we know that the composition of gunpowder was known to Roger Bacon; it was invented a few years before Dante's birth, and the first cannon appeared a few years after his death. 1250 is the year to which the invention of gunpowder is usually assigned. The Sorbonne at Paris was founded the same year, and University College at Oxford, the oldest of the Oxford colleges, the year before, these two famous schools having thus just come into being as Dante was born. Marco Polo, the famous traveller, whose book about the East should by and by stimulate the Portuguese navigators to their voyages round

the Cape of Good Hope and also rouse the passion for discovery in the breast of Columbus, was a contemporary of Dante and an Italian like himself; he was born at Venice a few years before Dante was born and died two years after Dante died, and he was writing the account of his travels, immured in a dungeon at Genoa, while Dante was in the midst of the stormy politics of Florence. The early years of Dante's life were the last years of the life of the celebrated Persian poet, Saadi; Saadi was once taken prisoner by the Crusaders near Jerusalem. Giotto, the great Italian painter, was the personal friend of Dante, and, as many of the young people know, painted his portrait, which has been preserved for us in a fresco, long hidden, on the wall of the palace of the Podesta at Florence. Cimabue, Giotto's master and the first celebrated name in the history of Italian painting, was also Dante's contemporary, painting his famous pictures for the churches of Florence while Dante was a young man in the city. This gives us a date for our studies of early Italian art. In our studies of Italian literature we can similarly remember that Petrarch and Boccaccio, who wrote a life of Dante, were both born before Dante died, the former approaching manhood, the latter being but a child, in the year of Dante's death, 1321. Wyclif, who will be the central figure in our study of the 14th century, was born three years after the death of Dante.

Old South Leaflets.

The Sermon on the Mount.

WYCLIF'S TRANSLATION.

MATTHEW. — CHAP. V.

ANd Jhesus seyng the peple, went up into an hil; and whanne he was sett, his disciplis camen to him. And he openyde his mouthe, and taughte hem; and seide, Blessid be pore men in spirit; for the kyngdom of hevenes is herun. Blessid ben mylde men: for thei schulen weelde the erthe. Blessid ben thei that mournen: for thei schal be coumfortid. Blessid be thei that hungren and thirsten rigtwisnesse: for thei schal be fulfilled. Blessid ben merciful men: for thei schul gete mercy. Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte: for thei schulen se god. Blessid ben pesible men: for thei schulen be clepid goddis children. Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucioun for rigtwisnesse: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern. Ye schul be blessid whanne men schul curse you, and schul pursue you: and schul seye al yvel agens you liynge for me. Joie ye and be ye glade: for your meede is plenteous in hevenes: for so thei han pursued also prophetis that weren bifore you. Ye ben salt of the erthe, that if the salt vanishe away wherynne schal it be saltid? to nothing it is worth over, no but it be cast out, and be defouild of men. Ye ben light of the world, a citee sett on an hill may not be hid. Ne me teendith not a lanterne and puttith it undir a bushel: but on a candilstik that it give light to alle that ben in the hous. So, schyne your light before men, that thei see youre gode workis, and glorifie your fadir that is in hevenes. Nyle ghe deme that I cam to undo the Lawe or the prophetis, I cam not to undo the lawe but to fuffille. Forsothe I sey to you till hevене and erthe passe, oon letre, or oon title, schal not passe fro the Lawe til alle thingis be don. Therefore he that brekith oon of these leeste maundementis, and techith thus men, schal be clepid the

Leest in the rewme of hevenes : but he that doth, and techith, schal be clepid greet in the kyngdom of hevenes. And I seye to you that but your rigtwisnesse be more plentuous thanne of Scribis and Farisees, ye schul not entre in to the kyngdom of hevenes. Ye han herd that it was seide to olde men : thou schalt not sle, and he that sleeth, schal be gilty to doom. But I seye to you that ech man that is wroth to his brothir schal be gilty to doom, and he that seith to his brother, fugh, schal be gilty to the counsell ; but he that seith, fool, schal be gilty into the fire of helle. Therefore if thou offrist thi gifte at the auter, & there thou bithenkist that thi brother hath somwhat agens thee, leve there thi gifte bifore the auter, and go first to be reconseilid to thi brothir, and thanne thou schalt come and schalt offre thi gifte. Be thou consenting to thin adversarie soone, while thou art in the weye with him, lest peraventure thin adversarie take thee to the domesman, and the domesman take thee to the mynistre, and thou be sent in to prisoun. Treuly I seye to thee thou schalt not go out fro thennes till thou yelde the laste ferthing. Ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not do leecherie. But I seye to you that every man that seeth a womman to coveyte hir hath now do leecherie bi hir in his herte. That if thi right yghe sclaudre thee, pull it out, and caste fro thee ; for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris peresche, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And if thi right hond sclaudre thee kitte him away and caste fro thee, for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris perische, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And it hath ben seid, whoevere leveth his wyf, give he to hir a libel of forsaking. But I seye to you that every man that leveth his wyf, out teke cause of fornicacioun makith hir to do leecherie, and he that weddith the forsaken wyf doth avowtrie. Eftsoone ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not forswere but thou schalt yeld thin othis to the lord. But I seye to you, that ye swere not for any thing, neither bi hevene for it is the trone of god. Neither bi erthe, for it is the stool of his feet ; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the citee of a greet kyng. Neither thou schalt swere bi thin heed, for thou maist not make oon heer whyt ne black. But be your word ghe ghe, nay nay, and that, that is more than these is of yvel. ghe han herd that it hath be seid yghe for yghe, and toth for toth. But I seye to you that ye aghenstonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, schewe to him also the oother. And to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coate, leve thou

also to Him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousand pacis: go thou with him other tweyne. Give thou to him that axith of thee, and turne thou not away fro him that wole borowe of thee. ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, Love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and sclaundren you. That ye be the sones of your fadir that is in hevenes, that makith his sunne to rise upon gode, and yvel men, and reyneth on just men and unjust. For if ye loven him that loven you, what meede shulen ye have? whether pupplicans don not this? And if ghe greeten youre bretheren oonly, what schulen ye do more? ne don not hethene men this? Therefor be ye parfit, as your hevenly fadir is parfit.

CHAP. VI.

TAkith heed that ye do not your rigtwisnesse bifore men, to be seyn of hem; ellis ye schul have no meede at your fadir that is in hevenes. Therefore, whanne thou doist almes, nyle thou trumpe bifore thee as ypocrites don in synagogis and stretis, that thei be worschapid of men; sothely I sey to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou doist almes, knowe not thei left hond what thi right hond doith. That thin almes be in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal quyte thee. And whanne ye preyen, ye schulen not be as ypocrites that loven to preye stondynge in synagogis, and corneris of streetis, to be seyn of men, treuly I sey to yow thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou schalt prie, entre into thi couche, and whanne the dore is schitt, prie thi fadir in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis, schal yelde to thee. But in priyng nyle ye speke myche, as hethene men don for thei gessen that thei ben herd in her myche speche. Therefore nyle ye be maad lyk to hem for your fadir woot what is nede to you, bifore that ye axen him. And thus ye schulen pryve. Our fadir that art in hevenys; halewid be thi name. Thi kyngdom come to, be thi wil done in erthe as in hevене. Give to us this day oure breed ovir othir Substaunce. And forgive to us our dettis as we forgiven to oure dettouris. And lede us not into temptacioun: but delyvere us from yvel amen. For if ye forgiven to men her synnes, your hevenly fadir schal forgive to you your trespassis. Sothely if ye forgiven not to men, nether your fadir schal forgive you youre synnes. But whanne ye

fasten nyle be ye maad as ypocritis sorowful, for thei defasen hem silf to seme fastyng to men, treuly I seye to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou fastist anynte thin heed, and waische thi face: That thou be not seen fastyng to men, but to thi fadir that is in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal yelde to thee. Nyle ye tresoure to you tresouris in erthe were rust and mought distryeth, and where thefes delven out and stelen. But gadir ye to you tresouris in hevene, where neither rust ne mought distrieth and where thefis deluen not out; ne stelen. For where thi tresour is, there also thin hert is. The lanterne of thi bodi is thin iye, if thin iye be symple, al thi bodi schal be ligtful. But if thin yghe be weyward al thi bodi schal be derk. if thanne the light that is in thee be derknessis, how grete schul thilke derknessis be? No man may serve twey Lordis for either he schal hate the toon and love the tother: either he schal susteyne the toon, and despise the tother: ye moun not serve god and richesse. Therefor I sey to you that be ye not besy to youre lyf, what ye schul ete neither to your bodi, with what ye schul be clothid. whether lyf is not more than mete, and the body more than the cloth? Biholde ye the foulis of the eir, for thei sowen not, neither repen, neither gaderen in to bernes, and your fadir of hevene feedith hem. whether ye ben not more worthi than thei? But who of you thenkyng, may putte to his stature o cubit? And of clothing what ben you bisy? biholde ye the lilies of the feeld hou thei wexen, thei traaveilen not neither spynnen. And I sey to you that Salomon in al his glorie was not kevered as oon of these. And if god clothith thus the hey of the feeld, that to dey is, and to morowe is cast in to an ovne, hou myche more you of lital feith? Therefore nyle ye be bisy seiyng, what schul we ete, or what schul we drynk, or with what thing schul we be kevered? Forsothe hethene men seken alle these thingis, and your fadir wot that ye han nede to alle these thingis. Therefore seke ye first the kyngdom of god and his rigtwisnesse: and alle these thingis schul be cast to you. Therefore nyle ye be bisy in to the morrowe for the morrowe schal be bisy to him self; for it suffisith to the daie his owne malice.

CHAP. VII.

Nyle ye deme that ghe be not demed. For in what doom ye demen: ye schulen be demed, and in what mesure ye meten: it schal be meten agen to you. But what seest thou a

litol mote in the yghe of thi brothir, and seest not a beam in thin owne yghe? Or hou seist thou to thi brother, brother suffre, I schal do out a mote fro thin yghe, and lo a beam is in thin owne yghe? Ypocrite do out first the beam of thin yghe, and thanne thou schalt se to do out the mote of the yghe of thi brother. Nile ye gyve hooly thing to houndis, neither caste ye youre margaritis bifore swyn, lest peraventure thei defoule hem with her feet, and the houndis ben turned, and al to tere you. Axe ye and it schal be gyven to you; seke yee, and yee schulen fynde: knocke ye: and it schal be openid to you. For ech that axith, takith, and he that sekith, fyndith: and it schal be opened to him that knockith. What man of you is, that if his sone axe him breed: whether he wole take him a stoon? Or if he axe fish, whether he wole give him an Eddre? Therefore if ye, whanne ye ben yvel men, kunnen give gode giftis to youre sones: how myche more your fadir that is in hevenes schal give goode thingis to men that axen him? Therefore alle thingis, whatever thingis ye wolen that men do to you, do ye to hem; for this is the Lawe, and the prophetis. Entre ye bi the streit gate, for the gate that ledith to perdicioun is large, and the wey is brood, and thei ben many that entren bi it: Hou streit is the gate and the wey narrowe that ledith to lyf, and ther ben fewe that fynden it. Be ye war of false prophetis, that comen to you in clothingis of skeep, but withynne forth thei ben as Wolves of raveyne. Of her fruytis ye schulen knowe hem; whether men gadren grapis of thornes or figis of brieris? So every good tre makith gode fruytis; but an yvel tree makith yvel fruytis. A good tree may not make yvel fruytis; neither an yvel tree may make gode fruytis. Every tree that makith not good fruyt, schal be kitt doun, and schal be cast in to the fire. Therefore of her fruytis ye schul knowe hem. Not ech man that seith to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into the kyngdom of hevenes, but he that doth the wille of my fadir that is in hevenes, he schal enter into the kyngdom of hevenes. Many schul sey to me in that dei Lord, Lord, whether we have not prophecied in thi name, and han cast out Feendis in thi name, and han do manie vertues in thi name? And thanne I schal knowleche to hem, that I knewe you never, departe away fro me ye that worken wickidnesse. Therefore ech man that heerith these my wordis, and doth hem; schal be maad lyk to a wise man that hath bildid his hous on a stoon: And reyn feldown, and flodis camen, and wyndis blewen, and ruschiden into that hous & it felde not down, for it was foundid

on a stoon. And every man that herith these my wordis, and doith hem not: is lyk to a fool that hath bildid his hous on gravel. And reyn cam doun, and flodis camen, and wyndis blewen: and thei hurliden agen that hous and it felde doun, and the fallyng doun thereof was greet. And it was don whanne Jhesus had endid these wordis: the puple wondride on his teachyng. For he taughte hem as he that hadde power: and not as the scribis of hem, and Farisees.

WYCLIF ON THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

As the faith of the Church is contained in the Scriptures, the more these are known in their true meaning, the better; and inasmuch as secular men should assuredly understand the faith they profess, that faith *should be taught to them in whatever language it may be best known to them*. Forasmuch also as the doctrines of our faith are more clearly and exactly expressed in the Scriptures, than they may probably be by priests; seeing, if I may so speak, that many Prelates are too ignorant of Holy Scripture, while others conceal many parts of it; and as the verbal instruction of priests have many other defects, the conclusion is abundantly manifest, that believers should ascertain for themselves what are the true matters of their faith, *by having the Scriptures in a language which all may understand*.

WYCLIF ON PREACHING.

The highest service to which man may attain on earth is to preach the law of God. This duty falls peculiarly to priests, in order that they may produce children of God, and this is the end for which God has wedded the Church. And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied himself mostly in preaching, and thus did the Apostles, and on this account God loved them. But now priests are found in taverns and hunting; and playing at their tables, instead of learning God's law and preaching.

Prayer is good, but not so good as preaching; and accordingly, in preaching and also in praying, in the administering of the Sacraments, and the learning of God's law, and the rendering of a good example by purity of life, in these should stand the life of a good priest.

WYCLIF ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

We are not careful to explain how it has come to pass, but manifest it is that the Church has erred in this matter; and we claim accordingly to be exempt from its authority in this respect, *and to be left to the guidance of reason and Scripture.*

WYCLIF ON ABSOLUTION AND INDULGENCES.

There is no greater heresy for a man than to believe that he is absolved from sin if he give money, or because a priest layeth his hand on his head and saith, "I absolve thee;" *for thou must be sorrowful in thy heart, else God does not absolve thee.*

It is plain to me that our Prelates in granting indulgences do commonly blaspheme the wisdom of God, pretending in their avarice and folly that they understand what they really know not. They chatter on the subject of grace as if it were a thing to be bought and sold like an ass or an ox; by so doing they learn to make a merchandise of selling pardons, the devil having availed himself of an error in the schools to introduce after this manner heresies in morals.

WYCLIF ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT.

I appeal to the Church of the first thousand years since our Lord's time. I challenge the existing Church to dispute these questions with me. My adversaries reply that the Church has settled the matter, and have, in fact, condemned me beforehand. I cannot expect at their hands anything else than to be silenced, and what is more, according to a new Ordinance, imprisoned. I know what that means. I demand, therefore, that the lay voice be heard. I have appealed to the King against the University; I now appeal to the King and Parliament against the Synod which is about to use the secular arm—the arm of Parliament. If I am to be tried, let me have a fair trial, and argue my case before the world. If that is not to be, I will at least have care that Parliament shall understand the ecclesiastical points at issue, and the use that is to be made of its power.

That very thing is a mark of the corruption of the Church; but the laity are responsible for its purity. They only conserve the endowments and institutions of the clergy under the condition of that purity. And it has now become a personal matter for them; it affects their lives and fortunes. If they see their way to clearing off some of its most open corruptions, the Eng-

lish people, who have by this time the Bible in their hands, will speedily perceive that I am now no heretic, but the truest Churchman in the land.

“In the ende the truth will conquere.”— *Wyclif*.

“If the stiff-necked obstinacy of our prelates had not obstructed Wyclif’s sublime and exalted spirit, the names of the Bohemians, Huss and Hieronymus, and even of Luther and Calvin, would at this day have been buried in obscurity, and the glory of having reformed our neighbors would have been ours alone.”— *Milton*.

“There is in the University Library of Prague a magnificent old Bohemian Cantionale written in the year 1572, and adorned with a number of finely illuminated miniatures. One of the most characteristic of these little works of art stands above a hymn in memory of John Hus, the Reformer. It consists of three medallions rising one above another, in the first of which John Wiclif, the Englishman, is represented striking sparks out of a stone; in the second, Hus, the Bohemian, is setting fire to the coals; while in the third, Luther, the German, is bearing the fierce light of a blazing torch. The trilogy of these miniatures is a fine illustration of the Divine mission of the three great Reformers. John Wiclif, the Englishman, is the true, original spirit, the bringer of a new light, another Prometheus in the realm of spiritual things. Modern research at least testifies in a singular manner to the truth of the miniature, and is bringing about a great change of opinion. Quite recently it has been shown by a German writer that the whole Bohemian movement of the fifteenth century was simply an imitation of the movement that had stirred England — and more particularly Oxford — under the influence of John Wiclif thirty years before. It has been proved conclusively that, as far as doctrine is concerned, Hus borrowed nearly all his reforming ideas from the strong-minded Yorkshireman. In the works of the Oxford professor a rich fountain of new thought had been opened to him, by means of which he became the national and religious leader of a great people, the martyr of a great cause. The whole Husite movement is mere Wiclifism. It should never be forgotten, at least by Englishmen, that those mighty ideas had an Englishman for their parent. Wiclif was the first who, at a period of general helplessness, when the Church, lost in worldliness, was unable to satisfy the spiritual and national aspirations of her adherents, gave utterance to new ideas which seemed fully to replace the fading traditional forms of life and thought; and who thus made England to become the glorious leader of

the greatest spiritual movement of modern times. He it was who first dared to face the system of corruption and tyranny which had overspread all Europe, who first showed in his own person how much could be done against a whole world of foes by one single-hearted man, who had made himself the champion of truth. England owes to him her Bible, her present language, the reformation of the Church, her religious and, to a very large degree, her political liberty. With Chaucer, Shakspeare, and Milton he is one of the makers of the English language, and his influence in English religious life is unparalleled by any later man. He must be pronounced to be the first, and by far the greatest, Reformer preceding the sixteenth century. He was one of the greatest men England has ever produced, a religious genius whose vestiges are to be found not only in the history of his own country, but in the spiritual history of mankind. Modern research proves that the Reformation neither of Germany, nor of England, nor of Bohemia, was a sudden outburst, but that its origin must be traced back into the past, and from no one can it with greater truth be said to have emanated than from John Wiclif the Englishman. In the spirit of this wonderful man Protestantism arose. By the greatness of his soul, the depth of his religious and national feeling, and the keenness of his intellect, he had become the leader of his people. When in England, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the new power of a national and religious awakening was struggling into existence, it was in Wiclif that it found its truest personification. Of him therefore in a singular manner is true what has been said of Luther, that 'he held the mind and the spirit of his countrymen in his hand, and seemed to be the hero in whom his nation had become incarnate.'

