



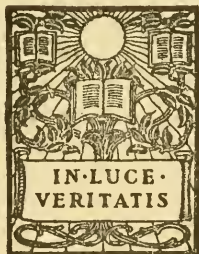




SONS
OF THE PURITANS

SONS OF THE PURITANS

A Group of Brief Biographies



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INTRODUCTION

The eleven men whose careers are described in this book were all efficient servants of the public welfare. They were successful men of affairs, but each of them owed his efficiency to a certain moral idealism which is a part of the Puritan inheritance. In their various callings and professions these men were dominated by ideals of private honor and public serviceableness which made their careers different from those of men who seek selfish ends. Their conception of life and its uses was derived from impulses and traditional feelings in the blood, which are the distinctive, though not the exclusive, characteristics of men of the Puritan descent.

These men illustrate many different forms of usefulness. One was a United States senator, two were governors of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a fourth was an able municipal administrator. One was a renowned jurist, another a beloved physician, another an influential editor and teacher, another a great preacher, another a brilliant soldier, another an adminis-

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trator of corporate trusts, another a lover of beauty and promoter of the health and recreation of the people. They were as diverse in temperament as in vocation. Governor Wolcott was the embodiment of chivalric charm and Dr. Wyman of genial wisdom and ceaseless activity. Colonel Russell was quick in decision and alert in motion; Judge Gray was deliberate and majestic. Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Eliot, though men of deep feeling, were reserved and comparatively silent in company, while Senator Hoar and Governor Russell and Mr. Baldwin were expansive in speech and demonstrative in manner. General Barlow, while steadfast for the right, was not naturally sanguine or expectant of good; while Phillips Brooks overflowed with optimism, believing in the latent good in all mankind and rejoicing with buoyant confidence in the purposes of God.

But however they differed in temperament and outward habits they all illustrate one principle of conduct. They wanted to make their lives tell in the increase of freedom and the upbuilding of a happier Commonwealth. They were eager to do something for the regeneration of their fellowmen. Faith and conscience met in them and made their power. The sense of duty

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and the consciousness of responsibility were informed by the spirit of good-will. The statesmen here described were successful politicians, but not by reason of craft or timid vacillation or bending to catch the popular will. They owed their political successes, not only to their ability, but also to their integrity and independency,—their clear grained human worth and “brave old wisdom of sincerity.” The good physician did not merely make his round of visits and pocket his fees. Without any thought of his own gain or loss he spent his time and strength and ability in widening medical knowledge, in inventing means for the prevention or amelioration of disease, in founding a hospital. The man of business was also a wise leader of many philanthropic and educational enterprises, the dynamic of many a civic reform. The editor practised journalism as an art and not merely as a business. He contributed not only information, but intelligence and sound judgment. He was an initial force in forming public opinion, a reliable monitor of the public will, and an inspirer of patriotism. The judge saw things in the large way which was natural for a man of his massive frame and mind. The preacher illustrated all that is

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universal in religious thought and all that is lofty in human character. His commanding figure was a fit symbol of a generous and magnanimous nature. As the streams which move the wheels of modern industry flow from secret springs among the high hills, so the activities of these men had their source in the life of idealism, vision, and faith which was theirs by inheritance. They transmitted an undeparting and undiminished inspiration.

All of these men lived simply after the old New England fashion. In every relation of life they rang true. With all the force of their Puritan forebears they hated the things that are mean and base and unclean, and with steady enthusiasm they loved the things that are true and lovely and of good report. They were accustomed to speak their minds plainly and to go to their ends by the shortest and most sunny road. They possessed the manly reasonableness and the high-minded devotion which intelligent Americans demand in the leaders they trust and honor.

Most of these men possessed exceptional ability and all enjoyed the advantages of a good education; some inherited wealth; two or three of them had a touch of the unexplicable quality we call

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genius, and others had larger power of emotional expression than is common with New Englanders; but the qualities that gave them influence were courage and unselfish purpose and confidence in right principles. They were men who believed that this universe is ruled by a loving God and that the best way to love God is to love and serve one's fellowmen. They believed that "no man liveth unto himself alone" and that we are "all members of one another," and they tried to make those convictions practically effective in the land they loved.

We who have seen and known such men can never believe that the power of money or the enervation of pleasure can rob American life of high breeding and the sense of romantic chivalry. We know that life may still be lifted into enchantment and lit with spiritual charm. To read the record of these lives is to have our eyes and thoughts lifted to the heights of honor.

SAMUEL A. ELIOT.

I

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

BY

FRANCIS C. LOWELL

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

George Frisbie Hoar was born on Aug. 29, 1826, at Concord, Massachusetts, of pure Yankee stock. Leonard Hoar, the brother of his ancestor, was president of Harvard College from 1672 to 1675. His paternal grandfather, his two paternal great-grandfathers, and three of his great-uncles served with the Lincoln Company in the fight at Concord Bridge. His father, Samuel Hoar, was a leader of the Middlesex bar. After he had given up the regular practice of law by reason of his age, he was asked by Massachusetts to maintain before the courts of South Carolina the rights of negro seamen of Massachusetts arrested in Charleston by virtue of a statute believed to be unconstitutional. Though the Legislature of South Carolina directed the governor to expel him from the state, and though the mob of Charleston threatened him, he refused to abandon his clients, and withdrew only when some of the leading people, intending to save his life, gave him the choice of embarking with or without

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physical violence. In 1898 the New England Society of Charleston invited Senator Hoar to the city, saying that "Charleston would fain give the honored son a welcome which shall obliterate the past." Of Samuel Hoar, Emerson said that "He returned from courts and congresses to sit down with unaltered humility in the church or in the town house or on a plain wooden bench, where Honor came and sat down beside him." Two of his three sons and two grandsons in the male line have been chosen to Congress. Senator Hoar's mother was a daughter of Roger Sherman, who signed not only the Declaration of Independence, but the Association of 1774, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. Thus sprung from the seed for which God had sifted three kingdoms, Senator Hoar grew up in Concord, a rich soil for that planting. There he shared the life of New England both in tradition and in the present. The boy saw and heard the old men who fought in the Revolution, as Scott in his boyhood lived with the men of '45. Hawthorne and Thoreau walked about the village, and Emerson was the intimate friend of his family.

From a healthy boyhood Mr. Hoar went to



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Harvard, and there graduated in 1846, without difficulty or academic distinction. He turned naturally to the law, spent two years in the Law School, and studied for a year or two in the offices of his older brother and of Judge Thomas, good masters in the law. In 1849 he went to settle in Worcester, and there made his home for the rest of his life. There he died Sept. 30, 1904. The Yankee has much pride of place, believing himself the citizen of no mean city. In the heart of the Commonwealth this pride is conspicuous, and Mr. Hoar was proud of the city and county of Worcester. He knew the land, the hills, and trees, and birds; he understood the farmer's way of speech, his prejudices, and his heart. He was justly proud that at one time or another he had as his client every town in the county; and there are more than fifty. Yet he never lost his love of Concord, and he kept an undivided interest in his father's home until he was nearly seventy years old. It was a most valued possession, and he thought that if his physical or mental power should fail and he were compelled to give up his home and library in Worcester, it might provide him a home for his old age. When, however, his nephew thought that the title should

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be united in one owner, he accepted the price fixed for his share, and gave the money to Clark University to defray an expenditure which was much needed.

As a lawyer he impressed both court and jury, learned, persuasive, and sound. His heart was in his profession, and for twenty years he gave most of his time to it, remembering the while that the duties of a citizen are paramount. He served with credit and usefulness as Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature of 1851 and as Senator in 1857. The Republican party was forming to oppose the extension of slavery, and he did not doubt that it was born in Worcester County. It was the love of his youth, his maturity, and his old age. In 1868 he was tired out, and went to Europe. In his absence he was nominated for Congress. The people of his district knew him so well that their choice cannot have been quite accidental, as he afterwards suggested. He accepted the nomination, partly in order to get the rest which comes from a change of occupation, and intending to decline reelection. This intention persisted for several terms, and yielded only to reasons which he deemed of peculiar strength. Soon after his first election he was offered an

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appointment to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, but he believed that his duty to his constituents forbade his acceptance. This decision settled his career, though he did not know it at the time. After eight years' service in the House of Representatives he positively refused a renomination, and his successor was chosen in the autumn of 1876. During the short session of Congress which followed he was selected with General Garfield to represent the Republican minority of the House on the Electoral Commission. A man so trusted could hardly have remained out of public life under any circumstances, and while the Commission was sitting, the progressive wing of the Republican party in Massachusetts secured his election to the Senate.

For twenty-seven years his history in the Senate was an important part of the history of the United States. He was the adviser of President Hayes and the intimate friend of President Garfield. Notwithstanding their differences about the question of the Philippines, President McKinley relied on his judgment. In nearly every important debate he took part. The usefulness of thirty-five years' service in a legislature is not to be judged by one or two

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measures passed or defeated, however important. The chief credit for important legislation often belongs to persons outside the legislature, and the member whose thoughts are all given to one bill, however desirable, usually does more harm than good. So long as legislatures exist, the member who is in his seat day after day, and all day, laboring with intelligence to perfect the good bill, to make safe the dangerous bill, and to defeat the bad bill, will be the most useful representative. The work is not pleasant. It is infinitely laborious, and generally wearisome. In England the legislative leader is in the cabinet, and under the parliamentary system is able to shape legislation by compelling his followers to do his bidding or go into opposition. A responsible ministry implies a rigid party discipline. In the loose party discipline of Congress the task of watching legislation is more difficult. Little public credit attaches to it, and much unpopularity, for the watchman is constantly opposed to bad, foolish, and eccentric legislators, and must bear the abuse of them all. To deal with general legislation is the especial function of the chairman of the judiciary committee, a place which Mr. Hoar held for many years.

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For example: The present bankrupt law is not particularly connected with his name. It was urged upon Congress by intelligent and enthusiastic outsiders. It was opposed by men who thought it bore hardly on the debtor. As it passed, the Act was not what Mr. Hoar would have made it, but he believed it to be better than the chaos which preceded it; he helped make it as good a measure as would pass Congress, and then he helped its passage. It is said that a man, inclined to think the bill too lax, met Mr. Hoar while it was pending. "I have been reading your bill over," he said, "and, upon consideration, while it is too lenient to the debtor, yet it is not nearly so bad as I had supposed." "Hush," said Mr. Hoar. "For Heaven's sake, do not tell that to Mr. — [an opponent of all bankruptcy legislation], for I have been trying to persuade him that it lets the debtor off too easily, and is quite unjust to the creditor. He is almost ready to vote for it."

Not all Mr. Hoar's public work was done in Congress. He presided over the Republican national convention of 1880 which nominated Garfield for president. In some years this presidency of the convention is an empty honor, but

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in 1880 Mr. Hoar led the delegates of whom Senator Cameron said: "There were twenty-three men from Massachusetts who went there to keep six hundred men from doing what they wanted to, and by God, they did it."

"My life from that time [1869] has been devoted altogether to the public service." Every educated man should read these words over two or three times and consider what they mean; what sort of life that is of which Mr. Hoar spoke. It puts an end to rest and peace and gain of wealth. Ambition may be gratified, but the gratification is hard-earned. The public servant gets more abuse than the heretic or a foreign enemy. That many Englishmen who might live at ease and in pleasure give themselves to this life is a source of English strength; but in England success brings social distinction and heritable rank, which are wanting as incentives in this country. Even here all good work is not the product of pure disinterestedness, but the presence in the Senate of men whose lives have thus been long given to the public service maintains the influence of that body in the government of the United States. Mr. Hoar's way of life was simple, adapted to accomplish most effectively his day's

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work. It was frugal from necessity, taste, and habit. When, in an excess of delirium, a newspaper had charged him with idleness, luxury, and gluttony, specifying a fondness for champagne and terrapin, Mr. Hoar made answer:

. . . I never inherited any wealth or had any. My father was a lawyer in very large practice for his day, but he was a very generous and liberal man and never put much value upon money. My share of his estate was about \$10,500. All the income-producing property I have in the world, or ever had, yields a little less than \$1,800 a year; \$800 of that is from a life estate and the other thousand comes from stock in a corporation which has only paid dividends for the last two or three years, and which I am very much afraid will pay no dividend, or much smaller ones, after two or three years to come. With that exception, the house where I live, with its contents, with about four acres of land, constitute my whole worldly possessions, except two or three vacant lots, which would not bring me \$5000 all told. I could not sell them now for enough to pay my debts. I have been in my day an extravagant collector of books, and have a library which you would like to see and which I should like to show you. . . . Your "terrappin" is all in my eye, very little in my mouth. The chief carnal luxury of my life is in

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breakfasting every Sunday morning with an orthodox friend, a lady who has a rare gift of making fish-balls and coffee. You unfortunate and benighted Pennsylvanians can never know the exquisite flavor of the codfish, salted, made into balls and eaten on a Sunday morning by a person whose theology is sound, and who believes in all the five points of Calvinism. I am myself but an unworthy heretic, but I am of Puritan stock, of the seventh generation, and there is vouchsafed to me, also, some share of that ecstasy and a dim glimpse of that beatific vision. Be assured, my benighted Pennsylvania friend, that in that hour when the week begins, all the terrapin of Philadelphia or Baltimore and all the soft-shelled crabs of the Atlantic shore might pull at my trousers legs and thrust themselves on my notice in vain.

