many of them—contend that nothing is so interesting as real, actual, present life; that no detail of our daily round is without its significance; that the slightest act or omission of an act may affect our destiny. After all, the realists and the romanticists we have always with us; the former are just now in the majority; but the reaction is just as inevitable as the return of the pendulum.

In some of his later stories, as "The Traveller from Altruria" (1894) and "Through the Eye of the Needle" (1907), Mr. Howells has shown an increasing interest in the more serious problems of society—poverty, strikes, the causes of crime, "the tyranny of individualism," and the conditions that hinder the spread of sympathy and human brotherhood. The effect of this increased ethical and human interest has probably not been to enhance the artistic value of his work; and some deplore his lapse from the high ideal of art for art's sake. Others see in Mr. Howells' recent works a greater attention to substance, a firmer tissue, a broader humanity. And always, be it said, in reading Mr. Howells, one is conscious of that fine and careful workmanship, that care for correct and proper form, that artistic conscience, without which, whatever his literary creed, Mr. Howells could never have become the foremost and representative American novelist of his time.

Frances Hodgson Burnett.—Frances Hodgson Burnett was born in Manchester, England, in 1849, but came to America with her parents in 1865 and lived for eight years, until her marriage, in New Market and Knoxville, Tennessee. Since then she has lived in Washington and in Kent, England. She first gained notice with "Surly Tim's Trouble" (*Scribner's Monthly,* June, 1872), a story of Lancashire, as were also "That Lass o'

Lowrie's" (1877), "Dolly" (1877, republished in 1883 as "Vagabondia"), and "Haworth's" (1879), said to be a favorite with its author. With "Louisiana" (1880) she turned to America for material, describing life in the mountains of North Carolina. "Through One Administration" (1883) is a pathetic and powerful story of social and political life in Washington. "Little Lord Fauntleroy" (1886), the Anglo-American story of a seven-year-old hero, has become a children's classic; similar but less known are the tales in "Sara Crewe, and Other Stories" (1888), and "The Captain's Youngest, Piccino, and Other Stories" (1894). In "The Pretty Sister of José" (1889), Mrs. Burnett deals with picturesque and striking Spanish characters and scenes. "A Lady of Quality" (1896) and its sequel, "His Grace of Osmonde" (1897), are melodramatic stories of English aristocrats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "In Connection with the De Willoughby Claim" (1899) deals with country life in Tennessee in the early sixties. Her latest stories are "The Dawn of a To-Morrow" (1906) and "The Shuttle" (1907), the latter a fascinating international novel. She has thoroughly demonstrated her power to delineate character as moulded by passion.

Philander Deming.—Philander Deming (born in Carlisle, New York, in 1829), a lawyer by profession, in 1873 began publishing in *The Atlantic Monthly* stories and sketches the scene of which is laid in the Adirondack region of Northern New York. Devoid of sensationalism, these stories portray simply and effectively the rude but sound life of plain country folk. Mr. Deming has published in book form "Adirondack Stories" (1880), "Tompkins and Other Folks" (1885), and "The Story of a Pathfinder" (1907).

"Lew" Wallace.—General Lewis Wallace (1827-1905), an Indiana lawyer and soldier in the Mexican and Civil Wars, was the author of three novels, "The Fair God" (1873), "Ben Hur, a Tale of the Christ" (1880), and "The Prince of India" (1893), which deserve mention chiefly because of their popularity. The second, especially, in this respect, ranks close to "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Written in a spirit of deep reverence for the traditional view of Jesus of Nazareth, and making small demands upon the imagination, it could hardly fail to make a strong appeal to a large body of readers. As literature, however, Wallace's books are of only transient importance.

Charles Dudley Warner.—Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900) belongs mainly with the essayists, but wrote a few novels that deserve to live. With Mark Twain he wrote "The Gilded Age" (1873). "Their Pilgrimage" (1887) has a slight plot but gives minute and accurate descriptions of Southern watering-places. "A Little Journey in the World" (1889) and its sequel, "The Golden House" (1895), are vivid pictures of decadent New York society. "That Fortune" (1899) is a picture, drawn from expert knowledge, of the New York financial world.

Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen.—Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-95) realized the dream of many in successfully combining the careers of authorship and teaching. Born at Frederiksvärn, Norway, and educated at Christiania, he came to America in 1869. He first became editor of a Scandinavian journal in Chicago. Then he studied philology at Leipsic for two years (1872-74). From 1874 till 1880 he was professor of German at Cornell University, and from 1881 till his death he filled a similar chair at Columbia Uni-

versity. Besides some poetry and essays, he wrote "Gunnar, a Norse Romance" (1874), his one effort in romance, "Tales from Two Hemispheres" (1876), "Falconberg" (1879), "Ilka on the Hilltop" (1881), a collection of short stories, "Queen Titania" (1881), "A Daughter of the Philistines" (1883), "The Mammon of Unrighteousness" (1891), "The Golden Calf" (1892), and "Social Strugglers" (1893). His later stories were realistic novels concerned with vital problems, such as the conflict of wealth and essential culture. Their vogue was not great, but their workmanship was genuine.

Blanche Willis Howard.—Blanche Willis Howard (1847-98) was born in Bangor, Maine, was educated in New York, and in 1878 went to Stuttgart, Germany, to engage in teaching and writing. In 1890 she was married to Baron von Teuffel, a physician. She wrote a number of novels, of which "One Summer" (1875), "Aunt Serena" (1880), "Guenn" (1882), "Aulnay Tower" (1886), "The Open Door" (1889), "No Heroes" (1893), a boys' story, and "Seven on the Highway" (1897), a collection of short stories, may be mentioned. In collaboration with William Sharp she wrote "A Fellowe and His Wife" (1892), in which a comic atmosphere prevails. Perhaps "Guenn," the pathetic story of a Breton maiden's hopeless love, is the book by which she will be longest remembered.

Edgar Fawcett.—Edgar Fawcett (1847-1904) was in his day a prominent and popular poet, dramatist, and novelist. Born and reared in New York, and at twenty graduated from Columbia College, he early saw the rich possibilities of the life around him, and confined himself to the delineation of New York people. The best of his novels

are "Rutherford" (written in 1876 but not published in book form till 1884), "A Hopeless Case" (1880), "A Gentleman of Leisure" (1881), "An Ambitious Woman" (1883), "The House at High Bridge" (1886), perhaps his best story, "Fair Fame" (1894), "Outrageous Fortune" (1894), and "The Ghost of Guy Thyrle" (1897). He was fond of attacking the petty conventions of social life and his satire was not ineffective. Partly because of this unpleasant realism his books have already ceased to be much read.

Edwin Lassetter Bynner.—Edwin L. Bynner (1842-93), a New England lawyer and journalist, for a time librarian of the Boston Law Library, achieved success in the field of the historical romance. Beginning with "Nimport" (1877), he produced a large number of novels and short stories, of which the best are "Penelope's Suitors" (*The Atlantic,* December, 1884), "Agnes Surriage" (1887), "The Begum's Daughter" (1889), a story of New Amsterdam in 1689, and "Zachary Phips" (1892), which introduces the mysterious Western expedition of Aaron Burr. Accurate on the historical side, his works are not distinguished artistic successes; yet they make the past live again.

Sarah Orne Jewett.—Sarah Orne Jewett (born in 1849) has written some interesting and even powerful stories of the New England coast. She was reared at South Berwick, near the Maine coast. While accompanying her father, a physician, on his rounds, she heard from him many local and family histories and traditions. Her first story was "Deephaven" (1877); and she has since written, among others, "Country By-Ways" (1881), eight sketches; "The Mate of the *Daylight,* and Friends Ashore" (1884), short stories and

sketches; "A Country Doctor" (1884), "A Marsh Island" (1885), and "A White Heron" (1886), three stories of rural New England; "Strangers and Wayfarers" (1890); "A Native of Winby, and Other Tales" (1893); "The Country of the Pointed Firs" (1896), which contains her most successful character studies; "The Queen's Twin, and Other Stories" (1899); "The Tory Lover" (1901), a love story of the Revolution, introducing John Paul Jones, which cannot be pronounced successful. Miss Jewett is at her best in her kindly humorous and sympathetic interpretations of humble but self-respecting New Englanders of the present day. Her humor is healthy and contagious and her style is for the most part simple, clear, and vigorous.

Ellen Olney Kirk.—Mrs. Ellen Olney Kirk ("Henry Hayes," born in Connecticut in 1842) has been popular as a novelist. She received her education at Stratford, Conn., and was married to John Foster Kirk, the historian, in 1879. Her stories include "Love in Idleness" (1877), "A Lesson in Love" (1883), a study in character, "A Midsummer Madness" (1885), "The Story of Margaret Kent" (1886), "Queen Money" (1888), "The Story of Lawrence Garth" (1894), her best book, in which the difficult character of an adventuress is well drawn, "The Revolt of a Daughter" (1898), "Dorothy Deane" (1899), "Our Lady Vanity" (1901), "The Apology of Ayliffe" (1904), and "Marcia" (1907). The moral in her stories is generally not obtrusive and the humor is genial.

Edward Bellamy.—Edward Bellamy (1850-98), a native of Massachusetts, studied at Union College and in Germany, and in 1871 was admitted to the bar, but devoted his life

to journalism and literature. After a year in the Sandwich Islands, in 1878 he published his first novel, "A Nantucket Idyl," which was followed by "Dr. Heidenhoff's Process" (1880), in its own way a supremely effective romance, and "Miss Ludington's Sister, a Romance of Immortality" (1884), none of them very successful with the public. His best known work, "Looking Backward, or 2000-1887" (1888), a Utopian romance, was unexpectedly received as a gospel of socialism; it was widely read and translated into many languages. Much inferior artistically was its sequel, "Equality" (1897). In his best work Bellamy showed a rare gift of romantic portraiture of average types "in the village environment by which he interpreted the heart of the American nation."

Mrs. Burton Harrison.—Mrs. Burton Harrison (born Constance Cary, at Vaucluse, Virginia, in 1846) has written interesting and highly realistic novels of New York City life, full of local color and effective in background; and some novels of Virginia life. Mr. Harrison, to whom she was married in 1867, had been private secretary to President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. The couple soon removed to New York, which has since been their permanent home. Mrs. Harrison's first venture in literature was "A Little Centennial Lady" (*Scribner's Monthly,* July, 1876), a sprightly historical sketch. Her novels dealing with Northern society are "Golden Rod" (1878), "Helen Troy" (1881), "The Anglomaniacs" (1890), "Sweet Bells out of Tune" (1893), "A Bachelor Maid" (1894), "An Errant Wooing" (1895), "Good Americans" (1897), "A Triple Entanglement" (1897), "The Carcelline Emerald" (1899), and "The Circle of a Century" (1899). Perhaps the chief excellence of these stories is the dialogue, in the manage-

ment of which Mrs. Harrison shows great skill. Although the attitude of the author is that of a satirist, her laughter at the foibles of society is not unkindly. Of Virginia she has written "Crow's Nest and Bellhaven Tales" (1892) and "A Son of the Old Dominion" (1897), which deals with pre-Revolutionary times. "A Daughter of the South" (1892) is an exquisitely told story of New Orleans Creole life thrown into the environment of Paris under the Second Empire.

Charles Egbert Craddock.—"Charles Egbert Craddock" is the pen-name of Mary Noailles Murfree (born in 1850), who contributed to *The Atlantic* for several years before it was suspected that her stories were written by a woman. She is the daughter of a once prominent lawyer of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, who in 1883 removed to St. Louis. Because of an accident Miss Murfree was for several years unable to walk. She was a diligent student and somehow gained an intimate knowledge of the mountaineers of Eastern Tennessee, who figure in all of her stories. Her first story of any importance was "The Dancin' Party at Harrison's Cove" (*The Atlantic,* May, 1878). It was largely due to Mr. Aldrich's urgent representations that her first collection of stories, "In the Tennessee Mountains," found a publisher (1884). Of this a writer in *The Nation* said, with justice: "We have not only one mountain valley, but a whole country of hills—not a man and a woman here and there but the people of a whole district—not merely a day of winter or of summer, but all the year—not lives, but life." This is substantially true of all her works, in which she describes prosaic and pathetic mountaineer life, being always inspired, however, by the solitude and grandeur of the Great Smoky Mountains. The list of her works is a long

one: "Where the Battle was Fought" (1884); "Down the Ravine" (1885); "The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains" (1885), which recounts the history of "a Bunyan worsted by his doubts;" "In the Clouds" (1887), a tragic story likewise dealing with religious experiences; "The Story of Keedon Bluffs" (1888); "The Despot of Broomsedge Cove" (1889), the plot of which hinges on a mysterious murder; "In the Stranger People's Country" (1891); "His Vanished Star" (1894); "The Mystery of Witch-Face Mountain, and Other Stories" (1895); "The Juggler" (1897); "The Young Mountaineers" (1897), short stories; "The Champion" (1902); "A Spectre of Power" (1903), which is laid in the year 1763 and is full of Indian love; "The Frontiersman" (1904); and "The Storm Centre" (1905). Her later work suffers from repetition of certain mannerisms and from excessive attention to description; possibly also from too rapid production. On the whole, however, in her ability to present the pathos and tragedy of simple lives, Miss Murfree has a place of honor among present-day writers.

Frank R. Stockton.—The unique and kindly humor of Mr. Stockton's books attracted many readers. He was born in Philadelphia in 1834 and was the son of William S. Stockton, an ardent temperance reformer, abolitionist, and Methodist layman who helped to establish the Methodist Protestant Church. Educated in the schools of Philadelphia, young Stockton first tried the study of medicine, then worked as a wood-engraver for some years, devoting his leisure time to prose and verse writing. In 1872 he gave up wood-engraving to join the staff of the Philadelphia *Morning Post,* and for the next ten years was

engaged in editorial and journalistic work on *Scribner's Monthly, St. Nicholas, Hearth and Home,* etc. From 1882 until his death in 1902, Mr. Stockton was independently engaged in literary work, producing a large number of delightfully humorous stories and novels. The tale which made him famous was "Rudder Grange" (1879), which recounts the experiences of a young married couple who begin housekeeping in a castaway barge with an absurd handmaid named Pomona. "The Lady or the Tiger? and Other Stories" appeared in 1884; the title story is the best known of Stockton's works. Other stories are "The Late Mrs. Null" (1886); "The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine" (1886), a Crusoe-like narrative, a sequel to which is "The Dusantes" (1888); "The Hundredth Man" (1887); "The Merry Chanter" (1890); "The Squirrel Inn" (1891); "Pomona's Travels" (1894), which narrates the wedding journey of the amusing Pomona through England and Scotland; "The Adventures of Captain Horn" (1895) and its sequel, "Mrs. Cliff's Yacht" (1896), which deal with adventures in quest of the treasure of the Incas of Peru; "A Bicycle of Cathay" (1900); and "Afield and Afloat" (1901), a collection of short stories. While his style is remarkably simple and free from mannerisms, "the art that conceals art, until it can pass for nature itself," his method of handling plot and character is distinctively his own. His reasoning is always logical, but he contrives that it shall bring about the most amusing absurdities conceivable. If, as one writer alleges, "his whimsicality played on the surface of men and things," one may reply that that is precisely where it should play. His stories are none the less wholesome, even though he rarely or never touches on the pathetic. He was equally at home with the novel and the short

story; but probably it is by his short stories that he will be longest known.

George Washington Cable.—George W. Cable (born in 1844) has immortalized the picturesque Creole life of Louisiana in the nineteenth century. Born in New Orleans of Virginian and New England stock, he had little school training and early became a clerk. At nineteen he entered the Confederate Army, serving till the close of the war. Then he became in succession a civil engineer and an accountant, contributing meanwhile to the New Orleans *Picayune*. Seven of his stories were collected and published in 1879 as "Old Creole Days." "The Grandissimes" (1880), which remains his best work, is a graphic and faithful picture of New Orleans life of a century ago, embodying romance and realism. "Madame Delphine" (1881) is a touching story of a heroic old quadroon woman. In "Dr. Sevier" (1884), Cable has studied in romantic vein an exceptional type of character, though not with marked success. "Bonaventure, a Prose Pastoral of Arcadian Louisiana" (1888), a better book, is a chapter of ethical history. "Strange True Stories of Louisiana" appeared in 1889. Less interesting as fiction, but valuable as a social study, is "John March, Southerner" (1894), a story of Southern Reconstruction. "The Cavalier" (1901) goes back to the Civil War, but subordinates interest in the conflict to interest in character; while "Bylow Hill" (1902) is a tragic story of insane jealousy, the scene being New England. Since 1885 Mr. Cable has lived at Northampton, Massachusetts. His later work, like that of many another, has probably suffered from a natural tendency to subordinate the artistic to the ethical. But in the province which he has made his own, the pioneer remains

supreme. "Few recent American novelists," Professor Richardson justly remarks, "have shown so uniform an average of attainment in thought and art, or have thrown upon the quaintly real such new tints of ideal light."

Albion Winegar Tourgée.—Albion W. Tourgée (1838-1905), an Ohioan, studied (1858-61) at the University of Rochester, saw service in the Union army, and afterward became an editor and lawyer at Greensboro, North Carolina. Most of his novels deal with phases of the Reconstruction Period in the South. The best of these were "A Fool's Errand, by One of the Fools" (1879), doubtless his best known work, "Bricks without Straw" (1880), and "The Invisible Empire" (1883). "Figs and Thistles" (1879) is a realistic story of early Ohio, in which the career of President Garfield is introduced; "Pactolus Prime" (1890) is the story of a Washington bootblack who has views on the negro problem. A man of strong opinions, Judge Tourgée could not write a novel which did not provoke thought; and he was by no means devoid of the true story-teller's cunning.

The Eighties.—The decade of 1880-90 beheld the growth of realism to vigorous maturity. Romances not a few were written, to be sure, such as the "Ramona" (1884) of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson ("H. H.," 1831-85), in which a romantic narrative clothes a strong plea for more humane treatment of the Indians, and the two Italian romances of William Waldorf Astor (born in 1848), "Valentino" (1885) and "Sforza, a Story of Milan" (1889). But these can hardly be called representative stories in a decade which saw the best work of Howells, James, Craddock, Fawcett, Bunner, Cable, and many others who wrote

of the life they had seen and were content to employ present-day settings.

A few writers may here be grouped together for convenience. To the decade in question belong the best stories of George Parsons Lathrop (1851-98), the son-in-law of Hawthorne, "In the Distance" (1882), "An Echo of Passion" (1882), and "Would You Kill Him?" (1889), which amounts to a plea against capital punishment; and most of the fiction of Professor Arlo Bates (born in 1850), "The Pagans" (1884) and its sequel "The Philistines" (1889), "A Lad's Love" (1887), though "The Puritans" dates from 1898. Fine pictures of Italian life have been drawn by Julia Constance Fletcher ("George Fleming," born in 1853) in "Vestigia" (1882) and "Andromeda" (1885), the latter a story of high ideals and noble self-sacrifice. Illinois life in the unattractive baldness of pioneer days is portrayed by Major Joseph Kirkland (1830-94) in "Zury, the Meanest Man in Spring County" (1887) and "The McVeys, an Episode" (1888), in which Lincoln again figures as in Eggleston's "Graysons."

Henry Adams and John Hay.—"Democracy" (1880), an anonymous novel the authorship of which has hitherto baffled the critics, and which the present writer can now announce definitely to have been the work of the historian Henry Adams, is a keen and incisive study of political society in Washington, vividly portraying the corruption which perhaps inevitably attends the growth of the people's power, but concerning which the author is all too pessimistic. The bribery case which aids Mrs. Lee in unmasking the real character of Silas P. Ratcliffe finds a parallel in our contemporary history; and several of the characters are thought to have been drawn from real life.

Happily, whatever may have been the state of affairs in Washington in 1880, the story would be very far from a true picture of the Washington of to-day. John Hay (1838-1905), lawyer, journalist, diplomatist, and statesman, was the author of a single novel, and his connection with that has been, up to the appearance of the present volume, only a conjecture. Prudence, however, obviously, required that "The Bread-Winners" (1883) should appear anonymously. As a politician and as acting editor of *The Tribune* Mr. Hay did not then wish to avow himself to have written a "frivolous novel;" besides, in the story he had spoken rather plainly about strikes and labor troubles. The story itself is well written, natural, and for the most part true to life. Of the two love scenes, the proposal of Maud Matchin is more convincing than is Farnham's to Alice Belding. The plot is well worked out; our interest in the story for itself almost never flags.

Joel Chandler Harris—Joel Chandler Harris (1848-1908) used to describe himself as a journalist who became a literary man by accident. Few accidents have been luckier. He was born at Eatonton, Putnam County, Georgia. At fourteen he began to set type in a country newspaper office, contributing surreptitiously to its columns, setting his articles from the case instead of committing them to paper. Then he studied law and practiced for a time at Forsyth, Georgia, at the same time doing literary work. In 1876 he joined the staff of the Atlanta *Constitution*, of which he became editor in 1890. To this paper he contributed the beast stories collected in 1881 under the title "Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings," which have ever since been immensely popular. Uncle Remus, a shrewd and witty old negro, has an inexhaustible supply of stories of Brer

Rabbit, Brer Fox, and the other creatures; these "the little boy" and the rest of us never tire of hearing. The stories themselves, brought from Africa by the negroes, are interesting variant forms of the great beast epic, the classic example of which is "Reynard the Fox."* They celebrate the victory of craft over strength, of brain over brawn. Two other series afterward appeared, "Nights with Uncle Remus" (1883) and "Uncle Remus and His Friends" (1892); and now there is an *Uncle Remus's Magazine*. Mr. Harris's other books have helped to complete an admirably faithful picture of Middle Georgia rural life before, during, and after the Civil War. They include "At Teague Poteet's" (published in 1883 in *The Century*), "Mingo, and Other Sketches in Black and White" (1884), "Free Joe" (1887), "Balaam and His Master, and Other Sketches and Stories" (1891), in which melancholy and pathos predominate, "Aaron in the Wildwoods" (1897), "Tales of the Home Folks in Peace and War" (1898), "The Chronicles of Aunt Minervy Ann" (1899), "On the Wings of Occasion" (1900). With the single exception of "Gabriel Tolliver" (1902), which was not successful, Mr. Harris's constant work in journalism prevented him from undertaking any long novel of plantation life; shorter flights were better suited to his ability.

Maurice Thompson.—Maurice Thompson (1844-1901), of Indiana, wrote several romances. The first three, dealing with Southern life, "A Tallahassee Girl" (1882), "His Second Campaign" (1883), and "At Love's Extremes" (1885), were not very successful. In "A Banker of Bankersville" (1886) he succeeded better, giving a true and fresh picture

* See Professor T. Frederick Crane's study of them in *The Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1881, xviii. 824-833.

of life in Indiana. The novel by which he is best known is "Alice of Old Vincennes" (1901), a stirring tale of French Indiana and the War of Independence. "Sweetheart Manette" (1901) gives an agreeable sketch of life in a Creole town on the Gulf Coast.

Francis Marion Crawford.—"The most versatile and various of modern novelists," if Mr. Andrew Lang's opinion is to be accepted, is Mr. F. Marion Crawford. Not only has he been prolific in a high degree, having written over thirty novels, but his scenes and characters have a wide range both in time and in place. He was born at Bagni di Lucca, Italy, in 1854, the son of Thomas Crawford, the sculptor (who was of Scotch-Irish parentage), and Louisa Ward Crawford, a sister of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Prepared for college at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, he entered Harvard but remained there only a short time. He spent the years 1870-74 mainly at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1874-76 at Karlsruhe and Heidelberg, and 1877-78 at the University of Rome, where he studied Sanskrit. In 1879 he went to India and for two years was connected with the Allahabad *Indian Herald*. Returning to America, he spent two years in New York and Boston, continuing his Sanskrit and Zend studies under Professor Lanman of Harvard. No other American novelist save Mr. James has had so cosmopolitan a training. Relating a story of a Persian jewel merchant's adventure in India to his uncle Samuel Ward, he was advised to make a novel of it; the result was the fascinating "Mr. Isaacs" (1882). Soon afterward Mr. Crawford returned to Italy, where, near Sorrento, he has since lived.

Mr. Crawford has a gift of rapid composition, sometimes completing a novel in less than a month; but his

work as a whole is markedly free from slovenliness or signs of undue haste. His stories can be only briefly described: "Dr. Claudius" (1883), a highly romantic old-fashioned love-story of a learned Heidelberg Ph. D.; "To Leeward" (1883), a clever story of a wife's infidelity and of Roman society; "A Roman Singer" (1884), the story of an Italian peasant boy who became a great tenor and married a German countess; "An American Politician" (1885), which deals, in the style of Henry James, and with indifferent success, with the corruption in American politics; "Zoroaster" (1885), a strong romance written also in French, and brilliantly treating of the court of King Darius and the prophet Daniel; "A Tale of a Lonely Parish" (1886), a quiet and charming story of English rural life; "Paul Patoff" (1887), "a tale and nothing else," the scene of which is laid in modern Constantinople; "Marzio's Crucifix" (1887, written also in French), which is exceptional among his works in that it portrays Italian lower and middle class life, and which is considered by many his best work; "Saracinesca" (1887), "Sant' Ilario" (1889), "Don Orsino" (1892), and "Corleone" (1898), four novels forming a sequence and presenting on a broad canvas a remarkable picture of Roman society in the last third of the nineteenth century; "Greifenstein" (1889), a tragedy of the Black Forest, "a true story," containing accurate descriptions of German student life; "A Cigarette-Maker's Romance" (1890), a perfectly constructed romantic and absorbing story of Russian and Polish people living in Munich; "Khaled, a Romance of Arabia" (1891), of which a genie is the hero; "The Witch of Prague" (1891), which deals with hypnotism, a theme difficult to handle in fiction; "The Three Fates" (1892), a realistic story of New York society life and the best of Mr. Crawford's American

studies; "Marion Darche" (1893), another story of New York and of the devotion of a forger's wife; "The Children of the King" (1893), a melodramatic story of Calabrian peasant life; "Pietro Ghisleri" (1893), in which both romantic and realistic elements are found and which pictures the gay society of Rome; "Katharine Lauderdale" and its sequel "The Ralstons" (1894), chronicles of a New York family; "Casa Braccio" (1895), a melodrama of passion; "Taquisara" (1896), an unpleasant story of the last representative of a great Saracen family and a princess of Acireale; "Via Crucis" (1899), a historical romance of the Second Crusade; "In the Palace of the King" (1900), a tale of passion, the hero of which is Don John of Austria, and the scene of which is the court of Philip II. of Spain; "Marietta, a Maid of Venice" (1901), a fifteenth century story; "The Heart of Rome" (1903), the *motif* of which is modern Rome's treatment of its artistic heritage; "Fair Margaret" (1905), published in London as "Soprano, a Portrait," recounting the fascinating career of Margaret Donne, who becomes a successful opera singer; "Whosoever Shall Offend" (1905), an effective story of crime; and "A Lady of Rome" (1906), a study of character moulded by strong religious belief.

Of this remarkable series the most successful, though probably not the most popular, are those dealing with Italian life. Mr. Crawford has been markedly successful in his portraiture of Italian middle class life, and only a little less so in writing of the aristocracy. He excels in representing agreeable, well-bred men and women; under his touch they are natural, human, life-like. He is fertile in invention and lavish of characters and plot-incident, using in quite a subordinate connection materials which other novelists would reserve for the main plots of future

novels. In general his plots are skillfully constructed; occasionally, as in "Taquisara" (which is almost two separate stories), he fails to weld his material insolubly together. He has a remarkably bold and vigorous imagination, and does not hesitate to introduce daring conceptions and incidents; a romantic cast of mind is necessary if one would fully enjoy him. A Roman Catholic himself, he has had the amplest opportunity for studying the Catholic temperament and point of view, which he interprets admirably; it is natural that he should be weakest in portraying the characters of unbelievers or heretics. He is always dispassionate, calm, never losing himself in any storm of passion. His fiction as a whole is remarkably even, and it cannot be affirmed that his latest work shows deterioration. For the skill with which he has utilized vast stores of learning, for the effective though restrained use of a virile and picturesque imagination, for "astonishing literary tact" and breadth of view, Mr. Crawford has not his equal among living American writers, and his place is among the writers who only just miss the first rank.

Frederic Jesup Stimson.—Frederic Stimson, a native of Dedham, Massachusetts (born in 1855), has led a busy life as lawyer, legal writer, Harvard professor, and novelist. His earlier novels were published over the pen-name of "J. S. of Dale." He has written, among others, "Guerndale" (1882), "The Crime of Henry Vane" (1884), the plot of which is unconvincing, "First Harvests" (1888), "Mrs. Knollys, and Other Stories" (1894), "Pirate Gold" (1896), "King Noanett" (1896), carefully worked out, an exciting story of mystery and adventure, "Jethro Bacon of Sandwich" (1902), and "In Cure of Her Soul" (1906). Mr. Stimson

has not taken high rank as a novelist, but his stories are generally interesting and the later ones may be commended to those who are fond of good romances. "The Weaker Sex" (*The Atlantic,* April, 1901) is a powerful short story.

Henry Cuyler Bunner.—Henry C. Bunner (1855-96), for many years the editor of *Puck,* wrote many short stories and some good novels. He was a native of Oswego, New York, and received his literary training in the school of journalism, being connected first with *The Sun* and then with *The Arcadian,* a literary weekly. "A Woman of Honor" (1883) gave some promise in plot and incident. "Love in Old Cloathes" (*The Century,* September, 1883) brought him a reputation as a clever story-teller. His next novel, "The Midge," an ingenious story of the New York French quarter, appeared in 1886; it was followed by "The Story of a New York House" (1887), the somewhat melancholy history of a house, typifying the family which occupies it. "Natural Selection" appeared serially in *Scribner's* (1888). "Zadoc Pine, and Other Stories" (1891) are tales the skillful construction of which shows how carefully Bunner studied Boccaccio; while in "Short Sixes" (1891), his most popular stories, he avowed his discipleship to Maupassant. He was more successful in his short stories than in his novels.

Arthur Sherburne Hardy.—Arthur S. Hardy (born in 1847 at Andover, Mass.), in 1902-6 United States Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid, has had a varied career. Graduating at West Point in 1869, he served for a year in the Third United States Artillery, then became in succession professor of civil engineering, first at Iowa College, later at Dartmouth, professor of mathematics at Dartmouth, editor of *The*

Cosmopolitan, and United States Minister to Persia, to Greece, Roumania, and Servia, and to Switzerland. Well known for several mathematical publications, he is the author of three novels, two of which are distinguished for happy description, graceful diction, and profound reflection rather than for individuality of plot or able development of character. "But Yet a Woman" (1883) is a story, somewhat deficient in local color, of the coming of love to a French maiden destined for the convent. "The Wind of Destiny" (1886) is a story of a weak woman and two men which, though it lacks dramatic interest, offers some compensation in "the peculiarly noble air which pervades it, the extreme beauty of many of its passages, the revelation of life flashed occasionally as from a diamond of light, and perhaps more than all for the very subtle charm which hangs over the whole movement of the story."* "Passe Rose" (1889) is a charming poetical romance of Provence in the stirring times of Charles the Great, and is decidedly Mr. Hardy's most successful novel. His latest story is "His Daughter First" (1903). With rare sympathy, which he makes no attempt to conceal, he has interpreted several diverse types, and his men and women are alive.

Mary Hallock Foote.—Born at Milton-on-the-Hudson, New York, in 1847, Mary Hallock early showed artistic talent and at sixteen began to study design in Cooper Institute, New York City. She was married in 1876 to Arthur D. Foote, a California mining engineer, and traveled extensively in the Southwest. Her varied experiences have been utilized with marked literary skill in a series of stories, the first of which was "The Led-Horse Claim"

* *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1886, lviii. 133.

(1883), in which the story of Romeo and Juliet was repeated in a California mining camp, though with a happy ending. "The Chosen Valley" (1892) is a study in contrasts, recounting an episode in the reclaiming by irrigation of the waste lands of the West. In 1894 appeared "Cœur d'Alène," a love story with a background in the labor troubles. She has also written "John Bowdoin's Testimony" (1886), "The Last Assembly Ball" (1889), "In Exile" (1894), and "The Cup of Trembling" (1895). Her latest stories, "The Desert and the Sown" (1902), a study of ideal self-sacrifice, and "A Touch of Sun, and Other Stories" (1903), are hardly up to the level of her earlier work, which, in its vivid representation of wild Western life, entitles her to a place with Bret Harte.

Wolcott Balestier.—The promise of the too short life of Charles Wolcott Balestier (1861-91) deserves record. He was born at Rochester, New York, studied at Cornell University and the University of Virginia, and became first the editor of *Tit-Bits* and then the junior partner of Heinemann & Balestier, publishers of "The English Library," an attempt to popularize British and American books on the Continent. His interest in literature was intense, and that he would have produced stories worth remembering, doubtless in the vein of Mr. Howells, whom he greatly admired, is evidenced by his few published works, "A Patent Philtre" (1884), "A Fair Device" (1884), "A Victorious Defeat" (1886), "A Common Story" (1891), "The Average Woman" (1892), three stories, with a memorial note by Henry James, and "Benefits Forgot" (1891), first published serially in *The Century*. With Mr. Kipling, his brother-in-law, he collaborated in "The Naulahka" (1892).

Robert Grant.—Born in Boston (1852), Robert Grant graduated from Harvard in 1873 and became Ph. D. in 1876 and LL. B. in 1879. He has followed law and letters side by side. In 1893 he was appointed Judge of the Probate Court and the Court of Insolvency for Suffolk County, Massachusetts. He has written, among other things, "The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl" (1880), "An Average Man" (1884), "The Knave of Hearts" (1886), "The Reflections of a Married Man" (1892), "The Opinions of a Philosopher" (1893), "The Bachelor's Christmas, and Other Stories" (1895), and "Unleavened Bread" (1900), his best known and most powerful story. Mr. Grant is a trenchant satirist of the foibles of certain aspirants to social prominence. Selma, in "Unleavened Bread," is a veritable incarnation of ignoble social ambition.

Thomas Nelson Page.—One of the leading novelists of the South to-day is Thomas Nelson Page. Born in 1853 at Oakland, Virginia, he studied (1869-72) at Washington and Lee University and (1873-74) at the University of Virginia. After practicing law for some years, he turned, like many other lawyers, to literature. "Marse Chan" (*The Century,* April, 1884) met with great favor, and was followed by other short stories, which were collected in 1887 under the title "In Ole Virginia." The life in Virginia before and during the war was further presented in "Two Little Confederates" (1888), "On Newfound River" (1891), "Elsket, and Other Stories" (1891), "The Burial of the Guns, and Other Stories" (1894), "Red Rock, a Chronicle of Reconstruction" (1898), "The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock" (1900), and "Gordon Keith" (1903). Mr. Page has a strong affection for the Old South,

and vividly and powerfully delineates the life of the aristocracy and the negroes. While sympathetic, his descriptions of the system of slavery are free from bitterness and are entitled to consideration as truthful and convincing. Probably he has never surpassed his earlier short stories, which exhibit most distinctively the charm of his style; but "Red Rock," at least, has demonstrated his ability to write successfully also on a larger scale.

Thomas Allibone Janvier.—Thomas A. Janvier (born in 1849), a native of Philadelphia, became a New York journalist and then a writer of stories. He has been especially successful in depicting the Bohemian life of the metropolis. His "Color Studies: Four Stories" (1885), reprinted from *The Century,* narrate the struggles of a painter in New York; though slight, they are realistic and agreeable. Having made an exhaustive study of Mexico, he put his knowledge to good use in "The Aztec Treasure House: a Romance of Contemporaneous Antiquity" (1890), a successful romantic novel dealing with a legend of buried treasure; a story of wholesome flavor and sustained interest. He has also written "Stories of Old New Spain" (1895) and several others.

Some New England Women.—Here may be grouped several gifted daughters of the Puritans, some of whom deserve more space than can be given them. Mrs. Jane Goodwin Austin (1831-94) wrote several readable historical romances of colonial New England. Among her works are "A Nameless Nobleman" (1881), "Dr. Le Baron and His Daughters" (1890), sequel to the first, "Standish of Standish" (1889), and "David Alden's Daughter and Other Stories" (1892).

Mrs. Rose Terry Cooke (1827-92), a native of Connecticut, was known as a poet for many years before she began to write short stories. She published the following collections: "Happy Dodd" (1879), "Somebody's Neighbors" (1881), "Root-Bound" (1885), "The Sphinx's Children" (1886), and "Huckleberries Gathered from New England Hills" (1891). "The Deacon's Week" (1884) may count as her best story. In all her stories the humors of New England Yankee character are set forth with vigor and relish. She wrote a single novel, "Steadfast, the Story of a Saint and a Sinner" (1889), dealing with early New England church life, and ranking much above the average novel.

Mrs. Annie Trumbull Slosson, likewise of Connecticut, has shown skill in dialect stories, of which "Fishin' Jimmy" (1889), "Seven Dreamers" (1890), "The Heresy of Mehetabel Clark" (1892), and "Dumb Foxglove, and Other Stories" (1898) may be mentioned. The grotesque elements of New England life especially appeal to her.

Mrs. Clara Louise Burnham (born at Newton, Massachusetts, in 1854) has lived in Chicago since childhood, but is fond of locating her scenes in New England. She has written many stories, among them "No Gentleman" (1881), "A Sane Lunatic" (1882), "Dearly Bought" (1884), "Next Door" (1886), "Young Maids and Old" (1888), "Miss Bagg's Secretary" (1892), "Dr. Latimer" (1893), "The Wise Woman" (1895), "A West Point Wooing" (1899), and "The Right Princess" (1902).

Alice Brown (born in New Hampshire in 1857), after teaching school for several years, devoted herself to literature, and is now a member of the staff of *The Youth's Companion*. She has written "Fools of Nature" (1887), "Meadow-Grass" (1895), short tales of New Eng-

land village life, "The Day of His Youth" (1897), a story of disillusionment, "Tiverton Tales" (1899), "King's End" (1901), "Margaret Warrener" (1901), "The Mannerings" (1903), and "High Noon" (1904). Her stories are skillfully constructed, and she writes with commendable restraint and dignity.

Mary E. Wilkins Freeman.—The more sombre and less attractive aspects of New England village and country life have been presented with great success in the numerous stories of Mary E. Wilkins (since 1902 Mrs. Charles M. Freeman). Born at Randolph, Massachusetts, in 1862, she was educated at Mt. Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. Her stories include "The Adventures of Ann" (1886), "A Humble Romance" (1887), "A New England Nun, and Other Stories" (1891), "Jane Field" (1892), her first novel, "Pembroke" (1894), generally considered her greatest work, and distinguished for beauty of style and truthful and delicate character-drawing, "Madelon" (1896), "Jerome, a Poor Man" (1897), by some ranked higher than "Pembroke" in that it has a stronger central interest, "Silence, and Other Stories" (1898), which includes some of her best work, especially "Evelina's Garden," one of her most artistic tales, "The Love of Parson Lord" (1900), "The Heart's Highway" (1900), a historical romance of Virginia in 1682, "The Portion of Labor" (1901), "Understudies" (1901), "Six Trees" (1903), "The Wind in the Rose Bush" (1903), "The Givers," eight stories (1904), and several magazine stories. Her place is easily in the first rank of those who have delineated New England life.