— *Buddensieg.*

Thomas Fuller, in his old *Church History of Britain* (1655), describes the scattering of Wyclif's ashes, by the decree of the council of Constance — the same council which decreed the martyrdom of Huss — in quaint words which have become famous. The emissaries of the Church, he says, telling the story of their coming to Lutterworth churchyard, "take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighboring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispensed all the world over."

The words of Milton, quoted above, do not assert too strongly Wyclif's preëminent, original influence in the work of the Reformation. The passages given from Wyclif's own writings show how distinctly he anticipated Luther's doctrines and methods. He condemned as warmly as Luther the abuses of the doctrine of indulgence, which had become almost as gross in England in his time as under Tetzel in Germany a hundred and fifty years later; he

exposed as tirelessly the corruptions of the clergy and the prevailing superstitions and traditionalism; he urged the importance of preaching above all ritualism; he gave the people the Bible in their own language; he emphasized the right and duty of private judgment; he taught the supremacy of the civil power; he trusted the people. That the whole Hussite movement was mere Wyclifism, as Buddensieg asserts, is abundantly shown in the learned and thorough work on *Wiclif and Hus* by Dr. Johann Loserth, translated by Rev. M. J. Evans. Consult the useful note by the translator of this work on the spelling of Wyclif's name — which we find in various places in as many forms as are possible: Wiclif, Wyclif, Wicklif, Wycklif, Wicliffe, Wycliffe, Wickliffe, Wyckliffe, etc.

The best lives of Wyclif are those by Vaughan and the German Lechler. The earliest important life was by Lewis. There are good brief biographies by Pennington, Wilson and others. The admirable work by Professor Montagu Burrows, on *Wiclif's Place in History*, discusses in three lectures the history and present state of the Wyclif literature, Wyclif's relation to Oxford, and his true place as a reformer. The histories of Oxford by Lyte and Brodrick contain valuable chapters on Wyclif's life at the University. Green's chapter on Wyclif, in his history of England, is very interesting. See also the lecture on Wyclif in Herrick's *Some Heretics of Yesterday*. Rudolph Buddensieg's little book, *John Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer*, contains a brief biographical sketch and an interesting selection of passages from Wyclif's writings. Three volumes of the *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Thomas Arnold, were issued by the Clarendon Press in 1869. More of his works have been published since, and many still remain in MS. at Vienna and elsewhere. Those published consist largely of sermons and theological and political pamphlets.

Wyclif's interest in political and social reform was scarcely less than his interest in religious reform. His denunciations of oppression were so severe and his democratic sympathies so outspoken that he was charged with being the intellectual author of the movement which culminated in the revolt of the peasantry under Wat Tyler a few years before his death. There is some ground for this, although Wyclif himself, like Luther, was a non-resistant. The essay on Wyclif by Thorold Rogers, in his *Historical Gleanings*, is interesting for its discussion of this general subject and its picture of the social condition of England in Wyclif's time. The essay by Edwin De Lisle, *Wyclif begat Henry George*, is worth reading in the connection. More important is the essay on Wyclif's Doctrine of Lordship, in R. L. Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*. Lordship or the right to rule, according to Wyclif, was conditioned upon the disposition to rule well. "Dominion is founded in grace," was his word. The ungracious ruler forfeited his rights; only the benevolent king had valid claim to dominion. Similarly he held concerning property, that the right to property

was conditioned on its righteous use; the rich man is God's steward, and his rights as steward revert if he does not use his riches for the common weal.

It is interesting to remember that Chaucer was Wyclif's contemporary. He pictures as powerfully as does Wyclif himself the corruptions in the Church against which Wyclif rose to do battle. Many have believed that Chaucer was a Wyclifite and that the picture of the Parson, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, if not indeed a portrait of Wyclif himself, is one of the company of "Poor Priests" that Wyclif organized to preach "God's Law" through England. The young people should read this description of the good Parson in Chaucer. The careful student will read the essay, *Chaucer a Wyclifite*, by H. Simon, in the collection of *Essays on Chaucer* published by the Chaucer Society, part iii. "By the side of the repulsive characters of the friars and clergy and their officials," says Mr. Simon, "the Parson of the Prologue appears like a bright figure of sublime beauty. Nobody, perhaps, has read this delicate yet pithy picture without emotion; hundreds of times the Parson has been quoted as the ideal of Christian charity and humility, evangelical piety, unselfish resignation to the high calling of a pastor. It cannot be that Chaucer unintentionally produced this bright image with so dark a background. Involuntarily it occurs to us, as to former critics, that a Wyclifite, perhaps the great reformer himself, sat for the picture; and the more we look at it, the more striking becomes the likeness. This observation is not new; to say nothing of English critics, Pauli says that the likeness of the Parson has decidedly Lollardish traces, and Lechler expressly declares it to be Wicliffe's portrait, though he says, at the same time, that it is not only doubtful but improbable that Chaucer should have sympathized with, or really appreciated, Wicliffe's great ideas of and efforts for reform. Both scholars, however, principally refer to the description in the General Prologue; but the Parson is mentioned also in the Shipman's prologue and in that to the Parson's Tale; and it is exactly in the latter two that we find the most striking proofs of his unquestionably Wyclifite character."

Wyclif's translation of the Bible was the first general or important English translation. The young people are asked to compare the portion printed in this Leaflet (Matthew, chaps. v, vi, vii) with the same in the common version. Tyndall's translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526; Coverdale's version of the whole Bible in 1535; Matthew's Bible in 1537; the Great Bible, usually called Cranmer's, in 1539; the Geneva Bible in 1557; the Bishops' Bible in 1568; the Douay Bible in 1610; the King James version in 1610.

Wyclif, the great pioneer of the Reformation, died on the last day of the year 1384, which is the fourteenth century date that the young people are asked to remember. The year of his birth, according to Leland, was

1324, just four hundred years before the birth of Kant (b. 1724), the great pioneer of modern thought. William of Wykeham was born in the same year as Wyclif. Chaucer was born a few years later, 1340, and died in 1400, the year that Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, was born. The year of Chaucer's birth was the year before Petrarch was crowned with the laurel wreath in the Capitol at Rome. Rienzi, "the last of the tribunes," was a personal friend of Petrarch, who supported him when he became tribune, in 1347. This was the year after Edward III and the Black Prince won the battle of Crecy, and just after Wyclif had begun his Oxford life. It will be remembered that Edward instituted the Order of the Garter soon after the battle of Crecy. The battle of Agincourt came thirty years after Wyclif's death, in the same year, 1415, that Huss, the great preacher of Wyclif's doctrines in Bohemia, was burnt at Constance. Jerome of Prague suffered the next year after Huss — both Jerome and Huss having been born in Wyclif's lifetime. Thomas à Kempis was born four years before Wyclif died. Tauler, the German mystic, died while Wyclif was teaching at Oxford. Wyclif's lifetime was the time of Jacob and Philip van Artevelde at Ghent, the time when the universities of Prague and Cracow were founded, when the Kremlin was founded at Moscow and the Bastille at Paris, the time of the terrible plague, the "Black Death," in Europe, the time of the first appearance of Halley's comet, the time of Douglas and Percy (Hotspur) and of Timur (Tamerlane), the time of the rising of the peasantry (the *Jacquerie*) in France. The revolt of the English peasantry under Wat the Tyler and Jack Straw occurred three years before Wyclif's death. Arnold of Winkelried fell at Sempach two years after Wyclif's death; and Joan of Arc was born about the time that Wyclif's remains, thirty years after his death, were dug up, burnt and thrown into the Swift. When Joan was burnt at Rouen, we are near the time of the birth of Columbus.

Old South Leaflets.

Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers.

FROM HUMBOLDT'S *Cosmos*.

The age of Columbus, Gama, and Magellan—the age of great maritime enterprises—coincided in a most wonderful manner with many great events, with the awakening of a feeling of religious freedom, with the development of nobler sentiments for art, and with the diffusion of the Copernican views regarding the system of the universe. Nicolaus Copernicus (who, in two letters still extant, calls himself Koppernik) had already attained his twentieth year, and was engaged in making observations with the astronomer Albert Brudzewski, at Cracow, when Columbus discovered America. Hardly a year after the death of the great discoverer, and after a six years' residence at Padua, Bologna, and Rome, we find him returned to Cracow, and busily engaged in bringing about a thorough revolution in the astronomical views of the universe. By the favor of his uncle, Lucas Waisselrode of Allen, Bishop of Ermland, he was nominated, in 1510, canon of Frauenburg, where he labored for thirty-three years on the completion of his work, entitled *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cælestium*. The first printed copy was brought to him when, shattered in mind and body, he was preparing himself for death. He saw it and touched it, but his thoughts were no longer fixed on earthly things, and he died—not, as Gassendi says, a few hours, but several days afterward (on the 24th of May, 1543). Two years earlier an important part of his theory had been made known by the publication of a letter of one of his most zealous pupils and adherents, Joachim Rhæticus, to Johann Schoner, professor at Nuremberg. It was not, however, the propagation of the Copernican doctrines, the renewed opinion of the existence of one central sun, and of the diurnal and annual movement of the earth, which somewhat more than half a century after its first promulgation led to the brilliant astronomical discoveries that characterize the commencement of the seventeenth century; for these discoveries were the result of the accidental invention of the telescope, and were the means of at once perfecting and extending the doc-

trine of Copernicus. Confirmed and extended by the results of physical astronomy (by the discovery of the satellite-system of Jupiter and the phases of Venus), the fundamental views of Copernicus have indicated to theoretical astronomy paths which could not fail to lead to sure results, and to the solution of problems which of necessity demanded and led to a greater degree of perfection in the analytic calculus. While George Peurbach and Regiomontanus (Johann Müller, of Königsberg, in Franconia) exercised a beneficial influence on Copernicus and his pupils, Rhæticus, Reinhold and Möstlin, these, in their turn, influenced in a like manner, although at longer intervals of time, the works of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. These are the ideal links which connect the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and we can not delineate the extended astronomical views of the latter of these epochs without taking into consideration the incitements yielded to it by the former.

An erroneous opinion unfortunately prevails, even in the present day, that Copernicus, from timidity and from apprehension of priestly persecution, advanced his views regarding the planetary movement of the earth and the position of the sun in the center of the planetary system, as mere hypotheses, which fulfilled the object of submitting the orbits of the heavenly bodies more conveniently to calculation, "but which need not necessarily either be true or even probable." These singular words certainly do occur in the anonymous preface¹

¹ "Neque enim necesse est, eas hypotheses esse veras, imo ne verisimiles quidem, sed sufficit hoc unum, si calculum observationibus congruentem exhibeant," says the preface of Osiander. "The Bishop of Culm, Tidemann Gise, a native of Dantzic, who had for years urged Copernicus to publish his work, at last received the manuscript, with the permission of having it printed fully in accordance with his own free pleasure. He sent it first to Rhæticus, professor at Wittenberg, who had, until recently, been living for a long time with his teacher at Frauenburg. Rhæticus considered Nuremberg as the most suitable place for its publication, and intrusted the superintendance of the printing to Professor Schoner and to Andreas Osiander." (Gassendi, *Vita Copernici*, p. 319.) The expressions of praise pronounced on the work at the close of the preface might be sufficient to show, without the express testimony of Gassendi, that the preface was by another hand. Osiander has used an expression on the title of the first edition (that of Nuremberg, 1543) which is always carefully avoided in all the writings of Copernicus, "motus stellarum novis insuper ac admirabilibus hypothesis ornati," together with the very ungentle addition, "Igitur studiose lector, eme, lege, fruire." In the second Basle edition of 1566, which I have very carefully compared with the first Nuremberg edition, there is no longer any reference in the title of the book to the "admirable hypothesis;" but Osiander's *Præfatiuncula de Hypothesibus hujus Operis*, as Gassendi calls the intercalated preface, is preserved. That Osiander, without naming himself, meant to show that the *Præfatiuncula* was by a different hand from the work itself, appears very evident from the circumstance of his designating the dedication to Paul III as the *Præfatio*

attached to the work of Copernicus, and inscribed *De Hypothesibus hujus Operis*, but they are quite contrary to the opinions expressed by Copernicus and in direct contradiction with his dedication to Pope Paul III. The author of these prefatory remarks was, as Gassendi most expressly says in his Life of the great astronomer, a mathematician then living at Nuremberg, and named Andreas Osiander, who, together with Schoner, superintended the printing of the work *De Revolutionibus*, and who, although he makes no express declaration of any religious scruples, appears nevertheless to have thought it expedient to speak of the new views as of an hypothesis, and not, like Copernicus, as of demonstrated truth.

The founder of our present system of the universe (for to him incontestably belong the most important parts of it, and the grandest features of the design) was almost more distinguished, if possible, by the intrepidity and confidence with which he expressed his opinions, than for the knowledge to which they owed their origin. He deserves to a high degree the fine eulogium passed upon him by Kepler, who, in the introduction to the Rudolphine Tables, says of him, "*Vir fuit maximo ingenio et quod in hoc exercitio (combating prejudices) magni momenti est, animo liber.*" When Copernicus is describing, in his dedication to the pope, the origin of his work, he does not scruple to term the opinion generally expressed among theologians of the immobility and central position of the earth "an absurd acroama," and to attack the stupidity of those who adhere to so erroneous a doctrine. "If even," he writes, "any empty-headed babblers (*ματαιολόγοι*), ignorant of all mathematical science, should take upon themselves to pronounce judgment on his work through an intentional distortion of any passage in the Holy Scriptures (*propter aliquem locum scripturæ male ad suum propositum detortum*), he should despise so presumptuous an attack. It was, indeed, universally known that the celebrated Lactantius, who, however, could not be reckoned among mathematicians, had spoken childishly (*pueriliter*) of the form of the earth, deriding those who held it to be spherical. On mathematical subjects one should write only to mathematicians. In order to show that, deeply penetrated with the truth of his own deductions, he had no cause to fear the judg-

Authoris. The first edition has only 196 leaves; the second 213, on account of the *Narratio Prima* of the astronomer, George Joachim Rhæticus, and a letter addressed to Schoner, which was printed in 1541 by the intervention of the mathematician, Gassarus of Basle, and gave to the learned world the first accurate knowledge of the Copernican system. Rhæticus had resigned his professional chair at Wittenberg in order that he might enjoy the instructions of Copernicus at Frauenburg itself.

ment that might be passed upon him, he turned his prayers from a remote corner of the earth to the head of the Church, begging that he would protect him from the assaults of calumny, since the Church itself would derive advantage from his investigations on the length of the year and the movements of the moon." Astrology and improvements in the calendar long procured protection for astronomy from the secular and ecclesiastical powers, as chemistry and botany were long esteemed as purely subservient auxiliaries to the science of medicine.

The strong and free expressions employed by Copernicus sufficiently refute the old opinion that he advanced the system which bears his immortal name as an hypothesis convenient for making astronomical calculations, and one which might be devoid of foundation. "By no other arrangement," he exclaims with enthusiasm, "have I been able to find so admirable a symmetry of the universe, and so harmonious a connection of orbits, as by placing the lamp of the world (*lucernam mundi*), the sun, in the midst of the beautiful temple of nature as on a kingly throne, ruling the whole family of circling stars that revolve around him (*circumagentem gubernans astrorum familiam*)." Even the idea of universal gravitation or attraction (*appetentia quædam naturalis partibus indita*) toward the sun as the center of the world (*centrum mundi*), and which is inferred from the force of gravity in spherical bodies, seems to have hovered before the mind of this great man, as is proved by a remarkable passage in the 9th chapter of the 1st book *De Revolutionibus*.