Stupidity and malice may sometimes be answered without degrading one's self or dignifying one's opponent.

To criticise Mr. Hoar is not easy to a man thirty years younger. Each generation has its own spirit, and the sons cannot enter perfectly into the spirit of the fathers. By its distance their criticism may gain in breadth of comparison, but it loses in sympathy. Only a contemporary can illustrate perfectly Senator Hoar's manner of thought and feeling.

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Bishop Lawrence has said that Samuel Hoar, nephew of the Senator, was in character the typical Puritan of this generation. That Senator Hoar was a typical Puritan of his generation no one will doubt. What does the phrase mean? Seven generations of pure blood may breed a Puritan, and they may not. The proof is in the man, not in his ancestry. The typical Puritan of the 17th century was a theologian. From his theology Senator Hoar differed so widely that Puritans who could have foreseen his heresies would probably have denied him the name of Christian. How then can his character be derived from theirs by legitimate spiritual descent, while we deny their name to men whose theology is less changed? The Puritan was a man of ideals, who looked forward, finding his satisfaction in the future, not in the present; his ideals were moral, not esthetic nor of material comfort. He was not a dreamer, but a man who used the means at hand to realize his ideal. The Puritan felt himself personally responsible for everything done on the earth. If there was a wrong, he was called to right it without fear of meddling. These two Puritan traits, idealism and a sense of responsibility, were Mr. Hoar's, together with qualities less

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important, but worthy of notice. So strong was the Puritan imagination that it had little need of material form to represent its ideals. Hence its religion was bare of ritual. The Puritan's sense of responsibility was so great that it referred to God alone, and so he dispensed with priest and ecclesiastical organization. His temper was austere, industrious, and frugal. There was, indeed, a great difference between Mr. Hoar and his Puritan ancestors. They believed that mankind was essentially vile. He believed that it was essentially noble and trustworthy—the gospel preached by Channing early in the 19th century. Hence he believed that human nature, left to itself and tested in sufficiently large mass, is a safe guide to excellence. This belief in mankind was joined to a considerable distrust of particular individuals. Like many moral idealists, he tended to think that those who did not agree with him erred morally as well as intellectually, and he did not easily make allowance for difference of opinion. As he grew older his temper sweetened by ripening, until his judgment of his opponents became full of charity.

Faithful to the political vision of his youth and young manhood, Mr. Hoar had to overcome

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difficulties of which the early Republican did not dream. The interest of his career, like that of most men of action, lies in his adaptation to new conditions. Many an abolitionist, brought up to the work of ending slavery, found his occupation gone when that work was done, and fell to praising the reformer of the past while abusing the reformer of the present. For nearly forty years after the war was over, Mr. Hoar was dealing with questions of the tariff and currency, of education, of capital and labor, of immigration and foreign policy, as well as the details of legislation. He rejoiced in his work, and never feared to undertake a job because it was new. While he did not believe education a panacea, yet, like a New Englander, he believed there was little hope for a community without it, and so he tried to aid it from the national treasury. For the most part the plan failed, but it was characteristic of Mr. Hoar, and showed that he did not fear to enlarge the functions of the national government.

He knew the need of parties in political life, and, like all public men and like most serious students, he did not dream of doing without them. Joining the Republican party

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because the end it proposed satisfied his ideal, he idealized somewhat the means to that end. There was danger that criticism of his party would defeat the end he had in view, and so do more harm than good, inasmuch as the party was of worth only for the results it accomplished. In the heat of political controversy, criticism is seldom sincere or good-tempered, and its unfairness further irritated him. To vote for a man whom he deemed dishonest was out of the question, no matter what his politics, but he saw no reason to vote for a free trader or for a candidate opposed to free elections in the South, because upright in his private business.

Conscious of his own integrity of purpose, he dealt with appointments to office. As he said, he "always held to the doctrine of what is called civil service reform," and voted for the appointment of clerks and other subordinates by competitive examination. He deemed this reform in administration, however, of less importance than the great political principles which he professed. He found in use another system of appointing many federal officers. He advised the Executive, as he was expected to do, and so distributed the patronage which was deemed to be his for the benefit of the community by

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the appointment of worthy men. On occasion he recommended Democrats, even for the most important positions, but that the appointees must be mainly Republicans was a custom which did not much disturb him. To make the chief end of government the appointment of reputable men to minor offices, did not suit his sense of proportion.

The right of men to govern themselves he believed supreme and unchangeable. The Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed the negro against discrimination in the suffrage. Mr. Hoar approved the amendment when adopted, and he did not thereafter change his mind, as did many others. He believed that the nation should make its guaranty good, and so he favored the Force Bill, so-called, and similar legislation. But at length his political sense showed him that the attempt to enforce the Amendment was impossible.

I am clearly of the opinion [he said in his autobiography] that Congress has power to regulate the elections of Members of the House of Representatives and to make similar provisions for honest elections and an honest ascertainment of the result, and that such legislation ought to be enacted and kept on the statute book and enforced.

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But such legislation, to be of any value whatever, must be permanent. If it only be maintained in force while one political party is in power, and repealed when its antagonist comes in, and is to be constant matter of political strife and sectional discussion, it is better, in my judgment, to abandon it than to keep up an incessant, fruitless struggle. . . . I thought the attempt to secure the rights of the colored people by National legislation should be abandoned until there was a considerable change of opinion in the country, and especially in the South, and until it had ceased to become matter of party strife.

Mr. Hoar was an orator and delighted in the exercise of his art. His education was in the masterpieces of Demosthenes and Cicero, of Chatham and Burke. He had heard Daniel Webster. The oratory of these men observed certain conventions from which speakers in the present generation have largely departed. Nowadays arguments are for reading or for hearing, and the two senses are appealed to by different methods. If more persons are addressed than a speaker's voice can reach, the form of argument is the printed page with paragraph and headline, italics and index, citation of authorities and appendix of statistics. To please the ear

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is hardly attempted. Even if the matter be first stated to an audience, the effect is that of reading to them a book, well or ill written, as the case may be. On the other hand, where the attempt is to convince only those who can hear, as in an argument to a jury, or in real legislative debate, permanence of expression is little regarded, and everything which does not have immediate effect on the hearers. Mr. Hoar's traditions were of the older school, and he debated for years with men still young. His style of public speech — and he took pains with it — kept some of the old formality, and had much of modern directness. He connected Webster and those of whom Lincoln was the prototype.

“I am a passionate lover of England,” he said. “Before I ever went abroad, I longed to visit the places famous in history, as a child longs to go home to his birthplace.” Yet he could see no excuse for the Boer war or for the denial of Home Rule to Ireland. He would open the door of America to all who wished to come in, without regard to poverty, or ignorance, or race. He withstood the intolerance of the Know Nothing in his youth, and thirty years later that of the A. P. A. Concerning Chinese exclusion, he said in 1902, “I hold that every

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human soul has its rights, dependent upon its individual personal worth and not dependent upon color or race, and that all races, all colors, all nationalities contain persons entitled to be recognized everywhere they go on the face of the earth as the equals of every other man." And alone in Congress he voted against the Exclusion Bill. The risk did not frighten him, for to fear was to doubt man's duty to succor the needy, to redeem the oppressed, and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. "I believe that the immortal truths of the Declaration of Independence came from the same source with the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount. We can trust Him who promulgated these laws to keep the country safe that obeys them." Even those who do not agree with Mr. Hoar, when they consider the love he won from men who differed from him in race and language, in politics and religion, may hope to remove some dangers of immigration by cultivating his hospitality.

In his political theories, as has been said, he was a radical. A change which brought liberty to some man had no terror for him. But his youth in Concord, his lawyer's training, his learning and his sentiment, made him re-

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joyce when some good thing had the charm of age.

He had exquisite pleasure in procuring the return of Governor Bradford's history to Massachusetts. To the Bishop of London, in whose library it was kept, he said, "My Lord, I am going to say something which you may think rather audacious. I think this book ought to go back to Massachusetts." The Bishop said, "I did not know you cared anything about it." "Why," answered Mr. Hoar, "if there were in existence in England a history of King Alfred's reign for thirty years, written by his own hand, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this manuscript is to us." The words are good rhetoric, but to those who heard the story from Mr. Hoar the words gave the least part of the impression.

A building of the College of William and Mary had been destroyed in the Civil War. By the laws of war the college's claim for compensation was weak, but Mr. Hoar's mananimity was roused. For twenty years in House and Senate he labored till he succeeded, learning with satisfaction that even his first unsuccessful effort created the good feeling which was the end he had most in view.

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I have said that this is not a legal claim. It is stronger and not weaker for that reason. The rule which binds nations at war to respect institutions of learning can in no way be made so effectual as by adopting the practice of reparation wherever that rule is broken. America certainly will not leave these ruins as a perpetual witness that Louis XVI, a monarch, was capable of loftier and more generous regard for learning than a republic itself. America will not leave these ruins to testify that England in the bloody and barbarous Wars of the Roses five hundred years ago was more humane and civilized than we are to-day. We cannot refuse, in dealing with the college which Washington administered and loved, to follow the example which he set us in the case of Princeton.

But William and Mary has also her own peculiar claim on our regard. The great principles on which the rights of men depend, which inspired the statesmen of Virginia of the period of the Revolution, are the fruits of her teaching. The name of Washington, to whose genius in war and to whose influence in peace we owe the vindication of our liberties and the successful inauguration of our Constitution, is inseparably connected with William and Mary. She gave him his first commission in his youth; he gave to her his last public service in his age. Jefferson, author of the Decla-

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ration of Independence, who announced the great law of equality and human rights in whose light our Constitution is at last and forever to be interpreted, drank his inspiration at her fountain. Marshall, without whose luminous and far-sighted exposition our Constitution could hardly have been put into successful and harmonious operation, who embedded forever in our constitutional law the great doctrines on which the measures that saved the Union are based, was a son of William and Mary. By the cession of the great Northwestern Territory, largely due to the efforts of one of her illustrious sons, she lost a great part of her revenues. Next to Harvard she is the oldest of American colleges. The gift of the famous Robert Boyle was held by her for many years on condition of an annual payment of £90 to Harvard. Boyle was a friend of many of the early friends and benefactors of Harvard, and a correspondent of one of its presidents. Each of these two seminaries in its own part of the country kindled and kept alive the sacred fire of liberty. In 1743, the year Jefferson was born, Samual Adams maintained, on taking his degree of Master of Arts at Harvard, the affirmative of the thesis, whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved. In this hour of the calamity of her sister college I am glad to believe that Harvard does not forget the

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ancient tie. The mother of the Otises and the Adamases would gladly extend her right hand to the mother of Jefferson and Marshall.

As he grew older Mr. Hoar seemed to enjoy more keenly the society of all sorts of people, especially the young, and the exercise of his own powers. His labors in Congress did not lessen his fresh joy of life. He welcomed invitations to make addresses, political, reminiscent, historical, and religious. The faith in mankind which had guided his youth, in his last years blended with love of individuals about him. In exuberant spirits he wrote the story of his own life, not a philosophical autobiography, verified as to dates and details, but a revelation of himself abounding in generosity to his friends and his opponents, and enlivened by good-natured wit at the expense of himself and others. "I know men," he wrote, "who have been in public life more than a generation . . . who never said a foolish thing, and rarely ever when they had the chance failed to do a wise one, who are utterly commonplace. You could not read the story of their public career without going to sleep . . . I have a huge respect for them. I can never myself attain to their excellence,

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yet I would as lief spend my life as an omnibus horse as live theirs." Belonging, as he said of a brother Senator, to a religious denomination small and unpopular, at least in Washington, he was constant in his attendance on its worship both there and at home. He attended its national councils, addressed them, and presided over them. In 1899 at the National Unitarian Conference he said, in declaring his own religious belief, "I have no faith in fatalism, in destiny, in blind force. I believe in God, the living God, in the American people, a free and brave people, who do not bow the neck or bend the knee to any other, and who desire no other to bow the neck or bend the knee to them." "I believe that a Republic is greater than an Empire." "I believe finally, whatever clouds may darken the horizon, that the world is growing better, that to-day is better than yesterday, and to-morrow will be better than to-day."

After his second election to the Senate in 1883, for twenty years Mr. Hoar enjoyed the utmost confidence of the people of Massachusetts. If the statement sounds exaggerated, the facts were unusual. The confidence existed in every political party, race, religion, and social condition. It honored alike the men who gave

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and the man who received it. It did not prevent difference of opinion. There were times when Mr. Hoar was opposed to a majority of his constituents, there was no time when he was not opposed in important matters to many of them. But whether they agreed or disagreed with him, the men of Massachusetts trusted him, and knew him as the first citizen of the Commonwealth.

At the end of his life, Senator Hoar's belief in the worth of mankind, as involving the fitness of all men to govern themselves, was tried grievously. The United States and the Republican party denied independence to the Filipinos. The defection was the more grievous because of his love for his country and his party, but he opposed them both. He voted against the treaty of annexation; he voted against the increase of the army, because he would not raise soldiers to carry on war in the Philippines. His term in the Senate was expiring, but, as he said, "I meant that if the Legislature of Massachusetts were to reëlect me, no man would ever have it to say that I bought my reëlection by silence on this question." Over and over again he denounced the policy of the administration. He did not give

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up his principles, his party, or his country. He voted for the President, with whom he agreed on other matters, rather than for the Democratic candidate, whose influence had secured the ratification of the treaty and had defeated Mr. Hoar's efforts to stop annexation at the outset. His faith in his country and his party was strong enough to assure him that at length, though after his death, they would come to his way of thinking.