Harold Frederic.—Harold Frederic (1856-98) wrote a

number of realistic stories, chiefly of country life in New York. A native of Utica, in that state, he began his career as proof-reader; at twenty-six he was editor of the Albany *Evening Journal,* and in 1884 he took charge of the foreign bureau of the New York *Times,* with headquarters in London. "Seth's Brother's Wife" (1887), first published serially in *Scribner's,* minutely describes the prosaic round of farming life and country journalism and elections. "The Lawton Girl" (1890) gives us the turmoil of a small manufacturing town. "In the Valley" (1890) is a Mohawk Dutchman's story of the Revolutionary struggle. "The Copperhead, and Other Stories of the North" (1893) and "Marséna, and Other Stories" (1894) are collections of Civil War stories, vigorous and daring. His best stories are "The Damnation of Theron Ware" (1896, published in England as "Illumination"), an absorbing study of the intellectual career of an earnest but narrow young Methodist minister and of the struggle of two religious ideals in his life, and "The Market Place" (1899), a thoroughgoing study of the London Stock Exchange. His untimely death cut short a career of notable achievement and great promise.

Archibald Clavering Gunter.—Archibald Clavering Gunter (1847-1907), a native of Liverpool who became a California mining and civil engineer, chemist, and stockbroker, at forty began to write novels which violated most of the literary canons, but which in plot and incident were of absorbing interest. It was his avowed rule to make something happen in every five hundred words. This explains why a million copies of his first novel, "Mr. Barnes of New York" (1887), have been sold. He wrote thirty-nine novels in all, the best of which, in addition to

his first, are "Mr. Potter of Texas" (1888), "That Frenchman" (1889), "Jack Curzon" (1899), and "A Manufacturer's Daughter" (1901). He also became well known as a playwright.

Octave Thanet.—"Octave Thanet" is the well known pen-name of Alice French (born at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1850), who has achieved enviable success in her short stories of life in Iowa and Arkansas, a field in which she has few rivals. These stories include "Knitters in the Sun" (1887), "Expiation" (1890), vigorous, truly colored, and accurate in details, "Stories of a Western Town" (1893), Iowa sketches, "The Missionary Sheriff" (1897), and "The Heart of Toil" (1898), full of the pathos of an unequal struggle with economic forces. Miss French writes sympathetically, with her eyes on the men and women who furnish her with characters.

Margaret Deland.—One of the most popular of living novelists, and justly so, is Mrs. Margaret Deland. Born Margaretta Campbell, in 1857, in Manchester, now a part of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, then a village "of dignified houses, pleasant gardens, and meadows sloping to a picturesque river," she was left an orphan at three and was cared for by an aunt. At sixteen, like Mrs. Foote, she entered a class in drawing and design in Cooper Institute, New York; she graduated at the head of her class, and won an appointment as instructor in design in the Girls' Normal College, a post which she filled till 1880. Then she was married to Mr. Lorin F. Deland and went to Boston. Eight years later appeared her first novel, "John Ward, Preacher." It is the story of the conflict of rigid Calvinism and modern liberalism, and it has been com-

pared with Mrs. Ward's "Robert Elsmere." Two love-stories, one of which recalls Mrs. Gaskell's "Cranford," relieve the tragic gloom of the narrative. Ashurst is an idealized Manchester. In "Sidney" (1890) the author studies the question of the value of mortal sexual love; the problems of faith and doubt also recur. "The Story of a Child" (1892) delineates an uncontrolled imagination. "Mr. Tommy Dove, and Other Stories" (1893) is a collection including typical humor and pathos. "Philip and His Wife" (1894) has to do with an unhappy marriage. Her recent stories are "The Wisdom of Fools" (1898), "Old Chester Tales" (1899), "Dr. Lavendar's People" (1904), and "The Awakening of Helena Richie" (1906). Big-hearted, shrewd Dr. Lavendar, who figures in her last two stories, is one of the most lovable characters in American fiction; and her latest books show a distinctly stronger grasp of life and greater narrative power.

Mary Hartwell Catherwood.—Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood (1847-1902) made a name for herself with some very successful historical romances of the French and Indian Wars and French Canadian and early Illinois life. "The Romance of Dollard" (1889), "The Lady of Fort St. John" (1891), "The White Islander" (1893), and "The Chase of Saint Castin, and Other Stories" (1894) are spirited narratives of battle and siege, of intrigue and jealousy, in which bold and noble characters play their parts well, and which contain vivid descriptions of scenery—in sunshine and storm. Of the early Middle West she wrote "Old Kaskaskia" (1893), "The Spirit of an Illinois Town" (1897), "Little Renault" (1897), "Spanish Peggy" (1899), "The Queen of the

Swamp, and Other Plain Americans" (1899), and "Lazarre" (1901).

Rowland E. Robinson.—The dialect and manners of Vermont are reproduced with remarkable fidelity by Rowland E. Robinson (1833-1900) in "Sam Lovel's Camps" (1889), "Danvis Folks" (1894), and "Uncle 'Lisha's Shop" (1897). These stories are among our most valuable transcripts of the life of Northern New England.

Francis Hopkinson Smith.—F. Hopkinson Smith (born in Baltimore, 1838) had a varied career before he essayed the novel, at fifty-three. He began life as a clerk in some iron works; then, becoming an engineer and contractor, he took to building sea-walls and light-houses, and afterwards became well known as an artist. In "Colonel Carter of Cartersville" (1891) he drew an alluring picture of the old *régime* in the South. "A Gentleman Vagabond, and Some Others" (1895) are varied character stories. "Tom Grogan" (1896) and "Caleb West, Master Diver" (1898) draw upon Mr. Smith's engineering experiences. He has also written "The Other Fellow" (1899), "The Fortunes of Oliver Horn" (1902), "The Under Dog" (1903), "Colonel Carter's Christmas" (1904), "At Close Range" (1905), and "The Wood Fire in No. 3" (1905). If some of his persons are conventional and indistinct, others stand out as skillfully characterized and permanent figures in his literary gallery.

James Lane Allen.—James Lane Allen has done for Kentucky what Mr. Page has done for Old Virginia and Miss Murfree for the Tennessee mountaineers. A native of Kentucky (born in 1849), he graduated from Transylvania

University, at Lexington, Kentucky, and taught in schools and colleges for some years. Since 1884, however, he has devoted himself to literary work. Besides writing much for magazines he has published "Flute and Violin, and Other Kentucky Tales and Romances" (1891), "The Blue Grass Region, and Other Sketches" (1892), "John Gray" (1893), rewritten and enlarged into "The Choir Invisible" (1897), "A Kentucky Cardinal" (1894) and its sequel "Aftermath" (1895), "Summer in Arcady" (1896), "The Reign of Law" (1900), published in England as "The Increasing Purpose," and "The Mettle of the Pasture" (1903). A tendency toward didacticism and a lack of spontaneity mar the latest works of Mr. Allen; he is at his best in his earlier works, in which he revels in the beauty of the Blue Grass Region and writes in the spirit of a disciple of Thoreau and Audubon. The romanticist in him was gradually transformed into the objective realist. Yet in all his work there are elements of strength and poetic beauty. By a curious coincidence another Kentucky James Lane Allen (born in 1848), a graduate of Bethany College, in which the first Mr. Allen taught, and now a Chicago lawyer, has also written numerous magazine sketches and stories.

Hamlin Garland.—The grim, dull life of the hard-worked farmer in the Middle West has been effectively recorded by Hamlin Garland. A native of La Crosse, Wisconsin (born in 1860), Mr. Garland saw at close range the life he was to describe, in Iowa, Illinois, and Dakota. His first book was a collection of six realistic stories, "Main-Travelled Roads" (1891), which gave him a reputation and he has continued to write in similar vein, publishing "Prairie Folks" (1892), "A Little Norsk, or

Ol' Pap's Flaxen" (1892), "A Spoil of Office" (1892), "Rose of Dutcher's Coolly" (1895), his best novel, "The Eagle's Heart" (1900), "Her Mountain Lover" (1901), and "Money Magic" (1907). Mr. Garland has for the most part wisely obeyed his own dictum, to write only of what one knows; and his later work shows a notable increase in vigor and grasp of the story-teller's art.

Henry Blake Fuller.—Henry B. Fuller (born in Chicago, 1857) was intended for a mercantile career, but preferred literature. "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani" (1890), first published anonymously, was praised by Lowell and Norton. In 1892 appeared "The Chatelaine of La Trinité." In "The Cliff-Dwellers" (1893), he turned from the romantic to a sure realism in a story of Chicago life. "With the Procession" followed in 1895, being in similar vein. These stories show skill in individualization, intense earnestness, facility, and ability to make an old theme interesting. "His picture," says Mr. Whibley, "is never overcharged; his draughtsmanship is always sincere."

Stephen Crane and Frank Norris.—Stephen Crane (1870-1900), born in Newark, New Jersey, and educated at Lafayette College and Syracuse University, first entered journalism and won some distinction as a war correspondent of the New York *Journal.* His first story, dealing with slum life, was "Maggie, a Girl of the Streets" (1891), which, as Mr. Howells thinks, remains his best work. "The Red Badge of Courage" (1895), a thoroughly realistic study of the mind of a soldier in action at the battle of Chancellorsville, was altogether a remarkable achievement; it took the public by storm and brought the author a wide reputation, which was not sustained by his

later work. He also wrote "George's Mother" (1896), another slum story, "The Little Regiment" (1896), "Active Service" (1899), "The Monster, and Other Stories" (1899); and two collections of stories, "Wounds in the Rain" and "Whilomville Stories" (1900), tales of child life, which were published posthumously. His impressionism, though at times too little restrained, was often effective, and his highly colored stories have found many admiring readers.

In the death of Frank Norris (1870-1902), another promising career was cut short. Norris managed to see a good deal of life. Born in Chicago, he studied art in Paris (1887-89) and literature at the University of California and Harvard. Like Crane he became a journalist. At the time of the Jameson Raid in South Africa he was the South African correspondent for a San Francisco paper and in 1898 did similar work in Cuba. He began publishing fiction as early as 1891 ("Yberville"), but it was not till 1899 that he became well known for "McTeague." His later stories were thoroughly realistic. With "The Octopus" (1901) he began a trilogy which should form "an epic of the wheat." In the first novel is described the growth of the wheat and the oppressive railroad monopoly encountered in its transportation. "The Pit" (1903) deals with the battles of the wheat speculators. "The Wolf," unfinished, was to have dealt with the struggle for bread in a European famine-stricken community. "The story of the wheat was for him," as Mr. Howells puts it, "the allegory of the industrial and financial America which is the real America." The largeness of the scope of his undertaking and the robust courage and confidence with which he attacked it deserve our admiration. What he accomplished shows that he would have been equal to his task.

Ruth McEnery Stuart.—Mrs. Stuart has written several highly amusing stories of negro life in the South. Born in the parish of Avoyelles, Louisiana, she was married in 1879 to Alfred O. Stuart, a cotton planter. Since 1885 she has lived in New York. Her stories include "The Golden Wedding, and Other Tales" (1893), "Carlotta's Intended" (1894), "The Story of Babette" (1894), "Moriah's Mourning" (1898), "Sonny" (1896), "Holly and Pizen" (1899), "The Woman's Exchange" (1899), and "The River's Children" (1905). Writing in a natural and witty style, she has brought out with great skill the humor and pathos of the old plantation. She is a favorite contributor to the magazines.

Paul Leicester Ford.—Paul Leicester Ford (1865-1902), whose most serious and permanently valuable work was done in the field of American history, was the author of some notable works of fiction. "The Honorable Peter Sterling and What People Thought of Him" (1894) introduces an ideally noble statesman whose integrity triumphs over the sordid corruption of politics. Some points in the book are said to have been suggested by the career of President Cleveland. "Janice Meredith" (1899) is a sentimental romance of the Revolutionary War, in which a fascinating love-story is projected on an accurate historical background. Of less importance, but still most readable, are "The Great K. & A. Train Robbery" (1897) and "The Story of an Untold Love" (1897).

Edward Noyes Westcott.—Edward N. Westcott (1847-98), a banker of Syracuse, New York, was the author of a single book, which he was unable to get published in his lifetime, but which gave him posthumous fame. The hero of

"David Harum" (1898) is a shrewd Central New York Yankee, a son of the soil who with characteristic energy rose to be a banker and successful man of affairs, and who retained all his amusing traits, including a weakness for trading horses—"an optimist who has wrung from the harsh conditions of life all that it can yield." The other characters are rather wooden, but the delineation of David Harum is strong, vital, and hence lasting. The plot is weak, but the story is true to the phases of life it depicts.

Henry Harland.—Henry Harland (1861-1905) was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and was educated at the College of the City of New York, Harvard, Paris, and Rome. In 1886 he removed to London, where he became well known as the editor of *The Yellow Book.* His earlier stories, including "As It Was Written" (1885), a musician's story, "Mrs. Peixada" (1886), "The Land of Love" (1887), "My Uncle Florimond" (1888), and others, were published as by "Sidney Luska;" they circulated widely but were soon condemned by Harland himself as trashy. He later wrote "Mea Culpa" (1893), "Comedies and Errors" (1898), "The Cardinal's Snuff-Box" (1900), which scored a decided success, and "My Lady Paramount" (1902). His brilliance and geniality are reflected in his works, but his vein was not an extensive one.

The Younger Generation.—Space forbids more than a mention of some of the other living writers. Owen Wister (born in Philadelphia, 1860) has become well known through "The Dragon of Wantley: His Tail" (1892) and "The Virginian" (1902), in which latter we have an exciting story of a Wyoming cow-boy. The much-traveled Richard Harding Davis (also a Philadelphian, born in

1864) has written racy and characteristically humorous stories of New York club and street life in "Gallegher, and Other Stories" (1891), "Van Bibber, and Others" (1892), and "Episodes in Van Bibber's Life" (1899). Of his other stories the best known are "The Princess Aline" (1895), "Soldiers of Fortune" (1897), in which a South American revolution figures prominently, "In the Fog" (1901), a clever London tale, "Ranson's Folly" (1902), and "The Bar Sinister" (1904). Robert W. Chambers (born in Brooklyn, 1865) is well known both as an artist and a romancer, a weaver of strange and exciting plots. Among his best books are "The Haunts of Men" (1898), stories of American or Canadian life, "The Cambric Mask" (1899), "A Gay Conspiracy" (1900), which shows the influence of Anthony Hope's "Prisoner of Zenda," "Cardigan" (1901), and "Iole" (1905). Newton Booth Tarkington (born in 1869 in Indianapolis, a graduate of Princeton) won fame in 1899 with "The Gentleman from Indiana" and has followed this with "Monsieur Beaucaire" (1900), a romance laid in Bath in the eighteenth century, "The Two Vanrevels" (1902), "Cherry" (1903), "In the Arena" (1905), "The Conquest of Canaan" (1905), and "The Beautiful Lady" (1905). His later work shows a gain in power. Winston Churchill (born in 1871), a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and now a resident of New Hampshire, published "The Celebrity" in 1898. "Richard Carvel" (1899) made him famous; it is a Revolutionary story of Maryland and London. He has since written "The Crisis" (1901), a substantial story of the Civil War, "Mr. Keegan's Elopement" (1903), "The Crossing" (1904), and "Coniston" (1906), a New England story of love and politics. The mountaineer life of Kentucky furnishes John Fox, Jr., with the materials for his

well told stories, "A Cumberland Vendetta, and Other Stories" (1896), "The Kentuckians" (1897), "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come" (1903), and "A Knight of the Cumberland" (1906).

Mrs. Gertrude Franklin Atherton (born in San Francisco, 1857) has made a wide reputation with her stories of early California life; some critics declare, however, that they do not accurately represent the California of old days. The first of them was "The Doomswoman" (1892). Other novels are "A Whirl Asunder" (1895), "Patience Sparhawk and Her Times" (1897), "The Californians" (1898), "American Wives and English Husbands" (1898), and "The Conqueror" (1902), which is based on the life of Alexander Hamilton. Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin (born in Philadelphia in 1857 and married to Samuel B. Wiggin in 1880) has written charming juvenile stories, "The Birds' Christmas Carol" (1888), "The Story of Patsy" (1889), and "Timothy's Quest" (1890), besides some stories of travel, such as "A Cathedral Courtship" (1893) and "Penelope's Progress" (1898). Her husband died in 1889, and in 1895 she was married to George C. Riggs.

Irving Bacheller (born in 1859), a New York journalist, attracted attention by his stories, "The Master of Silence" (1890) and "The Still House of O'Darrow" (1894). His "Eben Holden" (1900), a novel of Northern New York, was very successful. He has since written "Darrel of the Blessed Isles" (1903) and "Vergilius" (1904). Robert Herrick (born in 1868), a Harvard graduate and now a Chicago University professor, has written searching studies of American society in "The Gospel of Freedom" (1898), "The Web of Life" (1900), "The Real World" (1901), and "The Common Lot" (1904). He is something of a pessimist, but not unwholesome.

Edith Wharton (born in New York in 1862) began her literary career with short stories of the metropolitan society with which she had been familiar from birth: "The Greater Inclination" (1899), eight stories, "A Gift from the Grave" (1900), and "Crucial Instances" (1901). In "The Valley of Decision" (1902), "Sanctuary" (1903), and "The House of Mirth" (1905), she deals with scenes and characters of deep human interest but not easily managed; and she acquits herself with credit. Lily Bart is distinctly individualized and is worthy to be compared with Becky Sharp and Gwendolen Harleth.

Upton Sinclair (born in Baltimore, 1878), after writing a number of novels, produced in "Manassas" (1904) a thrilling romantic novel of the years just preceding the Civil War. "The Jungle" (1906), though much better known, is artistically far inferior to it. The creed of socialism is professed by both Mr. Sinclair and Jack London (born in San Francisco in 1876). London left the University of California to go to the Klondike, afterward went to Japan, and has since tramped through America and Canada for sociological study. In his best works, "The Son of the Wolf" (1900), "The Call of the Wild" (1903), and "The Sea Wolf" (1904), he has chosen to depict the tragedies of the animal world and the elemental passions in man.

Three Virginia women novelists have won distinction in recent years.

Molly Elliot Seawell (born in Gloucester County, Virginia, in 1860), a resident of Washington, began writing fiction in 1886. Among her stories are "Throckmorton" (1890), "Little Jarvis" (1890), a *Youth's Companion* prize story, "Midshipman Paulding" (1891), "The Sprightly Romance of Marsac" (1896), a lively story that won a

New York *Herald* prize of $3000, "The Lively Adventures of Gavin Hamilton" (1899), "The House of Egremont" (1901), "Children of Destiny (1903), and "The Great Scoop" (1905). Her plots are sometimes slight and inconsequential, and her narrative lacks reserve; but she shows skill in the management of dialogue, and is a favorite writer.

Ellen Glasgow (born in Richmond in 1874) has found many readers with her "Descendant" (1897), "Phases of an Inferior Planet" (1898), "The Voice of the People" (1900), "The Battle-Ground" (1902), and "The Deliverance" (1904). She does not manage to escape from improbabilities, and some of her plots are desultory; yet on the whole her work maintains a high average.

Mary Johnston (born at Buchanan, Virginia, in 1870) has realized the possibilities of early Virginia history in her successful romances, "Prisoners of Hope" (1898), published in England as "The Old Dominion," "To Have and to Hold" (1900), in England called "By Order of the Company," "Audrey" (1902), and "Sir Mortimer" (1904). She has a sure touch, and her narrative moves rapidly.

But we have already exceeded the limits of our space. The work of Margaret Sherwood, William A. White, Brand Whitlock, Will Payne, Meredith Nicholson, George Barr McCutcheon, Frederic Remington, Jesse Lynch Williams, David Graham Phillips, Mary R. Shipman Andrews, James B. Connolly, Nelson Lloyd, George Cary Eggleston, William N. Harben, Justus Miles Forman, Cleveland Moffett, and many others, excellent as much of it is, can only be referred to summarily. The great number of promising writers of to-day is a matter of congratulation.

Retrospect and Conclusion.—We have thus traced the American novel from its first crude beginnings through a little more than a century of healthy and constant growth. It took the American novelist some three or four decades to learn to stand on his own feet; since he has learned to walk he has required very little assistance from abroad. More and more the possibilities of American life have attracted the writers of prose fiction. In the earlier decades of the last century, as was the case in Europe, the romance was the only fiction in demand; and the romance has ever been the favorite of many readers who maintain that the chief function of literature is to give reality through the alembic of the imagination. Perhaps the creed of romanticism has never been better put than by Mr. Julian Hawthorne:

"The value of fiction lies in the fact that it can give us what actual existence cannot; that it can resume in a chapter the conclusions of a lifetime; that it can omit the trivial, the vague, the redundant, and select the significant, the forcible and the characteristic; that it can satisfy expectation, expose error, and vindicate human nature. Life, as we experience it, is too vast, its relations are too complicated, its orbit too comprehensive, ever to give us the impression of individual completeness and justice; but the intuition of these things, though denied to sense, is granted to faith, and we are authorized to embody that interior conviction in romance. . . . And stories of imagination are truer than transcripts of fact, because they include or postulate these, and give a picture not only of the earth beneath our feet, but of the sky above us, of the hope and freshness of the morning, of the mystery and magic of the night. They draw the complete circle, in-

stead of mistrustfully confining themselves to the lower arc."*

Notwithstanding the attractiveness of this artistic creed, the ranks of the out-and-out romancers have gradually waned, as we have seen. Professor Boyesen believed that Bret Harte was the last of them. Slowly the realists, led by Howells and James, have gained ground, and for the last twenty years have almost steadily held the field. Of late, indeed, there have been some signs of a reaction; but it has as yet taken no very pronounced form.

A necessary concomitant of this tendency toward realism has been an increase in the number of "novels of the soil." Writers have drawn what they knew best: Miss Woolson, the Lake region; Cable, Creole New Orleans; Ella Higginson and Emma Wolf, the Pacific coast; Allen, Kentucky; Miss Murfree, Tennessee; Fawcett and Bunner, New York; Henry B. Fuller and Miss Wyatt, Chicago; Miss Jewett and Mrs. Wilkins Freeman, New England. One reason why the "great American novel" has not yet been written is the very bigness of the country. No great personality has yet risen who can combine all the elements of our vast modern life into one harmonious structure. Meanwhile we have had most of the various sections of our country described in fiction by skillful hands. Types of a life that is passing away have been caught and preserved in a fiction which, though assuredly not immortal, is destined, we believe, to a long life.

Our critics have justly complained, however, of the limited range of our novelists. They are timid. They are content to paint a small canvas. They do not rise to great conceptions. They do not probe life to its depths; neither

* Quoted by Professor C. F. Richardson, "American Literature," ii. 448-449.

do they rise to the height of all its grandeur. This is, of course, only another way of saying that we have no supremely great novelists. But doubtless the mediocrity of our fiction is partly due to the disastrous effect of commercialism and professionalism on the novelist's trade; though Mr. Whibley's account of this (*Blackwood's*, March, 1908) is exaggerated. Certainly our writers must be less eager for immediate and substantial rewards. *Poeta nascitur, non fit;* too many "made" writers are pouring out fiction to-day.

Our fiction possesses one characteristic which has been often commented upon—a general excellence of moral atmosphere. There is little American fiction that must be kept from the curious Young Person. Some critics allege that the obligation to write what anyone may be permitted to read has prevented American novelists from discussing those darker problems of sex-relations which confront us, and which should find expression in a literature adequately reflecting our intellectual and moral life; that missing any rigorous attack on these problems they find our fiction tame, insipid, wanting in vitality. But such an opinion carries with it its own condemnation. If our fiction lacks vitality, it is probably from other causes; at any rate Americans are generally content to leave matters of moral pathology to their moral surgeons, whose diagnoses and discussions are not expected to circulate promiscuously; and it is not likely that our novelists will consent to defile their pages for the sake of securing comprehensiveness in their pictures of life.

The short story has been brought by American writers to a high degree of perfection. Irving was its American father; and in the hands of Hawthorne, Poe, Fitz-James O'Brien, Edward Everett Hale, Miss Woolson, Brander

Matthews, Miss Jewett, Stockton, Page, Mark Twain, Mrs. Freeman, and many others, it has become a highly flexible instrument, capable of subtle harmonies. The limitations of range and environment have made for great delicacy and precision in the minute portraits and the *genres* to be found in large numbers throughout our short stories.

Yet notwithstanding the increase in the number and the advance in quality of our short stories, the novel continues as popular as ever. The immense vogue of the novel in America has been commented upon many times. The "best sellers" are almost always novels; and so many novels of more than average excellence are produced every year that many really superior stories do not get the immediate hearing, at least, which they deserve. That this demand for novels will continue unabated for some time is altogether likely. That another form of literature will soon take its place is quite improbable.

Apparently we have no great living poets; for various reasons we have no dramatists of note; of novelists who are at least possibilities, we have several.

What will be the type of the American novel of the future? Probably it is rash to make any prediction; but one may venture to believe that the prevailing attitude of our future novelists will be that of a sane and optimistic realism. The morbid books like "The Jungle" do not wear well; and while such books may have their use in promoting needed reforms, they can have no permanent place. The pleasant paths of romance will always tempt bold and imaginative writers; but they will be more than ever restrained by the demand of enlightened readers that they shall not wander far from the probable, and shall offer, clear and undistorted, the best there is in the actual present. That there are immense possibilities in

the varied and complex life of to-day, few will doubt; that the great artists are to appear who will make the most of these opportunities we may assume with confidence.

III. THE POETS.

English Influence on American Poetry.—If we accept the popular belief, and identify poets with makers of verse, it must be allowed that American poetry at its best—in the nineteenth century—is in a peculiar sense unoriginal and derivative. To be derivative, to have a traceable pedigree, may, indeed, be no disadvantage, either for a national or an individual genius. In their way, all modern literatures are derivative and unoriginal; not merely influenced by each other, but ultimately dependent for the sources of their inspiration upon the basal civilizations of Palestine and Greece. "We are all Greeks," said Shelley. Milton might have said, "We are all Hebrews." And our best American poets might have added, "*We* are all Englishmen." Particular scenes on this continent, and the vast and ever growing extent of our territory, have both left their impress on our poets during the last five generations; they have touched the poetry of ten or twelve decades here and there with the undeniable stamp of reality, and given it now and then a largeness of range and freedom of atmosphere very proper to a nation whose sense of geography has been so elastic. Yet one can hardly say that our natural scenery has ever been really incarnate in our literature as a whole, or that a pervasive national spirit, a spirit at once large and precise, has

entered fundamentally into our verse. What has been most effectual in our literature has been closely imitative, has followed at a little distance, yet step for step, the development of the English literature from which it sprang. This continuous imitation, now more superficial, now more indirect and elusive, has been the mainspring of our poetry even more than our prose, during the century just gone by.

American poetry, it is true, has probably been more plastic and mobile in its outer form than American prose, has been less steadily patterned after those literary standards in England which were bequeathed by the eighteenth century. The prose style of Irving betrays its descent from the essays of Addison; the style of Franklin was developed through conscious and painstaking emulation of the same models. Even fairly late in the eighteen hundreds, when perhaps only a trained ear can detect the lingering echoes of Pope and his school in our verse, the "Autocrat" of Wendell Holmes still retains an accent and a flavor from eighteenth-century Ciceronian eloquence. No doubt the age of Pope and Johnson survived by many vestiges much longer in English prose than in English verse, for its habits of thought were more or less suited to argument and exposition in every time. Yet in the history of American letters it is easier to find parallels to Wordsworth and Shelley than to duplicate the prose rhapsodies—characteristic in nineteenth-century Europe—of De Quincey and Ruskin. To the transition in English literature that was marked by the appearance of "Lyrical Ballads" in 1798, our poetry was, in the main, more quickly responsive than our prose. None the less, our prose, more conservative though it has been, less changeful in its manner of expression, has struck its roots far

more deeply into our national being; and our verse, like the other fine arts, is still an exotic.

For our lack of a national art, a national poetry, a superficial reason is often assigned: in the conditions of a new country, in the struggle for existence, in the development of agriculture and commerce, in the assimilation of foreign races, there has been very little time for the nourishment of letters, very little of that leisure which the Greeks called *scholé*, and which is indispensable for a productive scholarship and for the flourishing of imagination. Yet we have had, or have taken, sufficient leisure to write and publish an immense amount of verse, judged merely by its bulk. Scarcely an American author can be mentioned in the nineteenth century that did not try his hand at metrical composition. The truth is, rather, that we have seldom approached the art of poetry with enough seriousness; that having rebelled against the Puritan's unkindly conception of life, we have nevertheless to some extent acquiesced in his belittling estimate of imaginative art; that we have failed to recognize in the poet a necessary servant of the commonwealth, a leader worthy of a high and severe training. Our versifiers have rushed into print before they were ripe, and they have praised each other's work too easily; while the standards set by the public taste have been readily met when the rhymers succeeded in being "patriotic." Real patriotism demands such an admission.

Not that our poets have been wholly without a philosophy of criticism; though it is significant that the most subtle and sympathetic understanding of the poetic temperament, of its function as well as its perils, is to be found, not in the writings of any maker of verses, but in

those of a novelist, Hawthorne—for example, in "The House of Seven Gables" and "The Great Stone Face." Yet Bryant read, meditated, and wrote upon the art of poetry; Poe thought somewhat, if not deeply, upon it; Lanier made a worthy contribution to the science of meter; Longfellow was conversant with the literature of criticism; and Emerson's stimulating essay on "The Poet," while it may not have been the sort of medicine that our men of letters most needed, has doubtless exerted a wholesome influence. In Poe's day, several magazines were discussing the principles of imaginative composition. However, an "Art of Poetry" like Timrod's (published in *The Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1905) could lie for forty years in manuscript, without exciting any strong suspicion of its value; and in the long run there has been an amazing disproportion between the slender thread of fundamental tradition and sound critical theory on the one hand, and the swollen and rapid stream of naïve, uncultivated verse, gathering from every quarter, on the other. Whatever English poets furnished the models, the imitation was largely on the surface. First Pope and his successors in England, then Wordsworth and Coleridge, then Shelley and Keats, and Scott and Byron, and subsequently Tennyson,—all had in turn their American devotees. But there seems to have been relatively little understanding like that of Bryant and Timrod for the conscious theory underlying the "experiments" in "Lyrical Ballads," or for the ideal demands which Shelley laid upon poetry and poets; nor did cisatlantic readers of Lord Byron much concern themselves about that Longinus whom he studied "o'er a bottle," or for the structural frame upon which was reared Tennyson's "Palace of Art."

Characteristics of the Period.—Of course in the following pages we shall deal as briefly as possible with those American poets in the last century who are touched to any great extent by strictures like these; for a history of literature is bound to treat as far as may be of writers that have made a wise use of tradition, and whose native insight has enabled them to train their genius in accordance with universal canons of art, and with a due appreciation of masterly technique. Meanwhile we may attempt to summarize the characteristics of the poetical era under consideration, and, in particular, of the earlier rather than the latter half of that era. The nearer we advance toward our own day, the wiser it is to refrain from general characterization.

1. The relation between English literature and American in the initial twenty or thirty years of the last century has already been suggested. Aside from that, or very often through that, the influence of Rousseau was paramount. The doctrine that upheld the innocence of "man in a state of nature," and maintained the equality of all individuals, and the feeling, half pantheistic, for an external nature opposed to civilization, since they entered into the vital tissue of our national thought,—and though they are at bottom contrary to science and all demonstrable experience—are among the very conditions, so to speak, of much of our poetry. From these sources, for example, it came about that while in actual practice we despised and maltreated that "natural man," the cruel Indian, we idealized him in poetical effusions; just as Fenimore Cooper, treading in the footsteps of Chateaubriand, idealized him in prose.

2. Our earlier poets, that is, immediately after the Revolution, but again, and especially, after the War of

1812 had confirmed our sense of national solidarity, are much given to the utterance of their patriotism; albeit only a few out of many more or less pretentious or tasteful efforts have survived. Key's "Star-Spangled Banner" (1814), conceived at the close of the second war, antedates "The American Flag" (1819) of Drake by but five years; these two, with Hopkinson's "Hail, Columbia" (1798), and "America" (1832), the well-known hymn by S. F. Smith, whatever their relative or absolute merits as literature, remain our most cherished national poems.

3. However frequent or insistent the note of patriotism, the general temper of American poets has not been strongly optimistic. As one glances over a long list of the subjects chosen for treatment, a leaning toward the more sombre and melancholy elements and aspects of life becomes more and more apparent. Nor is this leaning confined to the multitude. Exceptions like Walt Whitman to the contrary notwithstanding, it is characteristic, in the main, of the leaders, whenever they escape from common or inherited themes, and give rein to their own personalities. That joy which is the well-spring of Wordsworth's vitality, is greatly diminished in even his nearest American counterpart, Bryant; assuredly it is not akin to the subdued sadness of Longfellow, though this be not strictly "akin to pain."

4. On the other hand, the noblest American poetry has not been tragic. Tragedy and serious epic have been attempted, but, as in the case of Dwight, Barlow, and so many others, largely as academic exercitations, savoring of the desk and the library. With our national life they have had no essential connection. A central motive in our history like the death of Lincoln still awaits the imagination of a master-dramatist.

5. Though few have devoted their entire lives to it, most of our poets have begun the profession betimes, conceiving very often in haste, and publishing in their immaturity. The painful advice of Horace has not been to our liking. With the examples of Milton, Wordsworth, and Tennyson continually before us, we have yet failed to profit by their insistence upon generous preparation, meticulous technique, and laborious delay in publication. We have realized the brevity of life more fully than the length of art.

6. Our respect for the "practical" and for "common sense" is allied to a fondness shown in our poetry for common, everyday subjects. Here, of course, we have succeeded better in the comic than in the serious vein. To deal with homely topics so as to invest their essential dignity with the light of imagination—in painting the world about us, to "add the gleam"—was the task set for himself by an English mystic. It is a dangerous trade for men whose talk is of oxen. Homely minds on homely matters are prone to slip into the trivial or the pathetic. Even Longfellow cannot be freed from the charge of too much attention to the obvious commonplace, and, as a versifier at least, of too much love for the merely sentimental. For adequate imaginative handling of themes that are serious, complete, and of sufficient magnitude to produce the loftier effects of great literary art, we are in general forced to go to our best prose fiction.

7. So long as Puritan ideals, however modified and softened, continued to dominate any considerable part of American education, that is, up to a point somewhere within the past twenty-five years, our poetry has tended to be obviously didactic. Not only clerical but secular poets have seemed to regard themselves as direct teachers

of morality. In satirical writers,—Freneau, Halleck,—or in literature that by virtue of its kind is pietistic, such a tendency is altogether normal and effective. But in supposedly imaginative poems such as "The Vision of Sir Launfal," though the basic moral order of the universe doubtless ought to be inherent, it just as certainly ought to contrive its own effect, without the adventitious aid of sermonizing. To the present writer, much of the best—not of course the very best—in American poetry loses in ethical as well as æsthetic value through the intrusion of argument and exhortation on the subject of conduct or belief. The finest work of Holmes, for instance, "The Chambered Nautilus," may be thought to lose in this way. The spirit of the United States is a prosaic spirit, hence our verse, when it is at all substantial, rarely lacks some element or other from the style of the forensic orator.

8. On the other hand, since we can make no pretence to the possession of a tragic drama, and none to a truly national epic, it may safely be affirmed that our poetry has risen to its greatest heights in meditative and religious lyric; in meditative verse on nature, that is, such "nature-poetry" as assumes the Divine immanence throughout the world of objective reality—in Bryant's "Thanatopsis"; and in the religious lyric, that is, in a few of our hymns.

The Earlier Poets.—We commence this survey of American poetry at the date to which the sections adapted from Tyler have conducted the literature as a whole, namely, the year 1784. The chief poets of the Revolutionary period, Barlow, Dwight, Trumbull, and Freneau, all lived well on into the next century, Barlow, in fact, being the only one of these who did not survive the War of 1812.

In Barlow's day, heroics were the fashion. His *magnum*

opus, a rhymed epic on the discovery of America, had already taken shape in manuscript as early as 1781; in 1787 it appeared as "The Vision of Columbus;" by 1807 it had grown into the ponderous "Columbiad." It is an uninspired, pseudo-classical narrative, schematically and metrically correct, but organically lifeless, full of the "printer's devil personification" so characteristic of its time. With gratuitous industry, as it supplies all the lineage of personified abstractions like "Discord," so it begins the history of America at Creation, fetches the story down through colonial times to the Revolution, and includes in its sweep a glance at events yet to come. Similarly in his mock-heroic, "The Hasty Pudding" (1793), which is touched with fancy and is in every way more attractive than his "Columbiad," Barlow commences with the growth and harvesting of the maize which is to furnish the flour.

Dwight, who was at first a tutor, but from 1795 until his death in 1817, president, of Yale College, in 1785 brought forth a Biblical epic entitled "The Conquest of Canaan," in which the narrative of Exodus is diversified by allusions to heroes in the American War of Independence, and by a tale of romantic love superadded. Dwight was a diligent reader of Pope and Goldsmith, but he did not confine his interest to the eighteenth century; he knew the enchantment of the poets' poet, Spenser; and like Thomson, he could at times, as in "Greenfield Hill," look with his own eyes at things about him. He was a friend of Trumbull, Humphreys, and Barlow; on occasion he penned a bitter invective. But as a writer he will be remembered for his noble hymn, whose second stanza commences,

I love Thy Church, O God,

which is the key-note of his life.

Trumbull, though he lived to a great age (1750-1831), had completed his remarkable mock-heroic, "M'Fingal," prior to 1784; hence at this point he interests us chiefly on account of his friendship with Dwight and Barlow, and his effect on later satirists.

With Freneau the case is different. Some of his choicest verse did not appear until 1786, when he published a collection containing "The House of Night;" and in 1795 he brought together in another collection what he apparently considered best in his output for twenty-five years or more preceding. This was very uneven, including much that might better have been left unprinted, and other work which stamps Freneau as the one American of true poetical genius before 1800. He was not unaware of his powers, and aimed to develop them by frequent perusal of good models in ancient and modern literature; but he was not sufficiently self-critical. He prolonged a career of travel and rapid composition, in both poetry and prose, beyond the normal span of life, making still another collection of his works in 1815. His latter years were darkened by the thought that he was being unwarrantably neglected for men of lesser talent. A man of great bodily vigor, he was meditating yet another, a final, edition of his writings, when he came to his unfortunate end. In 1832 he lost his way as he was returning home through a snow-storm, and died from exposure. His once maligned personality has of late been duly vindicated, and his work has received generous praise. It is asserted that Scott and Campbell were content to borrow lines from him. Furthermore, he has been deemed a co-worker with Coleridge and Wordsworth in bringing about in literature the so-called "return to nature." The parallel might easily be carried too far. Until literary

scholarship has broadened and deepened our knowledge of the entire period in which Freneau was active, neither the worth of his poetry nor the possible extent of his influence can be judicially determined. There can be no question that such poems as "The Wild Honeysuckle, "The Hurricane," "The Dying Indian," and "Eutaw Springs" have more than a transitory value. However, it is by his satirical verse that Freneau might seem more likely to persist; for the nature of satire tolerates in some measure a free and easy style such as he developed.

Early Minor Poets.—Of the minor poetry prior to 1815 there is little to be said by way of praise. We see in it how the influence of Akenside and other English didactic writers of a previous age gives ground before the newer spirit of Wordsworth and Coleridge; although the satires of the Revolution had a lineage, in Paine and others, that did not quickly die away; and although several other literary fashions had their intervals of existence, as for example, the imitation of "Ossian" and the cult of the Della Cruscans. The intellect of Akenside made itself felt in such work as "The Power of Solitude" (1804), by Joseph Story (1779-1845), and the anonymous "Pains of Memory," published four years later. "Of much higher merit," thinks Professor Bronson, "are the didactic poems of Robert Treat Paine (1773-1811), a man of versatile and brilliant parts, but dissipated character. His lyrics, orations, and dramatic criticisms all show ability. But his best work is 'The Ruling Passion,' a poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard in 1797." This is "frankly on the model of Pope, but so witty, vigorous, and pointed that it does honor to its original." William Cliffton's "Poems" (1800), and Thomas G. Fes-

senden's "Original Poems" (1804), can only be mentioned.