On considering the different stages of the development of cosmical contemplation, we are able to trace from the earliest ages faint indications and presentiments of the attraction of masses and of centrifugal forces. Jacobi, in his researches on the mathematical knowledge of the Greeks (unfortunately still in manuscript), justly comments on "the profound consideration of nature evinced by Anaxagoras, in whom we read with astonishment a passage asserting that the moon, if its centrifugal force ceased, would fall to the earth like a stone from a sling."¹

I have already, when speaking of aërolites, noticed similar expressions of the Clazomenian and of Diogenes of Apollonia

¹ Compare, also, Aristot., *De Cælo*, ii, 1, p. 284, a. 24, Bekker, and a remarkable passage of Simplicius, p. 491, b., in the *Scholæ*, according to the edition of the Berlin Academy, where the "non-falling of heavenly bodies" is noticed "when the rotary force predominates over the actual falling force or downward attraction." With these ideas, which also partially belong to Empedocles and Democritus, as well as to Anaxagoras, may be connected the instance adduced by Simplicius "that water in a vial is not spilled when the movement of rotation is more rapid than the downward movement of the water."

on the "cessation of the rotary force." Plato truly had a clearer idea than Aristotle of the *attractive force* exercised by the earth's center on all heavy masses removed from it, for the Stagirite was indeed acquainted, like Hipparchus, with the acceleration of falling bodies, although he did not correctly understand the cause. In Plato, and according to Democritus, *attraction* is limited to bodies having an affinity for one another, or in other words, to those in which there exists a tendency of the *homogeneous* elementary substances to combine together.¹ John Philoponus, the Alexandrian, a pupil of Ammonius, the son of Hermias, who probably lived in the sixth century, was the first who ascribed the movement of the heavenly bodies to a primitive impulse, connecting with this idea that of the fall of bodies, or the tendency of all substances, whether heavy or light, to reach the ground. The idea conceived by Copernicus, and more clearly expressed by Kepler in his admirable work, *De Stella Martis*, who even applied it to the ebb and flow of the ocean, received in 1666 and 1674 a new impulse and a more extended application through the sagacity of the ingenious Robert Hooke;² Newton's theory of gravitation, which followed these earlier advances, presented the grand means of converting the whole of physical astronomy into a true *mechanism of the heavens*.

Copernicus, as we find not only from his dedication to the pope, but also from several passages in the work itself, had a tolerable knowledge of the ideas entertained by the ancients of the structure of the universe. He, however, only names in the period anterior to Hipparchus, Hicetas (or, as he always calls him, Nicetas) of Syracuse, Philolaüs, the Pythagorean, the Timæus of Plato, Ecphantus, Heraclides of Pontus, and the great geometrician, Apollonius of Perga. Of the two mathematicians, Aristarchus of Samos and Seleucus of Babylon, whose systems came most nearly to his own, he mentions only the first, making no reference to the second.³ It has often been

¹ See, regarding all that relates to the ideas of the ancients on attraction, gravity, and the fall of bodies, the passages collected with great industry and discrimination, by Th. Henri Martin, *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*, 1841, t. ii, pp. 272-280, and 341.

² He subsequently relinquished the correct opinion (Brewster, *Martyrs of Science*, 1846, p. 211); but the opinion that there dwells in the central body of the planetary system—the sun—a power which governs the movements of the planets, and that this solar force decreases either as the squares of the distance, or in direct ratio, was expressed by Kepler in the *Harmonices Mundi*, completed in 1618.

³ Everywhere Copernicus shows a predilection for, and a very accurate acquaintance with, the views of the Pythagoreans, or, to speak less definitely, with those which were attributed to the most ancient among them.

asserted that he was not acquainted with the views of Aristarchus of Samos regarding the central sun and the condition of the earth as a planet, because the *Arenarius*, and all the other works of Archimedes, appeared only one year after his death, and a whole century after the invention of the art of printing; but it is forgotten that Copernicus, in his dedication to Pope Paul III, quotes a long passage on Philolaüs, Ecphantus, and Heraclides of Pontus, from Plutarch's work on *The Opinions of Philosophers* (III, 13), and therefore that he might have read in the same work (II, 24) that Aristarchus of Samos regards the sun as one of the fixed stars. Among all the opinions of the ancients, those which appeared to exercise the greatest influence on the direction and gradual development of the ideas of Copernicus are expressed, according to Gassendi, in a passage in the encyclopædic work of Martianus Mineus Capella, written in a half-barbarous language, and in the *System of the World* of Apollonius of Perga. According to the opinions described by Martianus Mineus of Madaura, and which have been very confidently ascribed, sometimes to the Egyptians and sometimes to the Chaldeans, the earth is immovably fixed in a central point, while the sun revolves around it as a circling planet, attended by two satellites, Mercury and Venus. Such a view of the structure of the world might, indeed, prepare the way for that of the central force of the sun. There is, however, nothing in the *Almagest*, or in the works of the ancients generally, or

Thus, for instance, he was acquainted, as may be seen by the beginning of the dedication, with the letter of Lysis to Hipparchus, which, indeed, shows that the Italian school, in its love of mystery, intended only to communicate its opinions to friends, "as had also at first been the purpose of Copernicus." The age in which Lysis lived is somewhat uncertain; he is sometimes spoken of as an immediate disciple of Pythagoras himself; sometimes, and with more probability, as a teacher of Epaminondas (Böckh, *Philolaos*, s. 8-15). The letter of Lysis to Hipparchus, an old Pythagorean, who had disclosed the secrets of the sect, is, like many similar writings, a forgery of later times. It had probably become known to Copernicus from the collection of Aldus Manutius, *Epistola diversorum Philosophorum* (Romæ, 1494), or from a Latin translation by Cardinal Bessarion (Venet., 1516). In the prohibition of Copernicus's work, *De Revolutionibus*, in the famous decree of the *Congregazione dell' Indice* of the 5th of March, 1616, the new system of the universe is expressly designated as "falsa illa doctrina Pythagorica, Divinæ Scripturæ omnino adversans." The important passage on Aristarchus of Samos, of which I have spoken in the text, occurs in the *Arenarius*, p. 449 of the Paris edition of Archimedes of 1615, by David Rivaults. The editio princeps is the Basle edition of 1544, apud Jo. Hervagium. The passage in the *Arenarius* says, very distinctly, that "Aristarchus had confuted the astronomers who supposed the earth to be immovable in the center of the universe. The sun, which constituted this center, was immovable like the other stars, while the earth revolved round the sun." In the work of Copernicus, Aristarchus is twice named, without any reference being made to his system.

in the work of Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, which justifies the assertion so confidently maintained by Gassendi, of the perfect resemblance existing between the system of Tycho Brahe and that which has been ascribed to Apollonius of Perga. After Böckh's complete investigation, nothing further need be said of the confusion of the Copernican system with that of the Pythagorean, Philolaüs, according to which, the non-rotating earth (the Antichthon or opposite earth, being not in itself a planet, but merely the opposite hemisphere of our planet) moves like the sun itself round the focus of the world—the central fire, or vital flame of the whole planetary system.

The scientific revolution originated by Nicolaus Copernicus has had the rare fortune (setting aside the temporary retrograde movement imparted by the hypothesis of Tycho Brahe) of advancing without interruption to its object—the discovery of the true structure of the universe. The rich abundance of accurate observations furnished by Tycho Brahe himself, the zealous opponent of the Copernican system, laid the foundation for the discovery of those eternal laws of the planetary movements which prepared imperishable renown for the name of Kepler; and which, interpreted by Newton, and proved to be theoretically and necessarily true, have been transferred into the bright and glorious domain of thought, as *the intellectual recognition of nature*. It has been ingeniously said, although, perhaps, with too feeble an estimate of the free and independent spirit which created the theory of gravitation, that "Kepler wrote a code of laws, and Newton the spirit of those laws."¹

The figurative and poetical myths of the Pythagorean and Platonic pictures of the universe, changeable as the fancy from which they emanated,² may still be traced partially reflected in Kepler; but while they warmed and cheered his often saddened spirit, they never turned him aside from his earnest course, the goal of which he reached in the memorable night of the 15th of May, 1618, twelve years before his death. Copernicus had furnished a satisfactory explanation of the apparent revolution of the heaven of the fixed stars by the diurnal

¹ In the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii, p. 282, Whewell, in his Inductive Table of Astronomy, has given an exceedingly good and complete view of the astronomical contemplation of the structure of the universe, from the earliest ages to Newton's system of gravitation.

² Plato, in the *Phædrus*, adopts the system of Philolaüs, but in the *Timæus* that according to which the earth is immovable in the center, and which was subsequently called the Hipparchian or the Ptolemaic. The astronomical vision, in which the structure of the universe is shrouded, at the end of the *Book of the Republic*, reminds us at once of the intercalated spherical systems of the planets, and of the concord of tones, "the voices of the Syrens moving in concert with the revolving spheres."

rotation of the earth round its axis; and by its annual movement round the sun he had afforded an equally perfect solution of the most striking movements of the planets (their stationary conditions and their retrogressions), and thus given the true reason of the so-called *second inequality of the planets*. The *first inequality*, or the unequal movement of the planets in their orbits, he left unexplained. True to the ancient Pythagorean principle of the perfectibility inherent in circular movements, Copernicus thought that he required for his structure of the universe some of the *epicycles* of Apollonius of Perga, besides the *eccentric* circles having a vacuum in their center. However bold was the path adventured on, the human mind could not at once emancipate itself from all earlier views.

The equal distance at which the stars remained, while the whole vault of heaven seemed to move from east to west, had led to the idea of a firmament and a solid crystal sphere, in which Anaximenes (who was probably not much later than Pythagoras) had conjectured that the stars were riveted like nails. Germinus of Rhodes, the contemporary of Cicero, doubted whether the constellations lay in one uniform plane, being of opinion that some were higher and others lower than the rest. The idea formed of the heaven of the fixed stars was extended to the planets, and thus arose the theory of the eccentric intercalated spheres of Eudoxus and Menæchmus, and of Aristotle, who was the inventor of *retrograde* spheres. The theory of epicycles — a construction which adapted itself most readily to the representation and calculation of the planetary movements — was, a century afterward, made by the acute mind of Apollonius to supersede solid spheres. However much I may incline to mere ideal abstraction, I here refrain from attempting to decide historically whether, as Ideler believes, it was not until after the establishment of the Alexandrian Museum that “a free movement of the planets in space was regarded as possible,” or whether, before that period, the intercalated transparent spheres (of which there were twenty-seven according to Eudoxus, and fifty-five according to Aristotle), as well as the epicycles which passed from Hipparchus and Ptolemy to the Middle Ages, were regarded generally not as solid bodies of material thickness, but merely as ideal abstractions. It is more certain that in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the theory of the seventy-seven homocentric spheres of the learned writer, Girolamo Fracastoro, found general approval, and when, at a later period, the opponents of Copernicus sought all means of upholding the Ptolemaic system, the idea of the existence of *solid* spheres, circles and epicycles, which was especially favored by the Fathers of the Church, was still

very widely diffused. Tycho Brahe expressly boasts that his considerations on the orbits of comets first proved the impossibility of solid spheres, and thus destroyed the artificial fabrics. He filled the free space of heaven with air, and even believed that the resisting medium, when disturbed by the revolving heavenly bodies, might generate tones. The unimaginative Rothmann believed it necessary to refute this renewed Pythagorean myth of celestial harmony.

Kepler's great discovery that all the planets move round the sun in ellipses, and that the sun lies in one of the foci of these ellipses, at length freed the original Copernican system from eccentric circles and all epicycles. The planetary structure of the world now appeared objectively, and as it were architecturally, in its simple grandeur; but it remained for Isaac Newton to disclose the play and connection of the internal forces which animate and preserve the system of the universe. We have often remarked, in the history of the gradual development of human knowledge, that important but apparently accidental discoveries, and the simultaneous appearance of many great minds, are crowded together in a short period of time; and we find this phenomenon most strikingly manifested in the first ten years of the seventeenth century; for Tycho Brahe (the founder of modern astronomical calculations), Kepler, Galileo, and Lord Bacon, were contemporaries. All these, with the exception of Tycho Brahe, were enabled, in the prime of life, to benefit by the labors of Descartes and Fermat. The elements of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* appeared in the English language in 1605, fifteen years before the *Novum Organon*. The invention of the telescope,¹ and the

¹ The accidental discovery of the power of the telescope to penetrate through space originated in Holland, probably in the closing part of the year 1608. From the most recent investigations it would appear that this great discovery may be claimed by Hans Lippershey, a native of Wesel and a spectacle maker at Middleburg; by Jacob Adriaansz, surnamed Metius, who is said also to have made burning glasses of ice; and by Zacharias Jansen. The first named is always called Laprey in the important letter of the Dutch ambassador Boreel to the physician Borelli, the author of the treatise *De vero telescopii inventore* (1655). If the claim of priority be determined by the periods at which offers were made to the General States, the honor belongs to Hans Lippershey; for, on the 2d of October, 1608, he offered to the government three instruments "by which one might see objects at a distance." The offer of Metius was made on the 17th of October of the same year; but he expressly says "that he has already, for two years, constructed similar instruments, through industry and thought." Zacharias Jansen (who, like Lippershey, was a spectacle maker at Middleburg) invented, in conjunction with his father, Hans Jansen, toward the end of the sixteenth century, and probably after 1590, the *compound microscope*, the eye-piece of which is a concave lens; but, as we learn from the ambassador Boreel, it was not until 1610 that he discovered the telescope, which

greatest discoveries in physical astronomy (viz., Jupiter's satellites, the sun's spots, the phases of Venus, and the remarkable form of Saturn), fall between the years 1609 and 1612. Kepler's speculations on the elliptic orbit of Mars were begun in 1601, and gave occasion, eight years after, to the completion of the work entitled *Astronomia nova seu Physica celestis*. "By the study of the orbit of Mars," writes Kepler, "we must either arrive at a knowledge of the secrets of astronomy, or forever remain ignorant of them. I have succeeded, by untiring and continued labor, in subjecting the inequalities of the movement of Mars to a natural law." The generalization of the same idea led the highly gifted mind of Kepler to the great cosmical truths and presentiments which, ten years later, he published in his work entitled *Harmonices Mundi libri quinque*. "I believe," he well observes in a letter to the Danish astronomer Longomontanus, "that astronomy and physics are so intimately associated together that neither can be perfected without the other." The results of his researches on the structure of the eye and the theory of vision appeared in 1604 in the *Paralipomena ad Vitellionem*, and in 1611 in the *Dioptrica*. Thus were the knowledge of the most important objects in the perceptive world and in the regions of space, and the mode of apprehending these objects by means of new discoveries, alike rapidly increased in the short period of the first ten or twelve years of a century which began with Galileo and Kepler, and closed with Newton and Leibnitz.

The passage from Humboldt here given will make plain what is often not well understood—that many of the Greek philosophers and astronomers held theories much closer to the theory of Copernicus than was the theory of Ptolemy, which was universally accepted when Copernicus was born and which his system superseded. As in the works of the astronomers of the century after Copernicus, so in passages of Copernicus's own writings

he and his friends directed to distant terrestrial, but not toward celestial, objects. When, in May, 1609, the news of the discovery made in Holland of telescopic vision reached Venice, Galileo, who was accidentally there, conjectured at once what must be the essential points in the construction of a telescope, and immediately completed one for himself at Padua. This instrument he first directed toward the mountainous parts of the moon, and showed how their summits might be measured, while he, like Leonardo da Vinci and Möstlin, ascribed the ash-colored light of the moon to the reflection of solar light from the earth to the moon. He observed with low magnifying powers the group of the Pleiades, the starry cluster in Cancer, the Milky Way, and the group of stars in the head of Orion. Then followed, in quick succession, the great discoveries of the four satellites of Jupiter, the two handles of Saturn (his indistinctly-seen rings, the form of which was not recognized), the solar spots, and crescent shape of Venus.

we find evidences of long acquaintance with the great Greek authors, poets as well as philosophers; and we know that it was through a comparative study of the various astronomical systems of the ancients that Copernicus evolved his own system. Read the article on Astronomy, by Richard A. Proctor, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, especially the sections on the Astronomy of the Greeks and Astronomy in the School of Alexandria. The more thorough student will also consult Zeller's *History of Greek Philosophy*. There is no good English work on Copernicus. In Poole's Index the student will find references to a few magazine articles; and in the collection of *Papers* by Rev. Charles H. Brigham is one on Copernicus, dwelling chiefly upon the influences of his theory on theology. "Who was this wonderful man?" says Mr. Brigham. "Few of the great men of the world are as little known as he in personal life; and the vague impressions which most men have of his spirit and character are far from correct. Many suppose that he was a bold adversary of priests and the Church. That he was not; he was an officer of the Church himself, and never denied the faith. Some imagine that, like Galileo, he was persecuted for his opinions and suffered reproach and loss and pain. Not so; he was honored by the Church, and no anathema was upon his name. He is classed carelessly with Luther and the Reformers; but Luther and the Reformers ridiculed, despised and hated him. Copernicus was a grand man, a noble man, and a prophet too; but he was not a martyr, not a combatant, not a man called to fight or to die for his faith. His life was pleasant and prosperous, and his death was tranquil. He escaped the fate which came upon his followers and disciples." Mr. Brigham gives a brief biographical sketch of Copernicus, and also notices his obligation to the Greeks.