Democracy does not declare that all men are of equal worth or use. If it did it would declare a lie. It is content that every man do his best for the commonwealth unhindered by privilege which does not depend on worth. As it cannot make all men of equal stature or intelligence, so it cannot — and would not — hinder a special call of some men to the service of mankind. In laziness, or idleness, or selfishness the call may come, not so loud as to dispense with the aid of any generous feeling. The traditions of his village, the training of his college, his father's honor, his mother's love, the fear of his child, may so emphasize the call as to make a man believe that on him is laid a duty or responsibility heavier than that of others. Of all generous feelings, an unbroken

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family tradition handed down for generations seems the strongest. There is hope for the ill-born, as history shows, but no democracy can deprive a man of his father's example, can give to the son of a worthless man that incentive to public virtue which descends to each son of the family of Hoar.

II
MORRILL WYMAN
BY
HENRY P. WALCOTT

MORRILL WYMAN

Morrill Wyman was born in Chelmsford, Mass., on July 25, 1812, and died at his home in Cambridge on January 30, 1903. He was the second son of Dr. Rufus Wyman, and Anne Morrill. The Wymans were early settlers in Woburn and its vicinity, and the family has given to the country many men of eminence in many callings; but none more distinguished than Dr. Rufus Wyman and his sons Morrill and Jeffries.

Rufus Wyman, after leaving college, began at once the study of medicine, and upon receiving his degree entered upon the practice of his profession at Chelmsford. His abilities were soon recognized and he gained a reputation which extended far beyond the limits of the town.

He was chosen in 1817 to be the head of the newly established McLean Asylum for the Insane. After a most faithful and successful service there of seventeen years, he resigned his place and passed the remainder of his life in

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Roxbury, where he died in 1842. He was president of the Massachusetts Medical Society and universally respected. Dr. Luther V. Bell, one of the greatest of his successors, uses these words in speaking of him:—

“Entering on his duties with no similar undertaking for an example to guide him, the weight of difficulty and responsibility which necessarily fell upon him must have been far greater than any of his successors in such trusts, who have had the aids of his ingenuity and labors, can have experienced. What is due to his memory as a public benefactor can never be realized or appreciated except by the small number whose opportunities and duties enable them to judge of the difficulties he encountered and the means he projected to meet them.” He was also singularly averse to any notoriety except such as might come to him from the small number of those really capable of adequately judging the quality of his work. The qualities which distinguished the father were equally marked in the two sons, who devoted themselves to the same profession.

Morrill and Jeffries prepared for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, entered Harvard together, and were graduated in the Class of 1833.



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They received their medical degrees in 1837; though Morrill had immediately after his graduation from college spent six months as a member of a party of engineers who were employed in laying out the route of the Boston and Worcester Railroad. His medical studies were directed by his father and his father's friend, Dr. William J. Walker, of Charlestown.

Dr. Walker had had all the advantages of a medical education in France and England, during the years when Corvisart, Pinel, Laennec, and Dupuytren taught in the capital of one country and Sir Astley Cooper in the capital of the other. Walker's success in his profession was great, and until he suddenly abandoned his practice in 1846, he was one of the leading surgeons of the state. Whatever may have been Walker's failings in any other direction, his relations to his favorite pupil were such that the latter cherished for him an admiration and devotion that never wavered.

For a year Wyman was house physician at the Massachusetts General Hospital, where he had the good fortune, never forgotten, of serving under James Jackson, "the model of the good and wise physician," and Jacob Bigelow, "the most accomplished man of our profession."

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The house surgeon of the year was Samuel Parkman, an intimate and much loved friend, whose death in the prime of early manhood took from medicine one of its brightest ornaments.

Upon leaving the hospital he at once established himself in Cambridge and remained there to the end. Though his early professional life was a busy and very successful one, he found time to compete for the Boylston Medical Prize, which he received in 1846 for an essay on ventilation. This was published in the same year increased to a volume of 400 pages; it is a thoroughly original treatise illustrated by a number of ingenious experiments.

Dr. J. S. Billings, one of the best authorities upon this subject, says of the book, "It is one of the most valuable that we have; it states the general principles of ventilation in a clear, concise style and in a form which, as a means of instruction for the ordinary reader, can hardly be surpassed, and is one of the few books on heating and ventilation which advocates no patent or proprietary apparatus."

Two years later he prepared, in behalf of a committee of the American Academy, a report upon the effect of various forms of outlet cowls for chimneys. This paper, published with the

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Academy's Proceedings for 1848, is still quoted in the best treatises upon heating and ventilation.

The interest which he here showed in a subject of prime importance to both the sick and the well remained with him through life. A few weeks only before his death he was busy measuring with an anemometer the air currents in various portions of the Cambridge Hospital. At a later day he again entered the field with success as a competitor for a prize offered by the Massachusetts Medical Society for an essay which should describe in plain language an effective and ready method of ventilating sick rooms.

Twenty-six essays were received, and to one marked X Y Z the prize was awarded, this having met all the requirements of "simplicity, cheapness, effectiveness, and readiness of application." X Y Z refused to reveal his name and requested that the prize money be expended in the publication of the essay. For those familiar with his language and his methods, the letters were a thin veil before the man, who made it his business at all times to use a phraseology so plain that all might understand it.

An operation for the opening of the chest

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in order to remove the collections of fluids there had been known to medicine from the days of Hippocrates. It was dangerous and difficult in execution and uncertain in its results. With the greater knowledge of all diseases of the chest, consequent upon the discovery of modern auscultation and percussion, it had seemed to many men that a safer operation than the one in use might be devised; this had not, however, been accomplished.

Dr. Wyman had thought much upon the subject, and early in the year 1850 put into use the simple operation which he had invented. It saved the life of a woman near to death and in great suffering.

Dr. Henry I. Bowditch had bestowed much thought on the same problem; he heard with pleasure of his friend's success and invited him to perform the same operation upon a patient who had consulted Dr. Bowditch in similar circumstances. The operation again brought prompt relief, and its place among the great gains to medicine in America was secure.

With characteristic modesty Dr. Wyman felt that his task, so far as it related to the general publication of the merits of the new operation, was completed. He knew that his friend would

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see to it, as he did, that the medical world should be fully acquainted with the discovery; he knew also that no credit to which he had a claim would be taken from him, and it would have been an undeserved indignity to both to have even hinted the possibility of it.

From 1853–1856 he was adjunct Hersey Professor of Medicine in Harvard College for the purpose of relieving Dr. John Ware, whose infirm health required assistance in his duties. During the year of Dr. Ware's absence in Europe, Dr. Wyman gave all the instruction in this department. In 1856 he resigned his office; the methods of the Medical School of that day do not appear to have been altogether congenial to him. But whatever may have been the causes of his early withdrawal from a professorship in which he had been eminently successful, they never led him to lose his interest in the teaching of medicine in the University.

In the early part of the year 1857, in connection with his brother Jeffries, Hersey Professor of Anatomy, Dr. John Ware, and Professor J. P. Cooke, he became a teacher in a school of medicine in Cambridge, he giving the instruction in materia medica and midwifery. The school had a fair measure of success and

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a list of students whose names are well and favorably known to-day in many parts of the country.

When Jeffries Wyman assumed the curatorship of the Peabody Museum, the school came to an end. In fact the real inducement that led Morrill Wyman to take part in this school was the desire to give to his brother a somewhat larger field for the teaching of anatomy than that offered by his college professorship.

With some other members of his family, he had been a lifelong sufferer from an autumnal catarrh, corresponding in its symptoms to the affection described by Bostock in 1829 as *catarrhus aestivus*, rose or June cold. The form of the disease from which Dr. Wyman suffered had not hitherto attracted the attention of medical men, and was first accurately described by him in his lectures to the students of the Medical School in 1854. In 1866 he brought the subject to the attention of the Massachusetts Medical Society and gave to the malady the name autumnal catarrh, adopting the general nomenclature of Dr. Bostock, a title which commended itself much to his favor, because it involved no theory as to the cause of

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the disease. In 1876 he published a volume of 200 pages upon the subject.

Early in his career he was elected fellow of the American Academy and was for many years a very active member of the Rumford committee of that body. In addition to a number of papers presented to the Academy upon the subject of ventilation, he prepared and presented in 1887 an elaborate memoir of his friend Daniel Treadwell. Dr. Wyman had many of the qualities peculiar to his associate; the tendency of their minds was essentially experimental. Both had the ingenuity of the mechanical inventor and the philosopher's passion for truth.

At eighty-five he regarded himself as no longer subject to the calls of those seeking medical assistance; as a matter of fact, he recorded in his case book the attendance upon a limited number of his old patients as late as June, 1902. Rest in the sense of inactivity was not possible for him; and his activities had always some definite and useful object in view. It might be an observation upon the ventilation of the hospital, or possibly he was busy over some disabled mechanical contrivance which his deft hand could still correct.

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Always active in the council of the Massachusetts Medical Society, he was chosen in 1863 to deliver the annual address; his father had received the same honor in 1830 and had made it the occasion for a statement of the great work of his life. The son took the same serious view of the opportunity offered to him and undertook the defense of his art, as one who knew it thoroughly and believed in it, and there is not one in this long series of anniversary addresses more worthy of notice and faithful study. His subject was the "Reality and Certainty of Medicine." By an interesting coincidence, an important measure proposed by him at a previous meeting of the council was unanimously adopted at the meeting to which the president of the society announced Dr. Wyman's death.

The Cambridge which he first knew was a village; when he died it was a great city. He had lived through great events in country, in state, and in city — had watched them all with eager eyes, sometimes inclined to blame but more often to approve. He was interested in all the affairs of the community in which he lived, but he never allowed them to interfere with the

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real business of his life — the care of the sick.

In 1866 the whipping of a girl of sixteen years in one of the public schools of Cambridge attracted the attention of the citizens and filled Dr. Wyman with a righteous indignation. The school committee declared the punishment to be strictly within the rules established for the government of the schools and were unwilling to change the rules. By all reasonable means, a number of citizens among whom he was foremost endeavored to secure from the committee some regulation sufficient to prevent the corporal punishment of a young woman of this age. All efforts were in vain, and as a last resort he carried in a citizens' caucus a resolve that the corporal punishment of girls should be abolished in each and every school in the city. The next city election changed the character of the school committee and a more humane rule was established. His efforts in this cause were always remembered by him with great content, and rightly so, for to him more than to any other man belonged the credit of the reform. He had through it all the cordial support of his old close and tried friend, Dr. W. W. Wellington, to whom the public school system of

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Cambridge owes much. Two of the public schools of the city now bear the names of Wellington and Wyman.

Several members of his family had suffered from a disease of the lungs and he too had received a serious warning, in middle life, that he was not exempt from the inherited disability. Beyond a brief vacation in Europe — the first respite he had given himself in seventeen years from the burdens of a very large practice — he apparently bestowed but little attention upon his own condition, was at his work in all weathers, at all hours of the day and night, and in a course of treatment which he could not have recommended to a patient conquered the malady. His extensive and time-consuming practice did not prevent him from keeping fully abreast of the best medical literature of the times, and few men in the profession had a better knowledge of the works of the fathers of medicine.

He was a good citizen, and interested himself in the first duties of a citizen; on the cold bleak morning of the last municipal election in Cambridge he quietly walked over to the polling place and cast his vote before the larger part of his neighbors were astir.

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Among the various interests that centred in Cambridge, no one was greater, next to his patients, than the College and his friends who were in charge of it. Intimately associated with all the great men who, during the past seventy years, have taught here, he had himself served the University in many useful capacities. Professor from 1853-56, he was elected member of the Board of Overseers in 1875 and reëlected in 1881. In 1885 the College bestowed upon him its highest honorary degree, and he was a member of the visiting committee of the Overseers to the Medical School and active there until the end.

The record of his services to medicine and the medical charities of Cambridge will remain. His friends will not forget the well-built, well-kept figure, the serious but kindly and always impressive face, the alert and vigorous movements of the body, that never grew to be infirm; and above all the man himself, tender-hearted, tireless in service, sagacious, full of courage, impatient of opposition perhaps with regard to questions upon which his own mind was made up and sometimes aggressive, but never forgetful of the rights or interests of others.

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No person in all the wide circle of his acquaintance ever doubted that he would speak the truth that was in him or be ready to acknowledge the truth that was in another. He, too, was a model of the good and wise physician.