A word may be added on the poetesses of the time, several of whom, for example Mrs. Mercy Warren (1728-1814), having made themselves heard during the American struggle for liberty, continued to find an audience in the early years of the Republic. Mrs. Warren's poems were collected in 1790, Mrs. Susanna H. Rowson's in 1804. The sentimental Mrs. Sarah W. Morton may also be noted; she flourished somewhat later than the others (1759-1846). She is no longer interesting as "the American Sappho," nor is it generally recalled that she considered Paine to be "the American Menander." She was an exponent of the inane "Della Cruscan" style, which had its vogue in England until it was attacked by William Gifford, and in the United States until Gifford's "Baviad" and "Mæviad" were republished at Philadelphia (1799), seconded by a poetical epistle to their author from the pen of the young Quaker, Cliffton.

Not less pernicious than the Della Cruscans were the imitators of Macpherson's "Ossian," including Joseph B. Ladd (1764-1786), Jonathan M. Sewall (1746-1808), and John Blair Linn (1777-1804). Both schools gave place when the Wordsworthian reaction set in against "poetic diction" and the habit of writing verse about natural objects without having looked at them.

When party spirit runs high, satire is likely to be thriving. Political tension during the latter part of Washington's presidency and during the administrations of Adams and Jefferson gave birth to a brood of satiric poems, many of them unacknowledged by their authors. Anonymous or otherwise, in most of them the writer's pen was wielded as a bludgeon rather than a knife. Freneau him-

self was none too delicate in his censure of the government, although he ill deserved the reputation of a man lacking in love for his country; but Freneau was merely the most gifted of a number, the others more partisan than he, who, according as they were Federalists or Democrats, bitterly assailed the measures of the opposing faction. The "Democratiad" and the "Guillotina" were anonymous attacks in 1795 and 1796 upon the Democrats. William Cobbett, the Englishman, and Alexander Hamilton, whose private life offered an easy target, were pilloried as representatives of the Federalist party, in Carey's "Porcupiniad" (1799) and a collection entitled "Olio" (1801).

Nor was factional spleen unrelated to a variety of patriotic sentiment which displayed itself in verse for holidays and state occasions; but, like all the satires, most of the post-Revolutionary effusions of patriotism have long since ceased to excite emotion. As has been noted, Hopkinson's "Hail, Columbia" (1798) is one of the exceptions. Colonel David Humphreys (1753-1818), a large part of whose verse amounted to eulogies on Washington, to the general public is hardly so much as a memory; and his intention "to make use of poetry for strengthening patriotism, promoting virtue, and extending happiness" has gone the way of many similar purposes of great excellence unaided by genius.

Washington Allston.—The first poet of distinction who evidently represents the tradition of Wordsworth was the artist Washington Allston (1779-1843), a friend of Coleridge, and declared by him to have a genius for literature and painting "unsurpassed by any man of his age." Southey too was an enthusiastic admirer; and Wordsworth, who was chary of praise for the age in which he lived, com-

mended the American painter ungrudgingly. In Allston's "Sylphs of the Seasons" (1813) there is evidence of the exact eye of an artist, and there is much delicacy of sentiment and gentle play of fancy; but great constructive and imaginative vigor are not present, and a certain tameness in the rhymes and obviousness in the succession of thoughts serve to explain why the poem has not secured a more lasting recognition. His "America and Great Britain" was included by Coleridge in "Sibylline Leaves" (1817), "for its moral no less than its patriotic spirit." As an attempt to incorporate in language the conception of abstract, so to speak, intellectual, beauty, "The Angel and the Nightingale" reminds one of Shelley.

Before Allston, there had been ballad-writers who dealt with themes that are now familiar to readers of Wordsworth and Coleridge. In particular, the motive of the young and innocent girl who has been betrayed, and through her betrayal crazed, was a notable favorite. Lucius M. Sargent's "Hubert and Ellen" ("Leisure Hours," 1812) is described as a poor imitation of Wordsworth, taking its cue, like Joseph Hutton's ballad on Crazy Jane (1812), and Henry C. Knight's "Poor Margaret Dwy," from one study or another of mental derangement in "Lyrical Ballads" or the "Poems" (by Wordsworth) of 1807. Doubtless a large number of parallels could be found in American literature to Wordsworth's "Ruth," and to his sympathetic treatment of other lowly types of humanity. In like manner, just as the same English poet fraternizes with the robin and the butterfly, and Coleridge hails a young ass as his "brother," and as Shelley in 1815 claims kindred with "bright bird, insect, or gentle beast," so Knight addresses "The Caterpillar" (1821) as "cousin reptile." The Puritans had averred,

Most sins, and all sinners, are equal; Rousseau and the French Revolutionists went further, declaring, All men are equal; and now, responsive to the doctrine of Coleridge and his Pantisocrats, American poets were implying, All creatures are equal. Thus thrives the principle of democracy and fraternity. Themistocles is at length no better than the boorish islander, and the Apostles have lost their superiority to sparrows. "Cousin reptile," of course, is an extreme case.

On its saner side, the new impulse set in motion several writers of not a little promise. Such was John Neal (1793-1876), whose poem, "The Battle of Niagara" (1818), reflects Wordsworthianism at second hand through Shelley and Keats, with a touch of Byronic grandiloquence and tameness, but with a touch, too, of aboriginal nature, however crude. The native powers of Neal were later dissipated in journalism, novel-writing, and the like.

Joseph Rodman Drake.—Of great promise likewise, but cut short by a premature demise, was the career of Joseph Rodman Drake (1795-1820). Drake was a precocious spirit, working swiftly, and valuing his easily produced and quickly moving verses perhaps a little below their true worth. A friend of Halleck, and like Halleck under the sway of the novelist Fenimore Cooper, he reveals also how familiar he was with the half luminous, half misty style of Coleridge. In Drake's happiest attempt, "The Culprit Fay" (1816), he aimed to find an utterance for the poetry of the great American rivers, hitherto neglected, as he and his friends decided, in the native literature. The outcome of a discussion between Drake, Freneau, and Cooper, this fanciful story is nevertheless replete with the cadences of Coleridge's "Christabel" (1816), however difficult it

may be to explain the resemblance. Needless to say, "The Culprit Fay" could not make a general appeal like that of "The American Flag," by the same author—a rhetorical and manneristic piece that, up to a few years ago, was on the lips of every American school-boy:

> When Freedom from her mountain height
> Unfurled her standard to the air,
> She tore the azure robe of night,
> And set the stars of glory there.

Set them where? In spite of the fact that it is grandiose and unprecise, "The American Flag" may yet be yielded an advantage in point of style over Key's "Star Spangled Banner," with which one naturally compares it.

Fitz-Greene Halleck.—The final quatrain of "The American Flag" was written by Drake's associate in the "Croaker Papers," Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790-1867). Halleck was a witty poet, who aimed at no lasting fame, but humorously chastised the passing follies of New York society, much as Lord Byron scourged society in London. He wrote clearly and gracefully, and was greatly over-praised in his time. His satiric poem "Fanny" (1819) was highly popular. "Marco Bozzaris," a lyric recital of the Byronic type, portrayed with a good deal of life, but with a suspicion of rant too, a dramatic incident in the struggle of modern Greece against the Turk. His tribute to Burns (1827) was warmly approved by the Scottish bard's sister: "nothing finer," she said in 1855, "has been written about Robert." "Red Jacket" and the monody on "Drake" also belong to Halleck's early period. In fact, his main activity as a poet was confined to the ten or eleven years commencing with the death of Drake (1820). As Allston was the first of our poets to arouse

much admiration abroad, so Halleck was the first to receive notable posthumous honors at home. In general, he owed a large measure of his inspiration to Washington Irving.

James Kirke Paulding.—So did James Kirke Paulding (1778-1860), though his "Lay of the Scotch Fiddle" (1813) was a parody of Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and though his title to enduring fame, as he supposed, was an epic, "The Backwoodsman" (1818), representing life on the American frontier. Neither the clever ballad, nor the prosy epic, nor his second instalment of *Salmagundi* has outwitted the envy of time. In its own day Paulding's effort to repeat the first success of Irving was eclipsed by "The Croakers" of Halleck and Drake. His "Peter Piper" still lingers.

John Howard Payne.—A case similar to "Peter Piper" is that of a song in "Clari" (1823), one of the dramas by John Howard Payne (1791-1852). Payne, who tried his hand at various pursuits, was a friend of Irving, and acquainted with Coleridge and Lamb. At one time he was United States consul at Tunis. As an actor and a journalist he knew the temper of his American public; hence he was able to enjoy a considerable reputation as playwright. His "Brutus" (1818) was well received; yet he would be totally forgotten save for a single lyric in "Clari," "Home, Sweet Home," which successive generations of his countrymen have handed down as an heirloom of the people.

Woodworth, Morris, Hoffman, Willis, etc.—Two other writers of the same period, now known chiefly through brief

and homely songs or rhetorical selections, were Samuel Woodworth (1785-1842), still remembered for "The Old Oaken Bucket" (1826), and George P. Morris (1802-64), whose "Woodman, Spare That Tree" and "The Main Truck" (otherwise called "A Leap for Life") have reëchoed from the platform of many a village schoolhouse, and given many a young rustic his principal conceptions of impassioned eloquence. The songs of Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806-84), while by no means so familiar as these, are not at all inferior. Hoffman was a student at Columbia College, bred up in the literary traditions of New York City. So also were James W. Eastburn (1797-1819) and Robert C. Sands (1799-1832). Under a rather indefensible nomenclature, all three would be included with Paulding and Halleck as members of the "Knickerbocker School," the bright luminary in which is Irving ("Diedrich Knickerbocker"). To these we may add McDonald Clarke (1798-1842), "the mad poet," irritatingly personal in his allusions to the belles of the metropolis; Park Benjamin (1809-64); and N. P. Willis (1806-67), whose reign of cleverness succeeded that of Halleck. Flippant, careless how or whom he hit, Willis made an extraordinary name at home, and was able to create a stir abroad. In America he published where and what he pleased, for the editors were glad to pay him well, so eager were people to read him. But he had the reward of a lightly won popularity: when the generation for whom he wrote had passed away he was deservedly neglected. His championship of American literature against the strictures of Lockhart and Marryat, and the redeeming candor of his opinions, make poor amends for his abuse of talents that might have improved rather than satisfied the taste of the garish day.

William Cullen Bryant.—However different in aim and permanence from the last mentioned adherent of the "Knickerbocker School," to the same general category may be assigned William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), who from 1826 until his death was an active force in the literary life of New York. The author of "Thanatopsis" and one of the best verse translations of Homer was born in Cummington, Massachusetts, attended a local school, was taught Latin and Greek by private tutors, two clergymen of ability, and studied for part of a year at Williams College, where the standard of scholarship then was low. Leaving that institution in 1811, he made ready to enter the profession of law. During his preparation he had an interval of experience as adjutant in the state militia. After that, he practised as a lawyer in his native state, at Plainfield and Great Barrington, until 1825, when he yielded to the strong propensity of nature, and took up literature for the business of life.

As a mere child, Bryant showed an exceptional leaning toward poetry. He was unweariedly studious, and an omnivorous reader. He wrote verses before he was nine; in his youth, so he says, he varied his private devotions from the ordinary Calvinistic models by supplicating that he "might receive the gift of poetic genius and write verses that might endure." The gift came to him through the instrumentality of Wordsworth's "Lyrical Ballads" (the American edition of 1802), whose mastery over him he afterwards acknowledged, and bore witness to in his practice. At first, however, he was imbued with the tendencies of his own predecessors in America. A Federalist in his political sympathies, he opposed the aims of Jefferson's administration — although later he grew to be a staunch supporter of "Jeffersonian Democracy." En-

couraged by his father, a well-known physician, who himself indulged in verse, young Cullen before he was fifteen saw in print his political satire, "The Embargo" (1808), a work in the manner of Freneau and Trumbull, in which Jefferson was invited to resign the presidency. In Wordsworth, fortunately, Bryant had a model choicer than the satirists. He became acquainted with "Lyrical Ballads" in 1810. Sometime in the autumn of 1811, his inward eye having been taught to see the operation of a benign and healing spirit in the world of nature, this thoughtful youth, now about to begin the study of law, and, as it were, to commence the effort of life, was moved to record his sentiments on the all-pervading fact of death: the universal debt is not an evil; to pay it is as natural as to be born; and to obey the voice of nature, to confide in her will, is the source of human satisfaction. That is the burden of "Thanatopsis."

When "Thanatopsis" was submitted by the poet's father to *The North American Review* (in 1817), people would hardly believe that such an exalted strain had been conceived outside of England. "Thanatopsis" and "To a Waterfowl" (written in 1815) are indeed in many ways Wordsworthian; the similarity is immediately noticeable. Yet the similarity is not complete. In the first place, they are founded, and very definitely founded, upon the natural scenery of Bryant's own New England environment; and they sprang out of a unified individual experience to which his personal observation contributed as much as his reading. But as has been remarked before, the note of Bryant is a less joyous note than that of his great English exemplar, not only because of a difference in the selection of subjects, but through a difference in the treatment of detail as well. It is not to

be expected that in perfection of technique a boy of seventeen could equal a poet who at the age of thirty-two (when Wordsworth first became at all generally known in America) was virtually master of his craft. Moreover, "Thanatopsis" as we now have it is actually an immense improvement upon the version that came out in *The North American;* yet in finality of expression it cannot vie with the lines associated with Tintern Abbey, not to speak of certain portions of "The Prelude" or "The Excursion" written in the zenith of Wordsworth's power. Still, "Thanatopsis" was the first great American poem; in its ultimate form it bids fair to please most readers in all ages. The majesty of Thucydides is borrowed in the conception that the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; there is Homeric splendor of epithet in such expressions as "the all-beholding sun." The "healing sympathy" of nature, of course, is Wordsworthianism pure and simple; but the poem as a whole is tinged with a pantheism much more stoical than the pantheism of Wordsworth, and curiously out of keeping with the touch of New England moralizing toward the end. This touch is even more pronounced in the verses "To a Waterfowl."

"To a Waterfowl" was published with several other poems, including "Thanatopsis," in 1821. According to that wayward genius, Hartley Coleridge, it is the best short poem in the English language; a perilously sweeping judgment, like Shelley's on "France," the magnificent ode by Hartley's father. At all events, "To a Waterfowl" is hardly surpassed by any of Bryant's later work, and probably unsurpassed by anything of comparable subject and scope ever written in America.

In 1821, Bryant, then practising law at Great Barrington, was married to Miss Frances Fairchild. In 1825

he gave up the law and a secure livelihood, and removing to New York, assumed the editorship of *The New York Review*. After a brief connection with *The United States Review*, he became assistant editor of *The Evening Post;* in 1829 he was made editor-in-chief. His lifelong guidance of this most influential paper is briefly touched upon elsewhere. It may readily be thought that Bryant's prolonged editorial labors interfered with his subsequent development as a poet. Yet his partial ownership of *The Post* finally gave him abundant means for travel and a widening of his experience in his own and foreign lands; and his habits of industry, supported by a temperate bodily regime, enabled him to achieve during his extended career a noble literary monument outside of journalism.

By 1832 he was ready to publish another edition of his "Poems," adding more than eighty pieces that were new—notably, the "Forest Hymn," the "Song of Marion's Men," and "The Death of the Flowers." At intervals of a few years (1834, 1836, 1842, 1844, etc.) other editions or volumes followed; giving evidence that his imagination was not dormant, for they contained in each case material in part or wholly fresh. Thus the "Poems" of 1854 included "O Mother of a Mighty Race" and "Robert of Lincoln," the latter a favorite with many, though inferior to Bryant's general standard. Of the "Thirty Poems" issued ten years later (1864), twenty-seven were new; the presence of selections, in English, from Book V of the Odyssey is worthy of particular remark. They had already appeared, a few months before, in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

The achievement of Bryant's declining years was his translation of Homer. He had at various times amused himself with renderings of one or another passage that

pleased him in foreign tongues. He was an ardent admirer of the Greek epics. He was dissatisfied with the versions of Cowper and Pope. It is possible that he was acquainted with the counsels of Matthew Arnold, called forth by the Homer of Francis Newman. The favor accorded to his attempts with the Odyssey encouraged him to try his hand at the Iliad. On the death of his wife in 1866, he felt the need of some employment to distract his attention, and resolved to translate the Iliad entire. By 1869 he had finished the first twelve books, at the rate of from forty to seventy-five lines a day. These twelve books were published in February, 1870, the remainder of the Iliad in June. By the first of July he was engaged upon the Odyssey; on December 7, 1871, he sent his printers "the twenty-fourth and concluding book of [his] translation of Homer's Odyssey, together with the table of contents for the second volume." To misunderstand the repression of feeling in these simple words, with which the venerable Bryant takes leave of his final work, is to miss the hidden fire animating his whole existence. In a great poet there is little waste of energy in the outward expression. The moment feeling shows itself, it is transmuted into artistic form. The form is adequate, but it is something different from the sentiment that gives it life.

The excellence of Bryant's blank-verse translation of Homer is not a theme for long discussion here. He aimed at simplicity and faithfulness. He rejected several of the customary ornaments of modern verse, choosing for his medium that rhythm which is most nearly related to the cadence of every-day speech. Tested by its effect on the layman of the present day, his attempt is more successful than other well-known metrical versions, less than the

cadenced prose of translators, like Myers and Lang, who have profited by the advice of Arnold with respect to diction, but in avoiding the trammels of meter have followed the example set by the scholars of King James in the Authorised Version of the Scriptures. However, Bryant's rendering is too noble a piece of imaginative scholarship to be passed over.

Bryant spent something like six years upon his Homer. He survived its completion by six years more, full of honors, rejoicing in a hale old age, still visited occasionally by poetical inspiration, still influential in the political thought of his nation, able at four score and four to make a public address in honor of the Italian patriot Mazzini. During this address, "his uncovered head was for a time exposed to the full glare of the sun. Shortly after, while entering a house, he fell backwards, striking his head upon the stone steps; concussion of the brain and paralysis followed." He died at New York, June 12, 1878, and was buried at Roslyn, on Long Island Sound, near the beautiful country-home where for thirty-five years his literary toils had been "sweetened to his taste."

Due to his artistic reserve, Bryant had the reputation of a temperamental coldness, a reputation that is belied both by the tenderness of his domestic ties and by his well chosen and enduring friendships. His patriotism also was unswerving. If he "let no empty gust of passion find an utterance in his lay," nevertheless he knew and valued

> . . . feelings of calm power and mighty sweep,
> Like currents journeying through the boundless deep.

He was a devoted lover of humanity and life; he was a devoted lover of his art. For him, art and life were one. It is easy for the uninitiated to credit him with a lack of

warmth. The fully emancipated are aware what union of fire and self-restraint, of vigor and delicacy, goes to the rearing of a fabric like the orderly and effective career of Bryant.

Like most, or all, great poets, Bryant wrote admirable prose. His essays in criticism have already been alluded to. As a stylist he was indefatigably painstaking, even to the smallest detail: "He was not a fluent nor a very prolific writer. . . . His manuscripts, as well as his proofs, were commonly so disfigured by corrections as to be read with difficulty even by those familiar with his script." His capacity for intense application was a partial measure of his success both as poet and as critic. For oratory his legal training stood him in good stead, and his later prominence in New York and in the country as a whole gave him many an occasion. If Bryant, as Matthew Arnold believed, was *"facile princeps"* among American poets, this eminence arose from no merely capricious outburst of genius; it was the natural efflux of a noble, well-rounded, and representative human life.

Saxe, Melville, Alice and Phoebe Cary.—After Bryant it is convenient to speak of a few poets, very different from him, and for the most part from each other, whose contemporaneous presence in New York is almost the only thing that connects them. John G. Saxe (1816-87), a native of Vermont, in his time was counted a leader among satirists. He staggers now under the accusation of extreme superficiality; none the less is he lively and readable. He consciously imitated Hood; he could scarcely avoid imitating Wendell Holmes. Of himself he had a remarkable turn for epigram and for punning in rhyme. His burlesque adaptations of Ovid are smart and amus-

ing. On the whole it may be said that Saxe was at his best in "The Proud Miss MacBride," where he girds at an upstart aristocracy:

> Of all the notable things on earth,
> The queerest one is pride of birth,
> Among our "fierce Democracie."

Herman Melville (1819-91), who wrote a fascinating account ("Typee," 1846) of his stay among the aborigines of the Marquesas, also published "Battle-Pieces" (1866) and other poems. His verse is less objective and sincere than his prose. Alice Cary (1820-71) and her sister, Phœbe (1824-71), were born in Ohio, where they were locally appreciated. Removing first to Philadelphia, then to New York, they supported themselves by their pens. The talents of Alice Cary were manifestly superior; yet for a time, yielding to her admiration of Poe, she allowed the element of harmonious sound in her poetry to overbalance that of meaning. Her hymns, one of which is almost a classic, are noble in their purity of sentiment.

Dana, Sprague, Hillhouse, etc.—Although his life and activity were centred elsewhere, Bryant, as we have seen, was a product of western Massachusetts. From him and the city of his adoption we naturally turn to a number of writers whose careers are to be more closely identified with New England. Many of these, like Richard Henry Dana, Senior (1787-1879), of Boston, were poets only secondarily. Dana was a journalist and politician—an admirer of Wordsworth and a lecturer on Shakespeare. An edition of his prose and verse in 1833 contained a poem, "The Buccaneer," inspired by Coleridge's

"Rime of the Ancient Mariner." His shorter poems are moral—

> O, listen, man!
> A voice within us speaks the startling word,
> "Man, thou shalt never die"—

and are mostly tame and artificial. Though inferior in native talent to his brother-in-law, Washington Allston, Dana was more widely known as a writer, partly because of his ability as literary critic. His verse was melancholy and his meditation not virile. As a poet he won a smaller audience than did Charles Sprague (1791-1875), also of Boston; yet it is not now easy to understand why Sprague's longest poem, "Curiosity" (1823), should have been "largely read and quoted in this country, and grossly plagiarized in England" (Onderdonk). James A. Hillhouse (1789-1841), who wrote a Biblical drama called "Hadad" (1824), published "Dramas, Discourses, and Other Pieces" in 1839. He is interesting as an early exponent of the dramatic art in America. His style shows a strange blending of elements from Lord Byron and the Scriptures. It would probably be fairer to judge him by "Demetria" than by "Hadad." A Byronic sentimentalism runs through the work of James Gates Percival (1795-1856), whose "Prometheus" (1820) luxuriates in the sorrows of men and the vanity of human wishes. His poetry often belies his everyday life, since for all his facile pessimism he was a man of genuine attainments and solid interest in science. He could not make his own experience the fundamental thing in his verse;—unlike his contemporary, John Pierpont (1785-1866), a clergyman of Boston. In his hymns and patriotic odes, Pierpont was masculine and sane, a good representative of the New England abolitionist, as may be gathered from "The Fugitive Slave's

Apostrophe to the North Star." "Warren's Address to the American Soldiers" is even better known, and still withholds the name of Pierpont from oblivion. John G. C. Brainard (1796-1828) died before his poetical gift could find complete expression. He dealt with the scenery and legends of Connecticut, but is hardly remembered outside the histories of American literature.

Mrs. Brooks and Mrs. Sigourney.—The same generation produced several women of note, whose poetry demands some attention; in particular, Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), a prolific maker of books, not to speak of "more than two thousand articles in prose and verse" which were issued during her long and quiet life in Hartford. Mrs. Sigourney was no genius, albeit she passed for "the American Hemans." She was a person of great moral worth and the most charitable disposition. It has been suggested that the beauty of her character was responsible for her extraordinary vogue. More probably the attention she gave to the legends of her own country, the not unwholesome cast of sentimentalism in her thought, and her readiness to contribute verses for any occasion, however slight, will in large part account for the unbounded admiration which she enjoyed. In 1822 appeared her poem, in five cantos, "Traits of the American Aborigines;" her "Lays of the Heart" were published in 1848. Besides her innumerable shorter articles, she is said to have been responsible for something like fifty volumes. "Maria del Occidente" (Mrs. Maria Gowen Brooks, 1795-1845) was of a different cast, less homely in her sentiments, a romantic soul, filled with the spirit of Southey and Moore, leaning toward the sensuous and exotic. When she bent her energies to verse as in

"Judith, Esther, and Other Poems" (1820), and "Zophiel, or The Bride of Seven" (1833)—a story based on the Apocryphal Book of Tobit— she showed herself far removed from Mrs. Sigourney and "The Power of Maternal Piety" or "The Sunday School." On the whole, the taste of "Maria del Occidente," as Southey called her, was worse than that of "the American Hemans;" and if Southey termed Mrs. Brooks "the most impassioned and most imaginative of all poetesses," he paid an astounding tribute to his own acumen as a critic. Emma H. Willard (1787-1870), like Mrs. Sigourney, was prominent as an educator, accomplishing more as the head of a female seminary in Troy, N. Y., than by her writings. She was the author of "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep." In the next generation were Sarah H. Whitman (1803-78) and Frances S. Osgood (1811-50), who composed verse not lacking in merit, but who are recalled rather for their championship of Edgar Allan Poe. Mrs. Whitman was at one time betrothed to him.

Minor Poets of New England.—Among the minor New England poets who came slightly later, was Samuel Longfellow (1819-92), younger brother of Henry W. Longfellow, and a hymn-writer of singular purity. Sylvester Judd (1813-53), a Unitarian minister, wrote an epic entitled "Philo" (1850). William Wetmore Story (1819-95), who edited the life and letters of his distinguished father, Chief Justice Story, forsook the bar at an early age and went to Italy to engage in sculpture. He was a poet of refinement, touched with melancholy, intellectual rather than passionate—yet with a fondness for the intangible—influenced by Longfellow and Holmes, by Tennyson and Browning. In verse, his chief works were "Poems" (1847),

"Graffiti d'Italia" (1868), "A Roman Lawyer in Jerusalem" (1870), "He and She" (1883), and "Poems" (1886). Among his individual pieces "Cleopatra" seems to be the best known. Thomas W. Parsons (1819-92) shows a similar Continental influence, whose most valuable result was his free translation of Dante's "Inferno" (cantos I-X, 1843), completed in 1867; this was preceded by his fine lines "On a Bust of Dante" (1841), which are justly admired. Henry H. Brownell (1820-72) attracted notice by a poem on Farragut, and through Farragut's good offices entered the United States Navy. His "War Lyrics and Other Poems" (1866) contained a stirring piece, "The River Fight," on the exploits of Farragut, somewhat in the style of Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade."

Poetry in the South. — The major poets of New England, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Emerson, and perhaps one or two others, constitute the one group in America that may rightfully be dignified with the name of School. Before approaching them, however, let us give some consideration to the poets of the South.

Though the institution of slavery gave the dominant classes in the Southern states a leisure comparable to that enjoyed by classic Greece, plantation life was not favorable to a thorough and imaginative education; nor were there great civic centers to collect, for mutual inspiration, such individuals as showed artistic and literary bent. Furthermore, in modern times most of the poets have been furnished by a restless and aspiring middle class, which was virtually lacking in the South. Among the owners of plantations personal ambition rarely soared much higher than local, state, or sectional politics, and

political and occasional oratory, with some noteworthy exceptions, was flamboyant and insincere. Save for a few noteworthy exceptions, accordingly, the career of poet languished, and literature of a high order failed of appreciation. The leading poets of the South realized only too well the weight of inertia against which they strove, in a civilization where the odds were continually against their success.

The Forerunners.—Early and minor poets in the South need not long detain us. William Crafts (1789-1826), of Charleston, South Carolina, a graduate of Harvard, and an orator of repute, composed a "Raciad," or epic on horse-racing, and "Sullivan's Island." His "Miscellaneous Writings" (1828) were published posthumously. William J. Grayson (1788-1863), who was more voluminous, attempted in his poem "The Hireling and the Slave" (1856) to represent slavery as a preferable state for the negro. Richard H. Wilde (1789-1847), Edward C. Pinkney (1802-28), George H. Calvert (1803-89), Philip P. Cooke (1816-50), and others, show a range of imitation running all the way from Byron through Scott and Moore to Tennyson. Cooke's "Florence Vane" was warmly admired by Poe. Albert Pike (1809-91), should be remembered as the author of "Dixie," which, "set to a popular air which has been traced back to slavery times in New York State, became, in a multitude of variations, a Southern 'Marseillaise'" (Onderdonk).

Timrod, Hayne, and Simms.—Of a high order was the poetry of that champion of the Southern cause, Henry B. Timrod (1829-67). Denied by fortune the sort of education that he craved, striving throughout much of

his life with poverty and sickness, and finally defeated, saddened by personal bereavement as well as by the downfall of the South, Timrod died before he could make adequate report of his endowments. His volume of "Poems" (1860), issued at the beginning of the Civil War, was almost unnoticed; and even yet he has not obtained the recognition due him. His devotion to the South was not greater than his reverence for his art. Few of our poets have so clearly understood themselves and their craft. Unusual courage breathes in all he wrote. In the year of his death, a prey to disease and sorrow, he could say to the Confederate soldiers buried "At Magnolia Cemetery":

Sleep sweetly in your humble graves,
Sleep, martyrs of a fallen cause;
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

In seeds of laurel in the earth
The blossom of your fame is blown,
And somewhere, waiting for its birth,
The shaft is in the stone.

Timrod's works were brought to light again in 1873 by Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-86), who, prior to the war, had united with Simms and Timrod to erect, if possible, the drooping spirit of poetry in the South. Hayne's "Poems" (1855) and "Sonnets and Other Poems" (1857) had a chance to make their way before the outbreak of hostilities; and he survived the conflict long enough to publish "Legends and Lyrics" (1872) and "The Mountain of the Lovers, and Other Poems" (1873). A complete edition of his poems appeared in 1882. "The Laureate of the South," as he was called, was an enthusiast in subtropical life and scenery, a word-painter

and word-musician after the manner of Poe. His music is more obvious than Timrod's and not so likely to please a delicate ear; and he did not have Timrod's unity and clearness of conception.

Less careful still in his workmanship, and still more lacking in concentration, was the third of the trio, William Gilmore Simms (1806-70). Simms was a most abundant writer, known later for his novels and biographies rather than his poems. In his earlier poetry he was under the sway of Byron and Moore. His scanty advantages in the way of schooling were atoned for in part by voluminous indiscriminate reading; yet he never overcame certain defects in thinking to which self-taught men are prone. His first publication was "Lyrical and Other Poems" (1827). "Atalantis" (1832), a closet-drama in blank verse, in its general structure harks back to Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound." His selected works, in nineteen volumes, were published in 1859. Simms' commanding presence, the vigor of his personality, his determination to conquer all obstacles in his own path, and to vitalize the literary atmosphere of the South, make him an impressive, even heroic, figure.

Edgar Allan Poe.—The life of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49) is duly recounted in another place, where his prose fiction is handled at some length. When Poe ran away from the ledgers in his guardian's office, he carried with him in manuscript the first heir of his invention, "Tamerlane, and Other Poems," for which he found a publisher at Boston (1827). "Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems" followed in 1829. In 1831, the year of his discharge from West Point, appeared the volume of "Poems" with which Poe thought to win the interest of the

cadets. Thereafter, most of his poetry first saw the light in various periodicals; for example, "The Raven" (1845) in the New York *Evening Mirror,* "The Bells" (1849) in *Sartain's Magazine,* "Annabel Lee" (1849) in *The New York Tribune.*

In the opinion of the present writer, Poe's verse is generally rated above its value, even for those qualities in which it is supposed particularly to excel. Certain poetical gifts this author unquestionably had in abundance. He had the *copia verborum* which is indispensable to every literary artist. His sensations were vivid, if not numerous. He knew how to choose the symbols with which to attain his ends. If we are to trust the substance of his remarks in "The Philosophy of Composition," and of those which he made regarding "The Raven," his choice and manipulation of literary artifice were for the most part very conscious. He was able through the use of carefully selected diction and imagery to produce in his reader precisely the shade of feeling—the glimmer of the supernatural, the sense of gray and subdued, occasionally the sense of weird and poignant, grief—which he desired. He never forgets the music of his words, and through habit, almost without trying, he can write continuously in a minor key. And yet, his music is not inevitable enough, nor does it undergo enough variation, or variation sufficiently delicate. It is too forced, too repetitious. His effects all lie within narrow limits, and he runs his gamut over and over again. This is altogether aside from his failure to make his music grow out of that strong underlying poetical good sense which is to be confidently expected of every great imagination. People too often forget how far Poe falls short of his master, Coleridge, in the mere element

of harmonious sound; just as they too often forget how far Coleridge falls short of *his* master, Milton, in the union of ethereal as well as sonorous cadences with a finely modulated or robust thought and sentiment. Were Poe's appeals to the external senses more wonderful than they are, he would still lag behind those poets—and in the history of literature they are not after all so few—who can touch every chord, whether sad or joyous, known to the human ear, and still maintain that basis of firm reason without which human communication ceases to be broadly human. The intellect also has its music, lacking which no poetry has ever long survived.

Furthermore, all allowance being made for the tragic outcome of Poe's career, for the part of his fate which was not the outgrowth of his own character, or could not, humanly considered, be attributed at some point in his development to his own will, his poetry is not uplifting. True, in his handling of material he is, in the ordinary acceptation, entirely clean. That is, he is wholly free from obscenity, as he is free also from that more perilous seeming cleanness which so often cloaks real impurity. Nevertheless may he be dangerous food for those whom he most readily attracts. Poe is essentially pessimistic, hopeless, toward general human experience. His favorite topic is death; and his vision does not pierce beyond the worm and the grave. Nay, like his predecessors in England and on the Continent, he luxuriates in the tomb and the charnel. As in his stories, so in his verse, though less patently, he follows some of the most pernicious motives in art that the older civilization afforded his age. And it is the lethal progeny —Baudelaire and the rest—of that movement in European literature typified by Ann Radcliffe and "Monk" Lewis

that has been quickest to take up with Poe and exploit him abroad. We may seek to explain and exculpate him; we may sorrow for his blighted life; but the fact remains that what Poe wrote sprang out of his career, hence, on the whole, was morbid. The flowers of his poetry are the flowers of Lethe. The stimulants with which he catches the reader are violent and exciting. His ideal of intellectual beauty was detached and unnatural. It is little wonder, then, that he would not enter into sympathy with the English poet by whom the normal Bryant was inspired, and whose works, the most normalizing and healthful influence that American literature thus far has felt, were purposely reactive against artificial and abnormal stimulation.

Sidney Lanier.—Among the representatives of the "New South," Sidney Lanier (1842-81), musician, poet, teacher of English, is easily foremost. He was born in Macon, Georgia, and received his education at Oglethorpe College, where, on graduating, he became a tutor; he volunteered in the Confederate army (1860), toward the end of the war was captured, and perhaps owed his subsequent ill health to his imprisonment of five months at Point Lookout. When the war was over, he taught again, in Alabama, read law, supported himself by his music—he was an adept on the flute,—wrote for magazines, and by private study in Baltimore eventually fitted himself to take a lectureship in English literature at Johns Hopkins University. Courageous in his struggle with adverse circumstances, buoyant and energetic in spite of his long battle with disease, Lanier greatly resembles Timrod. Like Timrod, too, dying early, he left but a slender volume of poetry, uneven in excellence, an earnest

of what he might have accomplished, hardly a standard by which to appraise him. Lanier's was a delicate and sensuous rather than a profound imagination; however, both in his observation of external nature and in the thoroughness and extent of his acquaintance with general literature, he was unusually well prepared for the office of poet. His interest in science fortified and disciplined his contemplation of the outer world; his poetical instinct was nurtured through industrious and select reading; and he brought to bear upon his own literary craftsmanship, and upon the literary work of others, the ear of a trained musician. His musical ear helped him greatly in his studies on meter, where his contributions to scholarship are distinctly more valuable than in his lectures on the English novel. Deeply sympathetic and generous and sane in all relations of life, Lanier had a subtle understanding for the realm that lies outside the haunts of men—for the domain of wild fauna and flora, for the seldom heeded and the escaping phenomena of the woods and the marsh and the sea. The poor reception given to his "Tiger Lilies" (1867), a novel based on experiences in the army, did not dishearten him. In 1875 he definitely announced himself by his poem entitled "Corn," published in *Lippincott's Magazine,* a vision of the South restored through agriculture. This brought him the opportunity of writing the "Centennial Cantata" for the Philadelphia Exposition, where he expressed the faith he now had in the future of the reunited nation. The Cantata finished, he immediately began a much longer Centennial ode, his "Psalm of the West" (1876), which appeared in *Lippincott's Magazine,* and which, with "Corn" and "The Symphony," made part of a small volume published in the autumn of 1876. Lanier's im-

portant critical works were the product of the years between 1876 and his death. Some three years after he died, his poems were collected and edited by his wife. If we had to rely upon one poem to keep alive the fame of Lanier, thinks his biographer, Mr. Edwin Mims, we "could single out 'The Marshes of Glynn' with assurance that there is something so individual and original about it, and that, at the same time, there is such a roll and range of verse in it, that it will surely live not only in American poetry but in English." "He is the poet of the marshes as surely as Bryant is of the forests."

Maurice Thompson and Mrs. Preston.—Our notice of Southern writers may conclude with Maurice Thompson and Mrs. Margaret Preston. James Maurice Thompson (1844-1901) is commonly associated with the Middle West, since he was born and died in Indiana. His early life, however, was spent in Kentucky and Georgia, he saw service in the Confederate army, and much of his verse and prose carries the stamp of his experiences in the South and his acquaintance with Southern literature. He was a lawyer by profession, but by instinct a natural scientist. In 1885 he was appointed State Geologist of Indiana. From 1890 on he was connected with the New York *Independent*. His style was crisp and neat, sometimes over-elaborate; but he kept an eye on the thing he was talking about, so that in general what he has said of nature is very acceptable. His devotion to the pastimes of fishing and archery gave him a good deal of literary material. His extensive and exact knowledge of the ways of birds enters into many of his poems, as for example "An Early Bluebird." The strain of regenerate patriotism in "Lincoln's Grave" is the same

that we find in Lanier. Mrs. Preston (1820-97) was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Junkin, founder of Lafayette College and afterward president of Washington and Lee University, in Virginia. Before her marriage, in 1857, she had done some writing. In 1866 she published "Beechenbrook, a Rhyme of the War;" in 1870, "Old Songs and New." Her "Cartoons" (1875) and "Colonial Ballads" (1887) show her at her best. She has been styled "the greatest Southern poetess;" there have been few claimants to dispute the title.

Major Poets of New England.—With this caption we return to the main stream of American verse, and reach the men whose lives and works may be said to justify a connected account of poetry in the United States. We shall take up Longfellow first. Whatever vicissitudes his literary standing has suffered, or is likely to suffer, he is bound for a long time to appear as the central figure among our poets.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.—The subject of this sketch was born in Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807. He came of a gifted stock. His father was a lawyer of ability, and his mother a woman of artistic temperament and varied attainments, so that the boy grew up in an atmosphere of study and refinement. Longfellow was a wise and gentle child, fond of books, not too sensitive, always normal and sane. Until 1821 he went to school in Portland; in 1822 he entered the sophomore class at Bowdoin College. Here he attained a good rank in scholarship, and became acquainted, not intimately, with the future novelist Hawthorne. Upon graduation in 1825,

Longfellow went abroad, in order to fit himself for a professorship in modern languages which lay open to him at Bowdoin. He visited France, Germany, England, and the South of Europe; on his return in 1829 he gave himself up with ardor and success to the activity of teaching. In 1831 he was married to Miss Mary S. Potter. In 1835, having received an invitation to the chair of modern languages at Harvard, he went abroad again for further travel and study, this time mainly to Germany and the North. The death of his young wife, shortly after their arrival in Holland, filled his cup with bitterness, but did not swerve him from preparation for the duties of his chair at Cambridge. Nevertheless, as may be read beneath the surface of his romance "Hyperion," his determination that he must ultimately become a poet, and not end as a teacher in the class-room, can be traced to this critical epoch in his life.