Columbus discovered America in 1492—that date the young people will not forget. In 1492 Copernicus was in his twentieth year; he had just entered the university of Cracow and was engaged in making his first astronomical observations. In 1492 Lorenzo de' Medici, the greatest patron of the arts and sciences in the time of the Renaissance, died, attended on his death-bed by Savonarola, now in the height of favor, but to become a martyr only six years afterwards. Savonarola was just forty years old in 1492, born in 1452, the same year with Leonardo da Vinci; this was the year before Constantinople was taken by Mahomet II and the Eastern Empire came to an end—an event so important for many reasons that "modern history" is often treated as beginning at this point. Luther and Raphael were nine years old in 1492, both born in 1483, and so just ten years younger than Copernicus. Following are the names of some other famous men who were living in the year that Columbus discovered America and young Copernicus at the university was making his first astronomical observations: Erasmus (born 1467), Machiavelli (b. 1469), Wolsey (b. 1470), Albert Dürer (b. 1470), Chevalier Bayard (b. 1473), Ariosto (b. 1474),

Michael Angelo (b. 1475), Titian (b. 1477), Sir Thomas More (b. 1480), Zwingli (b. 1484), Andrea del Sarto (b. 1488), Hugh Latimer (b. 1590). Titian, the great Venetian painter, lived almost exactly a century, ninety-nine years (1477 - 1576). The young people will find it useful and interesting to tabulate the many important events which occurred in the world during his long lifetime, and the great men who were his contemporaries. Almost the whole history of Italian art can be easily fixed in the mind with reference to Titian's century; and his life covered, with reference to America, a period extending from the time when Columbus was thinking his first thoughts of land to westward to the time when Saint Augustine in Florida was eleven years old. 1492 was in the bloom of the great age of the Renaissance, the eve of the Reformation. The young people should see Kaulbach's celebrated picture of the Age of the Reformation, engravings of which can easily be found, and note the significant way in which the painter has grouped the great men of this era. It was an age of discovery. Prince Henry, the bold Portuguese navigator, had done his work and died while Columbus was yet a youth. Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope five years after Columbus discovered America, the same year that the Cabots first reached the mainland of America. In 1492 Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, was king of England; he had overthrown Richard III at Bosworth, finally ending the Wars of the Roses, seven years before. It was the time, of course, of Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain; Granada was taken by Ferdinand in this very year, 1492, and the Moorish dominion in Spain thus came to an end. These were the most terrible days of the Inquisition in Spain, Torquemada having been appointed inquisitor-general nine years before, the very year of Luther's birth. Printing was invented about fifty years before America was discovered. The first printed books appeared while Columbus was a boy; and William Caxton, the first English printer, who set up his printing-press at Westminster in 1476, died just before Columbus sailed. Columbus died in 1506. Before that, Charles V, the emperor before whom Luther was to appear at Worms, was born. Before Copernicus died, in 1543, the great work of the Reformation was for the most part done, Luther himself dying three years after Copernicus; the order of the Jesuits had been founded by Loyola; Henry VIII had well-nigh run his course as king of England; Magellan's ship arrived in Spain from the first voyage round the world; and from America had come the news of the doings of Cortez and Pizarro and of the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto.

Old South Leaflets.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

FROM CAMDEN'S *Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1615).

Now are we come to the Year of *Christ* One thousand five hundred eighty and eight, which an Astronomer of *Koningsberg*, above an hundred years before, foretold would be an *Admirable Year*, and the German Chronologers prefaged would be the *Climacterical Year of the World*. The Rumours of Wars, which before were but slight and small, began now to grow greater daily and greater: and now the Reports were no longer uncertain, but the univerfall and unanimous Belief of all men carried it for certain Truth, that a most invincible Armada was rigged and prepared in *Spain* against *England*, and that the famousst Captains and expertest Leaders and old Souldiers were sent for out of *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and out of *America*, into *Spain*.

And now will I give a brief Account, out of the most credible Relations as well of the *Spaniards* as of our own Countrymen, what was done every day in this Expedition, that the Truth may the more plainly appear.

On the 16. day there was a great Calm, and a thick Fog till Noon: then the North-east-Wind blew very strongly, and presently after the West-Wind, till Midnight, and then the East-fourth-east-Wind; infomuch as the Spanish Fleet being disperfed thereby was hardly gathered together again till it came within Sight of *England* on the 19. day. Upon which day the Lord Admirall of *England*, being certainly informed by *Flemming*, the Captain of a Pinnace, that the Spanish Fleet was entred into the British Sea, (which the Seamen ordinarily call *the Channell*.) and was seen near the Point called *the Lizard*, towed the English Fleet forth into the main Sea, not without great Difficulty, the

Wind blowing stiffly into the Haven, but indeed with singular Diligence and Industry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encouraged at their Halfer-work, assisting them and the common Souldiers in the doing of it in person.

The next day the *English* discovered the Spanish Fleet with lofty Turrets like Castles, in Front like an Half-moon, the Wings thereof spreading out about the length of seven Miles, failing very slowly, though with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight of them; which they willingly suffered to pass by, that they might chase them in the Rere with a fore-right Wind.

On the 21. of *July* the Lord Admirall of *England*, sending a Pinnace before called the *Defiance*, denounced War by discharging her Ordnance; and presently his own Ship, called the *Ark-royall*, thundered thick and furiously upon the Admirall (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, (but it was *Alphonso de Leva's* Ship.) Soon after *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbisher* played stoutly with their Ordnance upon the hindmost Squadron, which was commanded by *Recalde*, who laboured all he could to stay his men from flying to the main Fleet, till such time as his own Ship being much battered with Shot, and now grown unferviceable, he was fain himself with much adoe to retreat thither also. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his Fleet which was scattered this way and that way, and, hoisting more Sail, held on his Course with what speed he could. Neither could he doe any other, seeing both the Wind favoured the *English*, and their Ships would turn about with incredible Celerity and Nimbleness which way soever they pleased, to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a smart Fight for the space of two Hours, when the Lord Admirall thought not good to continue it any longer, because 40 of his Ships were not yet come in, being scarce got out of the Haven.

The next Night following the *Saint Catherine*, a Spanish Ship, having been much torn and battered in the Fight, was taken into the midst of the Fleet to be repaired. And an huge Ship of *Biscay*, which was *Oquenda's*, wherein was the King's Treasurer, began to flame all of a light Fire, by means of the Gun-powder, which was fired on purpose by a Netherland Gunner who had been misused by them. Yet was the Fire soon quenched by Ships sent in to help her: amongst which the Gallion of *Don Pedro de Valdez*, falling foul of another Ship, brake

her Fore-mast or Bore-sprit, and being left behind, since no man (the Sea being tempestuous and the Night dark) could come to rescue her, fell into *Drake's* Hands as good Prize; who sent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and left the Money to be rifled by his men. *Drake* was commanded to carry a Lantern that night, but neglected it, having five great Hulks in Chace belonging to some Merchants of *Germany*, whom he thought to be Enemies: by means whereof he caused almost the whole English Fleet to lie still, in regard the Night-light was no-where to be seen. Neither did he and the rest of the Fleet till towards Night the next day recover Sight of the Lord Admirall, who all the Night before, with two Ships, the *Bear* and the *Mary-rose*, followed the Spanish Fleet. All this day the Duke was employed undisturbed in setting his Fleet in Order. *Alphonso de Leva* he ordered to joyn the first and the last Squadron together: to every Ship he assigned his Station to ride in, according to the Form resolved on in *Spain*, upon pain of Death to those that should abandon their Station: *Glich*, an Ensign, he sent to the Prince of *Parmia*, to tell him in what Condition he was: and the aforesaid *Biscain* Ship of *Oquenda's* he turned loose to the Waves, having first shipped the King's Money and the men into other Ships. Which Ship fell the same day into the English-mens Hands, with about 50 Mariners and Souldiers pitifully maimed and half burnt, and was brought into the Haven of *Weymouth*.

On the 23. day of the month, betimes in the morning, the *Spaniards*, taking the Opportunity of a Northerly Wind, tacked about against the *English*, who for their Advantage soon turned aside towards the West. And after they had for some time striven to get the Wind one of another, they prepared themselves on both sides to fight: and fight they did confusedly and with variable Fortune, whilst on the one side the *English* manfully rescued some Ships of *London* that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*; and on the other side the *Spaniards* as stoutly rescued *Recalde* when he was in Danger. Never was there heard greater Thundering of Ordnance on both sides; notwithstanding which the *Spaniards* Shot flew for the most part over the *English* without Harm doing; onely *Cock* an English-man died with Honour in the midst of the Enemies in a small Ship of his. For the English Ships, being far lesser then theirs, charged the Enemy with wonderfull Agility and Nimbleness, and having given their Broad-sides, presently stood off at a distance from

them, and levelled their Shot directly without missing at those great Ships of the *Spaniards*, which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. Neither did the Lord Admirall think good to adventure Grappling with them, as some unadvisedly perswaded him. For the Enemy had a strong Army in his Fleet, but he had none: their Ships were far more for number, of bigger Burthen, stronger, and higher built; so as their men fighting from those lofty Hatches, must inevitably destroy those who should charge them from beneath. And he foresaw that an Overthrow in that case would endamage him much more than a Victory would advantage him. For if he were vanquished, he should very much endanger all *England*; and if he were Conquerour, he should onely gain a little Honour for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the Enemy. On the 24. day of the month they forbore fighting on both sides. The Lord Admirall sent some of his smaller Ships to the next Coasts of *England*, to fetch Powder and other Provision for Fight; and divided the whole Fleet into four Squadrons: whereof the first he commanded himself, the second he committed to *Drake*, the third to *Hawkins*, and the fourth to *Forbisher*; and appointed out of every Squadron certain small Vessels to give the Onset and attack the Enemy on all sides at once in the dead of the Night: but being becalmed, his Design took not Effect.

On the 25. which was Saint *James* his day, the *Saint Anne*, a Galleon of *Portugal*, which could not keep up with the rest, was set upon by some small English Ships; to whose Rescue came *Leva* and Don *Diego Telles Enriques* with three Galleasses: whom the Lord Admiral himself, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, towing their Ships with their Boats, (so great was the Calm,) charged so furiously with their Ordnance, that much adoe they had, but not without Loss, to free the Galleon; and from that time no Galleasses would venture to engage. The *Spaniards* report, "That the *English* at the same time battered the Spanish Admiral then in the Rere of the Fleet with their great Ordnance, coming up closer to her then before, and, having slain many of her men, shot down her main Mast: but *Mexia* and *Recalde* in good time beat the *English* off. That then the Spanish Admiral, assisted by *Recalde* and others, set upon the English Admiral; and that the English Admiral escaped by means of the Wind turning. That the *Spaniards* from that time gave over the Pursuit, and, holding on their

"Course, dispatched a fresh Messenger to *Parma*, desiring him "to joyn his Fleet as soon as possible with the King's Armada, "and withall to fend some great Shot for the Spanish Fleet." These things were unknown to the *English*, who write, "That "from one of the Spanish Ships they rent the Lantern, and from "another the Beakhead, and did much Hurt to the third. That "the *Non-Parile* and the *Mary-rose* fought awhile with the *Spaniards*: and that other Ships rescued the *Triumph* which was "in Danger." Thus as to the Account and Particulars of the Engagements they who were present at them do not report the same thing, whilest on both Sides every man relates what he himself observed.

The next day the Lord Admiral Knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*, for their Valour. And it was resolved, from thenceforth to fall upon the Enemy no more till they came to the British Frith or Streight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Scimour* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their Coming. So with a fair *Etesian* Gale (which in our Skie bloweth for the most part from the South-west and by South clear and fair) the Spanish Fleet failed forward, the English Fleet following it close at the Heels. But so far was it from terrifying the Sea-coasts with its Name of *Invincible*, or with its dreadful Show, that the young Gentry of *England* with incredible Chearfulness and Alacrity, (leaving their Parents, Wives, Children, Cousins, and Friends at Home,) out of their hearty Love to their Country, hired Ships from all Parts at their own private Charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers: amongst others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecyl*, *Henry Brooke*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality.

On the twenty-seventh day of this Month towards Night the *Spaniards* came to an Anchor before *Calice*, having Notice by their Pilots; that if they proceeded any farther, it was to be feared they might be driven by force of the Tide into the Northern Ocean. Near unto them also rode at Anchor the Lord Admiral with his Ships, within Cannon shot of them; with whom *Scimour* and *Winter* joyned their Squadrons. And now were there in the English Fleet 140 Sail, all of them Ships fit for Fight, good Sailers, and nimble and tight for tacking about

which way they would: yet were there not above fifteen of them which did in a manner sustain and repel the whole Brunt of the Fight. The *Spaniards* forthwith, as they had done many times before, urged the Duke of *Parma* by Messengers dispatched one after another to send 40 Fly-boats, that is, light Vessels, without which he could not well fight with the *English*, by reason of the Over-greatness and Sluggishness of the Spanish Ships, and the notable Agility of the *English*: they also earnestly prayed him to put to Sea with his Army, which the Spanish Fleet would protect, as it were under her Wings, (for so it had been resolved,) till it were landed in *England*. But he, being not yet ready, could not come at their Call; his flat-bottomed Boats for the shallow Channels leaked, his Provision of Victuals was not yet gotten, and his Mariners, who had been kept together hitherto against their Wills, had many of them withdrawn themselves and slunk away. There lay watching also at the Mouth of the Havens of *Dunkerk* and *Newport*, from whence he was to put forth to Sea, the Men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, so strongly provided of great Ordnance and Musketiers, that he could not put from Shoar, unless he would wilfully thrust himself and his upon imminent and certain Destruction. And yet he (being an expert and industrious Soldier) seemed to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the ardent Desire he had to the Conquest of *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeth's* prudent Foresight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hope of the *Spaniards*: for by her Command, the next day after the *Spaniards* had cast Anchour, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, besmeared them with Wild-fire, Pitch and Rosin, and filled them with Brimstone and other combustible matter, and sent them down the Winde in the dead of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowse*, amongst the Spanish Fleet. Which when the *Spaniards* espied approaching towards them, the whole Sea glittering and shining with the Flame thereof, supposing that those Fire-ships, besides the Danger of the Fire, were also provided of deadly Engines and murdering Inventions, they raised a sad Outcry, weighed Anchour, cut their Cables, and in a terrible Panick Fear with great Haste and Confusion put to Sea. One of their Fleet, being a great Galleaffe, having broken her Rudder, floated up and down, and the next day in great Fear making towards *Calice*, ran upon the Sands, and was after a

finart and for a long while dubious Fight taken by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvy*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, the Captain of it, being first slain, and the Souldiers and Rowers either drowned or put to the Sword. A great quantity of Gold which she had on board was pillaged by the *English*: The Ship and Ordnance fell to the Governour of *Calice*.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke, when those Fire-ships approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchour and stand to Sea; yet so as, having avoided the Danger, every Ship should return to his former Station. And indeed he returned himself, giving a Sign to the rest to doe the like, by discharging a great Piece; which notwithstanding was heard but by a few, because they were so scattered all about and driven for Fear, some of them into the wide Ocean, and some upon the Shallows of *Flanders*.

In the mean time *Drake* and *Fenner* played fiercely with their Ordnance upon the Spanish Fleet as it was gathering together again over against *Graveling*; with whom presently after joyned *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeston*, *Crofs*, *Riman*, and soon after the Lord Admirall himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde*, and the rest, with much adoe got clear of the Shallows, and endured the Charge as well as they could, infomuch as most of their Ships were very much shattered and shot through and through. The Galleon *Saint Matthew*, under the Command of *Don Diego Piemontelli*, coming to assist *Don Francisco de Toledo* in the *St. Philip*, which was soar battered with many great Shot by *Seimour* and *Winter*, driven near *Ostend*, and again shot through and through by the *Zelanders*, and taken by the *Flushingers*, was likewise herself taken, and the whole Spanish Fleet grievously distressed and put to it all the day long.

On the last day of the Month betimes in the morning, the West-north-west Winde blew hard, and the Spanish Fleet endeavouring to recover the narrow Streight, was forced toward *Zeland*. The *English* gave over the Chace, because (as the *Spaniards* think) they saw them carried so fast to their Ruine: for the West-north-west Winde blowing, they could not but run upon the Sands and Shallows near *Zeland*. But the Winde turning presently into the South-west and by West, they failed before the Winde, and being got clear of the Shallows, in the Evening they held a Council what to doe: and it was unani-

moufly refolved to return into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean, in regard they wanted many Necessaries, especially great Shot, their Ships were torn and flattered, and no Hope there was that the Prince of *Parma* could bring out his Fleet to joyn with them.

Wherefore having now recovered into the main Ocean, they steered their Courfe Northward, the English Fleet having them in Chace; against which now and then they turned and made Head. And whereas most men thought they would tack about again and come back, the Queen with a masculine Spirit came and took a View of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*, and riding about through the Ranks of Armed men drawn up on both sides her, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, sometimes with a martiall Pace, another while gently like a Woman, incredible it is how much she encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Soldiers by her Prefence and Speech to them.

The same day that the last Fight was the Prince of *Parma*, after he had made his Prayers to *our Lady of Hall*, came somewhat late to *Dunkerck*, where he was welcomed with opprobrious and reproachfull Speeches by the *Spaniards*, as if in Favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had lost them for fair an Opportunity of doing noble Exploits. The Duke, to give them some kind of Satisfaction, punished the Purveyours of Victuals; laughing meanwhile in his Sleeve at the Infolency and Boastings of the *Spaniards*, whom he had heard vapouring, that whither-soever they turned themselves they carried assured Victory along with them; and that the *English* would not once dare to look them in the Face. And verily Don *Bernardine de Mendoza* foolishly and with ridiculous Falsity printed a Poem in *France* containing a Triumph before the Victory. Howbeit, that *Parma* might not come forth from *Dunkerck*, the Lord Admirall commanded the Lord *Henry Seimour* and the *Hollanders* to have a strict Eye upon the Coast of *Flanders*, while he himself chafed the *Spaniards* till they were gone past *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*, anciently called *Bodotria*. For some there were that feared they would have Recourse to the King of *Scots*, who was already exasperated for his Mother's Death. Certainly *Asibey*, the Queen's Embassadour in *Scotland*, to pacifie his Mind, this Moneth made him large offers, to wit, the Title of a Duke in *England*, a yearly Pension of 5000 Pounds, a Guard to be maintained at the Queen's Charge, and some other matters; whether of his own Head, or by Command of others, I cannot tell, nor

do I list to be curious in examining: but upon him the Blame fell, and the Offers were never made good to him.