III
HORACE GRAY
BY
EZRA RIPLEY THAYER

HORACE GRAY

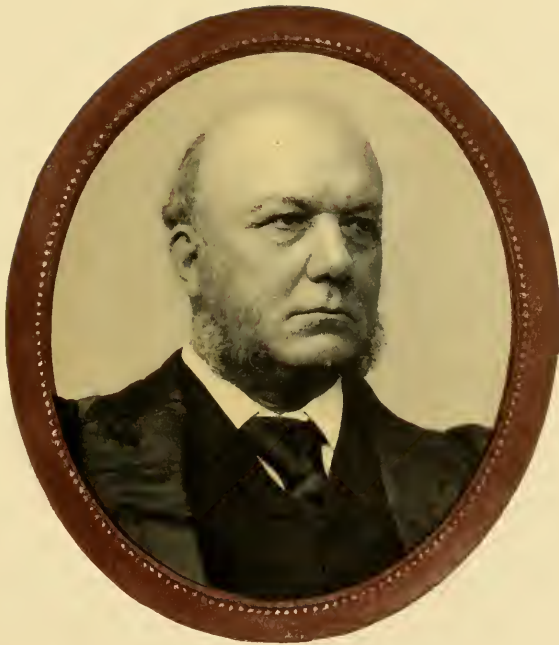
Horace Gray was born in Boston on March 24, 1828, of the best New England stock. His father was Horace Gray, a leading Boston merchant. His mother was Harriet Upham, the daughter of Jabez Upham, of Brookfield, who was a member of the National House of Representatives, and a celebrated lawyer. His grandfather, William Gray, a State Senator and Lieutenant-Governor, is said to have been the largest ship-owner of his day in the United States. He owned at one time sixty square-rigged merchant vessels. William Gray married Elizabeth Chipman, who came of a family of much legal and judicial eminence, and was herself distinguished for charitable works.

Horace Gray the younger graduated at Harvard in 1845. After leaving college he traveled much in Europe. He had at first no thought of becoming a lawyer. Referring to his plans at this time, Mr. Charles Francis Adams has said, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, "In the very last talk I had

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with him, on the gallery of his house overlooking the sea about Nahant, a few weeks only before his death, referring to that unformed period, he told me that, in all human probability, had Professor Agassiz come to this country two years earlier than he did, he (Gray) would have been a scientific man. At college his inclination had been to natural history; for, outgrowing his strength while a boy,—at the age of twelve he had attained the full height which always afterwards made him noticeable,—he was threatened with pulmonary troubles, and an open-air life with gun and rod was prescribed for him. So, for a time, he devoted himself to the study of birds and butterflies, while, almost to the close of his life, he was an eager angler.”

Circumstances, however, made it necessary for him to choose a profession, and he decided to study law. Accordingly he entered the Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1849. He then read law in Judge Lowell's office, was admitted to the bar in 1851, and practiced his profession in Boston. After 1857 he was in partnership with Judge Hoar. From 1854 to 1861 he served with distinguished excellence as Reporter of Decisions for the Supreme Judicial Court. The value of a report-



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er's work and its possibilities in point of completeness, elegance, and brevity are shown in no better example than the sixteen volumes of reports bearing his name. While he did not take an active part in politics, he was deeply interested in public questions. He was one of the early members of the Free Soil party, and later of the Republican party, and in 1857, in collaboration with Judge Lowell, he published a learned and powerful pamphlet, which attracted much attention, on the decision in the Dred Scott case.

On Aug. 23, 1864, he was appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court by Governor Andrew, who had already learned the value of his advice on the weighty questions which arose during the Civil War. He was made Chief Justice of Massachusetts by Governor Washburn in 1873, and continued in that position until he took his place on the Supreme Court at Washington, and as his resignation had not taken effect when he died he never ceased in thirty-eight years to hold office as a judge.

The Massachusetts Reports contain an enduring record of much of Chief Justice Gray's judicial service to his native State. But there was an important part of his work — very im-

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portant then, because the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court as a trial court was more extensive than it is now — of which there is no written record. Of this his intimate and lifelong friend, Senator Hoar, has said: “ He was an admirable *Nisi Prius* judge. I think we rarely have ever had a better. He possessed that faculty which made the jury in the old days so admirable a mechanism for performing their part in the administration of justice. He had the rare gift, especially rare in men whose training has been chiefly upon the bench, of discerning the truth of the fact, in spite of the apparent weight of the evidence. That court, in its time, had exclusive jurisdiction of divorces and other matters affecting the marital relations. The judge had to hear and deal with transactions of humble life and of country life. It was surprising how this man, bred in a city in high social position, having no opportunity to know the modes of thought and of life of poor men and of rustics, would settle these interesting and delicate questions affecting so deeply the life of plain men and country farmers, and the unerring sagacity with which he came to the wise and righteous result.”

Traditions which are still strong in Massa-

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chusetts tell of the respect which he himself paid and exacted from others to the dignity of the court. If at times his lofty view of the judicial office led to manifestations of some severity, the consequences did not fail to show his kind heart and large nature.

On Dec. 20, 1881, he was commissioned by President Arthur as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and on Jan. 9, 1882, he qualified and took his seat on that bench.

His views and habits of thought made the appointment very appropriate. With a broad idea of the powers of the National Government, which showed itself soon, and finely, in his opinion in the *Legal Tender* case, he combined a high conception of the sovereignty of the States and the warmest love for his own Commonwealth. His learning in its legal history and tradition was unequalled, and his twenty years' residence in Washington did not dull in the least his local pride as a citizen of Boston. Throughout his opinions on constitutional questions there is to be found a happy mean between the views of those judges who have hesitated before a free view of federal authority and those who have been disposed to press that authority too far.

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He was also singularly fitted to deal with the questions of international and public law with which the Supreme Court has so much to do. It marked the quality of his mind that with all his extraordinary learning in the common law, and his positive delight in details of practice,* he had no less interest in those larger matters on the border line of our system of law which have wakened so little interest in many a learned common lawyer. This narrowness of view in the "mere municipal lawyer," upon which he would sometimes comment, was far from his own habit of thought. Indeed it is with questions of international law that many of his greatest judgments are concerned.

He had always before his mind the character of his decisions as a precedent; and no consideration affecting the exigencies of the particular case ever caused him to lose sight of its wider influence in the future. His first and last care was 'that the law be not wounded;' and to that

* Judge Lowell has said, in an admirable memoir printed in the proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 39, p. 629, "It is literally true, I believe, that, without notice, he could have discharged in any American or English court the duties of any officer from crier to chief justice, so that his example would have profited the regular incumbent."

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end he spared no pains that every one of his opinions might come as near to absolute perfection as he could bring it. His industry never hurried and never tired; and he gave to every point which he considered, whether in an opinion of his own or another's, the same enthusiastic interest. He studied the briefs with scrupulous care; he searched the stores of a memory which seemed nothing less than complete and infallible; and he pushed his research in every conceivable direction with a thoroughness which was the despair of the observer. To quote again from Senator Hoar, "his wonderful capacity for research, the instinct which, when some interesting question of law was up, would direct Gray's thumb and finger to some obscure volume of English Reports of Law or Equity, was almost like the scent of a wild animal or a bird of prey." He liked best to do his thinking aloud and develop his views of a case by discussion. In this way his secretary, who was each year a student fresh from the Law School, had the rare privilege of following his opinions as they were formed; and his secretaries will recall, with warm gratitude, his unvarying kindness and consideration, and the patient courtesy with which he would hear to the end the crudest deliverances of

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youth. His flexibility of mind and willingness to reëxamine without bias or pride of authorship his own earlier views were wonderful in a man of his strong convictions. In point of fact no view was accepted by him because it seemed to be settled by decision, and no theory denied full consideration because it was new. After his matter had been absolutely digested in his mind he would write it out with his own hand, with a characteristic scorn of stenography as of other modern improvements, not relaxing his care and study until the last comma in the proof had been considered. Always in the end his opinion (to quote from one of the beautiful tributes to his colleagues which are not the least remarkable among the records of his service as Chief Justice of Massachusetts) “had that clearness of statement which was the result of clearness of apprehension, and which made the matter under discussion plain to every hearer — so plain indeed that one did not always appreciate the extent of one’s obligation to him.”

It is sometimes said that his opinions are the product more of great learning than of original thinking. This impression is due in part to the historical turn of his mind which is so conspicuous in his opinions. But it is also largely

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caused by a conception of the judge's duty which it may well be thought he carried to an extreme, but to which he held with the strength that characterized all his views on questions of principle and obligation. In the matter of giving credit to others his standards were the highest applicable to forms of literature in which originality is a more essential quality than in opinion writing, and he would say nothing as his own which another judge had said before him. His secretary would often urge him to incorporate in his opinion the forcible and brilliant original reasoning by which he had reached his conclusion in oral discussion. But he would only answer, "You will find it all there" (indicating a passage where another judge had said something like it, but generally not half so well), or else he would point to the paragraph which can always be found somewhere in his opinions, usually near the end, in which his conclusions are summed up almost with the conciseness of a head-note, and would say, "Why doesn't that cover it, after all?" Since there was practically nothing in the records of the past which escaped him, and since his habit of condensing his own reasoning was as severe as his quotations from others were generous, his personal share in the work often

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fails to receive full justice. But the free and powerful mind which formed the judgment, and the direct and ripe and patient thought which developed it, may be seen in his grasp of the subject and in the clear light which he makes to shine upon its darkest places.

He married on Jan. 4, 1890, Jane Matthews, the daughter of his colleague and close personal friend, Stanley Matthews. Passing each winter in Washington, he nevertheless always kept his house in Boston, and at the time of his death at Nahant, Sept. 15, 1902, he was making his plans to occupy it the next year. His private life was remarkably happy and complete. He was strongly religious, and was an intimate friend of Phillips Brooks. Although he gave himself to his work wholly and with characteristic enthusiasm, his general reading was very wide, and he followed current affairs with interest. His conversation was delightful, full of humor, and enriched by a wealth of anecdote and memory that seemed to take the listener into the bodily presence of the great men of an earlier time. The tastes of his youth were strong in him always, and his love of the woods and the open air were quick to show themselves in any recess from his judicial duties. He carried to

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the end of his life the freshness of spirit and vigor of mind of a young man; and it was easy to think of his majestic physical stature as typifying a like eminence of mind and soul. No one who was privileged to enjoy the warmth and charm of daily intercourse with him and to come under his personal influence can fail to hold his memory in lasting admiration and love.

IV
CHARLES FRANKLIN DUNBAR
BY
CHARLES W. ELIOT

CHARLES FRANKLIN DUNBAR

Charles Franklin Dunbar, born at Abington in July, 1830, was of Scotch descent, as his sandy hair and complexion, his shrewdness, reticence, and quiet humor plainly testified. He was much interested in his family descent, and gave no little time to tracing it both in Scotland and in Massachusetts. In one of his journeys to Scotland he visited the chief seats of the Dunbar Clan in Morayshire, and found reason to believe that from and after the year 1400 Dunbar was one of the prevailing names in that region. The first Dunbar in Massachusetts was Robert Dunbar of Hingham, who said of himself, in a deposition he made in court in 1659, that he was a servant of Mr. Joshua Foote when Mr. Foote lived in Boston. By a series of careful investigations Charles Franklin Dunbar established the strong probability that this Robert Dunbar who was held to the services of Joshua Foote for a term of years as early as 1655, and possibly as early as 1652, was one of Cromwell's Scottish prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar in 1650,

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or at the battle of Worcester in 1651. It is certain that some of the prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar were sent to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1650-51, after having endured frightful sufferings which killed three quarters of the prisoners originally captured. Robert Dunbar, who died in Hingham in 1693 at about sixty years of age, was therefore, in all probability, of very tough fibre.

The father of Charles Franklin Dunbar was Asaph Dunbar, who was born in 1779 and died in 1867. Charles was Asaph's youngest child. He had three brothers, all of whom filled out a reasonable span of life, and two sisters, one of whom died in infancy and the other at the age of twenty-one. The father's business was making boots and shoes, and Charles's three older brothers grew up in that business in Plymouth County, but while still young went away to New Orleans to sell there the goods which their father manufactured. One of these three brothers returned to New York to establish himself there in the same business. Charles was the only one of the brothers who received a liberal education. He was sent to Phillips Academy, Exeter,—probably because he had always shown a strong desire to read and an aptitude for study. The



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success with which he accomplished the academic course at Exeter determined his being sent to Harvard College, where he graduated with credit in 1851. The fact that he was sent to Exeter at thirteen years of age determined his subsequent career; and he always felt unbounded gratitude to that ancient academy, a gratitude which he expressed by serving it for many years as a member of the board of trustees. At Harvard College he won the respect and friendship of scores of young men, many of whom have come to the front in one way or another during the forty-eight years which have elapsed since he graduated. Some of them were associated with him in after life; and he always retained their warm regard and admiration.

After leaving college he went for a time to his brothers in New Orleans; but soon came back, first to New York and then to Boston, applying himself steadily to business. A threatening of serious trouble in the lungs obliged him to abandon this indoor occupation; whereupon he bought a farm at Lexington, and entered cheerfully on the quiet out-of-door life of a farmer, for which he developed a strong taste and aptitude. Here he soon recovered his health and strength; so that he took up the study of the law at the

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Harvard Law School, and in the office of Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and was in due course admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1858. Practice coming to the young lawyer but slowly, he had ample time to write for the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and, finding this occupation congenial, he became within a little more than a year editor and part owner of that influential newspaper. In this enterprise he was supported and helped by the occasional labors of a group of young men whom he had known at Exeter and in College; but he himself gave his whole time and strength to the paper. He remained in the position of editor for ten years,—all through the Civil War, and through the early years of reconstruction and gradual pacification. During the Civil War he personally wrote every editorial article in any way related to the war which appeared in that newspaper. The *Advertiser* became by common consent the leading paper in Boston, and no newspaper since has exercised the same influence in this community. His position brought him into contact with a large proportion of the leading men of the time in eastern Massachusetts,—with merchants, manufacturers, politicians, soldiers, lawyers, and preachers. He wrote, of course, constantly on mili-

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tary events and prospects; but the subjects he best liked to deal with were financial, economic, or political,—such as the war loans, tariffs, and banking acts, the suspension of specie payments, and the measures taken to collect a great internal revenue. The amount and the quality of the work he did in the ten years between 1859 and 1869 were remarkable, considering that he began this work at twenty-nine and ended it at thirty-nine years of age. At thirty years of age he was wielding an influence which would now seem almost impossible of attainment at that age.