Longfellow taught at Harvard from 1836 until 1854, with but one intermission, in 1842, when on account of his health he made his third trip to Europe. In 1843 he married Miss Frances E. Appleton, whom he had met in Switzerland sixteen years before, and whose presence and influence are likewise traceable in "Hyperion." Through the generosity of his father-in-law, he was able to establish a home in Craigie House, where he had been a lodger since 1837, a dwelling of Revolutionary fame. For a while, Longfellow's study was the room once occupied by Washington. Here, surrounded by his books and, as the years went on, by a growing family circle, he lived in comfort and felicity. His reputation spread, and the number of his acquaintances increased. Among his friends he reckoned Sparks and Prescott, the historians; Ticknor, his predecessor at Harvard, and Lowell, who

afterward succeeded Longfellow; Fields, Emerson, Holmes, and Hawthorne; Felton, Sumner, Agassiz, and Norton. He read and wrote variously and extensively; he counted it a privilege to be interpreting Dante "to young hearts." In time, however, his duties as a teacher, above all, the preparation of lectures, gradually wore upon him. He felt that he could not serve two masters, and he clave to poetry. At length, in 1854, he resigned his professorship, to devote himself exclusively to authorship. Seven years later, under the most distressing circumstances, he lost his second wife. From this catastrophe, Longfellow, though he eventually regained his outward cheerfulness, never inwardly recovered. "He bore his grief with courage and in silence. Only after months had passed could he speak of it; and then only in fewest words." In 1868 he made his last visit to Europe, where he was met with "a flood of hospitality." In London "he breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone, Sir Henry Holland, the Duke of Argyll; lunched with Lord John Russell at Richmond, . . . received midnight calls from Bulwer and Aubrey de Vere. . . . The Queen received him cordially and without ceremony in one of the galleries of Windsor Castle." After a visit of two days with Tennyson, Longfellow and his party crossed to the Continent. They spent the summer in Switzerland, the autumn in France, the winter in Florence and Rome. When he returned to America, he "found Cambridge in all its beauty; not a leaf faded." "How glad," he wrote, "I am to be at home. The quiet and rest are welcome after the surly sea. But there is a tinge of sadness in it, also." The last ten years of Longfellow's life were quiet and serene, with a tinge of sadness in them, also. Yet they were filled with literary projects which, for a man of his age, he carried through with remarkable energy;

and, until toward the end, his correspondence was enormous. In 1880 his health showed signs of failing. In 1882 he suffered a brief and sharp illness, and on Friday, March 24, "he sank quietly in death." "The long, busy, blameless life was ended."

At the age of thirteen, Longfellow printed four stanzas, "The Battle of Lovell's Pond," in a corner of *The Portland Gazette.* Within the next six years he wrote a considerable number of poems for *The United States Literary Gazette.* By 1833, in addition to text-books for his classes, he had, in various magazines, published original articles, stories, and several reviews; among them an important estimate of poetry, especially the poetry of America, in a notice of Sidney's "Defense of Poesy" contributed to *The North American Review;* as well as translations from the Spanish of Manrique and others, with an "Introductory Essay on the Moral and Devotional Poetry of Spain" (1833). "Outre-Mer," first published as a series of sketches, appeared in book form in 1835, "Hyperion" in 1839, and "Voices of the Night" in the same year as "Hyperion." "Voices of the Night" made Longfellow's reputation as a poet; the edition was immediately exhausted. "Hyperion," which eventually sold well, though at present it is not often enough read, was at first unfortunate, the publisher failing before this book had a fair start. Of Longfellow's better known works, published during the latter half of his lifetime, his "Ballads and Other Poems" appeared in 1841, "The Spanish Student" in 1843, "Evangeline" in 1847, "Kavanagh," another prose romance, in 1849, "Hiawatha" in 1855, "The Courtship of Miles Standish" in 1858, "The Golden Legend" in 1872, and "Aftermath" in 1873. The "Tales of a Wayside Inn" came out in 1863, 1872, and

1873, the First Day separately, the Second and the Third Day in company with other writings.

In consequence, it may be, of a latter-day tendency to disparage Longfellow's verse, there has been an effort of late to rehabilitate his prose; not so much, indeed, for its own sake, as for its importance in the history of our literature. "Hyperion," for example, is not merely what Longfellow called it, "a sincere book, showing the passage of a morbid mind into a purer and healthier state;" that is, it is not merely the veiled autobiography of our most popular poet. Its final reception and large sale are a proof that in the forties not a few Americans could be interested in German student life and in the discussion of Continental literatures. With this romance, one might say, began an American literature that, without ceasing to be native, could aspire to be cosmopolitan. Possibly no single work produced in this country ever effected more in the dissemination of European culture. Its faults are on the surface. The style is not seldom forced and florid, having the color of Jean Paul rather than Irving; and the sentiment here and there is gushing. Nevertheless, parts of "Hyperion" are good prose, the prose of a scholar who is aware of what he is saying, and of a poet who knows how to avoid scraps of meter when he is not writing verse. The poet-scholar knows, too, on what sort of basis the best poetry is founded: "O, thou poor author-ling! . . . to cheer thy solitary labor, remember that the secret studies of an author are the sunken piers upon which is to rest the bridge of his fame, spanning the dark waters of Oblivion. They are out of sight; but without them no superstructure can stand secure."

The nature of Longfellow's secret studies is partly indicated by the extent of his published translations. Al-

though one could hardly aver that the poet was anything like a linguistic investigator in the modern sense, he had a wide acquaintance with Germanic and Romance literatures; he spoke several modern tongues with fluency; and he had a sufficient command of idiom to translate with seeming ease from Swedish, German, Old English, French, Spanish, and Italian. His renderings from Tegnér's "Frithiof's Saga" seemed so true to the original that the Swedish poet urged Longfellow to complete the translation. The versions of Uhland and others which he made in Germany during the year 1836 were later on extraordinarily efficacious in popularizing German literature for America. He may likewise be counted one of the pioneers among American students of Old English or, as he called it, "Anglo-Saxon." As a teacher of modern languages, he naturally gave heed to Greek and Latin secondarily, and there came a time when he deplored the fact that his familiarity with Greek had slipped away. Yet he loved the classics, his favorite among the Latin poets being Horace. In Horace, he said, one could find all that was worth while in the message of Goethe, expressed just as well, and uttered earlier. Of course the most considerable piece of scholarship undertaken by Longfellow was his translation of the "Divine Comedy," a task for which his enthusiastic teaching of Dante had helped to fit him, and one which he had commenced some years before the death of his second wife; yet one which he resumed and mainly completed relatively late in life, and, like Bryant's Homer, something taken up as the resource of a soul bitterly bereaved, unable to accomplish spontaneous creative work. In compassing this task, Longfellow had the encouragement and the direct assistance of Norton and Lowell, to whose knowledge and

taste the translation as it now stands is greatly indebted. Even so, it cannot rank high in artistic workmanship. First of all, the translator found that in order to reproduce the sense with fidelity, he must sacrifice the rhyme, a dubious concession so long as metrical structure was to be retained at all. Still, Longfellow's translation is pure and lucid English; for the beginner in Dante the critical apparatus is valuable even now; and the three sonnets prefixed to the "Inferno," "Purgatorio," and "Paradiso" are in themselves an introduction to Dante of a sort hardly to be surpassed. The best spirit of America is be nded in them with the best of the Middle Ages.

In considering Longfellow as an original poet, we shall not go astray if we remember his own conception of originality. To him the poetic gift meant, not the power of creating new material—as the vulgar suppose—but insight, the power of seeing things according to their eternal values. Doubtless he realized that one needs insight to discover in how far the vulgar supposition is blind. At all events, we need not look for new ideas or new sentiments in the poetry of Longfellow, but for an attempt to make us see things as he sees them, after he has tried to see them as they are. In his dramas, and in his narratives—these latter being more important—he frankly took material furnished by his wide reading, or lying ready to his hand, and strove to clothe it in a new and more permanent form. "Evangeline" is an instance of his method. The story was given him by Hawthorne; in elaborating it, Longfellow consulted such works on Nova Scotia and the exile of the Acadians as were accessible to him; he was true to his sources. Had he known of better authorities, he would have read them, and his account of the exile would have been historically more precise. The meter of

"Evangeline," suggested by that of Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea," is one of the rare instances where dactylic hexameter has succeeded in English. One can truthfully say that whatever Longfellow took, he really appropriated, that is, made his own. It was but seldom that his materials would not fuse, for he had a thorough command of technique. In "Hiawatha," which has been called "the nearest approach to an American epic," he employed a form of verse borrowed from the Finnish "Kalevala," in which to embody traditions of the Indians. As Freiligrath remarked, there is something odd in the notion of Hiawatha, child of the West Wind, meeting with historical Christian missionaries. However, Longfellow's daring synthesis of heterogeneous elements pleased that great authority on American antiquities, Henry R. Schoolcraft; after many failures, a native poet had at length arisen to portray our aborigines, in a long poem, with fidelity and imagination. Ten thousand copies were sold in this country within four weeks, and the poem was translated into six modern languages.

The dramatic works of Longfellow have suffered in comparison with his narrative poems and lyrics. The causes of this are partly internal and partly external. In his "Christus," which he fancied would endure, he probably chose a subject of too great magnitude for his powers. Yet the second part at least, "The Golden Legend," at present operates less vitally than it should, largely because of its sympathy with the ideals of the Middle Ages—with ideals which we, still living in the Renaissance, are not ready to comprehend. "'The Golden Legend,'" said G. P. R. James, "is like an old ruin with the ivy and the rich blue mould upon it." Is it not more like a Gothic church before mould and ruin have crept in? It is a bit

of wholesome, rejuvenated medievalism, an edifice whose threshold the intellectual pride of our age feels discomfort in crossing.

It is by his shorter poems that Longfellow now chiefly lives. Brief narratives such as "The Skeleton in Armor," and "The Wreck of the Schooner Hesperus," lyrics of sentiment and pathos—"Psalms of Life"—more rarely bits of humor like the German mechanic's song, "I know a maiden, fair to see," were soon established in the popular memory. It would be ungracious to say that the popular taste has been wrong in preferring what is sentimental and pathetic in Longfellow. A poet whose love of the hearth was so strong, and whose personal acquaintance with domestic happiness and domestic grief was so profound, did well to pour out his soul in verses which add sunshine to daylight for the happy, and in which the deeply afflicted may find pensive solace. Yet the popular taste has clung to "Tell me not in mournful numbers," where the sentiment is not above suspicion, and to "The Skeleton in Armor," where character, sentiment, and historical setting are for the most part incongruous; and it has almost let the sonnet on Milton fall asleep.

Longfellow was the most popular poet ever brought forth on this continent. His unparalleled vogue was destined to undergo a reaction. Among those who want better bread than is made of wheat, his poetry is not now counted a stimulating diet. However, when American scholarship shall succeed in reducing American literature to a true perspective, he will come to his own again. His patriotism will be rediscovered; his technical skill will be carefully appraised; the honors heaped upon him throughout the civilized world will be recognized as just; and the character from which flowed a well of undefiled

poetry will stand out as one of the noblest products of occidental civilization.

James Russell Lowell.—By general consent, Longfellow is our American poet *par excellence,* Emerson our philosopher, James Russell Lowell our man of letters. Others, Lowell among them, have shared more richly than Longfellow in a distinctively lyrical temperament; others have thought more consecutively than Emerson. No one, however, when his initial talents are considered, has produced so much good poetry as Longfellow; no one in the realm of philosophic thought has been so patently influential as Emerson; and no one, not even Irving, has fared well in so many avenues of literature and popular scholarship as Lowell. He was poet, critic, professor, editor, diplomat, patriot, humanist; and withal he was a man and a friend.

He was born on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1819, at "Elmwood," Cambridge, a house still in the possession of his family. On his father's side he was of English blood, being descended from Percival Lowell, who came from Somersetshire to Massachusetts Colony in 1639; through his mother he drew his lineage from the folk of the Orkney Islands. His father was a well educated clergyman, faithful and affectionate; his mother, whether really gifted with second sight or not, was of a less usual type, imaginative, high-strung, with a tendency to mental derangement. During his infancy her youngest son heard ballads for lullabies. As a child he was read to sleep with Spenser's "Faerie Queene." When he grew older, he had the range of his father's generously stocked library. At the age of nine he was devouring Walter Scott, and like Scott at the same age, was astonishing his companions

with improvised tales of fear and wonder. His imagination was not unduly stimulated; he lived a wholesome outdoor life, and he had a sound schooling in the classics. When he went to Harvard in 1834, "he was a shy, yet not very tractable youth, given, like so many boys who are shy from excess rather than from defect of ability, to occasional violence and oddity of expression or act." At Harvard he gradually rebelled against the rigor of a fixed curriculum, but read omnivorously in English literature of the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, and following the English romanticists of a generation previous, paid particular attention to Spenser and Milton. "Milton," he observes, "has excited my ambition to read all the Greek and Latin classics which he did." Lowell had gone through a precocious love affair at the age of ten; while in college he was again "hopelessly in love." His efforts in the way of serious writing were at this time facile and, naturally, not profound; his humor was naïve, and more engaging. His gradual neglect of the prescribed routine, in spite of his father's attempts to stir up in the young man a respect for academic honors, at length brought upon Lowell the open displeasure of the Harvard faculty; so that in his senior year he was temporarily suspended, and directed to regain his standing under the private instruction of the Rev. Barzillai Frost at Concord. Longfellow was one of his teachers in Cambridge; in his retirement he met Emerson and Thoreau. When he left his tutor and returned to Harvard, Class Day was past; but he brought back his Class Poem finished, and allowed it to circulate among his friends. It is interesting as an evidence of Lowell's early freedom in using a variety of meters, of his feeling for nature, of his New England heritage of conservatism, of his inability as yet to enter into sympathy

with the movement for the abolition of slavery, or with Emerson and Transcendentalism. It is interesting as a mixture of the old and the new; its touches of enthusiasm are in odd contrast with its general manner, which is strongly reminiscent of post-Revolutionary satire.

His course at Harvard over—for better or worse,—Lowell consigned himself, with misgivings and vacillation, to the study of law. An unfortunate love affair, the financial reverses of his father, uncertainty about his own livelihood, and his seemingly thwarted longing to become an author conspired to render him at times almost desperate. It appears that he even meditated suicide. His humor saved him. He continued his study of ancient and modern poets and certain aspects of their art; through this study, as well as through his mental sufferings, his knowledge of humanity was broadened and enriched. He began to understand the position of the Abolitionists. With his engagement to Miss Maria White, the horizon finally cleared. He had taken his degree in law. Though he could not immediately be married, the constant influence of Miss White, herself a poetess, and his contact with the circle of young people in which she moved—"the Band"—were from now on vital elements in his spiritual development. His head was full of literary plans. He would write a life of Keats; he would compose a "psychohistorical" tragedy. He became a contributor of verse to *Graham's Magazine.* In 1840 he brought out the volume of poetry entitled "A Year's Life," labeled by reviewers as "humanitarian and idealistic;" and in the next year or so he wrote for other periodicals an assortment of sonnets, prose sketches, and literary essays on the Elizabethan dramatists. By the close of 1842 he had resolved to abandon the law, and associated himself with Robert

Carter in founding a magazine to be known as *The Pioneer*. The venture was short-lived, owing to Lowell's enforced removal to New York, where he was under the care of an eye-specialist. The failure of his periodical involved him in debt; however, he had gained valuable experience as an editor, and had widened his acquaintance among men of letters. Settling once more at Cambridge, he watched over the persons of his mother, whose mind was now astray, and his eldest sister, who already began to show signs of a similar malady. The fruit of two years of poetical activity appeared at the end of 1843 in his first series of "Poems." He married Miss White on December 26, 1844. Immediately afterward, he assumed for a brief space a position in Philadelphia on *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, he and his wife eking out a slender income by writing for *The Broadway Journal* of New York. An ardent Abolitionist now, Lowell, on his return to Cambridge, gave his attention during the next four years mainly to articles for *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*. From this point it is impossible in so short an account as the present to record many details of his productivity as a writer. In 1846 appeared the first of the "Biglow Papers," published in *The Boston Courier;* three more came out the next year. In 1848, besides a large sheaf of articles, Lowell issued the second series of his "Poems," his "Fable for Critics,"—in which he handled contemporary American poets with levity but also with insight—and "The Vision of Sir Launfal," significant titles in any list of his works. His powers were near their height. His humor was almost as sure as it ever became; his criticism almost as pregnant, his imagination as vital, his attitude toward national issues as uncompromising. The defects in his style and treatment are such as we find

even in his later work. Until 1853 Lowell's life was in the main happy, darkened indeed by the death of several children, and by anxiety over the fading health of his wife. From the grief and loneliness following her death he sought relief in the preparation of a course of lectures on the English poets, to be delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston. Their signal success brought him a call to the chair left vacant at Harvard by Longfellow. He gave a year or more to study abroad; returning in 1856, he spent the next sixteen years of his life in the duties of a college professor. He lectured on poetry and fine art, and offered courses in German, Spanish, and Italian literature. He was at his best in teaching Dante, where he could put in motion his belief "that the study of imaginative literature tends to sanity of mind;" that it is "a study of order, proportion, arrangement, of the highest and purest Reason," and shows "that chance has less to do with success than forethought, will, and work." Latterly he turned his attention to the literature of Old French. For a man who has been taxed with hereditary indolence, his industry was surprising. His connection with *The Atlantic Monthly* from its launching, in 1857, until 1861, and with *The North American Review* from 1864 until 1872, is mentioned elsewhere. His private reading was continuous and discursive. With the approach and outbreak of the Civil War, his heart and pen were enlisted in the service of the North. He wrote perhaps the most stirring political articles in American literature; and his verse ran all the way from a new series of "Biglow Papers" to the "Commemoration Ode" recited at the memorial exercises, July 21, 1865, in honor of the Harvard graduates who had given their lives for their country. After the war *The North American Review*

provided him with an outlet for many of his best known articles in literary criticism, for example, his essays on Chaucer, Pope, Spenser, and Dante. "The Cathedral," his most notable poem after the "Commemoration Ode," appeared in 1870. In 1869, and again in 1870, he delivered a number of lectures, on the poets, at Cornell University. In 1872, unable to secure a leave of absence from Harvard, he resigned his position there, in order to go abroad. After a stay of two years in Europe, where he was the recipient of distinguished honors, he resumed his post at Harvard, retaining it until 1877, when President Hayes appointed him Minister to Spain (1877-80). In 1880 Garfield made him Minister to England; here honors were showered upon him. "The Queen is recorded to have said that during her long reign no ambassador or minister had created so much interest and won so much regard as Mr. Lowell." Shortly after the death of his second wife, in 1885, he was supplanted in his diplomatic post. For a time he lived with his daughter at Southborough, Massachusetts. Among the later collections of his poetry was "Heartsease and Rue," published in 1887. The last two years of his life were passed at Cambridge, devoted in part to an edition of his works, in ten volumes. After a season of weakness and pain, borne with fortitude and humor, he died, where he first saw the light, at Elmwood, on August 12, 1891.

It is well-nigh impossible to characterize Lowell briefly. An attempt to sum up a personality that chose so many avenues of expression, and that at bottom was not thoroughly unified, can hardly do justice to the component parts. The most striking thing about the man was his fertility, if not in great constructive ideas, at all events in separate thoughts. What he writes is full of meat. His

redundancy is not in the way of useless verbiage; he wants to use all the materials that offer. A less obvious thing in Lowell is what we may term his lack of complete spiritual organization. He lived in an age of dissolving beliefs and intellectual unrest. Though he was not tormented, as were some others, by fierce internal doubts, he yet failed ever to be quite clear with himself on fundamental questions of philosophy and religion. He was never quite at one with himself. As a writer, his serious and his humorous moods were continually interrupting each other. Partly on this account, he did not possess an assured style. Partly, of course, a kind of indifference, inherited or developed, was to blame; in his formative stage, he did not have the patience—as he himself told Longfellow—to write slowly enough. The result is, our enjoyment of his poetry comes from separate passages, not from organically constituted, harmonious wholes. In the occasional felicitous expression of an individual thought, few can surpass him:

> Coy Hebe flies from those that woo,
> And shuns the hands would seize upon her;
> Follow thy life, and she will sue
> To pour for thee the cup of honor.

As a colorist in words, when he happens not to overdo the impression, his art often seems masterly. Yet if we look closely, even in the much lauded "Commemoration Ode," his technique is seldom if ever inevitable. His prose is stylistically more continuous than his verse, owing to his experience as an editor. He healed others; himself he could heal at least partially. But even as a prose writer, in spite of his studies in the history of literature, he did not reach the point where science and the understanding are seen to be in harmony with poetry and the

imagination. It appears that he did not succeed in distinguishing between what was temporary and what was permanent in science, so that he did not escape the danger of confusing the errors of scientists with their ideals; and as he was not in full sympathy, as Dante was, with minute literary research, so he was not willing to subject himself to the last exacting and detailed labors of the poet or essayist who determines to write verse or prose that shall endure. It follows that most of his writing, both poetry and prose, lacks finality. Thus in his article on Chaucer, though he met the approval of no less an authority than Professor Child, he could not ultimately have satisfied that great scholar and critic, since Lowell did not confine himself to generalizations based upon exhaustive induction. He does not clearly discriminate between "I think" and "I know."

The fact is that he wrote mainly for his own time, and was bound to have but a temporary reward. This is not saying that the reward was not worth while. His interpretations of Spenser, of Dante, of Milton, of the elder dramatists, sent to those poets many a reader who would not otherwise have gone; for America, he opened the road in the study of Chaucer; and his own "Vision of Sir Launfal" has unlocked many a hard heart to divine influences. When he wrote in dialect, as in the "Biglow Papers," he was manifestly writing for a time; but in their time the second series did more to justify the Northern cause than almost any other publication that could be mentioned, Whittier's poems not excepted. It may be thought that his wonderful command of dialect, contrasted with a less perfect and less instinctive success in any higher medium, mark him as above all else a satiric poet. When he was once sitting for his portrait, he so denomi-

nated himself, speaking generally—"a bored satiric poet." Yet were we to name Lowell the greatest of all American satirists, his urgent poems of patriotism—"The Washers of the Shroud," the "Commemoration Ode"—his "Vision of Sir Launfal," and "The Cathedral" would immediately proclaim him something greater than any satiric poet could be. Last of all, nobler than the sum of his writings was the work which he effected in bringing together his native land and the mother country, England, in a bond of sympathy unknown since their separation.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.—Emerson usually passes for a philosophical mystic and lay preacher. He deemed himself more of a poet than anything else, for he always hoped to attain perfect utterance in rhythmical language. Yet the fact that he wrote much more prose, however imaginative, than verse, has relegated the main treatment of him to another section of this volume. Such an arrangement, of course, is grounded in uncritical custom, not in reason.

Arbitrarily limiting ourselves here to his compositions in meter, we find that throughout his life (1803-82), or throughout the years in which he was productive, Emerson was responsible for much more poetry, in the narrower sense, than most of his readers are aware of, and that, taken by and large, his poems are as well worth attention as his essays. In his verse, which was written for himself, he is, to be sure, less at home so far as concerns the form; but being less hampered by any regard for an audience, he is more spontaneous in his thought. At the same time, his stock of fundamental ideas and sentiments, however vivid and pure, was pretty much exhausted in his prose, so that, to a considerable extent, he repeated him-

self when he changed his medium of expression. Moreover, as the hierophant of intellectual independence, he did not come to a practical realization of the way in which the opulence of the greatest poets and thinkers is related to the wealth and continuity of their reading. Emerson, indeed, read multifariously if not thoroughly; and it is true that his essays are liberal in the use of borrowed matter; the production of an essay on Montaigne might appear to mean little more than throwing together an anthology of excerpts, cemented with Emerson's own marginal notes. He rarely mastered any single author entire. His insight went by leaps and bounds, and he appropriated what he found congenial, not being pliant enough to enter steadily and long into the thought of another. His prose in general lacks plan. Some of his poems, on the contrary, are more unified, having an organic wholeness which is absent from his longer essays. In an essay, mere continuity of sentiment and preservation of individual style do not constitute an adequate link between the parts. In a lyric poem, such consistency may suffice. Virtually all of Emerson's poetry is lyrical and meditative. The technique is seldom smooth, not for want of pains, since it was labored and continually retouched, but for want of capacity in the artist. The style is apt to be brittle, the cadence is not maintained through passages of any length, and the separate sentences are easily detached from their context. Even so, they are not always clear, but may need commentary and parallel from the "Essays" to explain them. Emerson's poetry is largely autobiographical and, in no harsh sense, egoistic, a picture of the successive and recurrent states of his own soul. His vision of the universe in each of its parts, his belief in the immanence of God and the educational potency of

solitude, and his confidence in the ability of Nature to prepare and suddenly to produce ideal or "representative" men, are ever near the surface. In his descriptions of the external world he is faithful to detail; but as he discovers in each individual thing an intrinsic value transcending the value of its dependence on the whole, he is likely to see the parts without being ready to seize the perspective. Among details his selection, if he makes any, seems altogether an affair of his mood, not of logic. His power of choice is nevertheless stronger than Whitman's. He has a more than Wordsworthian distaste for analytic science:

> But these young scholars, who invade our hills,
> Bold as the engineer who fells the wood,
> And travelling often in the cut he makes,
> Love not the flower they pluck, and know it not,
> And all their botany is Latin names.

None the less have science and scientific terms invaded his poetry; nor is it simply the larger and the elemental aspects of modern discovery that claim his regard. With his individualistic turn of mind, he can not choose but have an eye for the precise and specific:

> Ah! well I mind the calendar,
> Faithful through a thousand years,
> Of the painted race of flowers,
> Exact to days, exact to hours.
> . . . . .
> I know the trusty almanac
> Of the punctual coming-back,
> On their due days, of the birds.

He understands his own interest in such matters; not being very objective, he cannot understand the impulse of the young botanist. Lacking the dramatic and historical impulse, he wrote no long poems. "May-Day" is his longest and most sustained, although he never quite succeeded in

ordering its parts. It "was probably written in snatches in the woods on his afternoon walks, through many years." The volume to which it gave its name (1867) marked a distinct advance in fluency over the collection of his poems that had appeared twenty years earlier. But even considering his own final selection (1876), or considering the now standard text of all his poetry (published in 1904), we can scarcely affirm that the longing he expressed in 1839 was ever fully satisfied: "I am naturally keenly susceptible to the pleasures of rhythm, and cannot believe but one day I shall attain to that splendid dialect, so ardent is my wish; and these wishes, I suppose, are ever only the buds of power; but up to this hour I have never had a true success in such attempts." It is probable that in spite of his New England good sense, his inherent esteem for propriety, his insight into the subtler workings of nature, he did not have the initial impulse of a Bryant or a Longfellow toward what he most needed in his education. Nature works also through the scientist and the pedagogue. Emerson doubts it:

> Can rules or tutors educate
> The semigod whom we await?
> He must be musical,
> Tremulous, impressional,
> Alive to gentle influence
> Of landscape and of sky,
> And tender to the spirit-touch
> Of man's or maiden's eye;
> But, to his native center fast,
> Shall into Future fuse the Past,
> And the world's flowing fates in his own mould recast.

Henry David Thoreau.— Emerson had the originality that enables a seer to pierce beneath the surface, and to find a likeness in things where passive minds detect no

brotherhood; he did not have the originality by virtue of which amply creative minds gather a multitude of elements, properly subordinated one to another, into new, harmonious and embracing wholes. His is a crucial defect in American poetry, a defect in the constructive imagination. This defect is intimately associated with an unscholarly dread of minute research. Emerson's attitude of distrust toward science was shared by his friend and disciple Thoreau (1817-62), in whom the creed of individualism ran almost to the point of caricature. In his youth and prime, Thoreau wrote a great deal of verse, only a little of which has been preserved. The conception of Prometheus, suffering and isolated friend of humanity, tenacious in the assertion of his own will, was to Thoreau's taste; hence his rough but stirring translation from the tragedy by Æschylus. He had the Emersonian fondness for gnomic sentences and verses, such as he found scattered through the "Odes" of Pindar. His versions of Pindaric gnomes show that he was not afraid of difficult Greek; still, he hovered between belief and disbelief in scholarship. His ear was better than Emerson's. It is unfortunate that his unrivalled gift of observation did not more frequently leave a record of itself in lines like those "To a Stray Fowl." His mind was not without the New England love of the startling and paradoxical. Yet his search for hidden analogies borders oftener on true imagination than was the case with Holmes.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.—"The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table" has already given evidence that it will outlast "Elsie Venner" and "The Guardian Angel;" yet if the miscellanies of Dr. Holmes (1809-94) possess more vitality than his novels, this is in some measure due to the "Auto-

crat's" occasional employment of verse. In the "Breakfast-Table" series appeared "The Chambered Nautilus" and "The Wonderful 'One-Hoss Shay,'" which, with his youthful "Old Ironsides," and "The Broomstick Train," have retained the firmest hold on the popular memory. Holmes was pleased to trace his ancestry back to Anne Bradstreet, the first American poetess. His own poetry commenced with a schoolboy rendering into heroic couplets from Virgil, and hardly ended with his tribute to the memory of Whittier in 1892. In the standard edition of his works his poems occupy three volumes. Many of them, corresponding to his turn for the novel, are narrative; for story-telling he had a knack amounting to a high degree of talent. His sense of order and proportion is stronger than that of other members of the New England school, and he has a command of at least formal structure. One may not unreasonably attribute this command in part to his studies in human anatomy. At the same time Holmes is beset with the temptation to value manner and brilliancy rather than substance, and he will go out of his way for a fanciful conceit or a striking expression. In the use of odds and ends of recondite scientific lore his cleverness is amazing. He had a tenacious memory and a habit of rapid association, so that as a punster he is almost without a match. However, his glance is not deeply penetrating; he sees fantastic resemblances between things that are really far removed from one another, not so often the fundamental similarities in things whether near or apart. One may search through Holmes in vain for anything so truly poetic as Thoreau's comparison of sex in human beings and flowers. Accordingly, his mind may be classed as fanciful rather than imaginative. It ought not to be misunderstood, and will not be unduly detracting from

his great excellence, if we say that the poetry of Holmes does not always evince the highest moral seriousness—a lack that is not fully supplied when he attempts moral subjects, as in "The Chambered Nautilus," where, though the comparison of the growing mollusk with the expanding human soul is beautiful, the preaching is a little trite.

As regards the form of his poetry Holmes is a survival of the eighteenth century. In his boyhood he was a devoted admirer of Pope, but instead of abandoning the style of the Augustans, as Bryant and Lowell abandoned or outgrew it, he chose rather to perfect himself in it; until, somewhat more plastic than it was in his models, somewhat modernized and provincial, that style became his normal accent. Having Holmes' purpose in view, one may add that no poet in America has acquired a surer control over his medium. Within this medium he was able to unite sparkle, humor, clearness, good sense, and oratorical emphasis. It is the opinion of several very able critics that no one in his century can vie with him in the art of writing verses for an occasion. Here is the source not only of his strength but also of his weakness. A large proportion of his verse is of mainly local or temporary interest. The poems which he offered year by year at the exercises of the Harvard Commencement will year by year engender less enthusiasm. A constructive criticism, however, will lay stress, not on his inheritance of New England provincialism or his slight tendency to be flippant, but on his kindliness, his inexhaustible good humor, his quick and darting intellectual curiosity, and on the appeal which his sprightly moralizing makes to the young. It is not a little thing to say of a wit and a power of epigram like his that they were ever genial, and ever on

the side of something better than a merely conventional morality.

John Greenleaf Whittier.—In so brief a section, it has seemed impossible to offer more than a few scattered remarks on the poetry that arose both in the North and the South in connection with slavery and the Civil War. Something has been said of Confederate writers, including Henry B. Timrod and Sidney Lanier; more might be added on the patriotic verse of Lowell and Longfellow, Emerson and Holmes, and a throng of lesser men, who sang to the North of courage and consolation, or attacked those whom they considered the foes of the Republic at home or abroad. One poetess, yet living, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe (born in 1819), immortalized herself in 1862 by her "Battle-Hymn of the Republic," a piece breathing the very essence of righteousness and love of country, and having a value out of all proportion to the rest of her work. Something similar must be said of Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-72) and his popular "Sheridan's Ride" (1865). The true bard of the battlefield and bivouac, of course, was Walt Whitman, who, as a nurse in the Union army, had actual experience of war. If, however, any one person is to be singled out from his century as the proclaimer of American freedom, this must be John Greenleaf Whittier; and that too, it might almost be said, in spite of his heredity, his early hopes, and his natural bent. At least, his Quaker blood and his love for the peaceful ways of nature would not designate him for the office of poet militant. Furthermore, if Whittier's art and sentiment in the progress of years elicit more and more admiration from qualified arbiters, such admiration will be mainly bestowed, not on his war lyrics or his de-

nunciations of slavery, but on his hymns, his legends of New England, and his rustic idyls—above all, on "Snow Bound."

He was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, on December 17, 1807, springing from pious English stock, in a family that belonged to the Society of Friends. A minute and animated picture of his home and its inmates is given in "Snow Bound." Whittier's opportunities for regular schooling were slender. Though he did not inherit the rugged strength of his ancestors, his help was required on the farm; and his father, without absolutely discouraging the lad's effort to win an education, was reluctant to see him busied with a useless or dangerous plaything such as their sect generally regarded poetry. The boy attended district school, read the few books that were in his home, and even managed to obtain copies of Burns and Shakespeare, and a novel, perused in secret, of Scott. His mother was inwardly gratified by the lines which he wrote under the inspiration of Burns. When his sister clandestinely forwarded one of his poems to *The Free Press* of Newburyport, and thus paved the way for an acquaintance between Whittier and the editor, William Lloyd Garrison, the trend of the young man's life was determined. Thanks to the influence of Garrison, and by the strictest husbanding of his own means, Whittier was able to pass, in all, a year at the new Haverhill Academy. "Thus ended his schooldays," says his biographer, Pickard; "but this was only the beginning of his student life. By wide and well-chosen reading, he was constantly adding to his stores of information. While reveling in the fields of English literature, he became familiar through translations with ancient and current literature of other nations, and kept abreast of all political and reformatory movements."

In the development of his thought, he owed most to the Bible, to the tracts of the Friends, and to the poetry of Burns. The mainspring of his activity, whether as student, poet, politician, or anti-slavery agitator, was an intense desire to be useful to his kind, coupled with a burning belief in the sacredness of individual liberty. During his early manhood, he continued to write verse, sending it to various New England periodicals; and he became editor successively of a Boston trade journal, of *The Haverhill Gazette,* and of *The New England Magazine.* Journalism helped him to enter politics, and in 1832 the Whigs of his native place seemed ready to elect him to Congress. After careful deliberation, he renounced his political aspirations, not without an inward struggle, and decided to lend his energies to the abolition of negro slavery, to assist the discredited and obscure band led by Garrison. "My lad," so in after years he counseled a youth of fifteen, "if thou wouldst win success, join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause." With all his idealism—let us rather say, on account of his thoroughgoing idealism, Whittier was thoroughly practical. He had keen insight into the characters of men, and knew how to turn their motives, both good and bad, to account; his political sagacity, which, with his untiring industry, made him one of the most capable workers on the side of Abolition, was largely responsible for the rise of Charles Sumner to a position of beneficent influence. Ever frail in health, yet laboring on, and subjected more than once to personal violence at the hands of opponents, Whittier had the satisfaction of seeing the movement which he championed emerge from persecution into triumph. Regarded superficially, his devotion delayed his own progress as an artist, and his best poetry came late. In a deeper sense, he

could not have developed into the poet that he became without living the life that he did.

In a general way his work may be divided into two parts, that produced during his more active interest in journalism and politics, and that produced after his retirement. In 1831 he published his "Legends of New England in Prose and Verse," a pamphlet, and in 1832, another pamphlet, "Moll Pitcher," neither of them of much interest save in comparison with his better choice of subjects and better handling at a later date. A third pamphlet, "Justice and Expediency" (1833), published at his own expense and with a full consciousness of its probable effect, was the document that severed him from the dominant party and openly leagued him with the Abolitionists. "Mogg Megone" (1836), his first bound volume, which he afterward vainly tried to suppress, was published after he became a secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The next year (1837), Isaac Knapp, without consulting Whittier, issued a collection of "Poems Written during the Progress of the Abolition Movement in America." It was followed in 1838 by an authorized collection. The poet represented Haverhill in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1835; ill-health prevented his finishing a second term. In 1837 he went to Philadelphia to aid "the venerable anti-slavery pioneer, Benjamin Lundy, who was editing *The National Enquirer,*" afterward called *The Pennsylvania Freeman.* In 1840 he retired to Amesbury, Massachusetts, taking up his abode with his mother and his sister Elizabeth. He never married. At Amesbury and at Danvers, in the same county, he spent the remainder of his life in quiet. The record is one of domestic peace and literary endeavor, whose first fruits were "Lays of my Home, and Other Poems" (1843). With

this volume Whittier's writings began to be remunerative. Some of the more noteworthy subsequent dates in his life are as follows. Of his prose works, "The Stranger in Lowell" appeared in 1845, "Supernaturalism in New England" in 1847, "Literary Recollections" in 1854. From the founding of *The Atlantic Monthly*, in 1857, Whittier was a most welcome contributor. He also edited John Woolman's *Journal*, and in other ways displayed interest in the writings of the Friends. "Voices of Freedom" (1849) was the first comprehensive edition of his poems. He published "Songs of Labor" in 1850, "A Sabbath Scene" in 1853, "Home Ballads" in 1860, and "National Lyrics" in 1865. After the war, his most important publications included "Snow Bound" (1866), "Maud Muller" (1867), "Ballads of New England" (1869), "Miriam and Other Poems" (1871), "Mabel Martin" (1874), "Hazel Blossoms" (1875), "Poems of Nature" (1885), "St. Gregory's Quest, and Recent Poems" (1886). His last collection, "At Sundown" (1890) was dedicated to E. C. Stedman, and closed with a valediction to Dr. Holmes. Many of Whittier's poems were first published in magazines; "Maud Muller" appeared in *The National Era*, in 1854.

Whittier's personality was one of indescribable attractiveness. He was gentle, yet full of repressed fire, an ardent nature, that had steadily submitted to the Christian spirit of self-control. He had the inward beauty that springs from generous impulses under the habitual guidance of principle and forethought. Toward his opponents he showed no rancor; he strove against parties, not individuals; and he commanded the respect of his adversaries. If he had a foible, it was his delight in playful teasing. He never visited a theater or a circus in his life. He is

described in his early manhood as "tall, slight, and very erect," of a distinguished presence, yet bashful—but never awkward. His eye was brilliant and expressive. In maturity, his face in repose was almost stern, but a smile would light up his entire countenance. "His voice in reading was of a quality entirely different from that in conversation—much fuller and deeper." In later years, "while retaining a lively interest in all literary and political matters and keeping abreast of current events, he dwelt most intently . . . upon the great spiritual and eternal realities of God. By the open fire in the evening he would talk for hours upon sacred themes, ever grateful for the rich blessings of his life and looking with reverent curiosity towards the future. . . . There was not the shadow of a doubt in his mind concerning the immortality of the soul." He died after a stroke of paralysis, on September 7, 1892, and was buried at Amesbury.