But the *Spaniards* having now thrown off all Design and Hope of coming back again, and placing their whole Safety in their Flight, made no Stay any-where. And thus this great Armada, which had been three complete Years in rigging and preparing with infinite Expence, was within one Moneth's space many times fought with, and at the last overthrown, with the Slaughter of many men, not an hundred of the *English* being missing, nor any Ship lost, save onely that small one of *Cock's*: (for all the Shot from the tall Spanish Ships flew quite over the *English*;) and after it had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, grievously tossed, and very much distressed, impaired and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endured all manner of Miseries, at length returned Home with Shame and Dishonour. Whereupon severall Moneys were coined, some in Memory of the Victory, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and this Inscription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, that is, It came, it saw, it fled; others in Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ships and a Fleet all in Confusion, inscribed, *Dux Fœmina facti*, that is, A woman was Conductour in the Exploit. In their Flight sure it is that many of their Ships were cast away upon the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and above 700 Souldiers and Sea-men cast on Shoar in *Scotland*; who, at the Intercession of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by Permission of Queen *Elizabeth*, were a year after sent over into the *Low-Countries*. But more unmercifully were those miserable Wretches dealt withall whose Hap it was to be driven by Tempests into *Ireland*: For they were slain some of them by the wild *Irish*, and others put to the Sword by Command of the Lord Deputy. For he, fearing lest they would joyn with the Irish Rebels, and seeing that *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, whom he had once or twice commanded to shew Rigour towards them as they yielded themselves, had refused to doe it, sent *Fowl* Deputy-marshall, who drew them out of their Lurking-holes and Hiding-places, and beheaded about 200 of them. This Carriage the Queen condemned from her Heart, as favouring of too great Cruelty. Herewith the rest being terrified, sick and starved as they were, they committed themselves to the Sea in their broken and tattered Vessels, and were many of them swallowed up of the Waves.

The *Spaniards* that got Home imputed their Misfortune to the Prince of *Parma's* Negligence, and their own too obsequious Prudence, who thought it a great Crime not punctually to observe their Instructions. For by their Instructions they were strictly commanded not to attempt any thing before such time as the Prince of *Parma* had joyned his Forces with theirs, and they were not at all left to their own Judgement and Discretion as Occasion should serve. Otherwise they bragged that they could very easily have surprized the English Fleet in their Havens. And martial men warmly disputed the Case, whether Instructions were not religiously to be observed and kept to, whatsoever should fall out, lest through Neglect of Obedience all Authority and Command should be violated; or whether they might not upon urgent Necessity correct and enlarge their Instructions, and accommodate them to the present Occasion, according as new matter should arise, lest weighty Importances and Opportunities of doing considerable Service might otherwise be let slip and lost.

The Spanish King himself bare the Overthrow very patiently, as received from God, and gave, and commanded to be given all over *Spain*, Thanks to God and the Saints that it was no greater; and shewed singular Pity and Commiseration in relieving the distressed Souldiers and Mariners.

Queen *Elizabeth* in like sort commanded publick Prayers and Thanksgiving to be used throughout all the Churches of *England*: and she herself, as it were going in Triumph, went with a very gallant Train of Noblemen through the Streets of *London*, which were all hung with blew Cloath, (the severall Companies of the Citie standing on both Sides the Way with their Banners in decent and gallant Order,) being carried in a Chariot drawn with two Horses, (for Coaches were not then so much in use amongst Princes as now they are amongst private men,) to *Paul's Church*, (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were hung up to be seen,) gave most hearty Thanks to God, and heard a Sermon, wherein the Glory was given to God alone. On the Lord Admirall she conferred a certain Revenue for his happy Service, and many times commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as men born for the Preservation of their Country. The rest she graciously saluted by Name as oft as she saw them, as men that had so well merited of her and the Commonwealth, (wherewith they esteemed themselves well rewarded;)

and those that were wounded and indigent she relieved with noble Penfions. The Learned men, both at Home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with Hearts transported for Joy, wrote triumphall Poems in all Languages upon this Subject.

"The only history worth reading," says Ruskin, "is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen heard out of the mouths of men who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts and reasonings and suppositions and theories; and I believe that as we get wiser we shall take little trouble about the history of nations who have left no distinct records of themselves, but spend our time only in the examination of the faithful documents which, in any period of the world, have been left, either in the form of art or literature, portraying the scenes or recording the events which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men."

Whether Ruskin be right or not—and what he says, although it enforces an important truth, the importance and the interest of keeping close to original authorities in our studies of history, must be taken *cum grano salis*—the young people will be glad to read this account of the defeat of the Armada from Camden's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. William Camden, in writing his famous Annals, was "portraying the scenes which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men." When he writes about the defeat of the Armada, he is writing "the history of what was done and seen" as he heard it "out of the mouths of men who did and saw." He had doubtless seen Lord Howard of Effingham a hundred times, he doubtless talked with Frobisher and Hawkins, and he may have heard from Sir Francis Drake's own lips the story of the first sight of the Armada off Plymouth or of the terrible fight off Calais. Very likely he saw Queen Elizabeth leave London for the camp at Tilbury, and probably he heard from many of his school-boys how they saw beacon lights flashing the signal of danger from hill to hill over England. For William Camden was second master of Westminster School in 1588. He became head master five years afterwards, and died just after the Pilgrim Fathers had settled Plymouth.

When the young people have read the account of the Armada by this historian who wrote of what he himself saw or what he heard "out of the mouths of men who did and saw," they must then read the account as given by a modern historian, the most brilliant account which has ever been given, that by Motley, in his *History of the United Netherlands*. Mr. Green gives two passages from this account in his interesting little volume of *Readings*

from *English History*; but the whole story should be read, as it occurs in the second volume of Motley's work. The most dramatic passage Mr. Green does not give, the passage describing the scene upon which the full moon looked down on that midsummer night before the fight off Calais. "Never, since England was England, had such a sight been seen as now revealed itself in those narrow straits between Dover and Calais." He pictures the impatience of the Spanish commanders as they paced their decks that night. "And the impatience of the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet was equal to that of their commanders. There was London almost before their eyes — a huge mass of treasure, richer and more accessible than those mines beyond the Atlantic which had so often rewarded Spanish chivalry with fabulous wealth. And there were men in those galleons who remembered the sack of Antwerp eleven years before — men who could tell from personal experience how helpless was a great commercial city when once in the clutch of disciplined brigands; men who, in that dread 'fury of Antwerp,' had enriched themselves in an hour with the accumulations of a merchant's lifetime, and who had slain fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brides and bridegrooms, before each other's eyes, until the number of inhabitants butchered in the blazing streets rose to many thousands, and the plunder from palaces and warehouses was counted by millions, before the sun had set on the 'great fury.' Those Spaniards and Italians and Walloons were now thirsting for more gold, for more blood; and as the capital of England was even more wealthy and far more defenseless than the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands had been, so it was resolved that the London 'fury' should be more thorough and more productive than the 'fury' of Antwerp, at the memory of which the world still shuddered. And these professional soldiers had been taught to consider the English as a pacific, delicate, effeminate race, dependent on good living, without experience of war, quickly fatigued and discouraged, and even more easily to be plundered and butchered than were the excellent burghers of Antwerp." Then follows the description of the confusion and the panic which seized the Spaniards as the dark clouds overspread the heavens and suddenly the English fire-ships appeared among them.

The admirable brief account of the Coming of the Armada, by Samuel Lucas, in his *Secularia, or Surveys on the Mainstream of History*, is based wholly on Motley. At the outset he pays this warm tribute to Motley's work: "It is a memorable excuse for our national vanity that the grandest event in the history of England was the grandest also in that of Modern Europe, and, we may add, that its issue was so critical for mankind that no sense of incongruity is coupled with the circumstance that we owe its latest and best history to an American. Mr. Motley has come to the turning-

point in the English-Dutch struggle against Spain and the counter-reformation, when the hopes and prospects of centuries were staked upon the Spanish Holy Armada. By observation of the Armada from a new point of view, by watching it from the opposite coast, from the side of our Dutch allies, he has seen its cosmopolitan dimensions and bearings, as indicated through the vista of its historical perspective. Its contributories, its adversaries, all who then watched and waited, and the vast interests and secret aspirations involved, are included in his estimate, are examined and assessed. The shock of battle stretches over the whole west of Europe, and ranges even to the New World, like the clouds of combatants flying skyward in the picture-fight of the Huns; and the dwellers in distant vales, even to the edge of the Carpathians, and still more the posterity of every Aryan race, are implicated in the success of those who strive in the foreground and pluck up Liberty itself out of the surges of the narrow seas."

"On the other hand," urges Mr. Lucas, "it must be conceded that this comprehensive survey tends to dwindle the foremost champions in the contest, and that an English history of equal vigour is required to redress the balance. Mr. Charles Knight, in his admirable *Popular History of England*, has told the story with that hearty and infectious patriotism which is one of his characteristic qualifications for his task. But we still need a special history of this epoch, which shall exhaust the national resources for its illustration. Had Mr. Kingsley devoted his great talents to this office, for which he possesses the requisite sympathies, we can imagine the glorious and triumphant inspiration he would have caught from the subject and imparted to his readers. As it is, he has depicted one element of that moving age, and that the strongest in its culminating crisis, with as much discernment as Sir Walter Scott, in the opinion of Thierry, depicted the consequences of the Norman conquest. As in the case of *Ivanhoe*, we must refer to a novel for much which the historian has left untold, and must recognize in *Westward Ho* a complement to *The United Netherlands*. We owe to Mr. Kingsley, with some allowance for the poetic idealization which is a common exigency of romantic fiction, a conception of the type of English audacity which conspired with the waves to wreck the policy of Rome and Spain." The young people should read the account referred to in Knight's *Popular History of England* (vol. iii), and they will surely read *Westward Ho*, which Knight himself praises, in connection with his story of the Armada, as "a romance imbued with the truest spirit of history, and displaying a far higher, because more intelligent, patriotism than most of our modern histories of this period of heroic struggle."

It was in 1862 that Mr. Lucas regretted the lack of any adequate English history of the time of the Armada. Immediately after this appeared

Mr. Froude's *History of English*, the last volume of which contains perhaps the finest account of the defeat of the Armada which has been written by an English historian. Mr. Froude, on the title-page of his first volume, styled his work a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*. But this was changed, in the last volume, to a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*. "My object, as I defined it at the outset," he says in his concluding chapter, "was to describe the transition from the Catholic England with which the century opened, the England of a dominant Church and monasteries and pilgrimages, into the England of progressive intelligence; and the question whether the nation was to pass a second time through the farce of a reconciliation with Rome was answered once and for ever by the cannon of Sir Francis Drake." He proceeds to a striking summary of the important results, not only for England but for Europe and the world, of the defeat of the Armada. "The action before Gravelines of the 30th of July, 1588," he says, "decided the largest problems ever submitted in the history of mankind to the arbitrament of force." Another has well characterized this momentous action as "the Salamis of our modern civilization."

All the general histories of England give accounts, of course, of the defeat of the Armada. Green's account is brief, but spirited. The chapter in the first volume of Ranke's *History of England* should be read by the thoughtful student. The three chapters in Bourne's *English Seamen under the Tudors* owe much to Motley. An account that is especially commended to the young people is that in Ewald's admirable volume of *Stories from the State Papers*. Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth*, in the "Epochs of History" series, is a good book for the young people. Barrow's interesting *Life of Sir Francis Drake* contains many documents illustrating the history of the Armada, which are not easily accessible elsewhere. The special student will consult the collections of Hakluyt, Harris, Kerr and Somers. Arber's *English Garner*, vol. vii, contains several curious ballads of the time of the Armada. Of Macaulay's stirring unfinished ballad it is scarcely necessary to remind the young people.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada occurred in 1588, just three hundred years ago. It was one of the most important events in modern history, because it decisively settled the question of Protestant supremacy and free institutions in England and in Northern Europe. This powerful attack of Philip II upon England must be studied in connection with his bloody war upon the Netherlands at the same time, both being parts of one great movement to crush Protestantism in Europe. Had England fallen before him, Holland would have fallen also.

1588 was the midst of the great Elizabethan Age. Elizabeth had been Queen just thirty years, and was to reign just half that number of years longer (1558-1603). Mary Stuart was beheaded the year before, Lord Burleigh was the great minister, and Leicester, who died at Kenilworth late in the same year, was still the Queen's favorite. Shakespeare, twenty-four years old in 1588, had come up to London from Stratford two years before. Francis Bacon, three years older than Shakespeare, was at Gray's Inn, and was to begin his parliamentary career the next year. Hooker, the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was now master of the Temple. Sir Philip Sidney, born in the same year with Hooker, had fallen at Zutphen, assisting the Dutch against Philip, two years before. Edmund Spenser was living in Ireland, writing his *Faerie Queen*, the first three books of which were published two years after the Armada. It will be remembered that Spenser was a warm friend of Sir Walter Raleigh. They were born in the same year, 1552. Raleigh, whose Roanoke colony had just come to grief, distinguished himself in the contests with the Armada, although not so prominent as Frobisher, Hawkins and Drake. Drake had made his famous voyage round the world nine years before; Frobisher, the first Englishman who sought the Northwest passage, had explored the coast of Greenland and discovered the strait which bears his name three years before that; Davis, following in Frobisher's wake, had just discovered Davis's strait; Gilbert, returning from Newfoundland, had been lost five years before the Armada; Hawkins had begun the African slave-trade twenty-five years before. Hardly a dozen years have elapsed since the first rude theatre was erected in Blackfriars, but John Lyly, Robert Greene and Christopher Marlowe are already writing plays. Marlowe, born in the same year with Shakespeare, took his degree at Cambridge the year before the Armada. Ben Jonson, sixteen years old, entered Cambridge the very year of the Armada. Fletcher was a boy of a dozen years, and Beaumont and Massinger had but just been born. In the bookshops of London, William Camden shall presently find the maiden volumes of Daniel, Drayton and Constable, all of them about beginning to write poetry at the time of the Armada. Montaigne's *Essays*, published eight years before, have already found their way to the English booksellers; and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* — published in the same year that the Council of Trent closed its session and that the Thirty-nine Articles were adopted — has been on their counters for twenty-five years. Hobbes, the famous author of the *Leviathan*, was born in the very year of the Armada. Chapman, the translator of Homer, was thirty years old, and living in London. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was a boy of ten. Rugby, Harrow and Westminster schools had all been recently founded. Roger Ascham, the author of the *Schoolmaster*, who did so much for the

reform of education in England, had died just twenty years before. Bradford and Winthrop, the governors of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, were born just at the time of the Armada — Winthrop the same year, Bradford the year after. Robert Browne has been preaching Independency eight years, and Barrowe and Greenwood are already in prison for circulating his doctrines. William Brewster, the founder of the little church at Scrooby, who had been in the service of Davison, had just left the Court, upon Davison's downfall. John Robinson was a student preparing for Cambridge. John Smith, a Lincolnshire boy like Robinson, was not yet a dozen years old and had no dreams of Virginia, which had but just received its name.

What was going on in Europe outside of England in 1588? The great conflict with Spain was going on in Holland under Maurice, William the Silent having fallen under the hand of the assassin four years before. Grotius, the first great writer on international law, was a boy in Holland. Egmont and Horn were beheaded just twenty years before. John of Barneveldt, who was beheaded just before the Pilgrims sailed from Holland, was already prominent in public affairs; he had been at the head of the deputation which, after the death of William, offered the sovereignty of the Dutch provinces to Queen Elizabeth. Wallenstein was born in the same year with Grotius, 1583. Rubens, at Antwerp, was eleven years old at the time of the Armada. It was the time of the Huguenots in France. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred sixteen years before the Armada; the Duke of Guise was assassinated in that very year, 1588; Henry of Navarre shall win the battle of Ivry two years later. Richelieu has just been born. Giordano Bruno, who shall be burned at Rome the last year of the century, is traveling over Europe, publishing his books; Socinus is just beginning to preach Unitarianism in Poland; Arminius, who, returning from his studies at Geneva, became pastor at Amsterdam in this year 1588, is beginning to have doubts about Calvinism. Calvin himself had been dead twenty-four years, dying the year of Shakespeare's birth. John Knox in Scotland died the year of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Cervantes, who died the same year that Shakespeare died, is living in Spain, about ready to write his *Don Quixote*. Lope de Vega is just beginning his literary life in Spain; Calderon, the greatest of the Spanish poets, was born before Cervantes died. For the rest, think of Tycho Brahe in his great observatory near Copenhagen, trying to overthrow the Copernican astronomy; of Kepler, a youth of seventeen, studying at Tübingen; of Galileo at Pisa, about to experiment by dropping balls from the Leaning Tower; of Tasso at Naples, soon to die at Rome. Think of all these things, to realize how full a time was the time of Elizabeth and of the Spanish Armada.

Old South Leaflets.

Gt. Brit. Parliament, 1689.

The Bill of Rights.

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT,
AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

1689.

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the Thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-eight [o. s.], present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain Declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following, viz. :—

Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom :—

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to

be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognisable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal causes.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned, and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this

nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:—

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the

amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

“I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be

faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary :

“So help me God.”

“I, A. B., do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm :

“So help me God.”