A few citations from his editorials will suffice to give an idea of the elevation of their tone, and of their moderation, judicial quality, and prophetic insight.

As early as July 4, 1861, he thus defined the objects of the war for the Union, and the spirit of the Northern people:—

“We are fighting now, as eighty-five years ago, to defend a cause in which the grandest principles of government and the highest interests of man are involved. Our people now as then have thrown aside all remembrances of old divisions, and have united in an enterprise which they believe to be just and holy. Life, fortune, and sacred honor

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are again pledged to the support of the patriotic declarations with which the second war for liberty has been undertaken; and again has Congress assembled, prepared to forego the ordinary topics of political strife, to forget as is believed all tests save the one question of fidelity to country, and to take counsel in singleness of heart for the one great object."

Immediately after the heavy defeat of the Union troops at the first battle of Bull Run, he wrote, July 23, 1861:—

"We said at the outset that this reverse had temporarily defeated the scheme for advancing through Virginia. Let no man to-day whisper the thought of abating a jot of our vast undertaking. Taught by one reverse the nation will rise above its misfortune, and press on in its just and holy cause. The people who have poured out their blood and treasure so freely will be kindled to new efforts. . . . Our present misfortune will disclose to all the true secret of our weakness, and will teach all that the advance for which some have so long clamored is not to be accomplished in a single effort. With a full knowledge on all hands of the nature of our undertaking, and with such further preparation as must now be made for this grand enterprise, we can doubt its final success as little as we can doubt the justice of the cause in which

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it is undertaken, or the wisdom of the Providence which rules all things for our good.”

He early foresaw the fate of slavery as an institution. Writing on the last night of the year 1861 a survey of the events of the year, he made this prophetic utterance a year before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued:—

“It leaves our own people with renewed courage, united beyond all hope in support of the government in a most trying case, and fully alive to the importance of closing the war at once. It also leaves the majority with an unshaken resolution to confine the war to its proper objects, and to sustain the President in the firm and conservative course which he has pursued through the ten months in which he has held office. At the same time, the year has demonstrated to our whole people the great fact, that in the designs of Omnipotence the South has been led through its own folly to write the doom of slavery. Heavier and heavier are the blows which descend upon that institution, and more and more significant are the proofs that the South built upon a weak foundation, when, within this very year, it announced slavery as the cornerstone of its fabric, political and social.”

Near the close of the year 1862 Secretary Chase communicated to the Committee on Ways

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and Means the draft of a bill to provide the necessary resources for the prosecution of the war. The second section authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow nine hundred million dollars in any of the modes heretofore authorized for making loans. The bill also contained the details of the national bank scheme. Mr. Dunbar's comments on this bill are in part as follows:—

“The most important feature of this bill, so far as regards the immediate emergencies of the country, is the second section, and this it seems to us has been well conceived. . . . Should this power be granted by Congress, we trust that the secretary will use it with liberal forethought. Armed with full powers, he will be able to feed the market with such securities as are most popular, at times when prices are favorable. Unrestricted by needless trammels, he can avail himself of the most favorable proposals which may be suggested from time to time by those who have money to loan, or who can present well-considered plans for meeting the wants of the Treasury with the least cost to the nation.”

Of that very important part of the bill which related to the establishment of the national bank system he speaks as follows, in his few words

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showing that he had a clear vision of the wide scope and far-reaching consequences of the project:—

“ It has been taken for granted that this measure will provoke a violent opposition, which, nevertheless, as yet has not manifested itself in any very definite shape. It is nowhere denied that the Secretary’s plan insures several very decided advantages; it looks rather to the establishment of a sound currency for the country upon a permanent basis than to any immediate results. If it be said that it will be time enough to legislate to this end when we have got out of the war and the financial difficulties incident thereto, it may be answered with at least equal force that the necessity of reform will then be less generally apparent. ‘ Why don’t you mend your roof?’ asked a traveler of a negro in whose leaky hut he had taken refuge during the shower. ‘ ’Cause it rains’ was the answer. ‘ But why don’t you mend it at some time when there is no rain?’ ‘ ’Cause then it don’t leak.’ This sort of logic will hardly justify Congress in refusing a careful attention to Mr. Chase’s plan, notwithstanding the statement paraded in advance, that ‘ the majority of the Ways and Means are hostile to Mr. Chase’s scheme,’ and that ‘ this sentiment of disapproval cannot possibly be changed.’ ”

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After the great victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, July 3-5, 1863, Mr. Dunbar wrote as follows on the 8th of July:—

“ We speak of these events as of extreme political importance, because they have now for the first time fairly established the ascendancy of the national power over the rebellion. Hitherto the struggle has been often a drawn game, and even in our moments of success has left the military strength of the rebels so formidable as to keep their hopes alive. The handwriting is now on the wall in characters which the rudest may read, warning the rebels that henceforth theirs is a hopeless cause, and that from this time their efforts must decline. We may now, at any rate, count upon the moral effect of defeat and loss of faith in their cause, and may hope for the appearance of those discontents and divisions to which despondency gives rise, and which precede the final ruin of a cause which, like the rebellion, has no root in sound principle.”

Looking back on this statement after an interval of thirty-seven years, we are struck with its absolute accuracy.

In his review of the year 1863, on the 31st of December, his comments on the Proclamation of Emancipation illustrate the perfect balance of his judgment:—

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“The most distinctly marked event in the conduct of the war for the year, however, is unquestionably the Proclamation of Emancipation issued on the 1st of January, 1863. Of this measure it can now be said, that it has equally disappointed its advocates and its opponents. It has failed to effect the dissolution of the rebel power which was so confidently predicted as certain to be its instantaneous effect, and has left the actual work of emancipation to be performed by the steady advance of military operations. On the other hand, it has failed to make that disastrous division among the loyal which was predicted by many of its opponents. The mass of the people have acquiesced in it as a military measure taken in good faith. But we must remark, they have done this the more readily since on independent grounds the policy of emancipation has gained favor in the popular mind rapidly during the year.”

Speaking of the extraordinary sales of 5-20 bonds in the summer and autumn of 1863, he writes as follows:—

“Throughout the country these bonds have been eagerly sought, with the noblest demonstrations of confidence and affection towards the government in defense of which the money is contributed. The success with which the government now deals with a debt of great magnitude has inspired the country

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with faith in its ability to cope with the future, heavy as are the burdens promised by the Secretary of the Treasury.”

How far-seeing is the following paragraph, which occurs in the same review of the year 1863:—

“The feelings of the French Emperor towards the United States had long been suspected, but were first fully appreciated by our people when his designs in Mexico were fairly unmasked, and when he announced his deliberate design of erecting a throne in that country to be occupied by a prince nominated by himself. It was immediately perceived that France had created for herself upon this continent an interest adverse to that of the United States. The occupation of the Rio Grande by our forces, however, together with the established certainty that the Emperor will for the present find enough to do in dealing with the Mexican people, who do not accede to the fiction that Maximilian is their choice, has finally quieted all fears as to the course of France for the present.”

In his review of the year 1864, Mr. Dunbar wrote as follows:—

“Never has the struggle seemed so gigantic as in this year, never have the contending forces so

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convulsed the continent with their efforts, or so appalled the spectators of a strife as terrible and unrelenting as that of the elements. Indeed, this is an elemental strife, which we have seen approaching its climax and crisis,—a strife which, in the words of a philosophic observer who was lately among us, is waged ‘not only between Aristocracy and Democracy, between Slavery and Social Justice, but between ferocious Barbarism and high Civilization.

“It is only when we view the contest in this light that it is possible to realize completely the futility of such efforts at pacification as that which has characterized this year, and which was defeated by the will of the people a few weeks ago. These raging elements are as far beyond the reach of all such attempts to quiet their agitation as is the tempest which purifies the physical atmosphere. The forces have long been gathering, they are in the full height of their sublime power, and are not to be stayed until the mission assigned to them by Providence is accomplished. A great political party thought otherwise, and sought by months of carefully studied effort to still the contention by premature peace; and it finds itself to-day shivered to atoms, and its candidates swept aside like chaff and forgotten. The judgment of the nation and its will have risen to the height of the occasion, and have settled irrevocably the devotion of this

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people to their grand task to the very end. In its moral aspects, then, the result of the election has been the great event of the year and of the war.”

Mr. Dunbar was often called upon to express the strongest emotions of the people under circumstances of tremendous excitement. After listening all day to the rejoicings in the streets of Boston over the surrender at Appomattox, he wrote at night an editorial in which two out of the four paragraphs are as follows:—

“ Four years ago this morning we were obliged to say in this place ‘ we do not seek to pierce the gloom which now seems to overspread the future.’ Four years of that future as they have enrolled themselves have shown many another crisis, or agony more acute, but none of gloom so depressing as settled on us all in that week of uncertainty. This day is the anniversary of the humiliating correspondence between General Beauregard and Major Anderson, in which he demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter as a foregone necessity. To-morrow is the anniversary of the day on which he opened his fire. These four years have called upon the nation to show its steadfast endurance. They have called for that loyalty to institutions which does not seek to pierce the gloom of the future. They have bidden the nation stand firm on the eternal principles of its government,

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and trust God to give it victory, when for victory the time had come. Through that gloom, or the flushes of hope which at one moment or another varied it, the nation has stood firm, and at last the end has come. . . .

“Such are the moral advantages of the victory. They make a nation so strong that war in its future is wholly unnecessary,—it seems hardly possible. This nation is just,—it can be as generous as it is just. It has no entangling foreign alliances, it need have no petty foreign jealousies. God has shown it His mercy in a thousand ways, and now that He blesses it with Peace, it has His promise that Peace shall lead in every other angel of his Kingdom.”

At the close of the year 1865 he wrote as follows, prophesying a period of discussion and evolution which has not yet ended:—

“The year, we may trust, is the last in the succession of years which by striking and exciting events compete for the leading place in our annals. The period of great deeds is perhaps over; we now have remaining questions of magnitude to be debated and settled, or to be suffered to work towards their own solution by process of time, and not concentrating their fierce interest into single great transactions, of which we have known so many since 1860. The question as to the future

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of the freedmen is not to be settled by the turn of any crisis, but by many discussions, the long-continued operation of opinions, and the progress of immigration, of industry, and of ideas. Financial questions, of which we have so many of importance, are as little to be determined by any special action, but cast their shadow far over the coming years. The foreign questions, of which the closing year leaves us a supply not trifling in importance if scanty in number, are as little likely, we may hope, to assume such form as to bring back the unhealthy excitements which have long been familiar, but will rather relapse into the ordinary course of international litigation, or be settled by causes and influences which in power are far above the counsels of emperors. In short, we now enter in public matters upon a period of discussion; and if results appropriate to this method of action are wrought out with half the skill and power which we have seen displayed in the marvelous twelvemonth now ending, we shall find our prosperity and happiness, and our development in all that ennobles a people, settled on a foundation more solid than our fathers ventured to hope for."

During his administration the *Advertiser* as a property increased greatly in value; so that when in 1869 Mr. Dunbar found it necessary again to pay attention to his health, and to give

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up work for a time, he sold his interest in the newspaper for a sum which amounted to a competency for himself and his family. This was really a value which his own mental gifts and moral character had imparted to the newspaper. There is no more satisfactory way in which a man can earn a competent support for his family before he is forty years of age. All through his life Mr. Dunbar was a careful, frugal, and successful man of business, although he gave but a very small portion of his time to that side of life.

In order to recover from the nervous exhaustion which he experienced in 1868, he made two journeys to Europe, the first alone, but the second with his family. I had come into the Presidency of Harvard College in 1869, and one of the first measures which the Corporation resolved to prosecute with vigor was the establishment of a Professorship of Political Economy, and the selection of an incumbent for the chair. Mr. Dunbar being well known to all the members of the Corporation, the appointment was offered to him in 1869, and he gave a conditional acceptance to take effect two years later. A quiet life in various parts of Europe restored his health and gave him opportunity

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for the prosecution of studies which prepared him further for his new function; and in 1871 he took up the work of his professorship, to which he thereafter steadily devoted himself for more than twenty-eight years.