In a recent and praiseworthy volume of "The Chief American Poets," Dr. C. H. Page has included a longer list of selections from Whittier than from Longfellow, although the contributions representing Whittier occupy less space. This is significant. Whittier was mainly a writer of short poems. In the ballad he had a form suited to the general taste, and to his aim of stinging a sluggish populace into revolt against slavery. He painted that institution in its most repellent aspects, seeing nought of the glamour which Southern writers have shed over plantation life as it existed before the war. Living in the North, he saw something of escaping and recaptured negroes. His glance was very direct; he described matters simply; he accomplished the task that he set himself. Among his lyrics of the war, "Barbara Frietchie" is altogether the best known—not with complete justice to others,

for example, "The Watchers." To his treatment of tales and legends of colonial New England Whittier brought an inveterate hatred of persecution and oppression in every shape. Accordingly, many of his narratives, like "Cassandra Southwick," touch on wrongs attempted or inflicted upon the early Quakers. As an interpreter of colonial life Whittier comes second only to Hawthorne. As a herald of the beauty in flower and hill and stream, in "The Trailing Arbutus," "Among the Hills," "The Merrimac," he is second to none in America. True, he does not always refrain from what Ruskin has called the pathetic fallacy, so that he descries in the face of nature moods that are really in the heart of man; but he does this more rarely than his contemporaries. In his revelation of humble and rustic types, "Maud Muller," "The Barefoot Boy," "The Huskers," he is almost the equal of Burns or Wordsworth. He is not their rival in perfection of style. More frequently than they he suffers from a bad line; and his rhymes are often defective. Yet one must not conclude that he was inattentive to technique. On the contrary, Whittier was a born artist. But the nice discipline of the ear which so many English poets have owed to the cultivation of Greek and Latin prosody was not vouchsafed to him; and for his manner he missed the advantage of rigorous criticism. The positive excellence of Whittier's verse is due to the harmonious blending and interworking in him of varied powers. His senses were alert and sure, his humor was fine, his intellect strong, his pathos firm. He was not afraid of a theme that was tragic. His realism might be compared to that of Crabbe, but it is more hopeful. In his religious poems there is a belief more satisfying than the pantheism of Emerson; and there is a quality of personal joy and optimism which, as we have

previously observed, is not typical of American literature.—

> Best loved and saintliest of our singing train,
> Earth's noblest tributes to thy name belong.
> A lifelong record closed without a stain,
> A blameless memory shrined in deathless song.

Such was Holmes' eulogy of Whittier. With it we may take leave of New England.

Bayard Taylor.—A Quaker poet of a different stamp was the meteoric Bayard Taylor (1825-78). His boyhood was distinguished by a passion for roving and for collecting objects of natural history. His devotion to books and his distaste for labor on a Pennsylvania farm did not always please his father, who laughed boisterously, however, when a phrenologist said of the son: "You will never make a farmer of him to any great extent: you will never keep him home; that boy will ramble around the world, and furthermore, he has all the marks of a poet." At the age of nineteen, having just published "Ximena: or The Battle of Sierra Morena, and Other Poems," and armed with some introductions from N. P. Willis, Taylor engaged in a Byronic pilgrimage on the Continent. A half-year at Heidelberg rendered him fluent in German. By a circuitous route through northern Germany and Austria he proceeded on foot to Italy, and from Italy through France back to England, supporting himself by correspondence which he sent to *The New York Tribune, The Saturday Evening Post,* and *The United States Gazette,* and which on his return to America he collected in "Views Afoot" (1846). Our account of his life thus far gives a faint impression of his physical and mental activity. No adequate narrative may here be essayed of his wandering

and eventful career throughout. "Views Afoot" made his reputation. By 1848 he had become head of the literary department of *The New York Tribune.* In 1849, as correspondent for *The Tribune,* he spent five months with the gold-diggers in California. In 1850 he married Miss Mary Agnew, who was dying of consumption, and who survived her wedding but two months. In 1851-53 he traveled in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Ethiopia, Spain, India, and China. In 1856 he broke down from overwork in America—lecturing and writing—and went to Europe again. In Germany (1857) he married the daughter of an eminent astronomer, P. A. Hansen. In 1857-58 he visited Greece. Two years later, at an expense of $17,000, he had built a home, near his birthplace, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, calling his estate "Cedarcroft." To settle down in affluence had been his cherished ambition; but this dream, and his haste to realize it, embarrassed him financially, cost him much peace of mind, and eventually cost him his life. He never succeeded in resting. In 1862-63 he was Secretary of the Legation at St. Petersburg. During other intervals he lectured in America. Among his lectures may be mentioned those delivered at Cornell University in 1870, 1871, 1875, and 1877. A large part of his correspondence is at present housed in the Cornell University Library. His translation of Goethe's "Faust," Part First, appeared in 1870; nearly all of the first edition was sold in one day. The Second Part came out in 1871. Excessive labor, an irregular and not abstemious way of life, and, more especially, financial worry, told upon his constitution. He was destined never to finish his projected "Life of Goethe." He had barely entered upon his duties as Minister to Germany when the collapse came. His last words were, "I must be away."

"Taylor," says Albert H. Smyth, "wrote with such rapidity that he could complete a duodecimo volume in a fortnight. . . . In a night and a day he read Victor Hugo's voluminous 'La Légende des Siècles,' and wrote for *The Tribune* a review of it which fills eighteen pages of his 'Essays and Literary Notes,' and contains five considerable poems which are translations in the meter of the original." His powers of memory are said to have been prodigious. He could repeat not only from his favorite authors but from the futile compositions of poetasters whose manuscripts he had read as an editor and rejected. He was in the habit of carrying his own poetry in his head until the process of correction was ended. Accordingly, the perfection of his "copy," which was written in the neatest hand imaginable, has led various critics into the error of thinking that he did not revise. His poetry was much more carefully done than his prose, upon which he had no thought of building a reputation. He would spend hours on the chiseling of a single couplet. His style resounds with echoes of word and phrase from Byron and Shelley, indeed from the whole circle of his reading in both English and German. Nor is it deficient in individuality. He has a pronounced cadence of his own. Nevertheless his poetry wants some quality or other that would make it lasting. Although in 1896 there was a cult of younger men that studied and imitated him, his immense vogue as a prose writer had already waned; and his eclipse as a poet is now almost complete. In the history of American literature, there is nothing stranger than this eclipse. Taylor's learning was wide and substantial. He shrank from no drudgery of preparation. At the age of fifty he was willing to begin the study of Greek. And it was not merely that he was in touch with his time on

all sides, and able by brilliant arts to snare the popular fancy. When he wrote he knew what he was talking about. His "Poems of the Orient" (1854), containing the Shelley-like "Bedouin Song," show deep sympathy with the customs and passions of the East. "Ross Browne's Syrian dragoman, when he listened to the reading of 'Hassan to his Mare,' 'sprang up with tears in his eyes, and protested that the Arabs talked just that way to their horses.'" Taylor had the suffrages of educated critics too. "The Picture of St. John" (1866) Longfellow reckoned "a great poem;" while Lowell said that, except "The Golden Legend," no American poem could match it in finish and sustained power. "The Masque of the Gods" (1872), an endeavor to combine the ideals of Christianity and Hellenism, also pleased Longfellow. "Lars, a Pastoral Poem" (1873) is a curious tale, with some historical basis; the unwonted background of Norwegian fiords makes part of the setting for a tragic romance among the Quakers. Of Taylor's dramatic poems we shall hazard no discussion; besides "The Masque of the Gods," he published "The Prophet" (1874), whose scene is laid among the Mormons, and "Prince Deukalion" (1877), a piece of symbolism in which the author tried to objectify his total conception of human life both here and hereafter. He felt as sure of the other world as of this. In such assurance he possessed the most vitalizing belief that can inspire a poetic soul. Why, then, is his poetry now disregarded? Why is it that the production for which the present age is most ready to thank him is his version of Goethe's "Faust?" A tentative explanation is this. Taylor's life was full of disquiet. He never enjoyed the solitude necessary to the maturing of poetic sentiment. He was betrayed by temporal ambition into posting over land and ocean without

rest. He was too determined to achieve fame. There are times for action, and there are times for a wise passiveness. They also serve who only stand and wait.

Walt Whitman.—His belief in immortality, in the absolute and eternal value of each individual person and thing, constitutes the main element of permanence in the writings of Walt (=Walter) Whitman. He too had in his veins a strain of blood from the Quakers; though he was born (May 31, 1819) in a family that took little cognizance of religion. His mother, Louisa Van Velsor, was of mingled Dutch and Welsh descent, illiterate, but in the eyes of her second child, the poet, always "perfect." When this child was four years old, his father and namesake, a good carpenter and of honest Connecticut ancestry, but a slipshod householder, removed from West Hills, Huntington Township, Long Island, to the "village," as it then was, of Brooklyn; not before the impresses of rural life had entered unawares into the heart of the child; and not too late for the life of the future metropolis to become an imperishable part of his experience. The poet's formative years were passed in the midst of the growing population centered at New York. He attended the public schools of Brooklyn until he was thirteen, then, with a scanty knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, entered a lawyer's office as errand-boy, his employers giving him access during free hours "to a big circulating library." "Up to that time," he says, "this was the signal event of my life." "For a time I now revel'd in romance-reading of all kinds; first the 'Arabian Nights,' all the volumes, an amazing treat. Then, with sorties in very many other directions, took in Walter Scott's novels, one after another, and his poetry." From errand-boy he

became type-setter, varying his desultory labors for *The Patriot,* and *The Star,* by excursions on Long Island, by contributing "sentimental bits" to local newspapers, and by active participation in several debating-societies. At eighteen he turned country schoolmaster; and shifting from that, he set up as editor of *The Long Islander,* hiring some help, but himself doing most of the work, including the distribution of his weekly sheet to its patrons. In 1841 he returned to New York, became editor of *The Daily Aurora,* wrote for *The Tattler,* and published stories in *The Democratic Review.* In later years it was his "serious wish to have all these crude and boyish pieces quietly dropp'd in oblivion." Meanwhile he attended the theater, continued his observation of the crowds at the Brooklyn ferries and in the streets of New York, and his study of nature on the shores of Long Island, read newspapers, "went over thoroughly the Old and New Testaments, and absorbed . . . Shakespere, Ossian, the best translations [available] of Homer, Eschylus, Sophocles, the old German Nibelungen, the ancient Hindoo poems, and one or two other masterpieces, Dante's among them." A brief connection with *The Brooklyn Eagle* was terminated by Whitman's falling out with the radical faction of the Democrats; whereupon he seized "a good chance to go down to New Orleans on the staff of *The Crescent,* a daily to be started there." Accompanied by his younger brother, "Jeff," he crossed the Alleghanies, and took steamer down the Ohio and the Mississippi—"a leisurely journey and working expedition;" then "after a time plodded back northward, up the Mississippi, and around to and by way of the Great Lakes, . . . to Niagara Falls and Lower Canada, finally returning through central New York and down the Hudson; traveling altogether probably

8000 miles this trip, to and fro." In the experiences of his life up to this point lay the materials for his "Leaves of Grass," which he published at his own expense in 1855, having done part of the typesetting himself. A copy sent to Emerson elicited from him a letter in which the book was characterized as "the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed." The next year Whitman brought out a second and amplified edition, printing Emerson's laudatory letter and his own answer in the Preface, and on the back the quotation, "I greet you at the beginning of a great career," with Emerson's name beneath. This act of questionable taste failed to augment the sale of the volume; nor was the edition of 1860 more successful. In 1862, Whitman's younger brother having been wounded during service in the Union army, the poet was brought into contact with the army hospitals. He continued his ministrations to the sick and suffering almost uninterruptedly until the hospitals in Washington were closed. "From cot to cot they called him, often in tremulous tones or in whispers; they embraced him, they touched his hand, they gazed at him. To one he gave a few words of cheer, for another he wrote a letter home, . . . to another, some special friend, very low, he would give a manly farewell kiss. He did the things for them which no nurse or doctor could do, and he seemed to leave a benediction at every cot as he passed along." By sheer personal magnetism he saved many lives. The record of his connection with the war is to be found in his "Specimen Days," in the posthumous collection of letters entitled "The Wound-Dresser" (1898), in "Drum Taps," published in 1865, and in the "Sequel to Drum Taps," which contained his poems on Lincoln (among them the threnody,

"O Captain! My Captain!"), published later in the same year. Shortly after the war was over, Whitman, who had found a place as clerk in the Department of the Interior, was discharged by Secretary Harlan, Harlan having discovered the authorship of "Leaves of Grass," in his opinion "an indecent book." The poet quickly received another position, in the office of the Attorney General; and his enthusiastic friend and champion, W. D. O'Connor, brought out a defense of Whitman, written in terms of exaggerated praise, under the famous title of "The Good Gray Poet." A fourth edition of "Leaves of Grass," revised, and supplemented by "Drum Taps," was published in 1867; a fifth, including the "Passage to India" in 1871. The sixth and seventh editions appeared in 1876 and 1881-82; the eighth (1888-89) contained in addition "November Boughs," and the ninth (1891-92) "Good-Bye, My Fancy." In 1873, Whitman, disabled by a stroke of paralysis, gave up his position in Washington and removed to Camden, New Jersey, where he lived with George Whitman until 1879. By this time he had so far recovered that he could make a journey to the West, followed by another, the next year, to Canada. In 1881 the sale of his works allowed him to settle, at Camden, in a home of his own. Here he lived in comparative comfort, the object of a good deal of curiosity, receiving visitors, some of them very distinguished, and, as his strength allowed, adding to his stock of verse. In 1888 he had a second stroke of paralysis, but he lived on, preserving his courage and mental alertness, until 1892. He died on March 26 of that year. If we can credit his statement made in 1890, he was probably survived by four out of six children that were not born in wedlock.

In many ways, Whitman corresponds to the ideal presented in the "natural man" of Rousseau; if space allowed, a profitable comparison might be made between "the good gray poet" and the French forerunner of American democracy. At the outset, the excessive sentimentalism of Rousseau would constitute a patent difference. But Whitman's assumption of equality among individuals, in so far as they are not spoiled by what he deems a false and artificial education, is nothing new to the reader of Rousseau; and his preference of the "powerful, uneducated," raw material of humanity has its counterpart in the sympathetic attitude of Rousseau toward the burgher and peasant classes which formed the part of society that he really understood. Moreover, both of these authors demand an individual standard—which is no standard—of judgment. Both desire to be appreciated, yet refuse to be appraised according to standards which the cumulative wisdom of mankind in the past, of the greatest democracy, has attained to and approved. Both try to regard organization and the subordination of one person or thing to another as unnatural. In the case of Whitman at least, it is for want of philosophical standards, and for want of a consistent effort to determine what is meant by nature and natural, that the so-called literature of democracy has been so hard to measure.

In the first place, then, if we are to measure Whitman at all, we must make certain postulates. For example, we must postulate that restraint in literature, as in life, is a law of nature. This, Whitman is not disposed to admit. In private life, it is true, he was more temperate and continent than certain passages in "Leaves of Grass" led casual readers to surmise. But he saw fit to beget children, out of wedlock, without assuming the respon-

sibility of their nurture and education. Are the duties which modern society lays upon parents less natural than the alleged practice of Rousseau, or are they more? Again, Whitman decides to address the public in the guise of a poet. Now in practice, be it observed, he is much truer to the demands of a poetic ear than are many of our conventional versifiers; and though he has a predilection for colloquial diction and syntax, he is in his own way not unscrupulous in the matter of technique. The changes that he made in successive editions of his main work, "Leaves of Grass," are of deep interest to the student of poetic art. At the same time, he repudiates literary convention, and recognizes no law as binding upon one who contracts to write for his fellow men, save the law of his individual being. There is, however, no law, or science, or art of the individual as such. Poetry, according to the deepest thinkers on this subject, is the rhythmical utterance of the individual in harmony with universal law; and criticism has for its province the recognition of that universal law in the particular poet. In so far, then, as Whitman's irregularly trained personality succeeds in expressing what is true for all men, or for many, or for representative and typical men, uttering that truth in terms that are both choice and generally intelligible,—in so far as he actually conforms to the best conventions—he is a great poet, perhaps our greatest native poet. He succeeds often. It is to be noted that he is most successful when, as in his lament for Lincoln, he adopts a regular metrical form.

On Whitman's achievement as the spokesman of modern democracy perhaps too much stress has already been laid. Following his own lead, his interpreters have been inclined to associate his idiosyncracies, his departures from the

normal, his lapses from good taste in referring to the physiology of sex, too closely with the nature of this achievement. In dealing with the "poetry of democracy," it seems to have escaped observation that an age of popular freedom and republican ideals may produce a literature of high refinement and perfect balance between literary tradition and the impulses of the individual author. It is well to remember that the masterpieces of art which ennobled Athens under Pericles were the expression of—for Greece—an age of democracy; and that the epics of Milton, however conventional in one sense, were the outpourings of a nobler champion of liberty than Whitman. Referring to the practice of studying his illustrious predecessors, Whitman has said, "Now, if eligible, O that the great masters might return and study me!" Something like this is sure to take place. In order to appreciate him rightly, we must confront him, full of the spirit of those authors, Sophocles, Dante, Milton, and their peers, by the standard of whom one is bound to estimate poetry. If, thus confronted, Whitman's luster, so bright in the eyes of his cult, begins to wane, still the tributes paid him by W. M. Rossetti, Freiligrath, Dowden, Björnson, Symonds, may not lightly be set aside. Taken at its best, his poetry, as Emerson said, "has the best merits, namely, of fortifying and encouraging." His prose works ought not to be dismissed so summarily as must here be the case; being less subject to suspicious innovation than his verse, conforming naturally to expected canons, his prose, in particular his prose criticism, is well worth study. It is direct. Genius, said Whitman, is almost one hundred per cent directness.

Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, Edward Rowland Sill.—

We turn to the poetry of the Far West. Francis Bret Harte (1839-1902), born at Albany, New York, after a varied youth in California won a sudden renown through his "Heathen Chinee" and "Condensed Novels." His later success as a prolific writer of short stories tended to obscure his talent as a humorist in verse; and even in the present decade, when his death has called fresh attention to the value of his literary work as a whole, his poetry is hardly known as it should be. Probably in the course of years his "East and West Poems" (1871) and "Echoes of the Foothills" (1874) will entertain more readers than they now do in comparison with "The Luck of Roaring Camp." There is likely to come a time when pioneer life among the gold-mines will appeal less than it does to the present generation; whereas the permanent aspects of external nature, as Harte has caught them in "Crotalus," can never cease to interest. The details of his life are recounted in another part of this volume.

Cincinnatus Hiner Miller (born 1841), another celebrity of the West, was reared in a log-cabin, in Indiana. After a few years of life on a farm in Oregon, he went to the gold-fields of California. After meeting almost every kind of experience imaginable, he studied law, and practised in Oregon. In 1870 he brought out a small volume of poems, one of them entitled "Joaquin," the name of a Mexican brigand, Joaquin Murietta, in whose defense he had already written, and henceforth his pen-name. His volume, "Songs of the Sierras," for which he at first vainly tried to find a publisher, produced, when finally accepted and issued, a sensation that recalled the days of Byron. His vogue has since declined, though he is still read, a collective edition of his poems having been published in 1897.

Much less famous than either Harte or Miller, not having the virility of the former, yet possessing a finer sensibility than the latter, was Edward Rowland Sill (1841-87), a third poet of the Far West. Sprung from a family in Connecticut, a teacher in Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, finally professor of English literature in the University of California, Sill, in "Hermione, and Other Poems," "The Hermitage, and Later Poems" (1867), "The Venus of Milo, and Other Poems," published (1888) after his death, sent forth a rill of poetry, slender but pure. In the opinion of his friends and many besides, Sill's death cut short a poetic career of unusual promise. His poems were collected in 1902, in a single volume, and again in 1906; in the latter edition they are arranged chronologically.

Miscellaneous and Later Poets.—Under this heading must be gathered a handful of writers whom the classification thus far adopted has not accounted for, some of whom would not easily admit of classification. However, it is not the purpose of this Manual to consider in detail the current writers of verse throughout America, among whom distinctions of value can rarely be established.

Hans Breitmann.—Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1903) might be associated with Bayard Taylor. He is said to have neglected mathematics at Princeton for Carlyle and Spinoza; he studied abroad, and returned to Philadelphia to engage in the practice of law, but gave this up for work as an editor. During the Civil War his pen was active in defense of the Union. Afterward he became popular through his "Hans Breitmann Ballads," in picturesque dialect displaying the humor of the shrewd,

jovial, German immigrant before the war. Leland made himself an authority on gypsy lore, and was busy in several fields as a translator. During his long residence abroad, he enjoyed an acquaintance with many distinguished men of letters in Europe. Besides his ballads in dialect and translations from J. V. Scheffel, he wrote verse of serious intent; for example, "The Music Lesson of Confucius, and Other Poems," in which, like Taylor, he desired to unite the ideals of Christianity with those of Hellenism. The deaths of Leland, Stoddard, Aldrich, and Stedman within the last five years took almost the last survivors of an elder generation in American letters.

Richard Henry Stoddard.—In the year of his death, 1903, R. H. Stoddard was called by his friend, E. C. Stedman, "the most distinguished of living American poets." He was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, July 2, 1825. Educated in the schools of New York City, he supplemented by private reading his brief opportunities for regular study, and from worker in a foundry became connected with Bayard Taylor as a journalist. In 1853 Hawthorne aided him in securing a position in the New York custom-house. From 1860 to 1870 he was literary editor of *The New York World;* in 1880 he took a similar post on *The Mail and Express.* His first volume of poetry, "Footprints" (1849), was afterwards suppressed; his second, "Poems" (1852), secured him an audience. "Songs of Summer" (1857) was a collection of poems that had been printed in various magazines. The latter part of his life was marked by great activity as an editor and biographer, somewhat after the fashion of Stedman. Most of his poetry subsequent to the collective edition of 1880 is included in "The Lion's Cub, with Other Verse"

(1890). He preserved his lyrical quality to a great age. Like several of our leading poets, Stoddard reached his highest level in dealing with the theme of Abraham Lincoln.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich.—With his "Ballad of Babie Bell" (1855) in the New York *Journal of Commerce,* Aldrich (1836-1907) began a career whose high-water mark was the editorship of *The Atlantic Monthly* from 1881 to 1890. His initial volume of poetry, published in 1854, was "The Bells," which was succeeded in 1858 by "The Ballad of Babie Bell, and Other Poems." Of his numerous later poetical works, "Pampinea, and Other Poems" (1861), "Cloth of Gold, and Other Poems" (1874), "Flower and Thorn" (1876), etc., perhaps the tragedy of "Mercedes" ("Mercedes, and Later Lyrics," 1884) deserves particular notice, having been successfully staged, a test which few dramas by American poets have been able to endure. Aldrich was a master of his craft. Deep in his reverence for Tennyson, whom he ranks third in English poetry—after Shakespeare and Milton—he sometimes exercises an almost Tennysonian harmony in the selection of detail; witness the oriental luxury and splendor in "When the Sultan Goes to Ispahan."

Edmund Clarence Stedman.—Stedman's services to literature as a critic and anthologist are doubtless of much greater importance than his own poetry; but neither the one nor the other may be decried. He was born at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1833, his mother (by her second marriage Mrs. J. C. Kinney, the friend of the Brownings) being a woman of educated taste and herself a poetess. Entering Yale at the age of fifteen, Stedman showed

ability in Greek and in English composition, and shortly gained a prize by his poem on "Westminster Abbey." On account of a boyish prank he was compelled to leave college before the end of the course. Prior to the Civil War he was connected with *The Norwich Tribune* and *Winsted Herald,* and for a time with *The New York Tribune;* in this he printed his "Tribune Lyrics" (among them "Osawatomie Brown"). From 1861 to 1863 he was war correspondent of *The New York World;* later he was assistant to Edward Bates, Attorney General under Lincoln. His interest in the first Pacific rail-road brought him into relations with Wall Street, where, in 1869, he became an active member of the New York Stock Exchange. Here he remained until 1900, an influential man of affairs, respected by financiers as well as literary men, amassing and enjoying the means which he desired for the pursuits of literature. He was a thorough patriot, an earnest advocate of international copyright, above all a steady laborer for the education of public taste. His lectures on "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," delivered first at Johns Hopkins University, subsequently at the University of Pennsylvania, and again at Columbia, unfolded the dignity of a subject that is often regarded as a matter of indifference. By his "Victorian Anthology" (1895) he gave further evidence of the powers of selection displayed in "A Library of American Literature" (1888-89), on which he collaborated with Ellen M. Hutchinson. His "American Anthology" (1901, etc.), several times reissued, contains selections from about six hundred American poets, with brief biographies, and is, to say the least, an indispensable volume to the general student of our literature. The present section of this Manual is much indebted to Stedman's "Anthology."

One would hardly make too liberal an assertion in saying of Stedman that he was the most thoroughly read man of his time in the poetry of his own nation. It is possible that he was over generous in his recognition of the work of inferior authors; but let us not impute this to him as too serious a fault. Of the fifteen poems of his own which he allowed admission in the "American Anthology" (sixteen, counting the "Prelude" to the volume), the best known are "The Discoverer," "Pan in Wall Street," and "The Hand of Lincoln." He died on January 18, 1908.

James Whitcomb Riley.—This artist in the "Hoosier" dialect of Indiana (born 1853), though still in middle life, seems to belong with the older rather than the younger generation of American poets. Unwilling to follow his father's profession of attorney, he early betook himself to a wandering life, gaining experience of the world as a vendor of patent medicines, sign-painter, actor, and the like. Settling at Indianapolis, he became known by his contributions to various newspapers, and when his reputation was established, won additional success by public readings from his poetry. His verse is bright and crisp, and he has pathos, humor, and good powers of description and narrative. He has an unusually keen understanding for the experiences of country life, particularly of youth and boyhood in rural villages and on the farm. "The Old Swimmin'-Hole, and 'Leven More Poems" (1883) was his first notable venture. "Afterwhiles" appeared in 1888. Within ten years or so he then published "Old-Fashioned Roses" (1888), "Pipes o' Pan at Zekesbury" (1889), "Rhymes of Childhood" (1890), "Neighborly Poems" (1891), and, among other volumes, "A

Child-World" (1896), and "The Rubaiyat of Doc Sifers" (1899). As a writer of dialect in verse, he falls not very far short of Lowell. His allusions to nature, to insect life for example, are simple and true. If but a bird or butterfly sit down beside him, he is as happy as if the same were a maiden-queen.

Space forbids any delay upon George Henry Boker (1823-90), diplomat and dramatist, and his metrical drama, "Francesca da Rimini" (1856); or Francis Miles Finch (1827-1907), professor in Cornell University, and his celebrated poem "The Blue and the Gray" (in *The Atlantic Monthly,* 1867), a gift of healing from the North to the South; or John Hay (1838-1905), whose manifold services to his country were roofed and crowned with an abiding interest in literature ("Pike County Ballads," published in *The New York Tribune*); or Richard Watson Gilder (born 1844), editor of *The Century Magazine,* social reformer, and author of several volumes of finished verse; or Stephen Collins Foster (1836-64), composer, whose songs, "The Old Folks at Home," "The Suwanee River," "My Old Kentucky Home," familiar the country over, are significant of the influence which the negroes have exerted on the language and art of the whites; or Will H. Thompson (born 1848), and "The High Tide at Gettysburg;" or John Townsend Trowbridge (born 1827), one of the original contributors to *The Atlantic Monthly*, author of "The Vagabonds" (1863), and steeped in the spirit of New England; or John Boyle O' Reilly (1844-90), the Fenian, who escaped from imprisonment in Australia, and became a journalist in Boston ("Songs, Legends, and Ballads," "Songs of the Southern Seas," etc.); or Eugene Field (1850-95), witty, eccentric, friend and student of children; or Richard Hovey (1864-1900), cut off in the

flower of his promise ("Taliesin: A Masque," 1899); or Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906), the negro poet, dead before his time, who wrote good and stirring English as well as pathetic dialect; or William Vaughan Moody, professor in the University of Chicago ("The Masque of Judgment," 1900); or Bliss Carman (born 1861) and Clinton Scollard (born 1860). All these and many more must pass with insufficient notice or none; otherwise the page would contain only a meaningless enumeration of names and dates. As was implied at the beginning, very few American writers who have won distinction in other ways have refrained from publishing a volume of lyrics "and other poems." Also, in spite of the slender encouragement from publishers to new authors of original verse, the occasional volume from the hitherto and hereafter unknown poetaster, who foots the bill for printing, continues to emerge and sink again at the present day.

The immediate outlook for poetry in the United States is not bright. It does not appear that with the material growth of the country we have developed a unified national spirit capable of expression at the hands of a great poet, were he to arise. It does not appear that we have among the younger men a first-class poet capable of expressing the national soul, were this more unified and precise. Furthermore, the type of humanistic education which fostered our elder poets of New England is generally discredited, and seems to be passing away without leaving any hope of a popular training in the near future worthy to succeed it. Simplicity, rigor, precision, and accuracy, all of them friendly to the poetic spirit, and among its necessary conditions, have fewer and fewer champions in the schools. Many subjects are studied, and almost nothing is mastered and retained.

Memory, the mother of the Muses, is not in esteem. "Literature" is taught — though not learned; yet the children know no poetry. Worst of all, and a primary cause of much of the evil, the reading of standard works within the family is becoming less and less common. In particular, though there is much talk about the Bible, the Bible, like the classics, is becoming unfamiliar, to the great detriment of popular thought and style.

On the other hand, to offset the deficiency of our secondary schools and the decay of culture in the home, the last thirty years have witnessed an immense expansion in advanced scholarship, most notable, perhaps, in the investigation of the vernacular and related literatures. Graduate study of English, and of the literatures from which English literature has sprung, offers a refuge to such persons as have a serious and abiding interest in belles lettres; it is undoubtedly developing the personalities of investigators to the highest point of efficiency possible under present conditions, and making ready for another generation, more fortunate, whose poetry shall find root in the fields that are to-day so thoroughly cultivated; working downward, it is already tending to bring about salutary changes here and there in the procedure of the schools, and hence eventually to have an influence in the home. A generation of scholars to clear the way — as in the beginning of the Renaissance, — to produce the literary atmosphere which now is wanting, may be regarded as a hopeful sign of a generation of poets to come. Finally, if American poetry now seems moribund, we must yet remember the eternal power that the true poet is always in alliance with; the power that at any time can make the poet say of any literature: The maid is not dead, but sleepeth.

IV. THE ESSAYISTS AND THE HUMORISTS.

English Influences on American Letters.—Springing from a common stock, the two branches of eighteenth-century English literature showed many similarities. The charge of imitation and even of plagiarism has been brought against the American writers of that period; but it seems in no way unsafe to point to the single origin as the probable cause of the same characteristics appearing in the literature produced here, and that produced in the mother-country. No one can deny, of course, that not a few of our authors went to school to Englishmen, but the assertion that America until recently has produced nothing but pinchbeck literature is as false as it is absurd. That like produces like may be a trite saying, but its frequent repetition does not impair its truth. The English mind, whether expressing itself at home or in the colonies, naturally put forth the same kind of shoots; and that their development was not in all respects equally rapid, that in time they became so much unlike as to appear unrelated, can be traced, no doubt, to the unsheltered fortune of the American scion in early days, and to the complete removal of the slip from the parent stem in after-years.

With this thought in mind, the most thorough-going American may admit without apologetic reserve, that the essayists of eighteenth-century England have counterparts in Irving and certain of his contemporaries, and that those of a slightly later date have much in common with Emerson and Thoreau. Should one feel, however, that excusable pride is to be taken only in those authors who exhibit qualities indigenous to America, one may triumph-

antly mention Warner, and Lowell, and Margaret Fuller; for, although these essayists show the racial instinct of English writers, they are none the less emphatically American in thought, tone, and expression. In passing, it is perhaps well to notice that a large number of American writers have tried their hands at more than one form of literature. For this reason Irving is discussed as an essayist, although he might be placed with the humorists, or perhaps better still, with fiction-writers, since he has the right to dispute with Poe the claim to be regarded as the progenitor of the American short story. Again, Emerson, like George Eliot, felt that his fame would eventually rest upon his poetry, but his readers almost always think and speak of him as an essayist. Lowell, Longfellow, and Whittier, on the other hand, are properly reviewed at large as poets, despite the fact that their prose work is not inconsiderable nor unimportant, and must therefore receive some attention in even a rapid survey of the American essay.

Washington Irving.—Irving (1783-1859), the first essayist of importance in the National Period of American literature, was born in New York City. Unable on account of ill-health to continue his education, Irving went abroad in 1804. Returning two years later, he was admitted to the bar, but he never engaged in the actual practice of law. In 1815 Irving again went to Europe, this time upon matters connected with the cutlery business in which, as silent partner, he was engaged with his brothers. It was seventeen years before he again set foot upon his native soil, but when he did come back, he was widely known, both for his writings and for his diplomatic service as member of the American legations, first at Madrid

(1826-29) and later at London (1829-31). During the next decade, Irving was in this country, living quietly at Sunnyside, as he called his home at Tarrytown upon the Hudson. In 1842, accepting an appointment as minister to Spain, he went to Europe for a third time and remained abroad four years. Upon his return home, he gave himself up entirely to writing, finishing his monumental work upon Washington but a short time before his death. He is buried in the Tarrytown Sleepy Hollow Cemetery—within sight of the road down which one of his characters, Ichabod Crane, made his precipitous flight in mad endeavor to escape the headless horseman.

Irving's first book, "A History of New York," published as from the pen of "Diedrich Knickerbocker," appeared in 1809. It attracted immediate attention and established its author's reputation as a humorist; but unfortunately its fun at the expense of the ancestors of certain American families roused not a little rancor. Irving's next work, "The Sketch Book," was published, first in parts in 1819, and then in two volumes in the following year. This book and "Bracebridge Hall, or The Humorists" (1822), "Tales of a Traveller" (1824), "The Alhambra" (1832), and "Wolfert's Roost" (1855), are all miscellaneous collections of sketches, short stories, and character studies, of which one volume is not inferior to another. The first of them received cordial recognition from Scott, who arranged for its publication in London; and the last had a wide circulation both in America and in England.

During Irving's first visit to Spain, he became interested in certain biographical and historical material there easily accessible, and put it to use when he was writing "The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus" (1828), "The Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada" (1829), "The

Voyages of the Companions of Columbus" (1831), "The Alhambra," already mentioned, and "The Life of Mahomet" (1849). Upon Irving's return to America his interest in the same kind of material continued, and led him to publish "The Life of Goldsmith" (1849), and "The Life of Washington" in six volumes (1855-59). Irving's other works are "A Tour on the Prairies" (1835), "Astoria" (1836), and "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville" (1837).

Irving was the first American writer to gain literary reputation abroad; nor was the interest which he awakened there merely that of curiosity wondering what would come out of a wilderness. It may be that the great bulk of his work is not widely read at present, but such stories as "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," such sketches as "The Stout Gentleman" and "Moonlight on the Alhambra" are perennial. Irving was hardly skillful in his use of pathos, degenerating not infrequently into the sentimental and even into the maudlin; yet the buoyancy of his fascinating and delicate humor has seldom been matched by any other American writer. His graceful, almost faultless style is akin to that of the writers of *The Spectator,* although it savors now and then of Goldsmith, and has, according to Scott, a dash of Swift. Perhaps Lowell best summed up the matter of Irving and his style in "A Fable for Critics:"

> To a true poet-heart add the fun of Dick Steele,
> Throw in all of Addison, *minus* the chill,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sweeten just to your own private liking, then strain,
> That only the finest and clearest remain,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And you'll find a choice nature, not wholly deserving
> A name either English or Yankee,—just Irving.

Bryant and Others.—William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) is generally thought of as a poet, but his prose was not inconsiderable either in amount or in value. During his long connection with the New York *Evening Post,* from 1826 until the end of his life, he wrote daily editorials of high literary quality, contributed to many other journals, and delivered frequent orations upon various subjects. A collection of Bryant's prose works in two volumes was published in 1894. One who reads them is convinced that their author was possessed of a clear, smooth style, an accurate, careful judgment, and good common sense. Whittier (1807-92) and Longfellow (1807-82) may not improperly be mentioned here, although, like Bryant, they also are best known as poets. Whittier was closely associated with William Lloyd Garrison in the Abolition movement and contributed much to its literature. Controversial writing, however, seldom lives, and Whittier's has not proved an exception to the rule. In addition to one or two attempts at novel-writing, Whittier published "Supernaturalism in New England" (1847), "Old Portraits and Modern Sketches" (1850), and "Literary Recreations" (1854); but these works are not important in style or in matter. The demands of meter and rhyme upon Whittier seem to have prevented the appearance in his poetry of certain crudities, which sadly mar his prose. Longfellow's prose, on the other hand, is more important. It is marked by a delicacy and refinement which would go far towards keeping it well known, if the author's greater fame as a poet did not eclipse his renown as a prose writer. In addition to two romances, he published "Outre-Mer" (1835), a volume in aim and content somewhat like Irving's "Sketch Book"; and under the title of "Drift Wood" he included in the first edition of his

"Complete Prose Works" (1857) a collection of stray essays and book reviews originally contributed to various periodicals.

Edgar Allan Poe.—Poe (1809-49), like the three authors just mentioned, was a poet, yet to his own time he was perhaps even better known as a short story writer and essayist. Opinions about the value of his literary work have been as various as those respecting his character; but it is safe to claim for him no mean place among writers of criticism. In this department of literature he undertook to bring about a reform among American authors who had passed from timid deference to English opinion into the stage of noisy and indiscriminate praise of every piece of writing produced in this country. From a study of Coleridge, Poe had come to the conclusion that poetry was a matter of "intellectual happiness;" its soul was the imagination. A person of metaphysical acumen, therefore, by noting how poetic moods are excited, could produce a finer poem than one who, lacking the analytical faculty, could only feel the emotions he desired to arouse in his readers. Poe laid great stress, too, on perfection of form as of the utmost importance in producing an effect; truth was a secondary matter, except in detail, and as a means of securing assent to a conclusion which might be essentially untruthful. The object of poetry, he thought, is to arouse a subtle indefinite pleasure; this was imparted by music; hence the necessity of melody, of the refrain.

As a critic, Poe was often savage in the extreme; but it must be remembered, as we look back upon him, that the urbanity of the modern book reviewer was then a thing unknown. Poe's literary judgments have in the main been justified, although some of his unsparing attacks in

"The Literati of New York" arouse resentment even at this late day, while his equally unrestrained laudation of certain of his now wholly forgotten contemporaries leads one near to contemptuous amusement. Poe's most important contribution to the theory of writing are two essays usually reprinted with his poems; of these "The Philosophy of Composition" first appeared in *Graham's Magazine* for April, 1846, and "The Poetic Principle," originally a lecture, was printed in *Sartain's Magazine* for October, 1850. Perhaps an essay "On Critics and Criticism" ought also to be mentioned; it was first published in *Graham's Magazine* for January, 1850.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.—Emerson (1803-82), serious, high-minded, and well balanced, affords a striking contrast in almost every way to Poe. Born in Boston, he was graduated from Harvard College at the age of nineteen. After teaching school for a time, he became minister of the Old North Church in his native city, but in 1835 withdrew from his charge because of his aversion to the rite of the Lord's Supper. Taking up his residence at Concord, Massachusetts, he spent the rest of his years in writing and lecturing. While thus engaged he went as far west as California and made two visits abroad. During the first, Emerson met Wordsworth, Coleridge, Landor, and De Quincey, who received him graciously, George Eliot, who referred to him as "the first man she had ever seen," and Carlyle, who found in the visitor a hero well worthy of sincere admiration. Dignified and simple in manner, deep and kindly in thought, he found contentment in an uneventful career; sympathizing strongly with those who would live the life of the spirit, he supported in theory the Brook Farm experiment; advocating

anti-slavery ideas, he opened his church to abolition agitators; but objecting on principle to war, he proposed to buy the slaves and educate them morally. He went down to his grave loved by his neighbors and honored by many who knew him only through his works.