IV. Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatso-

ever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge, and declare, that King James II. having abdicated the Government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united, and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the Crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established, and declared, that the Crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in, and executed by, his Majesty, in the names of both their Majesties, during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said Crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty: and for default of such issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the

heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said Majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities, for ever: and do faithfully promise, that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, That all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise, any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance, and the said Crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying, as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every King and Queen of this realm, who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this kingdom, shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament, next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the

statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles II., intituled "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." But if it shall happen that such King or Queen, upon his or her succession to the Crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen after such King or Queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their Majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after this present session of Parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred eighty-nine, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other, than as if this Act had never been made.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

1. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.

2. That in case the Crown and Imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.¹

4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.²

5. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although to be naturalised or made a denizen — except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the Crown, to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.

6. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.³

¹ Repealed in the first year of George I.'s reign.

² Repealed by 4 Anne, c. 8, 6 Anne, c. 7.

³ Repealed in the fourth year of Anne's reign.

7. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

8. That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

The Bill of Rights was an act of Parliament, passed in 1689, declaring the rights and liberties of the people and defining the power of the King and its conditions. It confirmed and embodied in itself the various clauses of the Declaration of Rights, which accompanied the offer of the crown to William and Mary, February 13, 1689. It reasserted and established the doctrine, asserted repeatedly by the English people in earlier times, but denied and defied by the Stuarts, that the crown was held by no "divine right," but by the will of the people and the people's Parliament. It was a new *Magna Charta*. The Revolution was the triumph of the Puritan principle, which had been eclipsed at the Restoration. It secured all that Hampden and Cromwell demanded against Charles I, it made absolute or arbitrary rule, such as the Stuarts attempted, thenceforth impossible, established the supremacy of Parliament, and made England practically almost a republic. "The Revolution," says Gardiner, "was more than a change of sovereigns. It was the rejection of the ideas of the minority of 1641, which had been adopted as sufficient at the Restoration, in favor of the idea of the supremacy of Parliament. Pym's political ideas were at last to be realized. The name and title of the King were to remain as they had been before. But it was to be clearly understood that if a serious difficulty ensued, the King was to give way to Parliament, and more especially to the House of Commons, by which the nation was more directly represented. Up to the Revolution, England was under a monarchy surrounded by certain constitutional checks, intended to prevent the will of the monarch from degenerating into arbitrary wilfulness. After the Revolution, England became practically a republic, in which the crown possessed various constitutional powers, intended to prevent the will of the representatives of the people from degenerating into arbitrary wilfulness."

"In his progress to the capital [upon the Restoration, in 1660] Charles passed in review the soldiers assembled on Blackheath. Betrayed by their

general, abandoned by their leaders, surrounded as they were by a nation in arms, the gloomy silence of their ranks awed even the careless King with a sense of danger. But none of the victories of the New Model were so glorious as the victory which it won over itself. Quietly and without a struggle, as men who bowed to the inscrutable will of God, the farmers and traders who had dashed Rupert's chivalry to pieces on Naseby field, who had scattered at Worcester the 'army of the aliens,' and driven into helpless flight the sovereign that now came 'to enjoy his own again,' who had renewed beyond sea the glories of Cressy and Agincourt, had mastered the Parliament, had brought a king to justice and the block, had given laws to England, and held even Cromwell in awe, became farmers and traders again, and were known among their fellow-men by no other sign than their greater soberness and industry. And with them Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men. It was from the moment of its seeming fall that its real victory began. As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone. The revels of Whitehall, the skepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them — serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom. In the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642. It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the work of religious reform which its earlier efforts had only thrown back for a hundred years. Slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism."— *Green*.

"The passing of the Bill of Rights in 1689 restored to the monarchy the character which it had lost under the Tudors and the Stuarts. The right of the people through its representatives to depose the King, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they would, was now established. All claim of divine right, or hereditary right independent of the law, was formally put an end to by the election of William and Mary. Since their day no English sovereign has been able to advance any claim to the crown save a claim which rested on a particular clause in a particular Act of Parliament. William, Mary and Anne were sovereigns simply by virtue of

the Bill of Rights. George the First and his successors have been sovereigns solely by virtue of the Act of Settlement. An English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm."— *Green*.

Macaulay's *History of England* is the great work upon the Revolution of 1688. That work is indeed simply a history of the causes, course and results of that Revolution. Its opening words will be remembered: "I purpose to write the history of England from the accession of King James, the Second down to a time which is within the memory of men still living. I shall recount the errors which, in a few months, alienated a loyal gentry and priesthood from the House of Stuart. I shall trace the course of that revolution which terminated the long struggle between our sovereigns and their parliaments, and bound up together the rights of the people and the title of the reigning dynasty." From Macaulay's summary of the results of the Revolution of 1688, the following passage is taken: "This revolution, of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent. It finally decided the great question whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitzwalter and De Montfort, been found in the English polity, should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develop itself freely, and to become dominant. The strife between the two principles had been long, fierce, and doubtful. It had lasted through four reigns. It had produced seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscriptions, judicial massacres. Sometimes liberty, sometimes royalty, had seemed to be on the point of perishing. During many years one half of the energy of England had been employed in counteracting the other half. The executive power and the legislative power had so effectually impeded each other that the state had been of no account in Europe. The king-at-arms, who proclaimed William and Mary before Whitehall Gate, did in truth announce that this great struggle was over; that there was entire union between the throne and the Parliament; that England, long dependent and degraded, was again a power of the first rank; that the ancient laws by which the prerogative was bounded would thenceforth be held as sacred as the prerogative itself, and would be followed out to all their consequences; that the executive administration would be conducted in conformity with the sense of the representatives of the nation; and that no reform which the two houses should, after mature deliberation, propose, would be obstinately withstood by the sovereign. The Declaration of Rights, though it made nothing law which had not been law before, contained the germ of the law which gave religious freedom to

the Dissenter, of the law which secured the independence of the judges, of the law which limited the duration of Parliaments, of the law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries, of the law which prohibited the slave-trade, of the law which abolished the sacramental test, of the law which relieved the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, of the law which reformed the representative system, of every good law which has been passed during a hundred and sixty years, of every good law which may hereafter, in the course of ages, be found necessary to promote the public weal, and to satisfy the demands of public opinion."

Bishop Burnet's *History of his Own Times* is the most important original authority for the period of the Revolution. Macaulay considered Burnet a "rash and partial" writer, but he was a most learned, industrious and earnest writer, and his works are of very great value. He was the personal friend of William of Orange, and accompanied him in his invasion of England, in the capacity of chaplain. In his interesting account of the landing at Torbay, he says: "As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God which had appeared so signally on this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity."

Evelyn's *Memoirs*, of which Sir Walter Scott said that he "had never seen so rich a mine," also cover the period of the English Revolution. Evelyn was born in 1620, five years before Charles I became king, and lived four years after the death of William. The life of Sir William Temple, to whom Macaulay has devoted one of his longest and most important essays, falls within this time.

Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, chaps. xiv and xv, discusses the Revolution with great thoroughness and impartiality. This discussion and that by Ranke, in his *History of England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. iv, will be read by the careful student. There are two brief histories of the Revolution which are commended to the young people — *The Fall of the Stuarts*, by Rev. E. Hale, in the "Epochs of History" series, and the *History of the English Revolution of 1688*, by Charles Duke Yonge. "Macaulay's brilliant narrative of that great event," says the latter writer in his preface, "is too long for ordinary students; the account given in even the best school history is unavoidably far too short; while the work of Hallam touches only the constitutional points, the purely historical events not coming within his plan. It seemed, therefore, that a narrative which should at once be full enough to give an adequate knowledge of the Revolu-

tion in its historical and constitutional aspects, and yet not so minute or prolix as to dishearten or deter the ordinary reader from approaching the subject, might be of use to both pupils and teachers."

1688, the year of the English Revolution, the final overthrow of the Stuarts, was twenty-eight years after the Restoration of Charles II, which brought the Puritan period to an end. It was just forty years after the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War on the Continent. The Thirty Years' War began the year (1618) that Raleigh laid down his head on the block in Palace Yard, the victim of James I, and ended the year before Charles I came to the scaffold in Whitehall, thus being exactly synchronous with the long struggle of Parliament with the Stuarts, out of which came the Commonwealth. Milton and Marvell, the Puritan poets, had been dead, the one fourteen years, the other ten, in 1688. Sir Harry Vane had suffered two years after the Restoration. Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* had been published ten years, died in this same year, 1688. Baxter died three years later. Baxter had been a chaplain in the army of Parliament after the battle of Naseby. Three years before the Revolution he had been tried before Judge Jeffreys and imprisoned. That was the year of the famous "Bloody Assizes." Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, the noble republican, infamously condemned for participation in the "Rye House plot," had both been executed five years before the Revolution. Ralph Cudworth and Henry More, the Cambridge Platonists, died, the former the year of the Revolution, the latter the year before. Alexander Pope was born this year, 1688. Richardson, the novelist, was born the next year. Dryden had been poet laureate twenty years; he had published *The Hind and the Panther* the year before, 1687. Newton had published his *Principia* at the same time. Swift, his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, ended, came over to England in the year of the Revolution. Daniel Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, then a young man a little older than Swift, joined the Prince of Orange's army. Defoe was born in 1661, the year after the Restoration. The Great Plague, of which he afterwards wrote so vivid an account, occurred when he was only four years old. That was the first of a rapid series of terrible afflictions for London. The Great Fire came the next year, 1666; and it was the year after that that De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and threatened the city. Addison, in 1688, was an Oxford student. Isaac Watts was only a boy of fourteen, but already making verses. George Fox, the Quaker, was nearing the end of his life. His

friend, William Penn, who had much influence with James II, and who had just founded Pennsylvania, is now back in England. Christopher Wren is building St. Paul's cathedral. Greenwich Observatory had just been founded, and Flamsteed, the first astronomer-royal, for whose use it was built (it was called Flamsteed House at first), was making the first trustworthy catalogue of the fixed stars. The *Habeas Corpus Act* had been passed about ten years before; and the terms "Whig" and "Tory" had come into use at the same time. Before William's reign was over, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded, the Bank of England was incorporated, and England was visited by Peter the Great, who was already Czar of Russia in 1688. The ruins of Pompeii were discovered just at the time of the Revolution. In France, the classical literary period was coming to an end. Corneille had been dead four years, Moliere about ten years longer, Pascal about ten years longer still; Pascal, who so earnestly opposed the Jesuits in France, died the same year (1662) that Sir Harry Vane died on the scaffold in England. Racine, the most admired of the French dramatists, was still living in 1688; his greatest work, *Athalie*, appeared just after the Revolution, and he died near the close of William's reign. Bossuet was living, and published his famous work on Protestantism this very year, 1688. Montesquieu, whose work on *The Spirit of Laws* was more cited than any other work by the framers of our own Constitution, was born the next year, and Voltaire soon afterwards. Madame de Sévigné, now sixty, was living in Paris, writing letters to her "infinitely dear child." Fenelon had just formed the acquaintance of Madame Guyon, and his controversy with Bossuet over Madame Guyon's "Quietism" began presently. Louis the Fourteenth was King of France. It was the time of John Sobieski in Poland. It was the time of Sir Edmund Andros and the struggle for the Charter in Massachusetts, the time too of the witchcraft horror. In Germany, Bach and Händel had just been born, both in the same year, 1685. This is a good point to remember in the history of music. In connection with the history of philosophy, it is easy to remember that John Locke, who had been exiled in Holland, came back to England in the fleet that conveyed the Princess of Orange. He had finished his great work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, in Holland, the year before the Revolution, and his first letter on *Toleration* appeared the year after the Revolution. The student of American history will remember that it was John Locke who framed the constitution of Carolina, while Charles II was King. Berkeley, who was influenced by Locke and who also is interesting to the student of American history on account of his residence in Rhode Island and his "Westward the course of empire," etc., was a boy of four in 1688. Hobbes



was born just a century before Locke came back from Holland with his book, the very year of the Armada. Locke was born in 1632, just a century before the birth of Washington. Spinoza was born at Amsterdam the same year, which was the year that Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lützen; but he died at the age of forty-four, while Locke lived until 1704, just a century before the death of Kant. It will be remembered that Spinoza corresponded with Leibnitz, then a young man, and sent him the manuscript of his *Ethics*. Spinoza's first important philosophical work was his abridgement of the *Meditations* of Descartes, which he wrote at Rhynsburg near Leyden. It was in retirement near Leyden that Descartes had written nearly all of his important works, while Spinoza was yet a boy.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the last six years in connection with the annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and meet such a real need that the Directors of the Old South Studies have begun the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges and private clubs and classes especially in mind. Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co., of Boston, will, by special arrangement, publish the Leaflets for schools and the trade. These Leaflets will be largely reproductions of important original political and historical papers, accompanied by useful notes. They will consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and will be sold at a very low price, five cents per copy or three dollars per hundred copies, the aim being to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Some idea of the character of this general series of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first thirteen numbers, already published: No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787.

Old South Leaflets.

The Eve of the French Revolution.

By CARLYLE.

To the eye of History many things in the sick-room of Louis the Fifteenth are now visible, which to the Courtiers there present were invisible. For indeed it is well said, "in every object there is inexhaustible meaning; the eye sees in it what the eye brings means of seeing." To Newton and to Newton's Dog Diamond, what a different pair of Universes; while the painting on the optical retina of both was, most likely, the same! Let the reader here, in this sick-room of Louis, endeavor to look with the mind too.

Time was when men could (so to speak) of a given man, by nourishing and decorating him with fit appliances, to the due pitch, *make* themselves a King, almost as the Bees do: and, what was still more to the purpose, loyally obey him when made. The man so nourished and decorated, thenceforth named royal, does verily bear rule; and is said, and even thought, to be, for example, "prosecuting conquests in Flanders," when he lets himself like luggage be carried thither: and no light luggage; covering miles of road. He has not only his *Maison-Bouche*, and *Valetaille* without end, but his very Troop of Players, with their pasteboard coulisses, thunder-barrels, their kettles, fiddles, stage-wardrobes, portable larders (and chaffering and quarreling enough); all mounted in wagons, tumbrils, second-hand chaises, — sufficient not to conquer Flanders, but the patience of the world. With such a flood of loud jingling appurtenances does he lumber along, prosecuting his conquests in Flanders: wonderful to behold. So nevertheless it was and had been: to some solitary thinker it might seem strange; but even to him, inevitable, not unnatural.

For ours is a most fictile world ; and man is the most fingent plastic of creatures. A world not fixable ; not fathomable ! An unfathomable Somewhat, which is *Not we* ; which we can work with, and live amidst, — and model, miraculously in our miraculous Being, and name World. — But if the very Rocks and Rivers (as metaphysic teaches) are, in strict language, *made* by those Outward Senses of ours, how much more, by the Inward Sense, are all Phenomena of the spiritual kind : Dignities, Authorities, Holies, Unholies ! Which inward sense, moreover, is not permanent like the outward ones, but forever growing and changing. Does not the Black African take of Sticks and Old Clothes (say, exported Monmouth-Street cast-clothes) what will suffice ; and of these, cunningly combining them, fabricate for himself an Eidolon (Idol, or *Thing Seen*) and name it *Mumbo-Fumbo*, which he can thenceforth pray to, with upturned awestruck eye, not without hope ? The white European mocks ; but ought rather to consider ; and see whether he, at home, could not do the like a little more wisely.

So it *was*, we say, in those conquests of Flanders, thirty years ago : but so it no longer is. Alas, much more lies sick than poor Louis : not the French King only, but the French Kingship ; this too, after long rough tear and wear, is breaking down. The world is all so changed ; so much that seemed vigorous has sunk decrepit, so much that was not is beginning to be ! — Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the Grace of God, what sounds are these ; muffled-ominous, new in our centuries ? Boston Harbour is black with unexpected Tea : behold a Pennsylvanian Congress gather ; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, DEMOCRACY announcing, in rifle-volleys death-winged, under her Star Banner, to the tune of Yankee-doodle-doo, that she is born, and, whirlwindlike, will envelop the whole world !

Sovereigns die and Sovereignties : how all dies, and is for a Time only ; is a "Time-phantasm, yet reckons itself real." The Merovingian Kings, slowly wending on their bullock carts through the streets of Paris, with their long hair flowing, have all wended slowly on, — into Eternity. Charlemagne sleeps at Salzburg, with truncheon grounded ; only Fable expecting that he will awaken. Charles the Hammer, Pepin Bow-legged, where now is their eye of menace, their voice of command ? Rollo and his shaggy Northmen cover not the Seine with ships ; but have sailed off on a longer voyage. The hair of Towhead (*Tête d'étoupes*) now needs no combing ;

Iron-cutter (*Taillefer*) cannot cut a cobweb; shrill Fredogonda, shrill Brunhilda have had out their hot life-scold, and lie silent, their hot life-frenzy cooled. Neither from that black Tower de Nesle, descends now darkling the doomed gallant, in his sack, to the Seine waters; plunging into Night: for Dame de Nesle now cares not for this world's gallantry, heeds not this world's scandal; Dame de Nesle is herself gone into Night. They all are gone; sunk,—down, down, with the tumult they made; and the rolling and the trampling of ever new generations passes over them; and they hear it not any more forever.