Professor Dunbar was the first Professor of Political Economy that Harvard University ever had. That great subject had previously been one of the numerous subjects assigned to the Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. Professor Dunbar announced for the year 1871-72 a course prescribed to Juniors on Rogers's "Political Economy" and Alden's "Constitution of the United States," two hours a week for half a year, and an elective course in Political Economy for the Senior Class, based on Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Bowen's "American Political Economy," and J. S. Mill's "Political Economy;" but these courses were announced under the head of Philosophy. The elective course was attended by seventy-five Seniors. The next year his elective course appears under its proper heading,—Political Science,—the description of the course being altered to the following: J. S. Mill's "Political Economy," McCulloch on Taxation, Subjects

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in Banking and Currency. Professor Dunbar also conducted in 1872-73 a required course for Juniors in Political Science, two hours a week during half a year. That year he used as textbooks for the Junior's Fawcett's "Political Economy" and the Constitution of the United States. In 1873-74 Professor Dunbar had for the first time the assistance of an instructor, because the required course in the Elements of Political Economy was transferred from the Junior to the Sophomore year,—on its way to extinction,—so that this required course had to be given that year to two large classes. Under Professor Dunbar's elective course, Bagehot's "Lombard Street" appears for the first time. In the next year Professor Dunbar gave, in addition to the prescribed Political Economy, two elective courses parallel to each other, one being preferable for students of History. The rapidly increasing number of students in the department made it desirable to offer these two parallel courses, so that neither class should be too large. One hundred and thirty-one students chose these electives. In 1875-76 Professor Dunbar was conducting three progressive courses: the prescribed elementary course, a first elective course on J. S. Mill's "Political Econ-

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omy," and the Financial Legislation of the United States; and an advanced course on Cairns's "Leading Principles of Political Economy;" and McKean's "Condensation of Carey's Social Science;" and the number of students attending his course was steadily increasing. In the following year Professor Dunbar became Dean of the College Faculty, an administrative position which he held for six years. The prescribed course in Political Economy for Sophomores now disappeared. The elective courses were fully maintained. Professor Dunbar had some assistance in the elementary elective course, because of the necessity of devoting a good deal of his time to the administrative work of the Dean's office. His assistant in the year 1877-78 was Mr. Macvane, now Professor of History in Harvard University. The next year his assistant was Dr. James Laurence Laughlin, who had the title of Instructor in Political Economy. In 1880-81 another course in Political Economy was added to the two already given, Professor Dunbar working in all three courses, but being assisted in the first two by Dr. Laughlin. The most advanced elective under Professor Dunbar was based on Cairns's "Leading Principles of Po-

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litical Economy," McLeod's "Elements of Banking," Bastiat's "Harmonies Economiques." In the year 1882-83 Professor Dunbar took leave of absence in Europe. His work was carried on by Dr. Laughlin and a new instructor, Mr. Frank W. Taussig, now Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. A new half-course was added this year,—a course on the Economic Effects of Land Tenures in England, Ireland, France, Germany, and Russia. The next year brought considerable expansion to the Department. Professor Dunbar returned to his work; Dr. Laughlin was made an assistant professor; and Dr. Taussig offered for the first time a course on the History of Tariff Legislation in the United States. The number of courses offered by the Department suddenly expanded to four courses running through the whole year, and three running through half a year. Economic History appeared for the first time as part of the instruction given by the Department, Professor Dunbar having charge of the course. It was in that year that the plans of Professor Dunbar for the development of his department in the University became apparent to the academic world. Dr. Taussig soon became an assistant professor; Dr. Laughlin was

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promoted to a full professorship at Cornell University, whence he was subsequently transferred to the University of Chicago; and a series of young men, all selected by Professor Dunbar, were brought forward in the Department as teachers. The number of teachers and courses increased until, in 1894-95, this Department, called Economics since 1892-93, employed three full professors, one assistant professor, and three instructors, and the number of courses had risen to six full courses and seven half-courses. In 1899 the lowest elective course in Economics was opened to Freshmen; so that the Harvard student thenceforth had access to that subject in all the four years of his college course. For the present year, 1899-1900, courses were announced which gave employment to three full professors, one assistant professor, and six instructors. In the academic year 1898-99 the choices made of courses in Economics numbered 1263.

Such was the development given in twenty-eight years to a subject which certainly should be second to none in value or dignity at an American university. At every step of the process it was Professor Dunbar's sagacity, sobriety, and fairness which commanded confidence

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and secured success. He thus made, in the course of twenty-eight years, as it were with his own hands, a complete collegiate instrument for training young Americans in Political Economy, the first such instrument ever constructed. If it should occur to any one that this growth was made possible by the general atmosphere at Harvard, the answer would be that Professor Dunbar had much to do with determining the quality of that atmosphere.

In 1886 a timely gift of a fund of \$15,000 from one of Professor Dunbar's pupils enabled the Corporation to establish the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, published for Harvard University. They took this step by the advice of Professor Dunbar, and on the condition that he should edit the *Journal*. He acted as editor for ten years, and in that time established the position of the *Journal* in this country and in Europe as a valuable medium for economic discussions and researches. The subjects of some of the articles which he wrote for this *Journal* will indicate the wide range of his studies: In 1886, "The Reaction in Politics;" in 1887, "Deposits and Currency," and a note on Ricardo's Use of Facts; in 1888, a notice of an old tract entitled "The New-Fashioned Gold-

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smiths," a tract which appears to have been the source of the generally accepted statement as to the origin of private banking in London in the seventeenth century. In the same year appeared "Notes on Early Banking Schemes" from his pen, and an article on "Some Precedents Followed by Alexander Hamilton." At the end of this last paper, after a learned review of the system advocated by Hamilton, and of the sources of the measures which he recommended, Professor Dunbar said in conclusion: "No statesman could have a greater task set for him, and political science can hardly have in store any greater triumph than this application of the experience of other men and other nations." In 1889 he wrote for the *Quarterly Journal* an article on the Direct Tax of 1861, the conclusion of which was, "The direct tax provided for by the Constitution has at last been discredited as a source of revenue, and it has also been too prolific of misconception and confusion to have any influence henceforth as a practical measure of finance." A single sentence from an essay he published in the *Journal* in 1891 on the academic study of political economy admirably expresses the true conception of the function of an instructor in any moral

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science: "That the student should learn to reason truly is of far more consequence than that he should perceive and accept any particular truth, and the real success of the instructor is found, not in bringing his students to think exactly as he does,— which is unlikely to happen, and, indeed, unnatural,— but in teaching them to use their own faculties accurately and with a measure of confidence." In another passage in the same essay, speaking of the conditions under which an instructor may or may not be silent concerning his own beliefs, he says, "There are few men whose weight of authority is such as to compel any extraordinary caution in the declaration of their minds." Those two statements are highly characteristic of Professor Dunbar's habitual attitude towards his own students.

One may easily trace through all the activities of Professor Dunbar as a teacher and writer the effect on his mind of his ten years' work as the editor of a daily paper during a period of startling and far-reaching military, financial, social, and political events; but it is interesting to observe that commercial and economic questions began to engage his attention some years before the war. Thus we find in the *North American Review* an article by him on the Dan-

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ish Sound Dues written as early as 1856, when he was twenty-six years of age. His services as a university teacher grew naturally out of the studies and interests of his early manhood.

Professor Dunbar was Dean of the old College Faculty for six years, from 1876 to 1882, and the first Dean of the new Faculty of Arts and Sciences from 1890 to 1895. He therefore gave a large amount of administrative service to the University. As an administrative officer he was prompt, efficient, and wise. One peculiarity he had which was rather trying to some of the many students and parents of students with whom he came into contact,— he was sometimes too reticent and silent. He would listen patiently to a long tale in which the narrator felt great interest, and take it all in, but hardly utter a word in reply. Sometimes, however, after his interlocutor had despaired of getting an answer, he would give a concise but comprehensive reply which showed how sympathetically he had apprehended the whole subject under discussion. Ordinarily patient and cautious, he was entirely capable of quick decision and prompt action. On a reconnoissance he was circumspect and thorough; but when he once made

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up his mind how the land lay and how the adversary was intrenched, he moved on the position, in the safest possible way, to be sure, but with energy and persistence. As a rule, his aspect was serene and mild; but on occasion his face could become set, and from his blue-gray eyes there came a steel-like gleam dangerous to his opponent. In his judgment of others he was gentle, unless he became satisfied that some man he had been observing did not play fair, or was untrustworthy at the pinch; then he became stern and unrelenting. It was these qualities which made him the successful journalist that he was at thirty years of age. The Faculty was always afraid to take a step of which he did not approve, and seldom did so, unless his occasional infirmity of silence had concealed from them his opinion. They felt in him a remarkable sagacity combined with quick insight and unwavering disinterestedness; and they found him to be uniformly just. If he now and then betrayed a prejudice, they felt sure that he had good grounds for it, and were much disposed to share it with him. Every one who has seen much of the world will perceive how rare a combination of qualities was

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embodied in this modest and retiring man, and will understand how great a loss the University has suffered in his death.

In addition to the solid satisfactions Mr. Dunbar derived from his forty years of professional work, he had great delights in his domestic life. He married, soon after leaving college, Julia Ruggles Copeland, of Roxbury, and he survived his wife only two months. Five children were born to them between 1855 and 1862, of whom three sons and a daughter survive their father and mother.

I have already mentioned the life of the young family at Lexington. When he became editor of the *Advertiser*, he moved, first, to Roxbury; but finding the inevitable exposures of returning to Roxbury from his office late at night (often after the omnibuses had ceased to run) too great for his strength, he moved to a small house on River Street, at the foot of Beacon Hill. This house was comparatively sunless, and, though close to Beacon Street, had no outlook whatever. It was a great delight to him and his wife and his growing children to establish the household in 1872 in a spacious house on the hill which rises north of Brattle Street, Cambridge, not far from Elm-

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wood, a house which commanded a charming prospect, and was surrounded by fine trees. He had earned the luxury of fine prospects, abounding sun and air, and garden grounds, as product of the work of his own brain. His tastes and habits were simple, but refined. Luxuries and superfluities had no charm for him. He was fond of driving and sailing, but needed no elaborate equipment for obtaining these pleasures. He valued these sports mainly as means of getting into contact with the beauties of nature by land and by sea. He had the natural healthy enjoyment in food and drink, but always preferred simple things to elaborate, and was displeased by extravagance or excess.

In 1886 he bought the larger part of Bear Island, off Mount Desert, the smaller part being already occupied by the United States as the site of a lighthouse; and here he built in 1893 a cottage for the summer occupation of his family. When visiting friends on the neighboring shore of Mount Desert, he had often marked the beautiful form of this island, and admired the exquisite views it commanded in several directions. In deciding upon the site of his house on this island, it was his chief care to avoid impairing the aspect of the island from

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the neighboring shores,— a thoughtful result which he perfectly achieved. All his life he had great pleasure in carpentering. He always had a carpenter's bench in any house he occupied, and delighted in good tools and in using them with skill. He could build with his own hands fireplaces, corner buffets, desks, tables, and other pieces of furniture. At Bear Island he built a large boat-house with chambers in its upper story, doing most of the work with his own hands, after the heavy framing had been put up. He enjoyed thinning the woods which covered the northern shore of the island, and studying the flora and fauna of his isolated kingdom. A thrifty little spruce, looking as if it could easily resist all the ice and snow, all the gales, and all the droughts of that northern clime, a single graceful birch, a mountain ash loaded with red berries, or a clump of ferns, sufficed to give him great enjoyment. With reading and writing interspersed, such pleasures filled his summer days so completely and so happily that he seldom wished to leave his island. Friends came to stay with him; but he seldom cared to go far from his cottage, unless on a sail or a drive with one of his neighbors of the main island. There was no road on his island,

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and hardly a path, except little tracks between the hummocks and ledges; and there were no sounds, except the beat of the waves on the rocky shores, the singing of birds, and the rushing of the wind through the trees. One of the peculiarities of the climate of the Maine coast had singular charm for Professor Dunbar. On almost every summer evening near sunset, there falls a great calm and stillness. No matter how boisterous the day may have been, near sundown there comes a widespread, profound silence, unspeakably grateful to such a temperament as his. The hills of Mount Desert, in full view from his island, reminded him of the similar hills built of primary rocks which his Scottish forbears had looked on in far-away Morayshire.

Outside his family circle his intimate associates were not numerous; but his friendships were intense, and his rare and concise expressions of affection were overwhelmingly strong. As I look back on this completed life, it seems to me filled with productive labors and large services from which came deep satisfactions. Grave trials and sorrows hallowed it; but its main warp and woof were both made of innumerable threads of happiness and content.

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In his religious convictions he was a Unitarian, and he valued highly that simple and optimistic faith; but his mind was hospitable to all forms of theological opinion, while he was strenuously averse to ecclesiasticism and æstheticism in religion. Simplicity, cheerfulness, duty, and love were the articles of his faith, and human joy and well-being their natural fruit.

V
PHILLIPS BROOKS
BY
CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT

PHILLIPS BROOKS

The more closely we study the career of Phillips Brooks, the more remarkable does it appear. At a time when many are saying that the power of the pulpit is declining, he, simply as a preacher, exerted an influence which would have been noticeable in any age of Christian history. From the fact that when he was in college he is said to have manifested no desire to be a leader among his fellows, it would appear that he reached his position with little impulse from ambition. In his sermons there is nothing meretricious. He was a typical Harvard man in his fastidiousness, so far as anything like sensationalism was concerned. Certain aspects of theology that are often thought especially to move the popular mind were hardly, if at all, touched upon in his preaching. The fact that under these circumstances he reached the commanding position which he held is one of the most promising signs of the times, as well as an indication of the greatness of the man.