Emerson made his earliest appearance as a writer in a book entitled "Nature" (1836), but he first attracted real attention by his Phi Beta Kappa oration before Harvard College in 1837. This address, now published in his collected works as "The American Scholar," made so strong an appeal to his listeners to break away from the influence of England in matters of authorship that Holmes with his usual felicity termed it "our literary Declaration of Independence." For three or four years, beginning in 1840, Emerson was editor of *The Dial*. In 1841 he published his first collection of "Essays;" and three years later his second. From then on, at irregular intervals, other volumes of like content appeared; of these the most important, in all probability, are "Representative Men" (1850), "The Conduct of Life" (1860), and "Society and Solitude" (1870). There is no need of an enumeration of Emerson's books, since they are all similar in form, content, and purpose. While Emerson is in no true sense a philosopher, he did project a theory of life. Sincerity he regarded as fundamental, and his belief in the formative influence of great men was almost identical with that held by Carlyle. By the possession of "transcendental reason" man, according to Emerson, becomes intuitively aware of the truth. This truth or doctrine has been reduced by some critic to three propositions: (1) God is in all things and all things are in God. (2) Each created existence is essential to every other created existence. (3) Nothing which has once existed ever ceases

to exist. To the average reader these ideas are bewildering and have been collectively designated as "a new philosophy maintaining that nothing is everything in general, and everything is nothing in particular." It is related as a fact, that after an address by Emerson before a college society, the minister in charge of the meeting devoutly prayed that the hearers might be preserved from ever again being compelled to listen to such transcendental nonsense. At the close of the meeting Emerson imperturbably remarked, that the gentleman seemed a very conscientious, plain-spoken man.

The distance between Emerson's thought and that of most men laid him open to the charge of obscurity, an accusation which is still widely repeated by those who do not trouble themselves to read or to think. It cannot be denied that Emerson is often mystical, and that he must find spiritual insight and almost poetic imagination in those who would penetrate to the heart of his teachings; but it is unfair to give the impression that, save to the initiated, he is nearly always incomprehensible. Page after page of his writings offers no difficulty whatever to the most cursory reader, and his work as a whole is within the ken of any serious and unprejudiced mind. In style Emerson is sometimes forbidding through a strong tendency to condensation of expression; but the beauty of his thought frequently draws to itself a diction and order which transform his prose into veritable poetry. His strong, earnest spirituality is never fanatical, his perfect trust in what he called the Over-Soul is never sentimental, his full confidence that the world is making for ultimate good is never unpractical. Looking upon the universe as "one vast symbol of God," he escaped pantheism on one hand and materialism on the other. As a teacher utter-

ing his uplifting thought through literature, Emerson, it may be confidently said, stands without a rival among American writers.

Henry David Thoreau.—Thoreau (1817-62) is by many readers coupled with Emerson. Born in Concord, Massachusetts, he spent the greater part of his life in his native town and its vicinity. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1837, although he refused his diploma on the ground that it was not worth five dollars. He gave occasional lectures and wrote many books; of these he himself published but two, "A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers" (1849) and "Walden, or Life in the Woods" (1854). To these have been added from time to time since Thoreau's death four volumes entitled "Excursions in Field and Forest" (1863), "The Maine Woods" (1864), "Cape Cod" (1865), and "A Yankee in Canada" (1866). The greater part of his voluminous journal was published in 1906 and 1907, though extensive selections had been previously printed in four volumes bearing respectively the names of the four seasons of the year. More than any other well-known American author, Thoreau strove to get at Nature's inmost heart. Withdrawing to Walden Pond, he spent the larger part of his time for two years in reading and meditation; feeling then that his object had been accomplished, he returned to town life. For a brief period, Thoreau lived as an inmate of Emerson's household and became an unconscious disciple of the man who entertained him. A Transcendentalist imbued with a strong spirit of otherworldliness, he may perhaps be best summed up in Emerson's words. "He was bred to no profession; he never married; he lived alone; he never went to church; he never voted; he refused to pay

a tax to the state; he ate no flesh; he drank no wine; he never knew the use of tobacco; and though a naturalist he used neither rod nor gun." Thomas Wentworth Higginson has pointed out that Thoreau's fame has survived two of the greatest dangers that can beset reputation—a brilliant satirist for critic (Lowell), and an injudicious friend for biographer (Channing).

Minor Transcendentalists.—Minor Transcendentalists, connected with Emerson and Thoreau, were Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888) and Sarah Margaret Fuller (1810-50). Both, like Emerson, were contributors to *The Dial,* but unlike him did not hold aloof from the Brook Farm experiment. Alcott's chief works were "Tablets" (1868), "Concord Days" (1872), and "Table Talk" (1877); Margaret Fuller's, "A Summer on the Lakes" (1843), "Woman in the Nineteenth Century" (1844), and "Papers on Literature and Art" (1846). Other essayists who may be mentioned as identifying themselves with the Brook Farm movement, or with the Transcendental Club out of which it grew, were three noted clergymen, William Ellery Channing (1780-1842), the founder of the club; Theodore Parker (1810-60), the pulpit representative of its theories, and James Freeman Clarke (1810-88), a frequent contributor to its organ, *The Dial.* In later years each of these men published works which are still occasionally read. Channing's numerous writings were brought together in five volumes in 1841, and, under the title "The Perfect Life," a selection from them was made in 1872. He must not be confused with a younger William Ellery Channing (1818-1901), his brother's son, the author of a monograph "Thoreau, the Poet Naturalist" (1873) and of "Conversations from Rome" (1902). Parker's chief works aside

from his sermons were "Miscellaneous Writings" (1843) and "Historic Americans" (1870); Clarke's, "Orthodoxy, its Truths and Errors" (1866) and "Ten Great Religions" (1871).

The Transcendental Movement appealed to all sorts and conditions of men; philosophers exchanged ideas with journalists, and ministers with writers of fiction. Of the members who later became known as editors the most important were George Ripley (1802-80), Charles Anderson Dana (1819-97), and George William Curtis (1824-92), all of whom at some time or other were upon the staff of the New York *Tribune*. Ripley and Dana were joint editors of "The American Encyclopedia" (1857-63); but they also worked independently, the former putting together fourteen volumes entitled "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature" (1838-42), the latter making that still famous collection, "The Household Book of Poetry and Song" (1857). Curtis's interests were so many and so various that he has been classified as journalist, orator, publicist, and author. His most important works were "Lotus Eating" (1852), "Potiphar Papers" (1853), and "Essays from the Easy Chair" (1891), the last a collection of brief papers originally contributed to *Harper's Magazine*.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.—Holmes (1809-94) stands in some contrast to the chief writers of the Transcendental School. On the whole they were marked by deliberate seriousness, but he possessed a clear, crisp spontaneity which often broke forth into sparkling fun. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a member of what he facetiously styled "The Brahmin Caste" of New England, he counted among his ancestors more than one English governor of the Colonial period and that famous woman of her time, Anne

Bradstreet, "The Tenth Muse." After being graduated from Harvard College in 1829, he studied law for a year and then turned to medicine. Completing his education in Paris, Holmes returned to America in 1835 to enter upon the practice of his profession, but in 1839 accepted a professorship of anatomy at Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire. The following year he entered upon a similar position in the Harvard Medical School and remained there until 1882. In 1886, Holmes visited Europe and received honorary degrees from Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge. The eight remaining years of his life he spent quietly at his home in Boston, graciously receiving even strangers, who felt that they had not really seen that city unless they had shaken Dr. Holmes by the hand.

Of Holmes's prose work his "Breakfast Table" series best defends his right to claim a permanent place of fame. "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" after appearing serially in the first and second volumes of *The Atlantic Monthly* (1857-58), was immediately republished in book form, and was succeeded by "The Professor at the Breakfast Table" (1859), "The Poet at the Breakfast Table" (1872), and "Over the Tea-Cups" (1891). These works, which have been rather aptly characterized as "a cross between an essay and a drama," contain comments on almost everything in the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. The books are at times delightfully whimsical and scintillatingly witty, at others deeply serious and minutely analytic, and at still others tenderly generous and movingly pathetic. Holmes's other important works in prose are two volumes of biography, a "Memoir of John Lothrop Motley" (1879) and a "Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson" (1884); one book of essays, "Pages from an Odd Volume of Life" (1883); and one

diary of travel, "Our Hundred Days in Europe" (1887).

Willis, Mitchell, and Warner.—Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806-67), Donald Grant Mitchell (1822-1908), and Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900) are suggested by the mention of Holmes, for they, like him, were writers of the "genial" essay. Willis was born in Portland, Maine, and was graduated from Yale at the age of twenty-one. Entering upon a journalistic career in 1828, he spent a considerable number of years abroad, whence he sent home for the periodicals of his day frequent accounts of his foreign travel and experiences. His complete works have been collected into thirteen volumes, but the best of his writing may be found in two books published during his lifetime, "Pencillings by the Way" (1835) and "Letters from Under a Bridge" (1840). Willis wrote with most painstaking care. It has been left upon record by James Parton that Willis "bestowed upon everything he did the most careful labor, making endless erasures and emendations. On an average he blotted one line out of every three that he wrote, and on one page of his editorial writing there were but three lines left unaltered." It may be added, in passing, that Willis's father in 1827 founded the well-known and widely read *Youth's Companion*. Mitchell, for many years better known as "Ik Marvel," was, like Willis, a New Englander by birth and a graduate of Yale College. He, also, spent a few years abroad, acting, in fact, as United States Consul at Venice in 1853-55. His works were many, but he is best known as the author of "Reveries of a Bachelor" (1850) and "Dream Life" (1851). Warner was in many respects the strongest writer of this group. A New Englander by birth,

he was graduated at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, then studied law at the University of Pennsylvania and finally began the practice of his profession in Chicago. In 1860 he was called to Hartford, Connecticut, as editor of a daily paper, and from then on gave himself up to journalism and other literary interests. His works were many and varied; the most important are "My Summer in a Garden" (1870), "Backlog Studies" (1872), "My Winter on the Nile" (1876), and a "Life of Washington Irving" (1881).

Some Travelers.—Bayard Taylor's experiences abroad found their expression in a number of books; but readable as they all are, the first, "Views Afoot" (1846), is the best. It is a work to be compared with Irving's "Sketch Book" and Longfellow's "Outre-Mer"; it may not be far wrong to assign it to a place between the two, inferior to the first, superior to the second. From Taylor's numerous works in other departments of pure literature, "Studies in German Literature" (1879) and "Essays and Notes" (1880) may be chosen for mention.

At the risk of departing somewhat from chronological order, one may mention at this point a few authors who, like Taylor, left records of their travels and adventures. The earliest of these, an older man in fact than Taylor, was Elisha Kent Kane (1820-57), the Arctic explorer, who related in "The Grinnell Expeditions" (1854-56) the story of the two unsuccessful attempts to find Sir John Franklin. Much nearer to our time were Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904) and George Kennan (born in 1845). Stanley was born in Wales, it is true, and was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1890; but his explorations in Africa were made while he was a citizen of the United States. His best

known work is his first, "How I Found Livingston" (1872). Kennan experienced adventures in still another part of the world. Sent to Siberia by the American Telegraph Association to superintend the construction of lines, he published, in 1870, "Tent Life in Siberia." Several years later he returned to the same country as correspondent of *The Century Magazine* to investigate social and political conditions there. He published the results of his observations in "Siberia and the Exile System" (1891).

Holland, Lowell, and Others.—The essay of travel, it will have to be admitted, has carried us pretty well out of the realm of pure literature and brought us down to very recent times. If we have seemed to ignore certain writers, some less and some greater, it was but to return to them for fuller mention. Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819-81) was born in Belchertown, Massachusetts, and while still a young man became associate editor of *The Springfield Republican.* In 1870 he assisted in the foundation of *Scribner's Monthly* and became its editor-in-chief. He tried his hand at various forms of literature and at one time was not far from being the most popular writer in the United States. To this day there is hardly an American household unprovided with a copy of one of the early editions of "Timothy Titcomb's Letters" (1858), "Gold Foil" (1859), or "Plain Talks on Familiar Subjects" (1865).

James Russell Lowell (1819-91) contributed many articles to *The Atlantic* and *The North American Review;* some of this work has not yet been collected, but the best of it may be found scattered through the seven volumes of his complete prose works (1890-91). During his lifetime Lowell published several collections of essays; the most valuable are "Fireside Travels"

(1864), "Among my Books" (1870), and "My Study Windows" (1871). As one looks over their contents, one is surprised at the versatility of their writer. The essay of reminiscence, "A Moosehead Journal" or "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," balances the essay of travel, "At Sea" or "A Few Bits of Roman Mosaic;" the historical essay, "New England Two Centuries Ago," is matched by the nature study, "My Garden Acquaintance;" the purely literary sketch, "Shakespeare Once More" stands beside the book review "Witchcraft" or "A Great Public Character;" and the political speech, "Democracy" or "Tariff Reform," adds a certain virility to the notes of a response to the toast "Our Literature" or to the address on "Books and Reading" delivered at the opening of a free public library. Lowell is ironical in "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," witty in "A Good Word for Winter," genial in "A Library of Old Authors," sympathetic in "Emerson the Lecturer," just in "Thoreau," firm in "Reconstruction" and "Abraham Lincoln," thoughtful in "The Rebellion: Its Causes and Consequences," and scholarly in "Chaucer" and "Dante." Aristocratic in the best sense of that much abused term, cultured in manner, robust and vigorous in thought, clean and fresh in mind, Lowell still stands forth as America's finest representative man of letters.

The greatness of Lowell has by no means dimmed the renown of certain of his lesser contemporaries. Edward Everett Hale (born in 1822), Thomas Wentworth Higginson (born in 1823), and Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) deserve at least passing mention, although the first two are better known for contributions to magazines than for books, and the last has gained attention mainly through his biographical work and his translation of

Dante. Owing to the popularity of a story, "The Man Without a Country," Dr. Hale has unfortunately become known as an author of one work, but his "Puritan Politics in England and New England" (1869) is valuable, and his "Franklin in France" (1887), written with the assistance of his son, is interesting and trustworthy. Mr. Higginson tried his hand at biography, historical memoranda, criticism, and fiction; probably his best work is found in "Outdoor Papers" (1863), "Atlantic Essays" (1871), and "The New World and The New Book" (1891). Of the three authors here mentioned, Dr. Norton is the most important; he was more than a writer; he was in addition a scholar. Knowing intimately all of the foremost writers of this country, he was hardly less well acquainted with the most important English authors of the middle and late Victorian period. In addition to his monumental prose translation of Dante's "New Life" (1858) and "Divine Comedy" (1892), he edited such books as "The Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle" (1886), "The Letters of James Russell Lowell" (1893), and "The Letters of John Ruskin" (1904). His chief original works are "Notes of Travel and Study in Italy" (1859) and "Historical Studies of Church-Building in the Middle Ages" (1880).

The scholarship of Dr. Norton immediately suggests that of other men. George Ticknor (1791-1887) by the date of his birth seems to belong to a period slightly earlier than that of Norton; in fact he immediately preceded Longfellow as professor of belles-lettres at Harvard. His chief work was "A History of Spanish Literature" (1849). As a valuable piece of criticism, it has not been superseded, and even in Spain is accepted as authoritative. Somewhat later than Ticknor in point of time was Francis James Child (1825-96). Educated at Harvard College,

he was a professor there for nearly half a century. Devoting himself to the study of the ballad as a literary form, he published the results of his work in eight volumes under the title "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" (1857-58). Closely connected with these several authors was James Thomas Fields (1817-81). Founder of *The Atlantic Monthly* and member of a famous publishing house, he was acquainted more or less intimately with every important American writer of the last half of the nineteenth century. He was not without literary skill himself, publishing among other works "Yesterdays with Authors" (1872) and "Underbrush" (1881). His wife, Annie Adams Fields (born in 1834), has written, a number of books in a similar vein; the most valuable, perhaps, are "A Shelf of Old Books" and "Authors and Friends," both published in 1896.

Shakespearean Scholars.—Harking back to Norton and Ticknor as representative American students of foreign literatures, one naturally takes pleasure in seeing that the field of Shakespearean scholarship has been by no means neglected in this country. Henry Norman Hudson (1814-86) may be said to have been the first American to turn a furrow; for after publishing "Lectures on Shakespeare" (1848), he devoted himself to a critical study of the plays and finally produced a work still mentioned with respect, "Shakespeare: His Life, Art, and Characters" (1872). Meanwhile Richard Grant White (1822-85) had published "The Authorship of the Three Parts of Henry VI." (1859) and "Memoirs of the Life of Shakespeare" (1865). Interested in other subjects for a time, he wrote "Words and Their Uses" (1870) and "England Without and Within" (1881); then, returning to his early interests, he produced

"Studies in Shakespeare" (1885). Perhaps Edwin Percy Whipple (1819-86) deserves mention at this place, for after writing "Essays and Reviews" (1849) and "Character and Characteristic Men" (1866), he published "The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth" (1869). Nor is it possible to overlook Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury (born in 1838), who added to his extensive "Studies in Chaucer" (1892) a trilogy of studies entitled "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist" (1901), "Shakespeare and Voltaire" (1902), and "The Text of Shakespeare" (1906). But easily the foremost Shakespearean scholar in America is Horace Howard Furness (born in 1833), whose "Variorum Shakespeare" as a painstaking and authoritative work stands unrivalled in any language. Recently Mr. Furness has associated his son with him in his investigations, and we may therefore expect with some confidence that a study of Shakespeare on the largest scale up to this time attempted, may be completed according to the traditions with which it was begun.

Literary Historians.—Widely interested as the scholars of this country have been in the greater writers and the more important literature of other lands, there has been no dearth of attention to our own. Moses Coit Tyler (1835-1900), sometime professor of American History at Cornell University, was the author of two valuable works, "History of American Literature during the Colonial Times" (1878) and "Literary History of the American Revolution" (1897). Charles Francis Richardson (born in 1851), professor of English in Dartmouth College, has covered the whole range of our literary history down to 1885 in his "American Literature" (1887); and Barrett Wendell (born in 1855) of Harvard University, in his

"Literary History of America" (1901), has brought his treatment of the same topic down to the beginning of the present century. Professor Wendell has written upon other American topics in "Stelligeri" (1893), and "A Life of Cotton Mather" (1891). More recently he has published two works, both the result of his absences abroad as a lecturing professor; the substance of the first, "The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature" (1904), was delivered before Trinity College, Cambridge; that of the second, "The France of To-Day" (1907), was gathered while he was giving a course of lectures in Paris.

Members of other American college faculties have given evidence of minute research and strong inspiration in books not a few. James Brander Matthews (born in 1852) of Columbia University, and George Edward Woodberry (born in 1855) for many years connected with the same university, have both written books that have gained popular approval; of the former, "French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century" (1881) and "The Historical Novel" (1901) certainly deserve mention; of the latter, "The Life of Poe" (1885), and "The Appreciation of Literature" (1907). No less significant than these men are Felix Emmanuel Schelling (born in 1858) of the University of Pennsylvania, whose latest work is "The Elizabethan Drama" (1908), and Vida Dutton Scudder (born in 1861) of Wellesley College, who cannot be left unnoticed, so thorough and satisfactory are her "Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets" (1895) and "Social Ideals in English Letters" (1898). Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, has spared time from his political and historical studies to write an interesting volume of essays called "Mere Literature" (1896); President Wilson's former colleague, Bliss Perry (born in 1860), now editor

of *The Atlantic Monthly* and professor of belles-lettres at Harvard, has published a valuable "Study of Prose Fiction" (1902), and another Princeton professor, Dr. Henry Van Dyke (born in 1852) has written an especially useful study called "The Poetry of Tennyson" (1889), and has also shown himself a master of the leisurely essay in "Little Rivers" (1895) and "Fisherman's Luck" (1899).

The Nature Writers.—Professor Van Dyke's "outdoor essays," as they are sometimes called, carry us back to the earlier nature writers, but between him and Thoreau there was no wide hiatus. John Burroughs (born in 1837) has written a considerable number of books dealing with his observations out of doors, although he has by no means neglected the purely literary topic. The mention of his earlier works gives an adequate index of all his subject matter. "Wake-Robin" appeared in 1870, "Birds and Poets" in 1875, and "Whitman, a Study" in 1896. To be closely associated with Mr. Burroughs is Bradford Torrey (born in 1843). His chief works are "Birds in the Bush" (1885), "The Footpath Way" (1892), and "A World of Green Hills" (1898). Nor can Olive Thorne Miller (born in 1831) be overlooked. She began to write studies of birds about 1880, and among other works, all of considerable interest, she has published "In Nesting Time" (1888), "A Bird-Lover in the West" (1894), and "Under the Tree-Tops" (1897). The writers just mentioned are not to be regarded, of course, as scientists or even as scientific writers in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. They look upon nature with the loving rather than the analytic eye, and register their appreciative feelings rather than their minute observations. They have much in common, therefore, with the purely literary

essayists whose names are not far from legion. Although unable to mention all who have recently attracted attention, we must not forget William Winter (born in 1836), whose best prose works date back but a quarter of a century; he published "Shakespeare's England" in 1888, "Gray Days and Gold" in 1891, and "The Life and Art of Edwin Booth" in 1894. Neither can we ignore Hamilton Wright Mabie (born in 1845), literary editor of *The Outlook*. His books are many and widely popular; probably the series of three volumes called "My Study Fire" (1890, 1894, and 1899) and "Shakespeare: Poet, Dramatist, and Man" (1900) are best known. Not less significant is Paul Elmer More (born in 1864) of the editorial staff of *The Nation*. In addition to translations from Sanskrit and from Greek, he has published five books all bearing the title "Shelburne Essays" (1904-8).

Other Essayists.—Finally, so far as essayists are concerned, some rapid review must be made of the novelists and the later poets who have not restricted themselves to the fields of their chief labor. This takes us back as far as Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), whose "Our Old Home" (1863) is a collection of valuable essays on various English topics. The saying "Like father, like son" was exemplified when Julian Hawthorne (born in 1846) brought out "Saxon Studies" (1876), a book of like purport with his father's. The mention of more than one writer in a family suggests the elder Henry James (1811-82) and his two sons, William and Henry. The father is best remembered as a theological and philosophical writer through his "Moralism and Christianity" (1852) and "Lectures and Miscellanies" (1852). The elder son, William James (born in 1842), for many years professor of psychology in

Harvard University, besides being the author of several technical works in the science to which he was devoted, has written "The Will to Believe and Other Essays" (1897), "Is Life Worth Living?" (1898), and "Pragmatism" (1906). The younger Henry James (born in 1843), in addition to being a novelist, is also the author of "A Little Tour in France" (1884), "Partial Portraits" (1888), and "Essays in London and Elsewhere" (1893).

For some reason not strongly apparent, William Dean Howells (born in 1837) is almost always associated in the minds of most readers with Henry James, the novelist. Editor for a time of *The Atlantic Monthly,* and later connected with the staff of *Harper's Magazine,* and, for a time, with that of *The Cosmopolitan,* he has made many books of essays. The best are "Venetian Life" (1866), "Italian Journeys" (1869), and "Criticism and Fiction" (1895). Belonging by birth to a later decade, Francis Marion Crawford (1854-1909) is near to being America's most prolific writer. His most important work, outside the domain of the novel, is a small volume connected in content with the art which he chiefly affects, "The Novel, What It Is" (1903). It attracted much attention upon its appearance, and is still often quoted. Mr. Crawford is also the author of "The Rulers of the South" (1900) and "Gleanings from Venetian History" (1905). The woman novelists cannot be ignored as writers of essays, for not only do they possess powers of penetration and insight, but two of them, at least, have swayed public opinion to no inappreciable extent. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96) in addition to her many books of fiction wrote a very much discussed study entitled "Lady Byron Vindicated" (1870), and "The American Woman's Home" (1869), at one time thought to be the final word upon

domestic questions. A writer of hardly less importance was Helen Hunt Jackson (1831-85), still popularly known by her pseudonym of "H. H." Her most valuable study was "A Century of Dishonor" (1881), in which she laid bare the ill-treatment accorded the American Indians; she succeeded through its pages in doing much to ameliorate their unfortunate conditions. Mrs. Jackson's "Bits of Travel" (1873) and "Between Whiles" (1887) are interesting and readable.

The more important later poets who have contributed to essay literature are led by that erratic but remarkable genius, Walt Whitman (1819-92). His collected "Prose Works," published in the year of his death, contain much more true common sense than his writings are popularly assumed to show. The main titles included in the contents are those of small volumes printed at various intervals: "Specimen Days" (1882), "November Boughs" (1888), and "Good-Bye, My Fancy" (1891). Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833-1908) and Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907), who in their poetry followed the traditions established by Longfellow and Lowell, were the authors of not unimportant prose works. The former wrote three valuable books, "Victorian Poets" (1875), "Poets of America" (1885), and "The Nature and Elements of Poetry" (1892); the latter author produced two volumes of travel and reminiscence, "From Ponkapog to Pesth" (1883) and "An Old Town by the Sea" (1893). Possibly allied rather with Whitman than with the other poets just mentioned, Sidney Lanier (1842-81) may justly stand at the close of our list of American critical writers. He subjected the methods of metrical composition to minute scrutiny, and published the results of his investigations as "The Science of English Verse" (1881). Turning then

to a study of fiction, he wrote an important work entitled "The English Novel and Its Development" (1885). Since Lanier's death, his executors have brought together many of his lectures and papers under the titles of "Music and Poetry" (1898), and "Shakspere and his Forerunners" (1902).

The Humorists.—It is a far cry from the serious thought of Sidney Lanier to the ludicrous perversities of Mark Twain; yet between these two lies an extensive territory freely admitted by foreign critics to be distinctly and perhaps typically American. The humor of this country is different from that found anywhere else in the world. At times, it is true, it exhibits the sparkling characteristics of the Irishman's wit, at others the keen shrewdness of the Frenchman's *bon mot;* certainly it is never less sprightly than the work of the English joker, nor less spontaneous than that of the German jester. In fact it may savor of any one, or of all the qualities just mentioned, and even of many others. The truth of the matter is, composite as a nation, we preserve in our humor the best traits of the elements out of which we are formed, and pretty generally add to the mixture a flavor indigenous to the soil upon which we flourish.

Humor of the Colonial Period.—In the early periods of our history, conscious humor scarcely existed. The colonists were too intent upon subduing the wilderness and safe-guarding their religion to spend time in making fun. Their steeple-crowned hats, their staid garb, and the severe simplicity of their speech and conduct may seem ridiculous to us now; but, depend upon it, these were very serious matters to the Puritans them-

selves. A sudden outbreak of frivolity, whether it showed in a departure from the accepted dress or in an unusual use of language, would have been looked upon as sufficient cause for an immediate ecclesiastical investigation and solemn condemnation. Surely a community that in all seriousness could pass a law making it a finable offence in a man to kiss his wife on Sunday, would have been horror-stricken at the irreverent flippancy of Eli Perkins and of George Ade, and would no doubt have called down anathema upon Bill Nye and possibly even upon Carolyn Wells.

Humor of the Revolutionary Period.—Nor did circumstances permit the rise of humor in the Revolutionary Period. The great joke of that time was the struggle between the pigmy and the giant, ending in the discomfiture of the latter to the tune of

Yankee Doodle came to town.

A few grim remarks have come down to us, it must be admitted, remarks which amuse us now, but which could have been little provocative of laughter when they were uttered. Certainly we have no record of hilarious mirth filling the chamber when at the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Franklin sharply replied to the remark, "Well, in this matter I suppose we must all hang together," with the words, "Yes, or we shall all hang separately!" Life indeed was far too serious in both the earlier periods of American history and literature to be made a source of amusement. True, we have not a little work, satiric in tone, from such writers as the patriot, John Trumbull (1750-1831), and the Tory, Jonathan Odell (1737-1818), of whom the first in his "M'Fingal" (1775-82) imitated

Butler's "Hudibras," and the second in his "Word of Congress" (1779) and "The American Times" (1780) followed models set up by Dryden, Pope, and Churchill. Joel Barlow (1754-1812), too, deserves passing mention here for his mock-heroic poem, "The Hasty Pudding" (1793); and Philip Freneau (1752-1832) must be named on account of several briefer pieces of verse intended, no doubt, to be funny, but succeeding only in being abusive and vituperative of British leaders and British methods. On the whole, the efforts of all these writers, so far as humor is concerned, were little better than clumsy; and nowadays, if we bother with their works at all, we laugh at the authors rather than with them.

The Imitative School.—Conscious or deliberate American humor, then, can hardly be said to have shown itself before the early years of the nineteenth century. When it did appear, moreover, it was strongly imitative of English models and exhibited itself not as the most striking trait, but as only one of many qualities characterizing an author's style. Indeed, barring the work of a mere handful of writers, we find such American humor as is likely to live woven into books which endure for other reasons than because they awaken laughter. For the earliest instance of any importance, we may mention Washington Irving, a writer already discussed as an essayist. He exhibits in various parts of his work a sparkling effervescence which, if a little more spontaneous than that found in *The Spectator,* is none the less strongly suggestive, like his more serious work, of Addison and Steele, and perhaps also of Goldsmith and Swift.

The Restrained School.—Less noticeably imitative of

foreign work, the whimsicalities of Oliver Wendell Holmes, of James Russell Lowell, and of Charles Dudley Warner have been deemed sufficiently important to make each the subject of a chapter in more than one English work vainly endeavoring to analyze and classify that subtle something which makes American humor funny. With apparent gravity Holmes could ask the startling question, "Why is an onion like a piano?" and in answer convulse his readers with the atrocious pun, "Because it smell odious!" His characterization of an afternoon reception as "Giggle, gabble, gobble, git," is worthy of frequent quotation; and one passage in his "Music Grinders" is of perennial value. Wearied by the discordant tunes issuing from a hurdy-gurdy, the distracted poet at last exclaims:

> But hark! the air again is still
> The music all is ground,
> And silence, like a poultice, comes
> To heal the blows of sound.

The man who has had the experience here set down, appreciates both the pathos and the humor of a passage like that. Lowell's humor is akin to that of Holmes. It breaks out in nearly every essay that he wrote, and almost runs riot in some of his poems. Speaking of the destruction of a certain hill that a city street might be improved, he remarked in "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" (1854): "The landscape was carried away cart-load by cart-load, and, dumped down on the roads, forms a part of that unfathomable pudding which has, I fear, drawn many a teamster and pedestrian to the use of phrases not commonly found in English dictionaries." There is much humor in Lowell, more stirring than this, but the quotation exhibits the readiness with which he would give an unexpected turn to a

sentence, or throw in an unlooked for reference or expression, too delicate to be shocking, too subtle to arouse loud laughter, but capable none the less of sending a ripple of amusement over the calmest gravity. For work professedly humorous throughout, we must turn to "A Fable for Critics" (1848) or to "The Biglow Papers" (1848). Both contain much good hard common sense, but the humor instead of being a mere accident of expression is the real reason for the existence of the greater part of each work. More closely allied to Lowell, perhaps, than to either Irving or Holmes, Warner produced no work exclusively funny. Still there is hardly a page of "My Summer in a Garden" (1870) or of "In the Wilderness" (1878) which does not have at least one laughable sentence. For this reason Warner defies quotation: his chapters must be read in their entirety rather than in chance snatches.

The Professional Humorists.—Turning now from these writers of humor, who have been looked upon by some critics as forming an "imitative school" and by others as constituting what they have more happily termed a "restrained school," we come upon a widely extended group of writers who profess to have no higher calling than the awakening of mere laughter. If we call them collectively the "professional school of American humorists," we need not feel ourselves debarred from regarding them as falling naturally into several classes, to each of which we may give some special name, such as "the milder school," "the women humorists," "the boisterous group," and the like. We must not forget, however, that no hard and fast dividing lines can be drawn between the different classes, since the fact that a

writer is a woman does not necessarily prevent her writing boisterous humor, or that a man who is generally almost clown-like may not sometimes produce a rare and refined piece of fun. Furthermore, it happens that the very naturalness with which the humorists fall into groups and classes prevents their being discussed in chronological order. The milder fun-makers have existed side by side with their hilarious brethren from the beginning, so that one must ignore, except in the slightest way, the order determined mainly by accidents of birth, or dates of publication.

The Women Humorists.—Politeness demands that we speak of the women humorists first. In the fore-front of these we must place Mrs. Frances Miriam Whitcher (1811-52). She made her first appearance as a writer in *Neal's Saturday Gazette* about 1845 and to that paper contributed a long series of articles purporting to come from the pen of "the Widow Bedott." From the first she attracted attention, and interest in her work has never wholly ceased. Such was the demand for her writings that after her death, two collections of articles from her pen were made and published as "The Widow Bedott Papers" (1855), and "Widow Sprigg, Mary Elmer, and Other Sketches" (1867).

Closely related in form and content to "The Widow Bedott Papers" was a book published in 1873 with the title "My Opinions and Betsy Bobbet's." Although immediately popular, it was for many years supposed to be the work of its professed author, Samanthy Allen; but by the time "P. A. and P. I., or Samanthy at the Centennial" appeared, in 1876, the secret had leaked out that "Josiah Allen's Wife" was the pseudonym of Marietta Holley (born in 1844), a native of Adams, New York.

A contributor to *Peterson's Magazine*, *The Christian Union*, *The Independent*, and other periodicals, and the author of numerous books, she has gained considerable renown. Her earlier works are her best; for as time went on she diluted her skill in fun-making by permitting her interest in the temperance question, the woman suffrage movement, and negro education to interfere with the power of her wit. Miss Holley's work has attracted some attention abroad, and has been translated into several foreign languages. Merely pausing to mention Mary Abigail Dodge (1830-96), a native of Hamilton, Massachusetts, who, forming her pseudonym from a part of her own name and from that of her birthplace, made herself famous as Gail Hamilton in work both grave and gay; and stopping only to call attention to the fact that Harriet Beecher Stowe in "Old Town Folks" (1869) gave us an unusually funny book, we may choose from the host of women who are moving us to laughter the most industrious of them all, Carolyn Wells. As a writer of the verse form called the *limerick*, she has more than once equalled Edward Lear, and as a parodist she shocks a reader to silence by her audacity.

The Milder Humorists.—In what may be called the milder school of American humorists Seba Smith (1792-1868) was the leader in point of time. Graduated from Bowdoin College in 1818, Smith began almost immediately to contribute editorially to the papers of Portland, Maine. In addition to more serious works, he wrote, under the pen-name of "Major Jack Downing," a series of political articles in New England dialect, thus anticipating Lowell's "Biglow Papers" by several years. Smith was the author of a number of books,

the best known of which are probably "Way Down East" (1853) and "My Thirty Years Out of the Senate" (1859), the latter a homely and vigorous parody of Senator T. H. Benton's "Thirty Years' View of the American Government." Writing, not long after Seba Smith, John Godfrey Saxe (1816-87) early sprang into fame. The author of a considerable amount of prose, he attracted far wider attention by his verse. In the latter he showed the working of a strong English influence; indeed, it is not too much to say that had there been no Thomas Hood, there would have been no Saxe. Born at Highgate, Vermont, and graduated from Middlebury College in 1843, he soon became interested in both journalism and politics; but he is now best remembered by his work in verse. His "Humorous and Satirical Poems" (1850) fairly bristles with puns from beginning to end, and the surprising fact about them is that they are so good and so well set in their places that rarely does a reader feel inclined to accuse Saxe of over-straining his powers.

Leland, Field, Riley, and Harris. — Merely mentioning in passing the name of Saxe's contemporary, Frederick Swartwout Cozzens (1818-69), author of "The Sparrowgrass Papers" (1856), we call attention to Robert Henry Newell (1836-1901), whose "Orpheus C. Kerr Papers" in three volumes (1861-69) contained presumably funny comments on the Civil War, and to David Ross Locke (1833-88), who, writing under the pseudonym of Petroleum Vesuvius Naseby, wittily supported the administration of Lincoln, and attacked that of Johnson in newspaper articles afterward collected into a book entitled "Divers Views, Opinions, and Prophecies of Yours Truly" (1865). These three men, although de-

serving mention on account of the position they once held, are now little read, but their contemporary Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1903) seems to have established something like permanent renown for himself. Graduated from Princeton in 1846, he became prominent in various fields of journalism and authorship. His best known work is "Hans Breitmann Ballads," of which a collected edition appeared in 1895. These poems are written in the dialect known as Pennsylvania Dutch, and relate the exploits of their clownish hero in various exigencies and circumstances. In this same school of mild humorists we may class also a number of writers most of whom are still in the prime of life. From the host we select three as typical. Eugene Field (1850-95), whose untimely death cut short a career of promise already blossoming into fulfilment, may be mentioned first. In addition to much serious work, he published "The Tribune Primer" (1882), a mock imitation of a child's first reading book, and "Culture's Garden" (1887), a series of clever skits directed against those who make a pretence of ultra-refinement. With Field for some reason James Whitcomb Riley (born in 1853) has always been popularly associated, possibly because both wrote poems having childhood as subject matter. Mr. Riley's humorous work is scattered through his several books, of which "Rhymes of Childhood" (1890) and "Home Folks" (1900) are typical, if not the best. An author of a series of books which appeal at once to students of popular tradition and to general readers whether young or old is found in Joel Chandler Harris (1848-1908). Publishing a book in 1880 on Afro-American folk-lore under the title "Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings," Mr. Harris found to his surprise that he had an audience who listened to him with mirth

instead of gravity. It is improbable that more than a mere handful of his readers suspect for even a moment that the several stories put into the mouth of Uncle Remus are a real contribution to anthropological data. In his later years, Mr. Harris wisely threw all his reports into literary form with the result that there was a steady rise in his popularity as he gave us successively "Nights with Uncle Remus" (1883), "Mingo and Other Sketches" (1884), and "Daddy Jake, the Runaway" (1889).

The Boisterous Humorists.—Turning now to the "boisterous school" of American humor, we may dwell for a time upon the chief characteristics exhibited by members of the group. In the first place, most of them have forgotten how to spell. There is something ludicrous in the appearance of the word "through" masquerading in the garb "thru," whatever may be the plea of the society of spelling reformers to the contrary; and certainly no one, except a school-teacher, can be other than amused to see such common words as "laugh," "feel," "funny," and the like making their bows as "laff," "feal," and "phuny." Laughable as this may be, however, it is not too much to insist that, if the appeal is only to the eye, if the wit evaporates when the words are not seen but merely heard, then the humor is not of very high order. In the second place, most of the members of the boisterous school along with their loss of power as spellers, have also forgotten how to tell the truth. "This inclination towards outrageous exaggeration," said Lowell, "is a prime characteristic of American humor." "There is," he says elsewhere, "something irresistibly comic in the conception of a negro so black that charcoal made a white mark on him, or in the idea of a

soil so fertile that a nail planted in it becomes a railroad spike before morning." This last example of untruthfulness might almost be taken as an illustration of the third trait of the group now under discussion—that of producing the most absurd paradoxes and of bringing into juxtaposition the most diverse uses of the same word. This is more than mere word play, it is rather what might be termed the apotheosis of the pun. It underlies the majority of jokes that are found in the American newspaper and is at once the admiration and the despair of those who try to analyze or to imitate the subtlety of our humor.