And yet withal has there not been realised somewhat? Consider (to go no further) these strong Stone-edifices, and what they hold! Mud-Town of the Borderers (*Lutetia Parisiorum* or *Barisiorum*) has paved itself, has spread over all the Seine Islands, and far and wide on each bank, and become City of Paris, sometimes boasting to be "Athens of Europe," and even "Capital of the Universe." Stone towers frown aloft; long-lasting, grim with a thousand years. Cathedrals are there, and a Creed (or memory of a Creed) in them; Palaces, and a State and Law. Thou seest the Smoke-vapour; unextinguished Breath as of a thing living. Labour's thousand hammers ring on her anvils: also a more miraculous Labour works noiselessly, not with the Hand but with the Thought. How have cunning workmen in all crafts, with their cunning head and right-hand, tamed the Four Elements to be their ministers; yoking the Winds to their Sea-Chariot, making the very Stars their Nautical Timepiece;—and written and collected a *Bibliothèque de Roi*; among whose Books is the Hebrew Book! A wondrous race of creatures; *these* have been realised, and what of Skill is in these: call not the Past Time, with all its confused wretchedness, a lost one.

Observe, however, that of man's whole terrestrial possessions and attainments, unspeakably the noblest are his Symbols, divine or divine-seeming; under which he marches and fights, with victorious assurance, in this life-battle: what we can call his Realised Ideals. Of which realised Ideals, omitting the rest, consider only these two: his Church, or spiritual Guidance; his Kingship, or temporal one. The Church: what a word was there; richer than Golconda and the treasures of the world! In the heart of the remotest mountains rises the little Kirk; the Dead all slumbering round it, under their white memorial-stones, "in hope of a happy resurrection:" dull wert thou, O Reader, if never in

any hour (say of moaning midnight, when such Kirk hung spectral in the sky, and Being was as if swallowed up of Darkness) it spoke to thee — things unspeakable, that went to thy soul's soul. Strong was he that had a Church, what we can call a Church: he stood thereby, though "in the centre of Immensities, in the conflux of Eternities," yet manlike towards God and man; the vague shoreless Universe had become for him a firm city, and dwelling which he knew. Such virtue was in Belief; in these words, well spoken: *I believe*. Well might men prize their *Credo*, and raise stateliest Temples for it, and reverend Hierarchies, and give it the tithes of their substance; it was worth living for and dying for.

Neither was that an inconsiderable moment when wild armed men first raised their Strongest aloft on the buckler-throne; and, with clanging armour and hearts, said solemnly: Be thou our Acknowledged Strongest! In such Acknowledged Strongest (well named King, *Kön-ning*, Can-ning, or Man that was Able) what a Symbol shone now for them, — significant with the destinies of the world! A Symbol of true Guidance in return for loving Obedience; properly, if he knew it, the prime want of man. A Symbol which might be called sacred; for is there not, in reverence for what is better than we, an indestructible sacredness. On which ground, too, it was well said there lay in the Acknowledged Strongest a divine right; as surely there might in the Strongest, whether Acknowledged or not, — considering *who* it was that made him strong. And so, in the midst of confusions and unutterable incongruities (as all growth is confused), did this of Royalty, with Loyalty environing it, spring up; and grow mysteriously, subduing and assimilating (for a principle of Life was in it); till it also had grown world-great, and was among the main Facts of our modern existence. Such a Fact, that Louis XIV., for example, could answer the expostulatory Magistrate with his "*L'État c'est moi* (The State? I am the State);" and be replied to by silence and abashed looks. So far had accident and forethought; had your Louis Eleventh, with the leaden Virgin in their hat-band, and torture-wheels and conical *oubliettes* (man-eating!) under their feet; your Henri Fourths, with their prophesied social millennium "when every peasant should have his fowl in the pot;" and on the whole, the fertility of this most fertile Existence (named of Good and Evil), — brought it, in the matter of the Kingship. Wondrous! Concerning which may we not again say, that in the huge mass of Evil, as it rolls

and swells, there is ever some Good working imprisoned ; working towards deliverance and triumph ?

How such Ideals do realise themselves ; and grow, wondrously, from amid the incongruous, ever-fluctuating chaos of the Actual ; this is what World-History, if it teach any thing, has to teach us. How they grow ; and, after long stormy growth, bloom out mature, supreme ; then quickly (for the blossom is brief) fall into decay ; sorrowfully dwindle ; and crumble down, or rush down, noisily or noiselessly disappearing. The blossom is so brief ; as of some centennial Cactus-flower, which after a century of waiting shines out for hours ! Thus from the day when rough Clovis, in the Champ de Mars, in sight of his whole army, had to cleave retributively the head of that rough Frank, with sudden battle-axe, and the fierce words, "It was thus thou clavest the vase" (St. Remi's and mine) "at Soissons," forward to Louis the Grand and his *L'Etat c'est moi*, we count some twelve hundred years ; and now this very next Louis is dying, and so much dying with him ! — Nay, thus too if Catholicism, with and against Feudalism (but *not* against Nature and her bounty), gave us English a Shakespeare and Era of Shakespeare, and so produced a blossom of Catholicism — it was not till Catholicism itself, so far as Law could abolish it, had been abolished here.

But of those decadent ages in which no Ideal either grows or blossoms ? When Belief and Loyalty have passed away, and only the cant and false echo of them remains ; and all Solemnity has become Pageantry ; and the Creed of persons in authority has become one of two things : an Imbecility or a Machiavelism ? Alas, of these ages World-History can take no notice ; they have to become compressed more and more, and finally suppressed in the Annals of Mankind ; blotted out as spurious — which indeed they are. Hapless ages : wherein, if ever in any, it is an unhappiness to be born. To be born, and to learn only, by every tradition and example, that God's Universe is Belial's and a Lie ; and "the Supreme Quack" the hierarch of men ! In which mournfullest faith, nevertheless, do we not see whole generations (two, and sometimes even three successively) live, what they call living ; and vanish, — without chance of reappearance ?

In such a decadent age, or one fast verging that way, had our poor Louis been born. Grant also that if the French Kingship had not, by course of Nature, long to live, he of all men was the man to accelerate Nature. The blossom of French Royalty, cactus-like, has accordingly made an aston-

ishing progress. In those Metz days, it was still standing with all its petals, though bedimmed by Orleans Regents and *Roué* Ministers and Cardinals; but now, in 1774, we behold it bald, and the virtue nigh gone out of it.

Disastrous indeed does it look with those same "realised Ideals," one and all! The Church, which in its palmy season, seven hundred years ago, could make an Emperor wait bare-foot in penance-shirt, three days, in the snow, has for centuries seen itself decaying; reduced even to forget old purposes and enmities, and join interest with the Kingship: on this younger strength it would fain stay its decrepitude; and these two will henceforth stand and fall together. Alas, the Sorbonne still sits there, in its old mansion; but mumbles only jargon of dotage, and no longer leads the consciences of men: not the Sorbonne; it is *Encyclopédies Philosophie*, and who knows what nameless innumerable multitude of ready Writers, profane Singers, Romancers, Players, Disputators, and Pamphleteers, that now form the Spiritual Guidance of the World. The world's Practical Guidance too is lost, or has glided into the same miscellaneous hands. Who is it that the King (*Able-man*, named also *Roi*, *Rex*, or Director) now guides? His own huntsmen and prickers: when there is to be no hunt, it is well said, "*Le Roi ne fera rien* (To-day his Majesty will do *nothing*)." He lives and lingers there, because he is living there, and none has yet laid hands on him.

The Nobles, in like manner, have nearly ceased either to guide or misguide; and are now, as their master is, little more than ornamental figures. It is long since they have done with butchering one another or their King: the Workers, protected, encouraged by Majesty, have ages ago built walled towns, and there ply their crafts; will permit no Robber Baron to "live by the saddle," but maintain a gallows to prevent it. Ever since that period of the *Fronde*, the Noble has changed his fighting sword into a court rapier; and now loyally attends his King as ministering satellite; divides the spoil, not now by violence and murder, but by soliciting and finesse. These men call themselves supports of the throne: singular gilt-pasteboard *caryatides* in that singular edifice! For the rest, their privileges every way are now much curtailed. That Law authorising a Seigneur, as he returned from hunting, to kill not more than two Serfs, and refresh his feet in their warm blood and bowels, has fallen into perfect desuetude, — and even into incredibility; for if Deputy Lapoule can believe in it, and call for the abrogation of it,

so cannot we. No Charolois, for these last fifty years, though never so fond of shooting, has been in use to bring down slaters and plumbers, and see them roll from their roofs; but contents himself with partridges and grouse. Close-viewed, their industry and function is that of dressing gracefully and eating sumptuously. As for their debauchery and their depravity, it is perhaps unexampled since the era of Tiberius and Commodus. Nevertheless, one has still partly a feeling with the lady Maréchale: "Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality." These people, of old, surely had virtues, uses; or they could not have been there. Nay, one virtue they are still required to have (for mortal man cannot live without a conscience): the virtue of perfect readiness to fight duels.

Such are the shepherds of the people: and now how fares it with the flock? With the flock, as is inevitable, it fares ill, and ever worse. They are not tended, they are only regularly shorn. They are sent for, to do statute-labour, to pay statute taxes; to fatten battle-fields (named "bed of honour") with their bodies, in quarrels which are not theirs; their hand and toil is in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or no possession. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed; to pine stagnantly in thick obscurity, in squalid destitution and obstruction: this is the lot of the millions; *peuple tail-ble et corvéable à merci et miséricorde*. In Brittany they once rose in revolt at the first introduction of Pendulum Clocks; thinking it had something to do with the *Gabelle*. Paris requires to be cleared out periodically by the police; and the horde of hunger-stricken vagabonds to be sent wandering again over space—for a time. "During one such periodical clearance," says Lacretelle, "in May, 1750, the Police had presumed withal to carry off some reputable people's children, in the hope of extorting ransoms for them. The mothers fill the public places with cries of despair; crowds gather, get excited; so many women in distraction run about exaggerating the alarm: an absurd and horrid fable rises among the people; it is said that the Doctors have ordered a Great Person to take baths of young human blood for the restoration of his own, all spoiled by debaucheries. Some of the rioters," adds Lacretelle, quite coolly, "were hanged on the following days:" the Police went on. O ye poor naked wretches! and this then is your inarticulate cry to Heaven, as of a dumb tortured animal, crying from uttermost depths of pain and debasement! Do these azure skies, like a dead

crystalline vault, only reverberate the echo of it on you? Respond to it only by "hanging on the following days?"—Not so: not forever! Ye are heard in Heaven. And the answer too will come,—in a horror of great darkness, and shakings of the world, and a cup of trembling which all the nations shall drink.

Remark, meanwhile, how from amid the wrecks and dust of this universal Decay new Powers are fashioning themselves, adapted to the new time, and its destinies. Besides the old Noblesse, originally of Fighters, there is a new recognised Noblesse of Lawyers; whose gala-day and proud battle-day even now is. An unrecognised Noblesse of Commerce; powerful enough, with money in its pocket. Lastly, powerfulest of all, least recognised of all, a Noblesse of Literature; without steel on their thigh, without gold in their purse, but with the "grand thaumaturgic faculty of Thought," in their head. French Philosophism has arisen; in which little word how much do we include! Here, indeed, lies properly the cardinal symptom of the whole wide-spread malady. Faith is gone out; Scepticism is come in. Evil abounds and accumulates; no man has Faith to withstand it, to amend it, to begin by amending himself; it must even go on accumulating. While hollow languor and vacuity is the lot of the Upper, and want and stagnation of the Lower, and universal misery is very certain, what other thing is certain? That a Lie cannot be believed! Philosophism knows only this: her other Belief is mainly that, in spiritual, supersensual matters, no belief is possible. Unhappy! Nay, as yet the Contradiction of a Lie is some kind of Belief; but the Lie with its Contradiction once swept away, what will remain? The five unsatiated senses will remain, the sixth insatiable Sense (of Vanity); the whole *demonic* nature of man will remain,—hurled forth to rage blindly without rule or rein; savage itself, yet with all the tools and weapons of civilisation: a spectacle new in History.

In such a France, as in a Powder-tower, where fire unquenched and now unquenchable is smoking and smouldering all round, has Louis XV. lain down to die. With Pompadourism and Dubarryism, his Fleur-de-lis has been shamefully struck down in all lands and on all seas; Poverty invades even the Royal Exchequer, and Tax-farming can squeeze out no more; there is a quarrel of twenty-five years' standing with the Parlement; everywhere Want, Dishonesty, Unbelief, and hot-brained Sciolists for state-physicians: it is a portentous hour.

Such things can the eye of History see in this sick-room of

King Louis, which were invisible to the Courtiers there. It is twenty years, gone Christmas-day, since Lord Chesterfield, summing up what he had noted of this same France, wrote, and sent off by post, the following words, that have become memorable: "In short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in History, previous to great Changes and Revolutions in Government, now exist and daily increase in France."

"If the convulsions of 1789-94 were due to the revolutionary doctrine, if that doctrine was the poison of the movement, how would M. Taine explain the firm, manly, steadfast, unhysterical quality of the American Revolution thirteen years before? It was theoretically based on exactly the same doctrine. Jefferson and Franklin were as well disciplined in the French philosophy of the eighteenth century as Mirabeau or Robespierre. The Declaration of Independence recites the same abstract and unhistoric propositions as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Why are we to describe the draught which Rousseau and the others had brewed, as a harmless or wholesome prescription for the Americans, and as maddening poison to the French? The answer must be that the quality of the drug is relative to the condition of the patient, and that the vital question for the student of the old régime and the circumstances of its fall is, What other drug, what better process, could have extricated France on more tranquil terms from her desperate case? The American colonists, in spite of the over-wide formulæ of their Declaration, really never broke with their past in any of its fundamental elements. They had a historic basis of laws and institutions which was still sound and whole, and the political severance from England made no breach in social continuity. If a different result followed in France, it was not because France was the land of the classic spirit, but because her institutions were inadequate and her ruling classes incompetent to transform them. M. Taine's figure of the man who drains the poisonous draught, as having been previously 'a little weak in constitution, but still sound and of peaceful habits,' is entirely delusive. The whole evidence shows that France was not sound, but the very reverse of sound." — *John Morley*.

Carlyle pronounces the French Revolution the beginning of the *Third Act* in the history of the world. "There is the next mile-stone for you, in the History of Mankind!" he says, in his *Frederick*, "That universal Burning-up, as in hellfire, of Human Shams. The oath of Twenty-five Million men, which has since become that of all men whatsoever, 'Rather than live longer under lies, we will die!' — that is the New Act in World-History. New Act, — or, we may call it *New Part*; Drama of World-History, Part Third. If Part *Second* was 1800 years ago, this I reckon will be Part *Third*. This is the truly celestial-infernal Event: the strangest we

have seen for a thousand years. Celestial in one part; in the other, infernal. For it is withal the breaking-out of universal mankind into Anarchy, into the faith and practice of *No-Government*, — that is to say (if you will be candid), into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers, — which I do charitably define to be a Search, most unconscious, yet in deadly earnest, for true Governors and Teachers. That is the one fact of World-History worth dwelling on at this day."

The "marvelous work of Carlyle," as the latest English historian of the French Revolution justly characterizes it, will doubtless remain forever the greatest work upon that most impressive event in modern history. "The more a man learns about the details of the French Revolution," says John Morley, who of all living Englishmen has learned most about it and written best about it, "the greater is his admiration for Mr. Carlyle's magnificent performance. By force of penetrating imaginative genius, he has reproduced in stirring and resplendent dithyrambs the fire and passion, the rags and tears, the many-tinted dawn and the blood-red sunset of the Revolution. But," adds Mr. Morley, "it is dramatic presentation, not social analysis; a masterpiece of literature, not a scientific investigation; a prodigy of poetic insight, not a sane and quantitative exploration of the complex processes, the deep-lying economical, fiscal and political conditions, that produced so immense an explosion." "A prose poem," President White, perhaps our own most thorough student of the French Revolution, calls Carlyle's history — "not just, not complete, yet some of his judgments seem inspired, and many of his pictures are marvelous." And Lowell, who has said that "with the gift of song Carlyle would have been the greatest of epic poets since Homer," would doubtless point to the *French Revolution* as the great evidence and illustration of it. Whatever else the student reads about the French Revolution, he must read Carlyle's work first and last. Carlyle's essays on Voltaire and Mirabeau and on the "Parliamentary History of the Revolution" should be read, as well as his general history.

The new *History of the French Revolution*, by H. Morse Stephens, now appearing in England, is the result of studies of the vast amount of literature and new facts which have come to light in France since Carlyle wrote. "The most valuable English works upon the period," says Mr. Stephens, "Croker's *Essays* and Smyth's *Lectures*, are both now out of date, and even G. H. Lewes's *Life of Robespierre*, though in some ways the most remarkable book published upon that statesman in any language, is often incorrect in details. In more modern days nothing very valuable upon the period has been published in England with the exception of *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, by the Rev. W. H. Jervis, Mr. John Morley's essays on Condorcet and Robespierre, and Mr. Oscar Browning's most valuable edition of the *Gower Despatches*. Scattered papers of more or less value have been published in various reviews and magazines, but no real history of the French Revolution has been published in England since Carlyle's great work." Mr. Stephens's references to the recent French and German litera-

ture on the subject are very valuable and should be consulted by the special student.