When we come to seek the source of the won-

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derful power which he possessed over the hearts of men, the answer commonly given is that it is to be found in the goodness of his heart. He was a man of such broad sympathies, it is said, of such tender interest in those about him, and of such earnest faith, that he was felt by all to be a friend and a helper; and thus men responded to his interest in them with an answering love and trust. This statement does give, indeed, the ultimate source of his influence; but, however paradoxical it may seem, it does not give the explanation of it. There are multitudes of men and women, of ministers and laymen, who have a religious faith as earnest as his, and a love for their fellow-men as strong. In many cases this love for man is subjected to tests far more severe than were found in any experiences of his. He, in spite of occasional criticism and opposition, was always surrounded by enthusiastic love and applause. He had from the beginning recognition of himself and of his work; while many of those of whom I speak are giving their lives to their fellows, without recognition or encouragement. He himself delighted to contemplate the beauty of these so often unappreciated lives. He says, "I have seen rooms, where such men or such



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women, weak and ignorant, perhaps, were breathing out their long days of suffering, which were very *Holies of Holies*.”

To the possession of these qualities by the great preacher, we have then to add the power to manifest them in such ways that men felt their influence, and yielded themselves to their might.

We cannot fail to notice, as helpful in this manifestation, his magnificent personal endowments; his noble form, his face that was so often all aglow with the inner light, his air of culture and refinement, which might at first seem to stand between him and the popular sympathy, but which, when the difficulty was overcome, added new elements of attraction and influence. Men loved to see such spiritual power so superbly embodied. They loved to see a nature so endowed for worldly success surrendering itself to a life of service. They loved to see culture and refinement fired with an enthusiasm such as they too often repress. The humblest felt a strange charm in the brotherhood that was offered to them across lines which are so often those of separation. It was the naturalness of it all, the spontaneity, the unconsciousness, that gave to such relations their

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great attractiveness. Even the rapidity of his utterance, which at first repelled, soon became associated with the man, and added a certain air of eager impetuosity to his discourse.

All these characteristics, which I have imperfectly described, unquestionably contributed to the power of the preacher. They are not, however, sufficient to explain this power. We have to recognize the fact that his printed sermons retained this influence. The noble presence, the eager utterance, were absent; but the power remained. To multitudes throughout the English-reading world who had never felt the magnetism of his personal presence, these sermons have come with a power of inspiration such as few works of their class could claim. They have appealed to the same diversities of culture and of belief to which his spoken word appealed.

We have then to recognize the fact that Phillips Brooks was a man of genius. He was as truly such as any one of our great poets. It is not important, nor, indeed, would it be possible, to make a comparative estimate of his genius with that of any specified poet or artist. All that is to our purpose is to notice the fact of his wonderful genius, and to illustrate, as may be possible, its nature and its methods.

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The genius that Phillips Brooks possessed was that of the preacher as truly as that of Longfellow or of Tennyson was that of the poet. I cannot say under what other forms this genius might have manifested itself, or what other types of success might have been accomplished by it. What was actually displayed in his life was the genius of the preacher. There are many preachers of genius who have not the special genius for preaching. Some preachers do helpful service by their reasoning; some inspire by the power of their imagination: there are comparatively few in whom the special genius which marks the truest preacher as such makes itself felt. This genius was preëminently the gift of Phillips Brooks.

The genius of the preacher, I need hardly say, consists in the power of so uttering spiritual truth that it shall be effective in influencing the hearts of men. This implies a profound insight into religious truth,—an insight that shall reveal implications and applications of which the ordinary mind is not conscious. It implies also a gift for the presentation of what is thus beheld in an attractive and effective form. It is thus a genius of expression, which is something very different from a genius for expressions. Shakes-

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peare had a genius for expressing the passions of the human heart. This implied an insight into the depths of human life, a power of creation by which what he perceived was embodied in living forms, and a power of presentation by which these forms that lived for him should live also for the world. This may illustrate the elements that enter into the genius of the preacher, so far as the sphere which limits his work is concerned.

No one can have failed to notice the change which, to a large extent, the sermon has undergone in these later years. The older sermon we may call classical. It was dignified. It was intense, in the sense that there was in it little wandering from its special theme. It held itself within the limits of theology or religion, strictly so called. It touched very few points in the life of man. It did not seek to amuse; we might almost say it did not seek to interest. It commanded attention to the truth upon which it dwelt. By it the hearer was brought face to face with the great realities. If the hearer was affected, it was largely through the reason—that is, by the recognition of some truth, or of something that was regarded as truth—which appealed to his moral or religious nature.

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Perhaps the sermons of Channing may stand among the best examples of this form of preaching. It was lofty, invigorating, profoundly religious, and contenting itself with an appeal to the spiritual nature by the means of the impressiveness of truth.

The modern sermon stands less upon its dignity. It seeks first of all to interest. It touches the life of man at all points. It is familiar with the home and with the street. It finds illustrations on every hand. It is discursive. It dwells upon an illustration till, for a moment, one may forget what is illustrated. In a word, it seeks to have a human interest as well as a religious interest.

If we may accept these characterizations as representing, loosely and generally, two different classes of sermons, we may reach the best idea of the sermons of Phillips Brooks by saying that they possess the dignity of the classical type, with the human interest of what might be called the romantic type of preaching.

In his sermons there is almost a total lack of discursiveness. At the beginning of each there may be a few words of introduction, simply to make a connection between the mind of the hearer and the special theme to be considered; but,

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after this, the special theme is never for a moment lost from the mind. You may open one of his volumes anywhere, and a very few words will make clear what the subject is that the sermon before you presents. Even the sermons of Robertson, which Phillips Brooks rightly exalted as at least among the best of our modern world, have often a discursiveness, a temporary absorption in details, of which the sermons of Phillips Brooks show little trace. There are not many popular preachers from whose sermons the bearer would carry away fewer special impressions. He did not deal in epigrams; thus there were few separate sayings to be recalled. He was a perfect master of words, but never their servant. Each word filled its place as perfectly as if it stood in some finished poem, but no one was allowed to claim undue preëminence. If any particular illustration was remembered, it was most often the illustration that formed the heart and life of the sermon. What one did carry away was, I imagine, most generally, a text that from henceforth would have a new significance, an illustration that would never be forgotten, a truth that had opened depths undreamed of

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before, or a religious feeling, a sense of divine realities, which refreshed the life.

Those who knew Phillips Brooks know how keen was his sense of humor. Things disclosed their humorous side to him as he went through life. In his Yale lectures he shows how aptly he could use a humorous illustration to give point to his teaching. I doubt if in his sermons there could be found any trace of this. In sermons of the discursive sort a bit of pleasantry, naturally suggested and illustrative of the theme, may be effective. In a camp-meeting the "amens" are often redoubled after a ripple of laughter has run over the assemblage. In the sermons of Phillips Brooks, in which the solemn truth presented was never lost from the consciousness, such moments of relaxation would seem to have no place.

This dignity and this intensity represent, however, only one aspect of the sermons of Phillips Brooks. We find, united with these, elements that we might have supposed to be incompatible with them, namely, the charm of the imagination and the varied interest of human experience. In fact there is nothing more striking in these sermons than their sense of the

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relations of our daily life. The world about him was evidently very real to the preacher. He seems never, for a moment, to have lost his congregation out of his mind. This is strikingly illustrated in his sermon on "The Consolations of God." He begins by recognizing the fact that the need of consolation is not felt by all. "This side of God's life shows itself only to certain conditions of this life of ours. It is not for everybody. It is not for the young and joyous." But as he went on, he seems to have felt these words upon his conscience. He could not bear to have any hearers feel that he was not speaking to them. At last he exclaims, "I would not seem to count out of my subject for to-day those of my people the youngest, the happiest, the most hopeful, on whom I should be sorry any Sunday to turn my back, and say, 'There is nothing for you to-day.'" So he goes on to speak of the child's need of consolation; and only after this recognition of that part of his congregation which he had originally excluded, does he proceed to the development of his theme. At another time he breaks off in the midst of a sermon to exclaim, "Oh, it may well be that there are some of you who are listening intently at this moment,

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thinking perhaps that now, after a thousand disappointments in a thousand sermons, you may hear the word you need." This sense of a waiting congregation was of itself enough to banish from his sermons all mere abstractions and all playing with his theme. He was not a man who wrote and spoke merely to express his own thought, as a poet sings for the mere pleasure of the singing. He was not carried away by a temptation against which he warned the Yale students of theology, the temptation to make of his sermon a work of art. The sermon was to him an instrument fashioned and used for a special end. He spoke to living souls, not seeking merely their sympathy, seeking least of all their applause, but striving to awaken within them a consciousness of higher things, striving to shape the lives before him into conformity with the divine ideal.

Though Phillips Brooks was right in warning the young preacher against the temptation to look upon his sermon as a work of art, and though he himself, as we have seen, regarded his sermons simply as the instruments for accomplishing each a special work; yet, in spite of this purpose that animated them, or possibly because of it, his sermons are works of art

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in the sense that each has a positive, æsthetic charm, which may be felt even by one who has little interest in their direct object. The purpose for which they were written was sufficient of itself to exclude all foreign elements, and to shape the elements which really belong to the theme discussed into a form of organic unity. Given, in connection with this, a poetic nature which informs the whole with the life-giving power of the imagination, and the result must of necessity have grace and beauty. In classic and mediæval times, the most common implements of daily life, while perfectly fitted for the use for which they were designed, possessed artistic beauty, simply because the artistic spirit of their makers could not create them otherwise. Thus some classic or mediæval vase, possessing, it may be, nothing foreign to its destined use, charms us to-day simply through its grace of form, this grace of form being that through which it is preëminently what it was meant to be, namely, a vase. The sermons of Phillipic Brooks are works of art in this unconscious and unpremeditated way:

A sermon is often considered dreary reading, because it consists so largely of commonplaces. Indeed, it is happily true that in this age of

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the world the fundamental principles of morals and religion are commonplaces. The personality of a speaker may give to them a special interest or power, just as moral advice ceases to be commonplace as it is urged by a mother striving to guard her son against some special temptation. When the living presence of the preacher no longer animates them, such utterances are apt to assume their commonplace character. There can therefore be few more striking proofs of genius than the power to give to such truisms permanent or general interest. After all, however, the problem is like that which meets genius under every form of its manifestation; for the basis of all these manifestations, even in the case of a genius like that of Shakespeare, is the commonplace. In this matter of the sermon, the genius of Phillips Brooks consisted, in part at least, in the power to see more deeply into the nature and significance of these commonplaces than other men. Indeed, it may be said that if anything is commonplace, it is so only to the commonplace mind. A stone on the street, or a flower by the wayside, is commonplace enough; but the geologist, or the botanist, will find in it that which will excite our wonder and interest. It was as such an

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expert that Phillips Brooks exhibited to us the fundamental principles of life. Under his guidance men saw in them what they had not dreamed of seeing before.

I cannot better illustrate what I mean than by quoting a description that he gives in one of his sermons of a gem illuminated by the sunlight. He is speaking of the mystery of light. He says: "But now supposing that the object of our scrutiny, being something really rich and profound, were brought out of the darkness into a sudden flood of sunlight, would it grow less or more mysterious? Suppose it is a jewel, and instead of having to strain your eyes to make out the outline of its shape, you can now look deep into its heart, see depth opening beyond depth, until it looks as if there were no end to the chambers of splendor that are shut up in that little stone; see flake after flake of luminous color floating up out of the unseen fountain which lies somewhere in the jewel's heart." This jewel penetrated by the sunshine is the best possible illustration of a fact or an idea illuminated by the insight of his faith and genius. Perhaps it is a text from the Bible that opens thus depth beneath depth, and sends up "flake after flake of luminous color from

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the unseen fountain at its heart." A striking example of this power of penetrating insight is found in the last public address that was made by him. It was to the choir guild of Grace Church in Newton. It was largely addressed to the choir boys. The occasion seems simple enough, but he saw in it deep meaning. He looked into the unknown future, as the generation to which these boys belonged should take possession of the world, and rejoiced to see them going forward, "singing the great psalms of the Church, the boys taking up those strains which have been upon the lips of the fathers, and have expressed the glorious aspirations of the multitudes of the past." Then he went on to speak of "the beauty of doing a greater work than one can understand." "The man who perfectly understands the work he is doing is not doing the work which he is worthy of doing." Thus these boys were doing a work larger than they could comprehend. "They sing words which mean very much to them, but whose full meaning they cannot begin to understand until they have gone forward into the manifold experiences of life, and have caught the spirit of the revelations of the past." In this manner does every phase of life open at

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his touch into deep and varied significance. It is not that he made much of every such occasion; it is that he found much in it.

Phillips Brooks not only brought out in this manner the meaning of whatever theme he touched; unconsciously he revealed himself. He had the power of expressing not merely his thought, but himself. It is happily no very rare thing to listen to a sermon with interest. Too often, however, what we listen to is simply the sermon. We may admire it; we may be moved and profited by it; but still it is all the while the sermon alone that occupies us. It is a rare and happy occasion when we listen not to the sermon, but to the man. When Phillips Brooks preached, men listened, for the most part, not to the sermon, but to him. They felt themselves in the presence of a strong, loving, aspiring, and believing soul. Many such spirits, we are glad to say, speak from our pulpits, and bring messages of strength and cheer; but few have this genius of expression by which they reveal themselves such as they are, and uplift as truly by their presence as by their thought. Even more than this was revealed in those moments when this preacher accomplished his highest work. Men felt not only

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in the presence of this spirit, so strong and pure; but through it they felt themselves in the presence of the infinite spirit that spoke through this devout and earnest soul.