Josh Billings.—With these three characteristics in mind we may now give some brief attention to the humorists themselves. Of the "boisterous school," the earliest were Henry Wheeler Shaw, Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber, and Charles Farrar Browne. If by chance these names seem quite unfamiliar, the strangeness will disappear when attention is called to the fact that the three men respectively wrote under the *noms de plume* of "Josh Billings," "Mrs. Partington," and "Artemus Ward." Shaw (1818-85) was born in Lanesborough, Massachusetts, and died in Monterey, California. To complete his formal education he entered Hamilton College in Clinton, New York; but tiring of the life there, he went on to the West and spent a number of years undergoing the many experiences offered by frontier life. Returning East in 1858, he became an auctioneer in Poughkeepsie, New York, where he also began to contribute to various magazines and newspapers. He attracted little attention until he invented an amusing system of phonetic spelling supposed to represent his homely method of pronunciation. His chief works were

his "Farmer's Allminax" published annually between 1870 and 1880, "Every Boddy's Friend" (1876), and "Josh Billings' Spice Box" (1881). A quotation or two will exhibit both the thought and the form which characterize the contents of his several volumes of writing:

"Fallin' in luv is like fallin' in molases—sweet but drefful dobby."

"Yu can't tell what makes a kis taste so good eny more than you kin a peech. Eny man who kin set down wher it is cool and tell what a kis tastes like hain't got eny more taste in his mouth than a knot-hol hez."

Mrs. Partington.—Benjamin P. Shillaber (1814-90) was influenced by Sheridan even more strongly than was Saxe by the elder Hood. Mrs. Partington is America's Mrs. Malaprop. Her misuse of the English language Shillaber recorded in three books bearing the several titles, "Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington" (1854), "Partingtonian Patchwork" (1873), and "Ike and his Friend" (1879). Mrs. Partington's likeness to her English predecessor, or, as she would undoubtedly have said, her "predecessoress" may be seen in her chance remark, "I am not so young as I was once, and I don't believe I shall ever be, if I live to the age of Samson, which, heaven knows as well as I do, I don't want to, for I wouldn't be a centurion or an octagon and survive my factories and become idiomatic by any means. But then there is no knowing how a thing will turn out till it takes place, and we shall come to an end some day, though we may never live to see it."

Artemus Ward.—Charles F. Browne (1834-67), the third of the humorists writing about the middle of the last century, was born in Waterford, Maine, and lived

in various parts of the United States as his newspaper work called him first to one town and then to another. He made extensive lecture trips, and finally went in 1866 to England, where he died in March of the following year. He had the distinction of being the first American contributor to *Punch*. He published a number of books during his lifetime, among which were "Artemus Ward: His Book" (1865), "Artemus Ward: His Book of Goaks" (1865), and "Artemus Ward in London" (1867). Undoubtedly his best single work was a lecture giving an account of his visit to the Mormons. Learning from Brigham Young that he was married to eighty wives and sealed to as many more, Artemus remarked that the prophet was the most marriedest man he ever saw. Ward then went on to say, "In a privit conversashun with Brigham I learnt the follerin' fax: It takes him six weeks to kiss his wives. He don't do it only onct a year and sez it's wuss nor cleanin' house. He don't pertend to know his children, there is so many of 'em, tho they all know him. He sez about every child he meats call him Par and he takes it for granted it is so."

Later Writers of Boisterous Humor.—Taking up now the writers who were born in the decade immediately preceding the turning point of the nineteenth century, we may regard as worthy of special mention Charles Heber Clark, Charles Bertrand Lewis, Robert Jones Burdette, and Edgar Wilson Nye. Of these all, save one, are still living and still writing. Mr. Clark was born in Berlin, Maryland, in 1841. For many years he has been the editor of *The Textile Record*, published in Philadelphia, to which he has contributed a number of articles on economic themes. He is best known, however,

by two books of humor: "Out of the Hurly Burly" and "Elbow Room," both written under the *nom de plume* of "Max Adeler." Mr. Lewis (born in 1842) is best known by his pseudonymn, "M. Quad," a title drawn from the parlance of printers. Mr. Lewis's earlier work was much more spontaneous than that which he is producing now. Connected with *The Detroit Free Press,* he contributed to it a steady stream of character sketches of great variety. Collecting them later he published them under various titles. Of these volumes the best are "Brother Gardener's Lime-Kiln Club," "Quad's Odds," and "Mr. and Mrs. Bowser."

Edgar W. Nye (1850-96), best known as "Bill Nye," was born in Shirley, Maine, and died near Asheville, North Carolina. Educated in Wisconsin, he first turned his attention to the study of law. Abandoning that pursuit after having been admitted to the bar, he dabbled in several different occupations, and finally became a newspaper correspondent. For a short time he travelled with James Whitcomb Riley, the two giving a series of entertainments which proved widely popular. Nye's published works were many, but they have little chance of permanent life. As good as any are "Bill Nye and the Boomerang" (1881), "A Comic History of the United States" (1894), and "The Railroad Guide" (1888), the latter written in partnership with Mr. Riley. Mr. Burdette, the last of the quartette here mentioned together, was born in Greensboro, Pennsylvania, in 1844 and received his schooling in Peoria, Illinois. During the Civil War he was a soldier in the Union army. At the close of the struggle, Mr. Burdette returned to Peoria, where he was connected with first one and then another of the newspapers published there. Finally, failing in a paper

issued under his own proprietorship, he went to Burlington, Iowa, and became a member of the staff of *The Hawkeye*. While engaged in newspaper work, Mr. Burdette began to write funny things to amuse his invalid wife; and these, published later in the columns of the paper, have made him known throughout the United States. He was licensed as a Baptist preacher in 1887, since when he has signed himself Robert Burdette, D., on the ground that the abbreviation *D.* is the next thing to that of *D.D.* Mr. Burdette's best humorous work may be read in "The Rise and Fall of the Mustache and other Hawkeyetems" (1877) and "Chimes from a Jester's Bells" (1897).

Mark Twain.—Of American humorists "Mark Twain," known in private life as Samuel Langhorne Clemens, is readily placed foremost by critics and admirers both at home and abroad. He has the right to be considered the Nestor of our writers, for, born in 1835, he began to produce his earliest work when Irving was in his prime, and has therefore seen at least one phase of every school in our literature. His younger years were those of the decline of the Knickerbocker writers; he saw the rise and fall of the Concord group, the Cambridge poets, and the New York writers; and now he is present at the general upward movement all over the country, including the South and the West. His relation to our literature is not unlike that of Fanny Burney to the novel; she was born before Richardson published "The History of Sir Charles Grandison," and did not die until twelve years after the birth of George Meredith, thus being contemporaneous with the greatest English novelists from the first to the last. Mr. Clemens was born in Florida, Missouri, and when scarcely thirteen

years old was apprenticed to a printer. Barring a few years spent as pilot upon the Mississippi, he has devoted his life to literary work. His writings include "The Innocents Abroad" (1869), the humorous record of a trip in the countries of the Eastern Hemisphere; "The Gilded Age" (1873), a novel written conjointly with Charles Dudley Warner; "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" (1876), and "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" (1884), both books about boys whose exploits are interesting to young and old alike; "A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur" (1889), a cruel parody of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur;" and "Christian Science," an attempt, despite all the fun it makes, to report sincerely upon a careful investigation of the claims of Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy and her disciples. It is unfortunate for Mr. Clemens that he is a humorist, for he has had to suffer the lot long ago mentioned by Holmes as the fate of the fun-producer: no one can even take such a man seriously; no one can believe that he ever has any other purpose than to tickle our fancy or awaken our laughter. Yet it is not impossible that future critics may come to regard "The Prince and the Pauper" (1882) and "The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc" (1896), two serious and dignified pieces of writing, as Mr. Clemens's best work.

Within recent years Oxford University has conferred the degree of D.C.L. upon Mr. Clemens in recognition of his contributions to literature. This action by a great institution of learning has filled many minds with surprise, nor have all of them quite recovered their mental equilibrium yet. Some, indeed, are still asking the old question, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and can hardly believe their ears when they receive the answer, "Yea, verily!" Humor at last seems to be coming to its own.

Said Mr. Meredith a few years ago: "Comedy, we have to admit, was never one of the most honoured of the Muses. She was in her origin, short of laughter, the loudest expression of the little civilization of men." While it must be admitted that when he wrote this the greatest English writer now living had in mind something much more delicate, much more refined, much more subtile, than anything yet produced in America, it is not beyond thought that even he would let us classify the fun-makers of this country as true humorists. They deal little in satire, little in irony, but they have much in common with those to whom Mr. Meredith said: "If you laugh all round a person, tumble him, roll him about, deal him a smack, and drop a tear on him, own his likeness to you, and yours to your neighbor, spare him as little as you shun, pity him as much as you expose, it is a spirit of Humor that is moving you."

V. THE ORATORS AND THE DIVINES.

The Historical Background.—In America, oratory has been the most fortunate of all the arts. Whether in the era prior to the Revolution, or in the formative years of the Republic before 1800, or in the first half and more of the nineteenth century—in the pulpit as well as at the bar and in the forum, American orators have drawn their inspiration directly from the political or religious life of the nation. From the nature of things, no other art, neither poetry, nor painting, nor music, could bear so intimate a relation to the course of our national existence as the utterance of the public speaker. Every crisis in our history, the Revolution itself, the War of 1812, the

struggle between North and South, was hastened by the spoken word. Trained poets have been wanting among us; trained speakers, in so far as their powers could develop without a correspondingly high development of poetry and music, we have always possessed; men skilled in rousing enthusiasm and reverence throughout congregations of the pious, men alert to kindle the intelligence of a legislature or to sway the minds of judge and jury. From the first, this training was continuous and effective. In the bare colonial churches, thought, word, and action of the pastor were criticized by an audience that had braved the sea and the savage for the privilege of listening. From the colonial courts of justice spread the education which warranted Burke in saying of a litigious populace: "In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful . . . But all who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science." With this knowledge of law, every other colonist was a keen debater for his private rights, and, when the time came, for the rights of his locality or nation. From a population thus educated sprang the forensic leaders of the Revolution; and to its sources in eighteenth century popular education we follow back the steady stream of American eloquence which in the nineteenth century runs strong and full in the noblest efforts of American literature—say Webster's tribute to Massachusetts in the reply to Hayne, and Lincoln's undying speech at Gettysburg.

So close indeed is the bond between juridic and political history on the one hand, and the achievement of the great American orators on the other, that they can be sundered, as in the following pages, only for purposes of general reference. Since a political history of the

United States from the year 1783 is not here expected, we must limit ourselves to brief notice of a few representative men, taken in something like chronological order, and mainly between the years 1800 and 1865. With the Civil War, or perhaps with the second inaugural address of President Lincoln, ended the golden age of American eloquence.

Predecessors of the Nineteenth Century.—The careers of James Otis (1725-83), Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Josiah Quincy, Junior (1744-75), and Patrick Henry (1736-99), fall largely in the period covered by the pages from Tyler; and the orations and political writings of the Revolutionary period itself do not come within the scope of the present sketch. Of course it is impossible to make a line of sharp division in the case of public men whom we instinctively couple with the earliest days of the Republic, but whose voices were heard to the verge of the next century, or even beyond. The "Farewell Address" of Washington to his countrymen in 1796, so long regarded with veneration, was, in spite of its conservative form, its Johnsonian balance, a document with matter for the coming age. However, it is clear that statesmen who were in their prime at the time of Washington's death in 1799 more particularly require our attention.

Fisher Ames.—Among these is Fisher Ames (1758-1808). Admitted to Harvard at the age of twelve, after graduation he first engaged in teaching, then studied law, and entering politics, became a force among the Federalists. Long the victim of ill health, he nevertheless made his superior mental endowment felt in the counsels of the nation. His "Tomahawk Speech" (1796), on Jay's treaty

with Great Britain, contained passages of splendor on the fear of Indian massacres. For the eloquence of this speech he has been compared to Wilberforce, Brougham, Burke, Pitt, and Fox. He could not have resembled them all. Ames had a fastidious taste, was cautious and dignified in his utterances, and was not desirous of a cheap popularity. "To be the favorite of an ignorant multitude," he observed, "a man must descend to their level." Four years before he died, his health constrained him to decline the presidency of Harvard.

The Early Nineteenth Century.—The activity of Rufus King (1755-1827) and others continued somewhat later. This friend of Alexander Hamilton, and collaborator with him in the political essays signed "Camillus," was in 1796 accorded the delicate function of Minister to England. In 1813 the legislature of New York elected him to the United States Senate; here he won laurels for his speech on the destruction of Washington by the British. He returned to the Senate in 1820, and he was Minister to England again under President Adams.

John Marshall.—The name of John Marshall (1755-1835), we naturally associate with his momentous work of interpreting the Constitution. The dry light of his intellect and his lack of passion were more suited to purely legal exposition than to the eloquence of debate. When he went to Congress in 1798, the cogency of his argument was already known. It is sufficiently demonstrated by his speech in Robbins' case (1800), a case that involved the international law governing murder committed upon the high seas by a citizen of one country, sailing on

the ship of another. Marshall's unenlivened "Life of Washington" is valuable as a repository of plain fact.

Morris and De Witt.—Gouverneur Morris (1752-1816) was early famous for his eloquence. His thought was orderly, his style finished. Successful in the practice of law, and distinguished for his services during the Revolution, he became a zealous Federalist, entering the United States Senate in 1800. Here his most notable effort was his "Speech on the Judiciary" (1802). Clinton De Witt (1769-1828), who was Mayor of New York City most of the time between 1803 and 1815, was also in the Senate for two years, and opposed the redoubtable Morris on the question of navigation on the Mississippi. De Witt was a man of wide interests, being something of a scientist and historian; his practical sense recognized the value of inland waterways. He merits more attention than can here be given him.

Gore, Dexter, and Others.—The same is true of the following: Christopher Gore (1758-1829), who in 1814 reached the Senate, to remain three years, and who spoke on "The Prohibition of Certain Imports" (1814) and on "Direct Taxation" (1815); Samuel Dexter (1761-1816), Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury; James A. Bayard (1767-1815), lawyer, Senator, Commissioner at Ghent in 1814; William Branch Giles (1762-1840); Edward Livingston (1764-1836), jurist, diplomat, Secretary of State; John Sergeant (1779-1852), candidate for Vice-President on the Clay ticket of 1832; John J. Crittenden (1787-1863), lawyer and statesman; James A. Hillhouse (1789-1846), orator as well as poet.

William Pinkney.—Among the noteworthy orators during the first twenty years of the last century was William Pinkney (1764-1822). The son of a sympathizer with England, he was himself devoted to the cause of American freedom. His prominence in the affairs of Maryland ushered him into national concerns. He took part in the War of 1812, and was wounded. He was Attorney-General under Madison, but resigned for the sake of his private practice. He was made Minister to Russia in 1816; in 1820 he entered the United States Senate. A specimen of his eloquence may be seen in his argument before the Supreme Court (1815) in the case of the prize ship Nereide. Pinkney was fond of classical learning, and well versed in current literature. He prided himself on his accuracy in the use of English. This made him over-conscious in his style, so that his thought seems artificial. His death is said to have been partly caused by his labors in his preparation and delivery of an argument.

Quincy, Gallatin, and Emmet.—Josiah Quincy (1772-1864), son of Josiah Quincy of Revolutionary fame, was president of Harvard from 1829 to 1845. Besides his "History of Harvard University," he was the author of many pamphlets and public addresses. "His career in Congress was distinguished chiefly for his opposition to the Embargo, to the War of 1812, and to the admission of Louisiana." Albert Gallatin (1761-1849), leaving his birthplace, at Geneva, Switzerland, came to Boston in 1781, taught French in Harvard, went to Virginia, and there became the friend of Patrick Henry. He was sent to Congress in 1795, and thereafter entrusted with special missions to Holland and England. He was also Minister

to France (1816), and Minister to England (1826). Gallatin's intuitions were as quick and sure as his character was upright and urbane. His information, as in his speech (1796) on the earlier British treaty, was ample and exact. Among his innumerable services to the country of his adoption, not the least were his efforts on behalf of internal commerce and the improvement in methods of banking. Thomas Addis Emmet (1764-1827) was also a foreigner—a native of Cork. He studied medicine in Edinburgh, but turning to law, was admitted to practice in 1791, and settled at Dublin. For his share in the Irish insurrectionary movement he was imprisoned; after his release he emigrated to New York, where he became an eminent pleader. He had a "dignified but earnest attitude, forcible and unstudied gestures," and a "powerful and expressive voice." "No orator knew better how to enlist his hearers on the side of his client."

Red Jacket and Tecumseh.—Foreign, likewise, although bred within our borders, was the eloquence of the Indians, Red Jacket and Tecumseh. Red Jacket was the nickname of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha ("He keeps them awake"), otherwise known as "the last of the Senecas." He was a lover of peace, resisting entanglements, counseling the Indians neither to fight, nor yet to mingle, with the whites, dissuading them against the adoption of Christianity, settled in his ancestral reverence for "the Great Spirit." His simple and direct language was full of sudden poetic energy. He died at a great age in 1830. Tecumseh, in many things his opposite, was killed in 1813 at the Battle of the Thames, where he fought with the English against the United States. A born leader was Tecumseh, magnificent in his proportions, noble in his

bearing, fiery and magnetic. Prior to the War of 1812 he tried to enlist the Indians of the South and West in a general insurrection against the government. He went from tribe to tribe, reproaching them with their debasement through civilization, and abusing the Federal authority.

William Wirt.—Of Swiss descent, one of the ablest men this country developed in his time was William Wirt (1772-1834). His arraignment of Aaron Burr at the latter's trial in 1807 was masterly, and made Wirt's name familiar to the public ear. From 1817 to 1828 he was Attorney-General. In private as in national life his character was without stain; his correspondence discloses an honesty and consistency of purpose and statement almost unequaled. His imaginative "Letters of the British Spy" (1803) described Virginian society and American eloquence as they might appear to an unbiased traveler. "The Life and Character of Patrick Henry" (1817) was roundly praised by Jefferson. Of Wirt's occasional addresses none was more admired than that delivered in 1830 before the students of Rutgers College.

Judge Story.—The voluminous works of Joseph Story (1779-1845), including text-books on law, are in part made up of his discourses. He began life as a poet, but attained his first eminence as a lawyer. Before his appointment to the United States Supreme Court, he was heard on the floor of the House of Representatives. As professor in the Harvard Law School he proved an acceptable lecturer.

John Quincy Adams.—The younger Adams (1767-

1848), sixth president of the United States, received from his father, the second president, specific training for the career of statesman; even his boyhood was passed in the midst of political and diplomatic life. He studied at Leyden, then at Harvard, where, during an interim in his public activities, he afterward held the chair of rhetoric and belles lettres. He saw diplomatic service in Holland, Russia, England, was in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives. He was a foe of slavery, but not a Garrisonian Abolitionist. In 1836 he urged upon Congress its right under the Constitution, as he believed, to abolish slavery by legal enactment. His influence was strong for freedom of debate. This "old man eloquent" continued speaking when he was over eighty, and died on the floor of the House of Representatives. He was a diarist, a poet, a translator. He was a clear, fluent, not very terse speaker, having the agglomerative and developing style of the parliamentary orator. When he desired, he could be ironical.

The High Tide of American Oratory.—The burning questions of the rights of an individual state as against its duties to the central government, of the extension of negro slavery, or its territorial limitation, or its entire abolition, brought on the crisis of the Civil War, which is the central fact of American history. Correspondingly, during the interval between the War of 1812 and the War of the Rebellion, their eloquence fired by these and related questions, lie the main careers of our greatest orators.

"Old Bullion."—Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858) can not be reckoned one of these. Indifferent to the

spread of slavery, he was in favor of developing the great western territories at any cost. He urged a reduction of the prices charged by the government in the sale of public lands, and promoted the interests of a railroad to the Pacific. As an advocate of specie currency he acquired the sobriquet of "Old Bullion." Retiring from the Senate after extended usefulness there, he published his "Thirty Years' View," a history of the workings of the American Government from 1820 to 1850, highly commended by Bryant for its taste and simplicity of style.

Henry Clay.—Slightly the senior of Benton, Henry Clay (1777-1852) was in public life for an even longer time. By birth he was a Virginian. In the face of early hardship he rose to be Senator from Kentucky in 1806-7; from 1811 until 1852, for forty-one years, he was almost steadily in the eye of the nation. A leader of the Whig party, he sided with his great opponent, Calhoun, against the more timid Madison, in precipitating the second war with England; and he was prominent in the negotiations for peace that followed. Clay was four times Speaker of the House of Representatives, and four times unsuccessful candidate for President of the United States. The influence which he had shown over juries in Kentucky he likewise exercised in the national legislature. In the management of conflicting interests, and in furthering the measures of his party, he had a genius for detecting what was possible or expedient. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Tariff Compromise of 1833, and the Slavery Compromise of 1850 were largely owing to him. He was a master in effecting legislation. According to Blaine, "Mr. Webster argued the principle, Mr. Clay embodied it in a statute." Among his celebrated speeches were those

on the New Army Bill (1813), on the Seminole War (1819), on the Tariff (1824). At his death, a colleague, Joseph R. Underwood, said in the Senate: "The character of Henry Clay was formed and developed by the influence of our free institutions. His physical and mental organization eminently qualified him to become a great and impressive orator. His person was tall, slender, and commanding; his temperament ardent, fearless, and full of hope; his countenance clear, expressive, and variable—indicating the emotion which predominated at the moment with exact similitude; his voice cultivated and modulated in harmony with the sentiment he desired to express . . .; his eye beaming with intelligence, and flashing with coruscations of genius; his gestures and attitudes graceful and natural. These personal advantages won the prepossessions of an audience, even before his intellectual powers began to move his hearers; and when his strong common sense, his profound reasoning, his clear conceptions of his subject in all its bearings, and his striking and beautiful illustrations, united with such personal qualities, were brought to the discussion of any question, his audience was enraptured, convinced, and led by the orator as if enchanted by the lyre of Orpheus."

John Caldwell Calhoun.—The character and intellect of John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850) were admired even by those who least cared for his opinions. A South Carolinian of Scotch-Irish extraction, he graduated from Yale, in 1804, with the highest honors. He towered in political life from 1808 until he died: as leader of the war party under Madison; in upholding the doctrine of nullification, that is, the right of each state to resist a Congressional enactment which the state might deem injurious;

in the annexation of Texas; and in the defense of slavery. Calhoun was fearless and precise in the discharge of his duties as Secretary of War under Monroe, reducing expenses, and rendering petty defalcation impossible. He was Vice-President in 1825. His ruling ideas are contained in his "Disquisition on Government" and "Discourse on the Government of the United States" (in the first volume of his "Works"), and in speeches before the Senate—for example, on Nullification and the Force Bill (1833) and on the Slavery Question (1850). He was thus characterized by Webster: "The eloquence of Mr. Calhoun . . . was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned—still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the clearness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner . . . His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all—is appreciated, venerated by us all."

Hayne and Randolph.—When Calhoun was Vice-President, his spokesman in the Senate was a fellow Carolinian, Robert Young Hayne (1791-1840), who was a soldier in the War of 1812, but who, in his vindication of state rights, refused the Attorney-Generalship of the country to be Attorney-General of South Carolina. He also retired from the Senate to be Governor of his state. In his unlucky debate with Webster in 1830 he carried sectional jealousy—of the South against New England—into the question concerning the sale of public lands in the West. Graceful in person, of a fine countenance, industrious, commonly amiable, Hayne "had a copious and ready elocution, flowing at will in a strong and steady current, and rich in the material that constitutes argu-

ment." His prejudices, however, could distract him from the subject in hand. The bellicose Virginian, John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833), was in Congress at the age of twenty-six. His bitterness toward England seems excessive. Eccentric, singular also in appearance, biting and unexpected in retort, he was a figure of interest when he came to the Senate in 1825. His duel with Henry Clay is a matter of unpleasant history. Enthusiastic contemporary estimates of him by Paulding and others have not worn well.

Daniel Webster.—The prince of American orators, and one of the great orators of modern times, was born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, on January 18, 1782. His ancestry was Scotch. He had the stinted education of a village school whose doors were open for a short term in winter. Yet he could never recollect the time when he could not read the Bible; and this and the few other books that he could obtain he perused so often that he virtually had them by heart. He was fond of committing passages to memory. But at Exeter, where he prepared for college, there was one thing which he could not do: "I could not speak before the school." The efforts of his father made it possible for him to attend Dartmouth College. He read by himself with the avidity of a Lowell —but he also pursued the regular course of studies with good intent. Finishing this course in 1801, he studied law, earned a little money by teaching in Maine, and at length entered the office of Christopher Gore in Boston— "a tall, gaunt young man, with rather a thin face, but all the peculiarities of feature and complexion by which he was distinguished in later life." There followed some years of practice with meager remuneration, but of un-

ceasing study. In 1813 he was sent to Congress from New Hampshire. His speech in that year on the repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees elicited praise from Chief Justice Marshall, and throughout the country. Webster immediately advanced to the front rank of debaters. It is baffling even to suggest the range and importance of his subsequent labors. When the famous Dartmouth College case, apparently a forlorn hope, was carried before the United States Supreme Court in 1818, Webster's opening argument as junior counsel brought an unlooked for settlement in favor of the college; since then the case has furnished a ruling precedent in interpreting the Constitutional clause with prohibits state interference with the terms of a past contract. In 1820 he was engaged on the revision of the Massachusetts State Constitution. From 1823 to 1827 he was in the House of Representatives; from 1827 to 1841, and again from 1845 to 1850, in the Senate. He was Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler, and under Fillmore. Through supposed concessions to slavery in his speech of March 7, 1850, on the Constitution and the Union, he estranged his best friends in the North, and had to endure the taunt of faithlessness in Whittier's "Ichabod." Historians, however, have justified the loftiness of his statesmanship even here. He died as Secretary of State under Fillmore, October 24, 1852.

During his reply to Hayne in 1830, when Webster uttered his encomium on the state of Massachusetts, strong men were moved to tears. One cannot read it at this distance without strange emotion. Passages in the second "Address at Bunker Hill," or the "Argument in Knapp's Trial"—the passage on the conscience of the murderer, or more especially that at the end on the universal sense

of duty—rise to the point where the ethical and æsthetic values of eloquence are one and eternal. One might go on to mention his "Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson," his "First Settlement of New England"—but we should hardly finish a mere enumeration of the speeches he delivered during his forty years of public life. "Consider," said Choate, "the work he did in that life of forty years —the range of subjects investigated and discussed; composing the whole theory and practice of our organic and administrative politics, foreign and domestic; the vast body of instructive thought he produced and put in possession of the country; how much he achieved in Congress as well as at the bar; to fix the true interpretation, as well as to impress the transcendent value of the Constitution itself . . .; how much to establish in the general mind the great doctrine that the government of the United States is a government proper, established by the people of the States, not a compact between sovereign communities . . .; to place the executive department of the government on its true basis . . .; to secure to that department its just powers on the one hand, and on the other hand to vindicate to the legislative department, and especially to the Senate, all that belonged to them; . . . to develop the vast material resources of the country, and push forward the planting of the West . . .; to protect the vast mechanical and manufacturing interests . . .; how much for the right performance of the most delicate and difficult of all tasks, the ordering of the foreign affairs of a nation, free, sensitive, self-conscious . . .; how much to compose with honor a concurrence of difficulties with the first power of the world."

His style is simple, clear, free from tricks, unstudied in its details, the easy outflow of a mind nourished on

choice and repeated reading, with the English Bible as its main source; not avoiding allusion to himself, but quickly mounting with the subject to universal application; not deficient in grace, yet on the whole massive, orderly, and neglectful of lighter emotions. In private life Webster was genial. He was fond of the open country, delighting in the rod and gun. "Black Dan" he was familiarly called, on account of his deep-set, lustrous eyes, overshadowing brows, and commanding, swarthy countenance. The proportions and majesty of his head were in keeping with the dignity of his figure.

William Lloyd Garrison.—With the main agitator of the Abolitionist movement there was no thought of compromise. Orator as well as writer, William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79), though the herald of self-restraint, and preaching the doctrine of non-resistance, carried his principles to their extreme length. He condemned the churches for their tolerance of slavery, and disliked the Constitution for permitting it. He favored ending the Union, if the national disease could be removed by amputation. He could not away with gradual treatment or the doubtful promise of an incomplete cure.

Charles Sumner.—Garrison's brave, handsome, and gifted friend, and the friend of Longfellow, Charles Sumner (1811-74), was trained in the law under Judge Story. It was partly through Whittier's influence that he entered politics, but when he succeeded Webster in the Senate, his place as a leader was assured. The infamous assault upon him by Brooks in 1856, during the debate over the affairs of Kansas, left Sumner incapacitated until 1859. When "the eloquent vacant chair" was filled again, crowds

gathered whenever announcement was made that Sumner would speak. His intellect was not equal to that of his illustrious predecessor; yet his sound judgment and winning personality, aided by a captivating delivery, put him, in the Senate, at the head of the new Republican party. His "Orations" have been published in eight volumes.

Thaddeus Stevens.—While Sumner was in the Senate, Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868), a less admirable character, led the Republicans in the House. He also was a bitter foe of slavery, and was urgent with Lincoln to emancipate the negroes. "A clear, logical, and powerful debater," he was feared for his mordant invective. Influential with the rank and file of politicians, he rejoiced in the borrowed title of the "Great Commoner."

Wendell Phillips.—Of course the trumpet of the Abolitionists was the impassioned Wendell Phillips (1811-84), ever supporting the hands of Garrison, and similarly uncompromising. On graduating from Harvard in 1831, he studied law; but he refused to engage in its practice, since this would entail his swearing to uphold a national Constitution which tolerated slavery. He was a master of sarcasm, irony, and epigram, of choice and varied wit; serene in the presence of his enemies, capturing and holding their attention. When the Civil War was over, and the cause of Abolition won, he turned to the remedy of other evils, speaking in favor of woman's rights, and championing labor reform. In the guise of a general redresser of wrongs he lost prestige as well as something of his own sense of dignity.

Rufus Choate.—The most famous of a famous family,

Rufus Choate (1799-1859), was distinguished for his pleading at the bar, his literary attainments, and, during the time that he was there (1841-45), the exercise of his talents in the Senate. A pupil of no less a lawyer than William Wirt, Choate, in his unrivaled success with juries, and his stirring if florid occasional addresses, was indebted not alone to his natural ardor and personal magnetism, but also to thorough analysis and unremitting preparation. His eulogy on Webster at Dartmouth College, July 27, 1853, was the tribute of an eminent graduate of that institution to the noblest.

Stephen A. Douglas.—Stephen Arnold Douglas (1813-61) was born in Brandon, Vermont, studied law in Canandaigua, New York, continued this study in Ohio, and proceeded thence to Illinois to teach, and to practice his calling of lawyer. He was in the United States Senate from 1847 to 1861, doing his best to avert the Civil War. In 1858 and 1860 the "Little Giant" boldly appeared before audiences in the South and denied the right of any state to secede from the Union. His speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) shows his attitude of *laissez-faire* in the matter of slavery. When he matched his wits with Lincoln in their joint debate, he unintentionally hastened his antagonist's advance toward the Presidency.

William H. Seward.—Cautious, clear, incisive, firm in his grasp of the laws of political history, William Henry Seward (1801-72) foresaw what Douglas could not, that the struggle with slavery was an irrepressible conflict. In New York State, of which he became Governor, he was the untiring enemy of political opportunism in every shape. An unsuccessful aspirant in 1860 for the presi-

dency, he eventually overcame his lack of confidence in Lincoln, and as Lincoln's Secretary of State, was of inestimable service in maintaining our relations with England during the course of the Rebellion. His "Diplomatic History of the Civil War in America" was published posthumously.

Salmon P. Chase.—Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Portland Chase (1808-73), was not a facile speaker, but, tall and commanding, one of the handsomest men in the Senate, he was both dignified and impressive. Like Choate, he graduated from Dartmouth and studied with William Wirt. As a practizing lawyer he engaged (1837) in the defense of persons on trial for alleged violation of the Fugitive Slave Act; in the debate upon the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) he advocated "free soil," and insisted upon "the absolute divorce of the General Government" from all connection with slavery. He was a Senator both before and after holding the Governorship of Ohio, and again just before Lincoln summoned him into the Cabinet. In 1864 he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a position which he honored till his death.

Edward Everett.—In the delivery of Edward Everett (1794-1865) "there was nothing in manner, person, dress, gesture, tone, accent, or emphasis too minute for his attention." From boyhood he had the gift of eloquence, which he developed by assiduous practice. Taking high honors at Harvard when but seventeen, he went into the Unitarian ministry, and began preaching at the Brattle Street Church in Boston, with immediate success. Invited to assume a chair at Harvard, he studied abroad in preparation, and then from 1819 to 1825 taught Greek.

He left his professorship to become a member of the House of Representatives. Ten years later he was elected Governor of Massachusetts. In 1841 General Harrison appointed him Minister to England; on his return he accepted the presidency of Harvard. He succeeded Webster as Secretary of State under Fillmore; and in the national election of 1860, representing the forces that desired a compromise between North and South, he was candidate for Vice-President of the United States. During his stay in the Senate Everett also was heard on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. His orations were published in four volumes. His "Lecture on the Character of Washington" (1856), frequently repeated, and his "Eulogy on Webster" (1859) were among his most splendid efforts. He made a remarkable address at Gettysburg, though it now seems academic beside that of Lincoln on the same occasion.

Abraham Lincoln.—For a manual of literature the essential thing in the life of President Lincoln (1809-65) is the ennoblement that went on in his eloquence, as his character developed under the increasing gravity and tension of his public career, and as his individual spirit became more and more identified with the agonizing soul of a nation. The simplicity and directness of his mental operations are apparent in any of his earlier letters and speeches; they were sufficiently evident to those who heard his debate with Douglas. But his utterance gained in dignity and closeness of texture when his native impulses for good became free from idiosyncracy, and when his innate moral rightness grew into a deep and conscious religion. In all literature there are few things more significant than the chastening of style that accompanied the chastening of Lincoln's personality. There is a noticeable dif-

ference even between the manner of his first and that of his second inaugural address. In the meantime he had pronounced his speech at the dedication of the National Cemetery on the battlefield of Gettysburg, November 19, 1863. There, devoid of all pretence to rhetorical artifice, yet in the perfection of English style, Lincoln gave to the world a masterpiece of literature, issuing as it were from the life-blood of the people; a masterpiece in which art and life are married, and imaginative and literal truth are become one flesh. Says Mr. Bryce: "That famous Gettysburg speech is the best example one could desire of the characteristic quality of Lincoln's eloquence. It is a short speech. It is wonderfully terse in expression. It is quiet, so quiet that at the moment it did not make upon the audience, an audience wrought up by a long and highly-decorated harangue from one of the prominent orators of the day, an impression at all commensurate to that which it began to make as soon as it was read over America and Europe. There is in it not a touch of what we call rhetoric, or of any striving after effect. Alike in thought and in language it is simple, plain, direct. But it states certain truths and principles in phrases so aptly chosen and so forcible, that one feels as if those truths could have been conveyed in no other words, and as if this deliverance of them were made for all time. Words so simple and so strong could have come only from one who had meditated so long on the primal facts of American history and popular government that the truths those facts taught him had become like the truths of mathematics in their clearness, their breadth, and their precision."

Miscellaneous and Later Orators.—It is obvious that the lives of many ante-bellum orators overlapped upon

the era of reconstruction; and the fifty years of political activity since the Civil War have brought forth an ever growing number of men concerned in affairs of state. However, there are few in this last to compare in eloquence with those of the preceding half-century. Among recognized orators a quieter tone on the whole has prevailed; not altogether that of Lincoln, nor yet that characteristic of the best speakers in the time of Madison and the younger Adams; nevertheless marking an improvement upon the flowery and pedantic effusions of an intermediate age represented by Choate, Winthrop, and, to a certain extent, Everett. The passage of laws and the expedition of other public business have come to depend more upon influence and effort exerted off the floor of the House and the Senate, and less upon forensic argument and persuasion. With the enormous growth of the population and the corresponding increase in the size of our legislative bodies, public orators have in most cases been satisfied, perforce, with a local reputation. The following are chosen miscellaneously.

John B. Gough (1817-86) was an English editor, who fell a victim to alcoholism, and being rescued from his habit by a friend of temperance, dedicated himself to the cause of rescuing others. He lectured widely in America, enthralling large audiences by his descriptions of the ruin worked by alcoholic beverages, and by his graphic narratives of lapsing and reformed drunkards.

George William Curtis (1824-92) was in youth (1842) attached to the community at Brook Farm. On returning from studies in Berlin and Italy, he became connected with the publishers of *Putnam's Magazine*. The management of this periodical failing, Curtis assumed a financial liability for which he was not legally responsible, and

spent twenty years in lecturing, to pay off the indebtedness. He was noted as editor of *Harper's Monthly*, and as a writer for *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Bazar*. He was a virile speaker on civil service reform and other subjects involving the national welfare. Wherever he went he inculcated high political ideals. His "Orations and Addresses" were edited by Professor Charles Eliot Norton.

James G. Blaine (1830-93), a Pennsylvanian, commenced life as an editor in Maine, became a member of the State Legislature there, and thence proceeded to Congress. He made a brilliant record as Speaker of the House of Representatives (1869-75). In 1876 he was appointed United States Senator from Maine. Several times a presidential possibility, he was the Republican nominee in 1884, when he was unexpectedly defeated by Cleveland. Blaine's speech on the remonetization of silver (1878) has been often cited. He was clear and forcible, save for a slight lisp, but his character was not such as to force conviction home.

It is impossible in the space allotted to proceed further with recent or contemporary orators in political or secular life. One ought not to neglect such men as Carl Schurz (1829-1906) or Bourke Cockran (born in 1854), or among the last few presidents, Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901). Mr. Harrison, an astute lawyer, could, on short notice, and seemingly without effort, deliver the choicest of addresses, well turned, fluent, and of a convenient length. An account of American political eloquence properly ends with a reference to the distinguished statesman, now President, and after Washington and Lincoln the third among our sons of light, to whom this volume is dedicated. From the most conspicuous of

public orators at the present day, we return to the early divines and theologians.

American Divines.—In his "Annals of the American Pulpit"—"from the Early Settlement of this Country to the Close of the Year 1855"—the Reverend William B. Sprague (1795-1875) collected the biographies of thirteen hundred or more divines who had earned as he thought a lasting memorial.* "From the commencement of this work," he observes, "I have been quite aware that nothing pertaining to it involves more delicacy than the selection of its subjects, and that no degree of care and impartiality can be a full security against mistakes." Far more difficult is the matter of selection, when in a sketch of barely a dozen pages we try to include the names of those who, during the nineteenth century, have most deeply wrought upon the private life of our citizens. The separation of church and state in America renders all the wider the ordinary cleft between public and private life, and the multiplicity of religious sects still further tends to keep the eloquence and motive force of great spiritual leaders from becoming generally known. Even among those whose power and fame have overleaped the confines of their own parish or denomination, our choice is necessarily limited to a scanty few.

* In nine volumes, New York, 1857-69. For the section entitled "The Orators and Divines," the following works, among others, have also been consulted: "American Eloquence, a Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the Most Eminent Orators of America," etc., by Frank Moore, two volumes, New York, 1895 (published 1857); "American Orations," etc., edited by Alexander Johnston, re-edited by J. A. Woodburn, four volumes, 1896-97; "The Clergy in American Life and Letters," by D. D. Addison, 1900; "A Manual of American Literature," by John S. Hart, 1878.