The *Essays on the Early Period of the French Revolution*, referred to by Croker, whose vast collection of pamphlets upon the Revolution was acquired by the British Museum, are learned essays written essentially from the standpoint of Burke. The first essay is a severe criticism of Thiers's history, the writer declaring that he had been forced "to deny the accuracy, to contest the details, and to question the good faith of that work"—the work pronounced by President White "the most successful history of the Revolution ever written." Mr. Stephens refers to Morley's essays on Condorcet and Robespierre. His essays on Turgot and on "France in the Eighteenth Century," the latter an able review of Taine's *Ancien Régime*, are equally important; and his biographies of Voltaire and Rousseau will be read by those who would trace the intellectual forces which produced the Revolution. The article on Danton in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is also by Mr. Morley. There is an essay by Oscar Browning on "France and England in 1793," in *Topics of the Time*, vol. iv. Dowden has an essay upon "The French Revolution and Literature," in his *Studies in Literature*. Frederic Harrison discusses the "Histories of the French Revolution," in his *Choice of Books, etc.* See also Merivale on "Some of the Precursors of the Revolution," in his *Historical Studies*, and Mackintosh's "Defence of the Revolution," in his *Works*, vol. iii. Of Buckle's discussion of the causes of the Revolution, in his *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i, President White says, "Whatever may be said of other parts of this work, it can hardly be denied that these chapters form an epoch in the writing of history; if but one thing be read on the events introducing the Revolution, this should be that one thing." Lord John Russell published a work on the *Causes of the Revolution*. Tocqueville's work on *France before the Revolution* has always been very highly regarded in England and America, and should be compared with Taine's later work. Charles Kingsley's *Ancien Régime* consists of three exceedingly bright and interesting lectures given to the students of the University of Cambridge, on the state of France preceding the Revolution.

But of all English works on the character of the Revolution, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in London while the Revolution was in progress (1790), had the greatest historical significance. It was written from the standpoint of the English Whig, unable to measure the new democratic forces. Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, which had an immense circulation and influence in England and America, was an answer to Burke. Quite in the spirit of Burke was an able pamphlet on *The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution*, by Gentz, a German scholar, translated by John Quincy Adams and published at Philadelphia in 1800. It is interesting for us now to read Adams's preface to this translation. "The work is for two reasons highly interesting to Americans,"

he says; "first, because it contains the clearest account of the rise and progress of the revolution which established their independence, that has ever appeared within so small compass; and secondly, because it rescues that revolution from the disgraceful imputation of having proceeded from the same principles as that of France." This last observation takes us into the atmosphere of the bitter differences of opinion about the Revolution which prevailed in America at the time. Adams would have felt that the English Revolution of 1688 offered some true analogy to the American Revolution. It is therefore interesting to read in connection the pamphlet by Condorcet, *Reflections on the English Revolution of 1688, and that of the French, August 10, 1792*, translated and published in London late in 1792. "The revolution of England in 1688, compared with the revolution of France in 1792," says Condorcet, "presents, in the motives which occasioned both of them and the principles by which they were directed, a parallel which, notwithstanding the difference of the times, the circumstances and the state of knowledge, proves that the cause of the French is exactly similar to that of the English, and indeed to that of all nations who are or who have conceived the hope of being free. . . . All who do not acknowledge in kings and princes a power independent of the people, of which they cannot be deprived either by their usurpations or their crimes, that is to say all those who could not be slaves, must equally approve both the revolution of France and the revolution of England." He maintains indeed that the advantage here is with the French. "A considerable portion of the people, combining by spontaneous impulse and addressing themselves to a legal assembly of the whole, depart much less from the common order of law than a particular association of citizens, addressing themselves to a foreign prince; and the influence of the former portion of the people, armed in their own defense, was much less dangerous to freedom than the presence of a foreign army, devoted to the will of a single chief." The contrasted views suggested by these two pamphlets should be made subjects of careful thought by our young students of the Revolution.

There are two brief English histories of the French Revolution, which will especially serve the young people — one by Mrs. B. M. Gardiner, in the "Epochs of Modern History" series, the other by William O'Connor Morris, in the "Epochs of History" series. The American edition of the latter work is made more valuable by an appendix upon the bibliography of the subject and a course of study, by Andrew D. White, late president of Cornell University, who has been referred to as perhaps our most thorough student of the Revolution and is himself preparing a history of the Revolution. The title of Mr. Morris's book is *The French Revolution and the First Empire*, his narrative covering the career of Napoleon. H. Van Laun's larger work on *The French Revolutionary Epoch* is a history of France from the beginning of the Revolution to the end of the Second Empire. Prof. Charles K. Adams's *Democracy and Monarchy in France* covers a period from before the Revolution down to the Franco-Prussian war. Dickens's *Tale of Two*

Cities, one of the greatest historical novels ever written, should be read by every student for its powerful pictures of the tyrannies and sufferings which compelled the Revolution and the horrors which marked its course; and Arthur Young's *Travels in France* in 1787-9 is valuable by way of illustration.

Von Sybel's *History of the French Revolution* is probably the best German work, and this has been translated, like most of the important French histories. Stephens refers to the various French histories as follows: "Mignet's account, published in 1824, is to this day the most useful manual of the history of the Revolution and, from the clear insight of the great historian into the facts of which he treated, it is certain to retain its position. Mignet's fault was in being too terse, Thiers erred in the opposite direction. No one can deny the wonderful mastery of the art of weaving up a mass of details into an interesting shape which Thiers possessed, yet his history of the Revolution is marked by the blemishes which disfigure his far greater history of the Consulate and Empire. He is often inaccurate and often unfair, and allowed his own political hopes and fears to influence his narrative. Louis Blanc's history is also of immense length, but it is marred by being written for a political purpose and not to give a true account of facts. Quinet's history is both shorter and more brilliant than Louis Blanc's, but it is influenced in the same way by the author's political opinions. Of Michelet's history it can only be said that it is a work of genius, of genius of the most lofty character, but that it fails, as every history written by a Frenchman, who loves his country, is bound to fail, in trying to estimate the virtues and vices of his own ancestors. With Michelet's history may be classed Lamartine's rhapsodies, which exhibit indeed the genius of the poet, but not the careful industry of the historian. Martin's history, which is a continuation of his great *Histoire de France*, was written in his old age, and is without doubt the weakest thing he ever did. M. Taine's volumes deserve a longer notice. For style, vigor and power, they are unequaled; but the same remark must be made of him as of Michelet. He cannot do justice to all the actors engaged in that terrible crisis which is called the French Revolution, and it is not to be expected from him or from any Frenchman for at least a century. Only when the results of the Revolution cease to be burning political questions, and the names of its heroes cease to be flags, round which parties rally, can Frenchmen treat the history of their Revolution with dispassionate calmness."

It is always necessary to take into account the bias of every writer upon the histories of the Revolution. President White agrees with Stephens, when he says that Mignet's is "the best, by far, of all the short histories." It is interesting to know that Lafayette approved Mignet's work as giving the fairest and most perfect idea of the Revolution of any account which had appeared in his time. But upon Lafayette's own attitude in the Revolution there is, of course, great difference of opinion. Michelet regards him as too much influenced by the American Federalists who took their tone from the English Whigs. "The Americans," he says, "though so resolute against

England in every affair of interest, are weak and partial towards her in questions of ideas. English literature is ever their literature; and the pernicious pamphlet warfare carried on by the English against us influenced the Americans and, through them, Lafayette. At least, they did not support him in his primitive republican aspirations. He postponed his grand ideal and fell back, at least provisionally, to English ideas, — to a certain Anglo-American spurious eclecticism. Besides, he himself, though American in ideas, was English by education, and a little so even in figure and appearance."

The relation of our own politics to French politics at the time of the Revolution is a subject of much importance. Carlyle, in the chapter from his history printed in the present leaflet, speaks thus of the outbreak of the American Revolution and its effect in France: "Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the Grace of God, what sounds are these; muffled-ominous, new in our centuries? Boston Harbour is black with unexpected Tea: behold a Pennsylvanian Congress gather; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, DEMOCRACY announcing, in rifle-volleys death-winged, under her Star Banner, to the tune of Yankee-doodle-doo, that she is born and, whirlwindlike, will envelope the whole world!" Lewis Rosenthal's *America and France* is a valuable study of the influence of the United States on France in the Eighteenth Century. The lives of Franklin and Jefferson should also be read.

1789 is perhaps the most important date in modern history, that year witnessing alike the beginning of the French Revolution and the inauguration of Washington as first president of the American Republic. The French Revolution may be said to have raged violently — there were long preliminaries — from the 14th of July, 1789, the day of the storming of the Bastille, until the 4th of October, 1795, the day of Bonaparte's "whiff of grape-shot." "The thing we specifically call *French Revolution*," says Carlyle, "is blown into space by this whiff of grape-shot, and become a thing that was." But it was not until 1799, the year of Washington's death, that Napoleon became First Consul. 1793 was the year of the "Reign of Terror." In 1789, William Pitt was prime minister of England, having become so six years before — the year that England recognized our independence and the treaty of peace was signed — at the early age of twenty-four. The elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, had been dead about ten years. George the Third was still King — his sixty years' reign did not end till 1820 — but this was the time of his insanity. Frederick the Great had been dead three years, and Prussia was now a great power. Joseph II was emperor of Austria and Catherine II was empress of Russia. The first partition of Poland had taken place about the time our Revolution began. Maria Theresa, born in the same year as Frederick, 1740, died about the close of our Revolution. Kosciuszko, who had been over to help us in the Revolution, became a major-general in the Polish army this year, 1789, and led the disastrous insurrection against Russia during Washington's administration. Kant was

writing his great works at Königsberg — published the *Critique of Practical Reason* the year before, the *Critique of the Judgment* the year after; his greatest work, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, had been published in 1781, the year that the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown sealed the success of our cause, which was so dear to Kant himself, and the year of the death of Lessing, the great pioneer, with Kant, of modern German thought. It was the golden age of German literature. Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Klopstock, Wieland, Richter, Novalis, Tieck, the Humboldts, the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel were all living; Neander was born this year; Niebuhr had been born the year of our Declaration of Independence; Heine was born the last year of the century, 1800. In 1789, Goethe, recently returned from his Italian journey, was becoming acquainted with Schiller, that year made professor of history at Jena; Herder, at Weimar, was publishing his *Philosophy of History*; Klopstock, the Nestor of the German writers — b. in 1724, the same year with Kant, d. in 1803, the year before Kant died — was living at Hamburg, the last books of his *Messias* having been published just as our Revolution was beginning; Fichte was a tutor at Zurich, full of revolutionary thoughts; poor Jean Paul was just beginning his literary career; Tieck, Novalis, the Humboldts, the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Hegel, all of about the same age, were either students in the universities or about to begin their student life. Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were living — Mozart, who died two years later, having just produced his *Don Giovanni*, and Beethoven, a youth of nineteen, being about to go to study with Haydn at Vienna. Gluck had just died, and Weber had just been born. Hahnemann was practicing medicine at Dresden, about ready to announce his new system of homeopathy. Pestalozzi was teaching school — had commenced teaching the year our Revolution began, and published his *Leonard and Gertrude* the year of Yorktown. Canova was already a great sculptor in Italy, though still young. Thorwaldsen was a youth at Copenhagen.

Burke, Fox and Sheridan were all in Parliament in 1789. All had taken part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, whose trial, begun the year before, was progressing in 1789. Warren Hastings, Necker, Lalande, the great astronomer, and Haydn were all born the same year with Washington, 1732, which is something easy for Americans to remember. The young people would find it useful to make a list of the great men who were born in that decade, 1730-40, of the important books published in that decade — Pope's *Essay on Man*, Butler's *Analogy*, Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, and Rollin's *Ancient History* were some of them — etc. Similarly it is useful to see how many things in that crowded Eighteenth Century can be related to the years of our Revolution. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, the standard exposition of English law, was published in the very year (1765) of the Stamp Act, by which our fathers felt that the primary political rights of Englishmen were violated. This was the time, too, of Wilkes and his fight for the freedom of the press. The famous *Letters of Junius* began to ap-



pear, and James Watt took out the first patent for his steam-engine, the year before the Boston Massacre. George Stephenson was born the year of Yorktown. Between those dates Wordsworth, Walter Scott, Sydney Smith, Coleridge, Ricardo, Fourier, Southey, Charles Lamb, Turner, Jane Austen, O'Connell, Campbell, Humphry Davy and Thomas Moore were born, and Whitefield, Chatterton, Gray, Smollett, Goldsmith, Hume, Chatham, Voltaire, Rousseau and Garrick died. Between those dates were published the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Chesterfield's *Letters*, John Howard's *State of the Prisons*, Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (his *Dictionary* had been published in 1755, the year of the Lisbon earthquake, and Boswell's *Life of Johnson* was published during the French Revolution), Miss Burney's *Evelina*, the *Olney Hymns* and Cowper's principal poems, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and the first three volumes of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The first volume of this great work by Gibbon, who in Parliament supported Lord North in his oppressive policy toward the American colonies, appeared the very year of our Declaration of Independence, which was also the year, as it is more interesting to remember, of the appearance of the *Wealth of Nations*, the great foundation work in the science of political economy. In the same year appeared the first work of Jeremy Bentham, his anonymous *Fragment on Government*. The last volumes of Gibbon's work did not appear until 1788, which was the year that the publication of the London *Times* began. The time of our Revolution was also the time of Captain Cook and his voyages round the world, of the discovery of oxygen by Priestley, of the suggestion of vaccination by Jenner, of William Herschel and his telescopes, of the starting of Sunday Schools by Robert Raikes, of the sinking of the "Royal George," of the Montgolfiers and their air balloon, the time of Wedgwood and Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, and of the later life of John Wesley. Wesley, who it will be remembered came over to Georgia to preach to the settlers and the Indians just after Washington was born, lived until two years after Washington's inauguration. Charles Wesley died the year before the inauguration. Whitefield died in America just before the Revolution. General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, the last of the original thirteen colonies, lived, in England, until after the Revolution.

The great number of noted men who were born in the "9" years of the middle decades of the Eighteenth Century has often been remarked upon. An easy and useful thing to remember is that Goethe, Alfieri, Mirabeau, Fox, Laplace, Jenner and Tippoo Saib were all born in 1749; Schiller, Burns, Pitt, Wilberforce, Danton and Robespierre in 1759; and Napoleon, Wellington, Ney, Cuvier and Humboldt in 1769. Coming forward to 1779, we come to the birth of Thomas Moore; going back to 1729, to the birth of Lessing.

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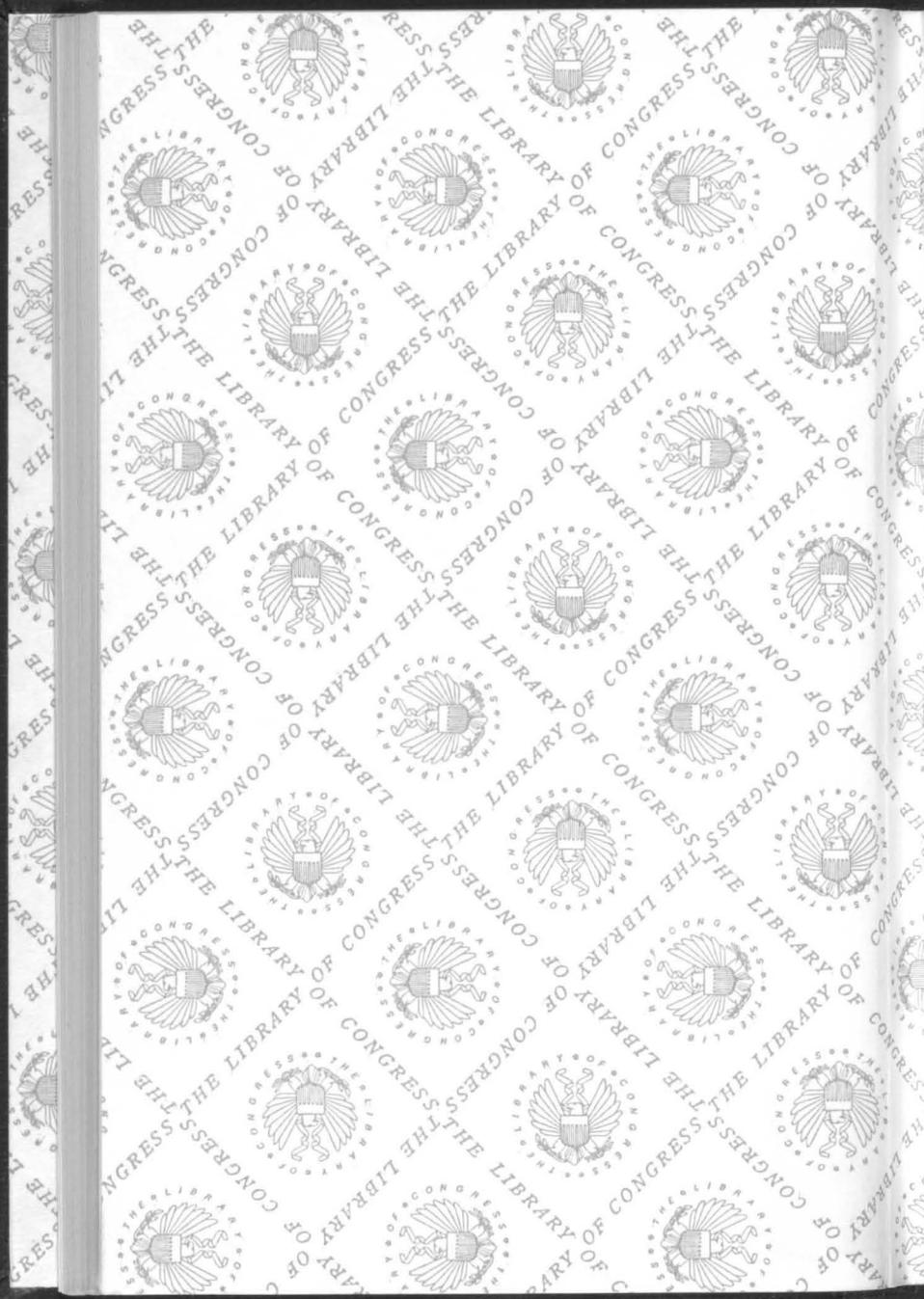


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