Clergymen as Educators.—The influence of notable preachers—not to speak of the clergy as a whole—in American life is incalculable. Outside of the church and the home, it has been most evident in higher education; until a short time since, educational leadership was vested, as it should be, in the ministers of religion. As significant as the important colleges more or less directly founded for the training of pastors is the long line of college presidents taken from the ranks of that profession. At Princeton, Jonathan Edwards, head of that institution (1758) during the last month of his life, was succeeded ten years later by John Witherspoon (1722-94), a lineal descendant of John Knox, and a signer of the American Declaration of Independence. The philosopher, James McCosh (1811-94), was eleventh president in the same illustrious succession. At Yale we have such men as the poet, Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), and his grandson of the same name (born in 1828); Jeremiah Day (1773-1867), mathematician and commentator on Edwards; Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801-89), classical scholar and authority on international law, under whose presidency was trained a generation of organizers to guide the affairs of newer universities; and Noah Porter (1811-92), whose treatise on "The Human Intellect" became a general text-book. At Union College was Eliphalet Nott (1773-1866), who, during an administration of sixty-two years, manifested consummate wisdom in the management of students. On the death of Hamilton at the hands of Aaron Burr, Nott eloquently attacked the barbarous practice of dueling. In his "Lectures on Temperance" (1823), he assisted the vigorous movement of Lyman Beecher and others against "even the common use of ardent spirits." At Harvard was the versatile Edward Everett (1794-1865), to mention

none of his predecessors. At Brown was Francis Wayland (1796-1865), the metaphysician; at Williams, Mark Hopkins, in his teaching a veritable Gamaliel. Aside from presidents, the peaceful army of college instructors chosen from the ministry is beyond reckoning—men like Frederick Henry Hedge (1805-90), a Unitarian, professor of the German language and literature at Harvard, author of "Ways of the Spirit and Other Essays," "Prose Writers of Germany," "Atheism in Philosophy," etc.; or Edwards Amasa Park (1808-1900), descended, as his first name suggests, from a celebrated stock. Park was professor of philosophy at Amherst College, and afterward professor at Andover Theological Seminary. He was a hymnologist as well as a theologian, a biographer, as in his "Life of Nathanael Emmons," and a contributor to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He had an individual, curiously periphrastic, way of putting things.

Divines as Special Students.—Although the large denominations of the Methodists and Baptists have not insisted on the possession of learning by their ministers, in their own province of scholarship, American clergymen, while rarely independent of foreign, especially German investigators, have undertaken many researches of much value. Edward Robinson (1794-1863), a professor at Andover and then at Union Seminary, made a harmony of the Gospels in Greek, and another in English, compiled a lexicon to the New Testament, and wrote on the topography of the Holy Land. In this he assisted the sagacious missionary, Eli Smith (1801-57), whose long residence in the Orient gave him peculiar advantages as a Biblical geographer. Similar advantages were enjoyed by William McClune Thomson (1806-94), and bore good fruit in

"The Land and the Book" (illustrations of the Bible from customs and scenery in the East) and "The Land of Promise, or Travels in Modern Palestine." Nor should the translation of the Scriptures into Burmese by that great apostle, Adoniram Judson (1788-1850), go unmentioned. At home, George Rapall Noyes (1798-1868), professor of Hebrew at Harvard Divinity School, translated the New Testament into English. Leonard Bacon (1802-81), pastor of the Center Church in New Haven, takes rank with the ecclesiastical historians for his "Genesis of the New England Churches." Thomas Jefferson Conant (1802-91), of the same generation, a Baptist, was a Hebrew scholar of repute, in the main devoting himself to studies on the Old Testament, and editing critical texts of the Book of Job, of Proverbs, of Genesis, and of the Psalms. Thomas F. Curtis (1815-72), President of Lewisburg University, Pennsylvania, compiled a history of the Baptist Church, publishing it in the year, 1857, when Sprague began to issue his monumental "Annals of the American Pulpit," already referred to. Still another Baptist, Horatio Balch Hackett (1808-75), for thirty-one years professor at Newton Seminary, and for five at Rochester, made himself an authority on Christian antiquities. Henry Boynton Smith (1815-77), from 1854 to 1874 taught the subject of systematic theology at Union Seminary; he is important among the church historians—not so important, of course, as the indefatigable Philip Schaff (1819-93). Born in Switzerland, educated in Germany, and recommended by the most distinguished German theologians, Schaff in 1844 accepted a call from this country to the Seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania; here he quickly established his reputation as an encyclopedist of religious knowledge. His greatest work was an edition, generously revised, of

Lange's "Commentary on the Bible." Professor William Greenough Thayer Shedd (1820-94), who taught English literature in the University of Vermont, from there migrated to the chair of Biblical literature in Union Seminary (1863-90). Besides a "History of Christian Doctrine," and other theological works, he published an edition, which has not yet been improved upon, of the works of Coleridge. William Henry Green (1825-1900), of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, an Orientalist, was a frequent writer for *The Princeton Review*. Crawford Howell Toy (born in 1836), since 1890 professor of Hebrew and related languages in the Harvard Divinity School, is the author of meritorious published researches, including a work on "The Religion of Israel" (1892) and a commentary on the Book of Proverbs. If Charles Augustus Briggs (born in 1841) had preserved all the objectivity of a scientific historian, and not turned controversialist, he probably would not have been subjected to trial by the Presbyterians on the charge of heresy. To his studies in Biblical history and the growth of dogma has often been attached the badly chosen term, "Higher Criticism," that misnomer for the historical interpretation of the Scriptures. A severe loss to American scholarship has recently come through the death of Alexander Viets Griswold Allen (1841-1908), biographer of Jonathan Edwards and Phillips Brooks, and author of "The Continuity of Christian Thought" (1884) and "Christian Institutions" (1897). In him the scholar became the constructive artist.

Writers of Hymns.—Between the publication of "The Bay Psalm Book" (1640) and the revision of Watts' version of the Psalms by Joel Barlow and by the elder Dwight at

the end of the eighteenth century, sacred poetry in America underwent much refinement. From Dwight and his generation down, the writers of hymns have been many and able. Henry Ustick Onderdonk (1789-1858), William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877), George Washington Doane (1799-1859), Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New Jersey at the age of thirty-three, Leonard Bacon (1802-81), George W. Bethune (1805-62), Samuel Francis Smith (1808-95), George Duffield (1818-88), Samuel Longfellow (1819-92), above all, Ray Palmer (1808-87), are a few of the most eminent.

Miscellaneous Preachers.—Samuel Hopkins.—A disciple of Jonathan Edwards, the institutor of the Hopkinsian form of divinity (1721-1803) sought, according to Hildreth, "to add to the five points of Calvinism the rather heterogeneous ingredient that holiness consists in pure, disinterested benevolence, and that all regard for self is necessarily sinful." He inculcated the doctrine of the free agency of sinners. A forerunner of the Garrisons, Whittiers, and Sumners, he was an early and persistent foe of negro slavery.

Nathanael Emmons.—A typical predecessor of the nineteenth century, whose great age brought him far into it, was Nathanael Emmons (1745-1840), of Connecticut, and of Wrentham, Massachusetts. He wished to be "a consistent Calvinist," yet to harmonize a difficult creed with the truths of common experience. He was an excellent reasoner on the evidences of moral government, establishing unexpected chains of inference, and from gladly accepted premises leading his hearers to less pleasant but unavoidable conclusions. "He was skilled,"

says Park, "in disentangling a theory from its adscititious matter, and scanning it alone." "He made but few gestures; his voice was not powerful; but men listened to him with intense curiosity, and often with awe." Emmons had his own conception of eloquence: "I read deep, well-written tragedies for the sake of real improvement in the art of preaching. They appeared to me the very best books to teach true eloquence." Again: "Style is only the frame to hold our thoughts. It is like the sash of a window; a heavy sash will obscure the light." And once more: "First, have something to say; second, say it." His writings—essays, sermons at ordinations, sermons at installations, funeral sermons, thanksgiving sermons, "A Sermon on Sacred Music" (1806), are numberless.

Henry Ernst Muhlenberg.—Of a different but well-known type was the son (1753-1815) of the German-American, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1742-1787). Henry Ernst was sent abroad while a boy, studied at Halle, returned, became a pastor among the Germans of Pennsylvania, and finally died at Lancaster in that state. He was endowed with an exceptional physique, walking with ease from Lancaster to Philadelphia, a distance of sixty miles. Discursive in his studies—he was an Oriental scholar and a botanist—he was tolerant in his belief, clinging to the fundamental truths of Christianity. In his discourses, he took the familiar attitude of a parent addressing his children.

Alexander Campbell.—The founder (1788-1866) of the sect known to the rest of the world as the Campbellites, a man of prodigious energy, was without question one of the remarkable spirits of his time. His writings, over

fifty volumes, represent but a moiety of his labors: he built printing-presses in the interests of his movement for religious reform; he debated in public with all comers—for example, in 1829 with the infidel, Robert Owen. Self-possessed on the platform, he indulged in little action, and he spared his voice. But his distinct and beautiful enunciation expected and received attention, his audience listening, as to a master, in perfect silence.

William Ellery Channing.—Although "he lacks critical acumen," "lacks also the sentiment of great originality," "lacks that which America has so far lacked—high intellectual culture, critical knowledge," "does not know the general result of what is known to his age," still Channing (1780-1842), in the words of Renan, "has been unquestionably the most complete representative of that exclusively American experiment—of religion without mystery, of rationalism without criticism, of intellectual culture without elevated poetry—which seems to be the ideal to which the religion of the United States aspires." An exemplary student at school and college (Harvard), Channing went to the South as a private tutor. His path being deflected into the ministry, he returned to New England, and was installed (1803) in the Federal Street Church at Boston. In this church he was active for twenty years, and he was at least the nominal head of it for forty. His health was delicate, and his capacity for continued exertion limited. Channing's religion might be described as a form of ethics, allied to the political doctrines of Rousseau, too simple and theoretical for common life, and in the main salutary so far as it was a generous reaction against the harsher tenets of Calvin. The severity of Calvinism, that "vulgar and frightful theology," in his

eyes inevitably led to gloomy superstition. "God is good," he kept repeating, and human nature in its origin also good. "He... fell in with those who consider the human race to be actually degenerated by the abuse of free will. In Jesus Christ he recognized a sublime being, who had wrought a crisis in the condition of humanity, had renewed the moral sense, and touched with saving power the fountains of good that were hidden in the depths of the human heart." Channing wrote no books; his literary remains consist of essays, sermons, and addresses. His "Discourse on the Fall of Bonaparte" (1814), his lecture on "Self-Culture," and his "Address on West India Emancipation" (1842) display various aspects of a beautiful and courageous personality.

Horace Bushnell.—"I have never been a great agitator, never pulled a wire to get the will of men, never did a politic thing," said Bushnell (1802-76). He graduated at Yale in 1827; from 1833 until 1859, when he retired on account of ill-health, he had charge of the North Church in Hartford, Connecticut. Thereafter he devoted his time to the preparation of special sermons and addresses, and to researches in American history and the history of his own state. He took a vital interest in political questions. Bushnell was a clear and independent thinker, without bias, not given to controversy, none the less eloquent and persuasive. His sermons were collected and widely circulated. The problems of religious experience, of suffering and evil, and of education he attempted to solve in "Nature and the Supernatural," "The Vicarious Sacrifice," and "Christian Nurture." In the last-named work he objected to the doctrine of natural depravity, contending for a gradual development in the child of the religious senti-

ment and the higher imagination, as against a sudden and crucial "conversion." Among Congregationalists the supposed latitude of his theological opinions involved him in the charge of a leaning toward Unitarianism.

Theodore Parker. — In his day, Theodore Parker (1810-60) was considered the most daring of rationalists, and so "advanced," as we now call it, in his beliefs or disbeliefs as to be outside the pale of Christianity. Present day rationalists find him a congenial spirit. He was a man of undoubted genius, caustic, flashing, vehement, incessant in labor, dying early from sheer exhaustion. His collected works in fourteen volumes (edited by Miss Cobbe) reveal the nature of his industry. He was unweariedly accurate in detail, being determined to leave no pebble unturned in his search for truth. His sermon on "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity" (1841) and "A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion" (1842) gave evidence of his departure from the accepted form of Unitarianism. In 1845 he openly broke away, regarding the Church as an unnecessary organization. In general, his criticism was destructive, and his attention to detail not balanced by powers of synthesis. His own convictions like iron and brooking no denial, he disregarded the tenderest feelings of other men, and in a mistaken sense of duty would trample under foot those things which his neighbor might hold most sacred. His intellect flourished at the expense of his imagination, and his want of perspective resolves itself into a defect of taste, all the more injurious through the violence of his affections. This man, most cordially hated and feared by those whom he opposed, most ardently loved by his friends, would shed tears like a child when he met with a trivial act of kindness.

The Beechers.—Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) represents the other extreme, of traditional orthodoxy, and the reaction against the trend of Unitarianism. He was a stern and virile personality, rigorous in habit, and in his expectation of righteousness in others, withal friendly and benign. His son, Henry Ward Beecher (1813-87), according to the testimony of the daughter and sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, as a child was deficient in verbal memory — a thing which he never outgrew, — diffident, sensitive, thick and indistinct in his speech. In the midst of a talented family that was much given to theological argument, his powers were gradually developed. At Laurenceburg, Ohio, his first charge, he was sexton as well as preacher. He came before the public through his defense of the negro in *The Cincinnati Journal.* At Indianapolis his reputation grew, for his independent spirit and direct, informal style proved very attractive; and when he had been called to Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, the people crowded over from New York to hear him. Beecher studied every-day life in the streets and shops of the metropolis; his discourses on popular topics, good government and the like, unconventionally treated, gave his audiences what they liked. His sympathies were non-sectarian, he had his finger on the pulse of every gathering, his well of commonsense was overflowing, and he was fearless to the point of audacity, carrying the art of the mimic into the very pulpit. His preaching, in fact, sometimes bordered upon dangerous self-assertiveness. He rose to eminence, as Bacon might say, by a combination of good with questionable arts. But the mixture was mainly good. In Beecher's discussion of slavery, Calhoun, who was not easily deceived, saw that the preacher knew how to get to the bottom of his subject. His good humor, and pluck,

and immense patriotism before hostile crowds in England (1863) greatly helped to deter that nation from recognizing the Southern Confederacy.

Theorists on Pulpit Eloquence.—Beecher's "Yale Lectures on Preaching" disclose how large an element there was in his oratory of conscious adaptation of means to ends. They belong to an extensive and interesting branch of American literature, to which Phillips Brooks, J. A. Broadus, E. G. Robinson, R. S. Storrs, J. W. Alexander, and many others have made contributions. James Waddell Alexander (1804-59), son of Archibald Alexander of Princeton Seminary, left his "Thoughts on Preaching" to be published in 1864. "The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons," by John Albert Broadus (1827-95), President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, represents the theory of a trainer of preachers, himself a winning orator with a consciously developed instinct: "Everybody who can speak effectively knows that the power of speaking depends very largely upon the way it is heard, upon the sympathy one succeeds in gaining from those he addresses." To insure sympathy — his watchword, — Broadus preached without manuscript. In general, as here, his syntax is not finely moulded. With these might be mentioned another clergyman, Chauncey Allen Goodrich (1790-1860), for forty-three years professor at Yale, whose "Select British Eloquence" set a standard of illuminating scholarship.

Richard Salter Storrs.—Dr. Storrs (1821-1900), descended from a line of clergymen, was from 1846 on in high repute as a preacher in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn. He was also in demand as a lecturer, and contributed freely to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and other

periodicals. His "Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes" partly tells the secret of his own eminence; his rich voice, distinct utterance, and stately bearing further explain it. In youth a student of the law, he caught something of his eloquence from Rufus Choate. But the moral elevation of character in Storrs was the ultimate support of all his art.

T. De Witt Talmage.—In Brooklyn, where he preached from 1869 to 1894, Thomas De Witt Talmage (1832-1902) had a "Tabernacle," as it was called, to which everyone was welcome, and which commonly was filled by an audience of four thousand. In 1894 he removed to New York. For twenty-nine years the sermons of Talmage were published every week, latterly in countless journals; they have had an immense circulation, not alone in his own country, being translated into many foreign, even Asiatic languages. It is possible that no other preacher in the world has during life enjoyed so extensive and regular a following. His physical activity was unbounded, his utterance clear, though his voice was not pleasing, and his message simple, violent, and undiscriminatingly conservative. In espousing what he took to be orthodox, he was hasty and inaccurate; he was utterly careless, too, what means he used to work upon his hearers. To the cultured his writings have little worth. His value to the state and the great world is not so easily decided.

Phillips Brooks.—Phillips Brooks (1835-93), after Henry Ward Beecher the greatest pulpit orator in America since the Civil War, was a native of Boston, nurtured in the best traditions of New England. A brilliant and

popular undergraduate at Harvard, he strangely enough failed in his subsequent brief experience in teaching. He then studied for the ministry, at the Episcopal Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia. As a young rector in Philadelphia, he showed his power and fearlessness in his patriotic sermons during the Rebellion. "In their relation to the politics of the land," he contended, "the great vice of our people . . . is cowardice." He himself dared openly to lay the crime of Lincoln's martyrdom, not alone upon the assassin, but upon the supporters of slavery in the South. From Philadelphia, he went to Trinity Church, Boston, in 1869. Two years prior to his death he was made Bishop of Massachusetts. "The Yale Lectures on Preaching," delivered in 1877, "constitute," says Allen, his best interpreter, "the autobiography of Phillips Brooks. . . . It is a book which owes nothing to predecessors in the same field. . . . He confines himself to preaching as he had experienced its workings, or studied its method, or observed its power. . . . The book captivates the reader, simply for this reason alone,—the transparency of the soul of its writer, between whom and the reader there intervenes no barrier." This was the quality also of his sermons. "He stands in the pulpit," reported an observer, "smooth-faced, full-voiced, as self-reliant a man as ever occupied such a station. He indulges in few gestures; he has no mannerisms. If, under any circumstances, he might realize the popular conception of an orator, he does not betray the possibilities here. He provokes no attention to predominant spirituality by inferior vitality. There is a splendid harmony of strength, bodily and mental, which prevents the measurement of either. It is only when he is out of his desk and level with his audience that you realize his stature. In the lecture room or crowded street,

he stands like Saul among the people. The well-balanced head and strong shoulders draw your eyes at once. He dresses well, lives well, and holds his own decidedly in social circles. . . . His power is not limited to his church ministrations, nor is he making himself known by some brilliant special development. It is the whole man—mentally, morally, and spiritually, leader, helper, friend,—which is attaining such pre-eminence. But when he preaches, you are carried away to the need of men and of your own shortcomings, and have no present consciousness of the personality of the speaker. A transparent medium is the purest. You do not think of Phillips Brooks till Phillips Brooks gets through with his subject." Brooks was a wide reader and a careful and original student of church history and theological discussion; he was not the profound and searching scholar that Renan vainly sought in America. He had a roomy mind, a teeming imagination, and a heart full of generosity, energy, and optimism. He lived by admiration, hope, and love. His ideas, which were large and luminous, although they did not have the final tempering that comes from passage through the slow fire of a rigorous critical method, became vital from sharing in his warmth and purity of sentiment. "In regard to his intellectual habits and methods," remarks Allen, "one thing is clear, that Phillips Brooks worked through the poetic imagination rather than by the process of dialectics, although he could show great dialectic subtlety when occasion demanded. When we conjoin this power of the poetic imagination and his other gifts, the 'unparalleled combination of intensity of feeling with comprehensiveness of view and balance of judgment,' we can understand how he could quickly penetrate to the heart of intellectual systems, how a hint to his mind was like

a volume to others, and he preferred to work out the hint in his own way."

VI. THE SCIENTISTS.

General Remarks. — The beginnings of science in America date from colonial days and have been touched upon by Professor Tyler. The interest of Americans in science has never abated. Readers of standard scientific literature are numerous. *The Scientific American,* founded in 1845, *The Popular Science Monthly,* founded in 1872, *Science,* dating from 1883, and several other journals of science are read by many non-professional persons. The various sciences have, in the last quarter-century at least, won a place of prominence in our college curricula. The number of disinterested scientific observers and investigators has always been large. The largest scientific organization in the United States, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which developed from the old Association of American Geologists and Naturalists in 1847, now has a membership of over five thousand; and in addition to this and other general scientific bodies there is for workers in nearly every individual science a national organization, meeting regularly and publishing the results of investigations. In almost every science America has produced scholars of note; in some she has furnished leaders of the world.

This is not, of course, the place, even if the writer were competent to furnish it, for a narrative of American scientific achievement. We can only touch upon a few of the greater names in mental and moral, political and

legal, ethnological and linguistic, and natural and physical science.

Mental and Moral Science.—It cannot be said that America has taken a place of pre-eminence in the philosophical thought of the nineteenth century. English, French, and German savants still lead in this realm of thought. Yet American philosophy has made enormous strides in the last half-century and many of its exponents have won universal recognition. Porter and McCosh have expounded the views of the Scottish School; German thought has been elucidated and criticized by Harris, Bowne, and Royce; the writings of Draper, Fiske, and Schurman on the evolutionary theories of Darwin and Spencer are well known. The psychologists Ladd, Stanley Hall, Baldwin, Titchener, and James have international reputations. In the number and equipment of her psychological laboratories America leads the world. The number of periodicals devoted to psychology, ethics, and cognate sciences is considerable. Philosophical studies enjoy great favor at our universities, both as electives and as required subjects. Some of the men briefly considered below are perhaps more famous as teachers than as writers; yet all have left their mark on the philosophical thought of their day.

Francis Wayland.—Francis Wayland (1796-1865), a Baptist clergyman and for twenty-eight years (1827-55) president of Brown University, wrote several well known works on moral and political science. After graduating from Union College in 1813, he studied medicine and began practice at Troy, New York; but from 1816 on devoted himself to the ministry. His "Elements of Moral Science" (1835), his greatest work, was long a standard

text-book. "The Elements of Political Economy" appeared in 1837; "Limitations of Human Reason," in 1840; "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System of the United States," in 1842; and "Elements of Intellectual Philosophy," in 1854. Wayland is most important as a teacher of morals. For him education and religion went hand in hand. Although he was not a thinker of the highest order, his treatises were lucid, exact, and attractive. He was one of the great educational and religious leaders of his day.

Mark Hopkins.—Another great educator was Mark Hopkins (1802-87), whose birthplace was Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and who graduated from Williams College in 1824. Like Wayland, he first practiced medicine, then became a minister and teacher of moral philosophy. He was professor of moral philosophy at Williams for fifty-seven years, and president from 1836 till 1872. He wrote "The Influence of the Gospel in Liberalizing the Mind" (1831), "The Connexion between Taste and Morals" (1841), "The Evidences of Christianity" (Lowell Institute lectures, 1844), "Miscellaneous Essays and Reviews" (1847), "Moral Science" (also Lowell lectures, 1862), "The Law of Love and Love as a Law" (1869), "An Outline Study of Man" (1873), "Strength and Beauty" (1874), and "The Scriptural Idea of Man" (1883). Few men in America have been more potent as intellectual and moral forces than was Mark Hopkins. President Garfield used to say that a student on one end of a log and Mark Hopkins on the other would make a university anywhere. Great as an original thinker and expounder, he was greater as a teacher; "he built himself into the mental fabric of two generations of men."

Laurens P. Hickok.—Laurens P. Hickok (1798-1888), a Congregational clergyman, and professor successively in Western Reserve College, Auburn Theological Seminary, and Union College (of which he was virtually president 1860-68), wrote a number of philosophical and theological works, among which are "Rational Psychology" (1848), "Moral Science" (1853), "Mental Science" (1854), "Rational Cosmology" (1858), "Humanity Immortal" (1872), "Creator and Creation" (1872), and "The Logic of Reason" (1875). He also contributed to theological and philosophical reviews.

Francis Bowen.—A conservative resolutely opposed to the teachings of Fichte, Kant, and Mill on the one hand and of Darwin on the other, Francis Bowen (1811-90) is remembered as a strong and clear writer and an enthusiastic teacher. Nine years after his graduation from Harvard (in 1833), we find him editing Virgil and publishing "Critical Essays on Speculative Philosophy." He edited *The North American Review* from 1843 till 1854, then became Alford professor of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity in Harvard College. Of his voluminous writings we can mention only a few: "Lectures on the Application of Metaphysical and Ethical Science to the Evidences of Religion" (1849), "Lectures on Political Economy" (1850), "The Principles of Political Economy" (1856), an edition of "The Metaphysics of Sir William Hamilton" (1862), "Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann" (1877), and "A Layman's Study of the English Bible" (1885).

Noah Porter.—Professor of moral philosophy and metaphysics at Yale College for forty-six years, and

president of Yale University for fifteen years, Noah Porter (1811-92) made a strong impression in both the philosophical and the educational world. He was the son of the Rev. Noah Porter, for fifty years minister of the Congregational Church in Farmington, Connecticut, and graduated at Yale in 1831. He was a minister at New Milford, Connecticut, and Springfield, Massachusetts, for ten years; then he assumed his chair at Yale. His chief work, "The Human Intellect" (1868), ably champions the theistic view of the universe, and has had wide use as a text-book, as has also his "Elements of Intellectual Science" (1871). He wrote also "The Elements of Moral Science" (1885) and "A Critical Exposition of Kant's Ethics" (1886); besides several books on education, of which we may mention "American Colleges and the American Public" (1870) and "Books and Reading" (1870). He also edited the revised editions (1864, 1890) of Webster's "Dictionary."

James McCosh.—The Scottish philosophy was vigorously championed in America by President James McCosh (1811-94). Born in Ayrshire, Scotland, of a sturdy middle class family, he was educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh. His graduation essay on the Stoic philosophy won him the honorary degree of A. M. Becoming a minister of the Established Kirk, he seceded with Chalmers and rendered valuable service to the Free Church. His "Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral" (1850) laid the foundation of his fame as a philosophical writer, and doubtless led to his appointment in 1852 to the professorship of logic and metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast. From Belfast, after an active literary and educational career, he was called to the presidency of

Princeton College, and thenceforward was a distinguished figure in the American intellectual world. His numerous writings after 1868 include "The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical" (1874), "The Emotions" (1880), "Philosophical Series" (1882-85, eight volumes), "Psychology of the Cognitive Powers" (1886), "Realistic Philosophy Defended" (1887), "The Religious Aspect of Evolution" (1887), and "First and Fundamental Truths" (1894). Dr. McCosh was one of the first to point out the theological bearing of Darwinism and to announce his acceptance of it when properly understood. "Touching the thought of his time," says Professor Sloane, "at its salient points and with tremendous vitality, he constantly insisted on the few central truths of his system in their application to each new question as it arose. Incisive, intense, and real, or rather concrete in his thinking, he felt a loyalty to truth which he sought to instil with all his might into the minds of others."

William Torrey Harris.—William T. Harris (born in 1835) left Yale in 1857 to become a teacher in St. Louis, where he was superintendent of schools from 1867 till 1888. From 1889 till 1906 he was United States Commissioner of Education. Although leading a busy life as a teacher, he found time for philosophical work. He founded (1867) and has since edited *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* the first philosophical periodical in English. His "Hegel's Logic" (1890), while highly technical, is one of the clearest and most scholarly expositions of Hegelian thought. He has written also "An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy" (1889), "Psychologic Foundations of Education" (1898), and many smaller educational and philosophical studies.

John Fiske.—One of the greatest of modern expositors of science was John Fiske (1842-1901). He was born at Middletown, Connecticut, and entered Harvard as a sophomore in 1860, graduating in 1863. The works of Spencer and Darwin opened a new world to his vigorous imagination and he devoted many years to elucidating and applying their doctrines, in "Myths and Myth Makers" (1872), "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy" (1874), "The Unseen World" (1876), "Darwinism and Other Essays" (1879), "Excursions of an Evolutionist" (1883), "The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin" (1884), and "The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge" (1885). His later years were devoted to studies in American history, the events of which he interpreted as the result of evolutionary processes. His work reveals a uniform optimism.

Some Living Writers.—Among living writers on philosophical themes, space will permit the mention of only two or three. The son of Henry James, the theologian, and the brother of Henry James, Jr., the novelist, William James (born in 1842) was educated privately and at Harvard, from which he received the degree of M. D. in 1870. Two years later he became an instructor and in 1881 a full professor, the subjects of his later interest being psychology and philosophy. He has written, among a large number of books and articles, "Principles of Psychology" (1890), "The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy" (1897), "Human Immortality" (the Ingersoll Lecture, 1898), "The Varieties of Religious Experience," Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh University (1902), and "Pragmatism" (1907). Especially noteworthy is his work in analytical psychology. Always

clear and fresh in style, his writings have exerted a marked influence on thought both in Europe and in America.

Borden Parker Bowne (born in 1847), who after graduating at New York University in 1871, studied at Halle, Göttingen, and Paris, in 1876 became professor of philosophy at Boston University. He has written "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer" (1874), "Studies in Theism" (1879), "Metaphysics" (1882), "Introduction to Psychological Theory" (1886), and "Principles of Ethics" (1892).

Jacob Gould Schurman (born in 1854) has made some worthy contributions to the literature of ethics; it is a matter of regret that administrative work has of late kept him from writing more for the general public. He was born at Freetown, Prince Edward Island, and studied at Acadia College. In 1875 he won the Gilchrist Dominion Scholarship in the University of London, from which he graduated in 1877. He later studied at Edinburgh, Heidelberg, Berlin, and Göttingen, and in Italy. From 1886 till 1892 he was professor of philosophy in Cornell University, of which he became president in 1892. He has written lucid studies of "Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution" (1881), "The Ethical Import of Darwinism" (1888), "Belief in God" (1890), and "Agnosticism and Religion" (1896).

Josiah Royce (born in 1855), a Californian who studied at the University of California, Leipsic, Göttingen, and Johns Hopkins, has done much to interpret and popularize the thought of Hegel, and has made valuable original contributions to contemporary idealistic thought. His philosophical works include "The Religious Aspect of Philosophy" (1885), "The Spirit of Modern Philosophy"

(1892), "The Conception of God" (1895), "Studies of Good and Evil" (1898), "The Conception of Immortality" (1900, an Ingersoll Lecture), and "The World and the Individual" (1900-01). A close thinker, he writes in a remarkably fresh, vigorous, and informal style.

Political and Legal Science.—In the fields of political, economic, social, and legal science the most that can be claimed for American writers is that a fair number of them have achieved genuine distinction and enjoy international reputations. America is still too young to be expected to have produced independent schools of thought in these lines. What Dr. Sherwood says of the economists may have a larger application here: "The chief reason for our failure to make large contributions to economic science," he remarks in his "Tendencies in American Economic Thought," "is the same reason which explains the meagerness of our contribution to general science, viz., the all-absorbing problem of making use of the advantages within our grasp. Within a century we have been compelled to work out several most difficult problems: how to unite in a solid empire many vigorous, large, and discordant nationalities; how to stretch this empire over the adjacent territories, so as to remove dangerous enemies; how to get rid of slavery without disrupting the Union; how to make our general education keep pace with our growth in numbers and with the advance of science; how, with the rapidly shifting forms of industrial organization, to maintain purity of government and social order; how to govern an empire without an emperor; how to push forward material civilization without going backwards in intellectual and moral civilization; how to stimulate invention so as to win wealth for

all, with inadequate labor and capital." These practical problems have kept us from producing men with wealth and leisure for working out solutions of the large abstract questions raised in these sciences. Nor have our writers yet succeeded in handling large masses of facts with the skill of some foreign writers. The best comprehensive work on American institutions remains Bryce's "American Commonwealth," the work of an Englishman. Yet in Marshall, Kent, and Story we have produced some great jurists; in Wheaton, Lawrence, and Woolsey some great writers on legal science; in Carey, Wells, Walker, and George writers of commanding importance in the sphere of political economy.

John Marshall.—Pre-eminent among the jurists of America is John Marshall (1755-1835), for thirty-four years Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Marshall served as an officer in the Revolution; in 1780, being without a command, he attended Chancellor Wythe's lectures on law at William and Mary College. Entering upon the practice of law, he quickly became known for his acumen. His accession to the Supreme Court bench (1801) marks an epoch in our legal and constitutional history. He had, as it were, to blaze a trail. The Constitution had been adopted; it had yet to be construed. A thousand questions arose as to what it meant, what it included, what it was meant not to include. Marshall's decisions, recorded in thirty-two volumes of reports, reveal the impartial workings of a master legal mind. Such men do not often appear; it was fortunate that the American government in its early years was guided by Marshall's constitutional constructions. They virtually form a system of law, a system which has not since been

seriously modified. "The judge who rears such a monument to his memory," says Mr. Magruder, his biographer, "will never be forgotten; in the united domain of English and American jurisprudence there are not half a dozen such memorials; but not the least distinguished is that of Marshall."

James Kent.—It has been said of Kent's "Commentaries upon American Law" (1826-30) that they had a deeper and more lasting influence upon the American character than any other secular book of the nineteenth century. James Kent (1763-1847) graduated from Yale in 1781 and then practiced law, first at Poughkeepsie, and after 1793, in New York City. In the same year he became professor of law in Columbia College. The Federalist leaders rapidly advanced him; he was made Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court in 1804 and Chancellor in 1814. Retiring in 1823, he resumed his teaching at Columbia, and later published many of his lectures in the "Commentaries." His chancery decisions, to be found in Caines' and Johnson's reports, were of fundamental importance, and form the basis of American equity jurisprudence.

Joseph Story.—With Chancellor Kent, Joseph Story (1779-1845) shares the glory of having laid the foundations of American equity jurisprudence. Story graduated from Harvard in 1798 and was admitted to the bar in 1801. Becoming a leader of what was later the Democratic party, in 1808 he entered Congress and in 1811 was appointed an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. From 1829 on he was also a professor of law at Harvard. For some time after Marshall's death

he was acting Chief Justice. Many of his opinions in patent and admiralty law are still authoritative. Some of his writings are "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States" (1833), "The Conflict of Laws" (1834), "Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence" (1835-36), and treatises on agency, partnership, bills, and notes.

Henry Wheaton.—Less known than Story, yet in his day a prominent figure in the legal world was Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), of Providence, Rhode Island, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1802. He was a lawyer, an editor, and a diplomatist (from 1837 till 1846 Minister Plenipotentiary to Prussia). His "Elements of International Law" (1836, republished in several editions, and translated into French, Chinese, and Japanese) remains one of the leading authorities. Another important work was his "Histoire du progrès des gens en Europe depuis le paix de Westphalie jusqu'au Congrès de Vienne" (1841, English translation 1846). He was widely respected for sound learning and diplomatic ability.

Francis Lieber.—Francis Lieber (1800-72), a native of Berlin and a Ph. D. of the University of Jena (1820), came to America virtually a political exile, and though an ardent worshiper of freedom, was at first, as Dr. Harley remarks, obliged to make his home in the very heart of the slave power. For twenty-one years he was professor of history and political economy in South Carolina College, being "the first great teacher in this country of history and politics as co-ordinated subjects." From 1856 till 1860 he held the chair of political economy in Columbia College; and from 1860 till his death he was

professor of political science in the Columbia Law School. The great works on which his fame rests are his "Political Ethics" (1838), "Legal and Political Hermeneutics" (1839), and "Civil Liberty and Self-Government" (1853). In writing these books he was a pioneer, and pointed out some important principles of American liberty. In his later years he gave much attention to international and military law. From his proposals originated the Institut de Droit International, started at Ghent in 1873, "the organ for the legal consciousness of the civilized world."

William Beach Lawrence.—Another writer whose name is linked with Columbia College is William B. Lawrence (1800-81). Born in New York City, he graduated from Columbia in 1818, was admitted to the bar in 1823, and gave attention chiefly to international law. For a time he lectured at Columbia on political economy, defending free trade. Removing to Rhode Island, he served as acting Governor in 1852. In 1872-73 he lectured on international law in Columbian University at Washington. His works are marked by breadth of view and soundness of judgment. They include "The Bank of the United States" (1831), "Institutions of the United States" (1832), "Discourses on Political Economy" (1834), "The Law of Charitable Uses" (1845), "Commentaire sur les éléments du droit international" (1868-80), and "The Treaty of Washington" (1871).

Theodore Dwight Woolsey.—Theodore Woolsey (1801-89) had a varied preparation for his notable career. Graduating at Yale in 1820, he studied law in Philadelphia, theology at Princeton, and Greek at Leipsic, Bonn, and Berlin. From 1831 till 1846 he was professor of

Greek at Yale. Becoming president of Yale in 1846, he thenceforward confined his teaching to history, political science, and international law, and became eminent as a writer on subjects in these fields. Among his works are "An Introduction to the Study of International Law" (1860), "Essays on Divorce and Divorce Legislation" (1869), "Political Science" (two volumes, 1877), and "Communism and Socialism, in Their History and Theory" (1880).

Henry Wager Halleck.—Chiefly known as a soldier, and as general of the armies of the United States from July, 1862 till March, 1864, Henry W. Halleck (1815-72) was after all more skilled in the science of war than in its practice in the field. He studied at Union College and West Point, from which he graduated in 1839. Before the Lowell Institute in 1845 he lectured on the science of war; his lectures, published as "Elements of Military Art and Science," were much used later as a training manual. The chief of his other works, "International Law, or Rules Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War" (1861), abridged in 1866 for college use, still ranks amongst the highest authorities.

Henry Charles Carey.—In his day the foremost champion of governmental protection to private industry was Henry C. Carey (1793-1879). The eldest son of Matthew Carey, the Philadelphia publisher, he devoted his early years to carrying on the bookselling and publishing business, retiring in 1835. His essay on "The Rate of Wages" (1835) was soon expanded into "The Principles of Political Economy" (1837-40), which found favor abroad and was translated into Swedish and Italian. His

other leading works were "The Credit System of France, Great Britain, and the United States" (1838), "The Past, the Present, and the Future" (1848), "Letters on the International Copyright" (1853), "The Principles of Social Science" (1858), and "The Unity of Law" (1873). Carey was originally a free-trader, but early became a supporter of protection on the ground of temporary expediency. Some of his views have been attacked as unwarranted and dogmatically expressed; it must be conceded, however, that he had a strong grasp of facts and that his works are an invaluable contribution to economic and social science.

David Ames Wells.—For many years, it is safe to say, the leading economist in America was David A. Wells (1828-98). He was descended from Thomas Welles, governor of Connecticut in 1655-58, was born at Springfield, Massachusetts, and was graduated from Williams College in 1847 and from the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard in 1852. For some years he taught physics and chemistry, and was engaged also in writing school text-books on these subjects. An essay ("Our Burden and Strength") on the resources and financial ability of the United States (1864) brought Wells into prominence, while it did much to restore confidence in the Federal Government. President Lincoln summoned Mr. Wells to Washington, and appointed him chairman of the Revenue Commission of 1865-66. As special commissioner of the revenue (1866-70) he completed vast reforms in the complex system of revenue which had grown up during the war. Thereafter he was largely engaged in writing and speaking on economic topics. Among his books are "Robinson Crusoe's Money," illustrated by Nast (1876),

"Our Merchant Marine; How It Rose, Increased, Became Great, Declined, and Decayed" (1882), "Practical Economics" (1885), "A Study of Mexico" (1887), "The Relation of the Tariff to Wages" (1888), and "Recent Economic Changes" (1898).

Francis Amasa Walker.—Born in Boston, Francis A. Walker (1840-97) graduated from Amherst at twenty, then served in the Union army, becoming a brigadier-general. In 1869 he was put at the head of the Bureau of Statistics; he was superintendent of the Ninth and the Tenth Census, and held other prominent positions, including (1873-81) the professorship of political economy and history at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale and (1881-97) the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was a prolific writer; of his economic works we can mention only "The Indian Question" (1874), "The Wages Question" (1876), "Money" (1878), "Money in Its Relations to Trade and Industry" (Lowell Institute lectures, 1879), "Political Economy" (1883), "Land and Its Rent" (1883), and "International Bimetallism" (1896). Walker's influence as an economist was felt especially in connection with the theory of wages. "The central idea of his theory," says Dr. Sherwood, "that the amount of wages under free competition tends to equal the product due to the labor, has been generally accepted, although not altogether as the direct result of his writing."

Henry George.—The theories of Henry George (1839-96) have been widely discussed. They were first put forth in "Our Land and Land Policy" (1871), in which he held that the burden of taxation should be borne by the land and not by industry, and that thus