It is to be noticed that in his sermons he almost always dwelt upon the positive aspect of life. He dealt very little with denunciation. He did not believe that men could be helped much in that way. He said once, "If you could kill all a man's sins you would only make him a less bad man. You would not make him a better man." This abstinence from denunciation was all the more remarkable because he is said to have possessed great powers of sarcasm and invective; and men who discover that they possess these powers generally like to use them. Only now and then in his printed sermons do we have a slight touch of sarcasm; as when he speaks of "the superficial grief of a superficial mourner at a funeral, all tears and crape."

What he really loved to do, and what at the same time he felt that it was the special work of the preacher to do, was to hold up the ideal of Christian living, and to strive to make men feel the power of the life of God. Certainly this method was calculated to bring his congregation near to him. There was no chasm to

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be crossed; no repulsion to be overcome. The preacher stood simply with words of encouragement and welcome.

Another thing to be noticed in these sermons is the slight place that is held in them by theology. The great preacher was either very little of a theologian, or else he felt that when he addressed his people there was something vastly more important to be considered than theology. The probability is that his interest in theology was largely, if not wholly, in its practical aspects. I doubt if he concerned himself very much with the current discussions in regard to these matters, or at least he probably took in them only a preacher's interest. He stood with a certain child-like fearlessness unharmed amid the creeds of the Church and the questionings of the time:—

“Non sine Dis animosus infans.”

He took from all only what was the best. He left the harshness of the creeds, and took only what was tender and life-giving. He took its beauty from the Church, and knew nothing of its narrowness. From the awakened thought of the time he took its breadth and its freedom; but its negations seem not to have moved him.

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As in some cities of the old world where ran the line of fortifications are now broad streets or pleasure-grounds, so the defenses which the Church had set up to guard itself against the intrusion of those whose beliefs do not conform to its standards with him seem to have become avenues of approach, attracting instead of excluding.

No characterization of the sermons of the great preacher would be complete which did not recognize the fact that some found this lack of theological definiteness to be a real drawback to their enjoyment of them. They complained that when some themes were approached there came a certain mistiness into the thought. For instance, in the course of the sermon that he preached on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard College, he exclaimed, "And what and who is Jesus Christ? In reverence and humility let us give our answer." At this point the minds that demand precise statements of belief became intent. At last Phillips Brooks was going to declare clearly his position. The preacher went on: "He is the meeting of the Divine and Human, — the presence of God in humanity, the perfection of humanity in God; the Divine made

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human, the human shown to be capable of union with the Divine; the utterance, therefore, of the nearness and the love of God, and of the possibility of man. Once in the ages came the wondrous life, once in the stretch of history the face of Jesus shone in Palestine, and his feet left their blessed impress upon earth; but what that life made manifest had been forever true. Its truth was timeless, the truth of all eternity. The love of God, the possibility of man,—these two which made the Christhood,—these two, not two, but one, had been the element in which all life was lived, all knowledge known, all truth attained.”—This is magnificent, but it is not theology; at least it is not the theology of the theologians. It is not strange that on the one side some suspected heresy, and, on the other, some discovered obscurantism. Yet the very heart of Phillips Brooks spoke in this utterance. Why did he not give a direct categorical answer to the question that he asked, an answer that would have satisfied the theologian or the free-thinker? The only reason can be that he was interested in the fact, and not in any formula in regard to the fact. He aimed to promote righteousness and the religious life among men. He aimed directly at the heart of his hearers.

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He brought to bear upon them religious truth in what seemed to him its simplest and most effective form.

I would be among the last to underestimate the importance of theological thought, and to undervalue the sermons that seek to make clear and to defend the truths of religion. I do not forget how the sermons of Channing purified the religious atmosphere of the Christian world. The world still needs such clear utterance of religious truth. There are, however, diversities of gifts. We should remember, further, that theology is for the sake of religion. If it is the work of those who have done battle for religious liberty that has made the preaching of Phillips Brooks possible, it is in such preaching that this work finds its worthiest fulfillment. If a man can be brought, even for a short time, actually to experience the religious feeling, or something akin to it, he has received a proof of the truth of religion more convincing than any presentation of arguments could accomplish.

However this may be, what has been said may illustrate the nature of the preaching of Phillips Brooks. The fact that Christianity was reduced by him to such simplicity of form

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may do much also to explain his vast liberality, which was not tolerance of opinions which he rejected, but the recognition of the fundamental principle of Christianity under varied names and forms. Much of what the sects are warring about seemed to him too trivial to demand serious consideration. He was too true a churchman to think it necessary to guard himself within artificial limits. Thus the whole church was open to him. He could take part in the installation of the pastor of Plymouth Church as simply and naturally as if it had been a service within the limits of his own communion. Never did such largeness of spirit receive wider or heartier recognition. Wherever he went he was welcomed as the true minister of God. The bankers of Wall Street left their offices at noon to listen to his words. Harvard students thronged to hear him preach. Ministers and laymen, of whatever name, were alike eager to catch his utterances.

At the beginning of this paper it was urged that the goodness of Phillips Brooks would not account for his wide influence; for this was needed great genius, the genius for expressing himself, and for presenting the truth which he had at heart. In conclusion we must recog-

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nize the fact that his genius would not have accomplished the work, if it had not had behind it his great personality. One did not need to know the story of his life to feel this power. One felt it through his very presence. The more we know of his life, the more is this impression deepened. He showed his fearlessness at the start, by pleading the rights of the slave; and yet more by pleading the rights of the negro on the streets of the city where he lived. He showed the depth of his sympathy by his labors for the good of the soldier and for the comfort of the sick and the wounded in the hospital. When quieter times came, his labors for those who needed help went on more privately but no less earnestly. We cannot conceive of a life more open than his to every demand that might be made upon it. He appears to have had little more fondness for machinery in benevolence than for systems in theology. Perhaps his nature was more marked in nothing than in its love for freedom and spontaneity. This is not the place to dilate upon his many deeds of kindness. The story of them is written upon many a grateful heart. His days of usefulness began early, and ended late. He shrank from no scene of poverty or sickness. Thus, as truly

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as any man could, he represented to those with whom he had to do the gracious power and love of Him whom he recognized as his Divine Master.

This life of loving service won the hearts of those to whom he ministered. It uttered itself in his sermons, even for those who knew nothing of its outward manifestations. Thus it was that men loved him and honored him and opened their hearts to him. It is no wonder that the voice of the people within his communion and outside of it united to lift him to the highest position of honor and service which his church could offer. He was felt to be the Bishop not of a church, but of a people.

Thus it was that when he died there was such sorrow throughout the English-speaking world. We must seek far to find a parallel to this universal mourning. The expressions of grief at his funeral; the solemn pomp of the service within the church that was so dear to him; the waiting crowds outside that thronged the square, made up so largely of those whom his life had blessed; the turning aside of the funeral procession to pass through the grounds of the college that he loved, amid the ranks of students to whom he had ministered so gladly; the final

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leaving him at rest in the beautiful inclosure where he had so often read the burial service of the Church; the utterance since of so many words of sorrow and of gratitude from all sorts and conditions of men,— from Jew and Catholic, from Orthodox and Free-thinker,— all this recalls the earlier times when the Church was one, and its Bishop was the Bishop of all. May we not say rather that it is a foregleam of the coming time, when, if the divisions of the Church shall still maintain themselves, they will do it in a spirit of mutual sympathy and with a sense of sharing in a common work; so that if one member suffers all the members shall suffer with it; not merely by a sympathetic and reflected grief, but because what is a loss for one is felt to be truly a loss for all?

VI
FRANCIS CHANNING BARLOW
BY
EDWIN H. ABBOTT



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Major-General Francis Channing Barlow died at his home in New York, on Jan. 11, 1896. He was born in Brooklyn, Long Island, of New England parentage, on October 19, 1834. His father, David Hatch Barlow, the first scholar in his class (H. U. 1824), and also its class poet, was at this time the pastor of the First Unitarian Church in that city. General Barlow spent the last years of his life so quietly in the practice of law, that the generation now at the front scarcely appreciates how large a figure he was during the War of the Rebellion and the next ten years while he continued in public life.

Having graduated in July, 1855, at Harvard, he went to New York in September, and was occupied with private pupils for about twelve months. He then entered the office of William Curtis Noyes, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in May, 1858, and in the autumn of that year formed a partnership with George Bliss, Jr., Esq. He was practicing law in that city

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when the attack on Fort Sumter took place, in April, 1861. On April 19 he enlisted as a private in the Twelfth Regiment of the New York State Militia. He was married on April 20 to Arabella Wharton Griffith, of Somerville, New Jersey, and on April 21 he marched with his regiment to take part in the defense of Washington. He was appointed first lieutenant in that regiment on May 3, but the brief need of militia troops was soon satisfied, and on Aug. 5 he was mustered out of service with that regiment, and returned to his office. He was not content to stay there, however, and on Nov. 9, 1861, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Sixty-first Regiment of New York Volunteers and started for the field at once. During the Peninsular campaign his regiment formed a part of General Howard's brigade, and he was promoted to be its colonel on April 14, 1862. The Sixty-first Regiment under his command behaved with conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Fair Oaks, and received high commendation for its steadiness and skilful handling. General Howard was wounded early in this battle, and Colonel Barlow then succeeded to the command of the brigade. During the seven days' fight on the retreat to Harrison's



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Landing Barlow's regiment assisted in covering the rear, and took part in four fiercely fought engagements. At Charles City Cross Roads his horse was shot under him, and his regiment captured a stand of rebel colors. He is mentioned in the official reports of these battles with strong terms of praise. General Caldwell, who commanded the division, said in his reports:—

“ I cannot forbear to mention in terms of the highest praise the part taken by Colonel Barlow of the Sixty-first Volunteers. Whatever praise is due to the most distinguished bravery, the utmost coolness and quickness of perception, the greatest promptitude and skill in handling troops under fire is justly due to him. It is but simple justice to say that he has proved himself equal to every emergency, and I have no doubt that he would discharge the duties of a much higher command with honor to himself and credit to his country.”

When the Army of the Potomac reached Washington, although the Sixty-first Regiment could rally hardly more than seven officers and one hundred men, this fragment was joined with the Sixty-fourth New York, and Colonel Barlow commanded it during the Maryland campaign, and at the battle of Antietam. “ Seiz-

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ing a tactical opportunity, and changing front at the right moment and on the right spot, he takes in flank a body of the enemy in the sunken road, pours a deadly volley down their line, and puts them to flight, capturing three hundred prisoners with two flags. . . . The enemy are beaten off by the quick and resolute action of Barlow." But near the end of the fight Barlow received a severe wound in the groin from a canister-shot. He was borne insensible from the field, and the wound very nearly proved fatal. His commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, which reached him two days after the battle of Antietam, reads, "For distinguished conduct at the battle of Fair Oaks," "a promotion," says General Francis A. Walker in his history of the Second Corps, "won by a gallantry and address of which it is impossible to speak in terms too high." During the winter of 1862-63 he was absent from duty on account of his wounds; but, reporting again on April 17, 1863, he was assigned to the command of the Second Brigade, Second Division, Eleventh Corps; General Howard commanding. On May 23 he took command of the First Division of that corps, and served with it through the Gettysburg campaign, where he

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was badly wounded again on July 1, 1863, and fell into the enemy's hands, but was recaptured when their assault was repulsed, and our troops again held the ground. His wounds kept him upon the sick list during the winter of 1863-64. On April 1, 1864, he returned to the front, and was assigned to the First Division of the Second Corps, under the command of Major-General Hancock, and took part in the Wilderness campaign. On Aug. 14, 1864, he was made major-general by brevet. It was during the Wilderness campaign that he earned his double stars, and thus became the senior major-general whose name is borne on the roll of Harvard soldiers. His brilliant capture of the salient * at Spottsylvania, where his division

* The salient, or angle which formed the obtrusive portion of the Confederate lines, was the key of their position at Spottsylvania. Its capture would break their centre, as the Confederate breastworks stretched more than a mile on each side. It was held by Ewell's Corps. The assault was ordered by General Grant to be made at four o'clock in the morning of May 12th. General Comstock's intended reconnaissance of the ground had unfortunately failed from various causes. General Barlow started his column on the march about ten o'clock in the evening, but the night was pitch dark and very rainy and the roads bad. His troops did not reach the point of attack until after midnight; and, before they could be got into position across a clearing in the wood,

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stormed the works and carried them at the point of the bayonet, was one of the rare achievements of the war. There is an old saying in the army that the colonel is half the regiment; and Barlow's leadership really made the success of this assault.

Barlow had his share in those personal griefs which were the common heritage of almost all it was daylight, though the fog was very thick. "General Barlow made anxious inquiries about the nature of the ground over which he was to move, and, not getting any satisfactory information, desired at length to be told whether there was a ravine a thousand feet deep between him and the enemy. When he could not be assured even on this point, he seemed to think he was called upon to lead a forlorn hope, and placed his valuables in the hand of a friend." He ordered the charge about half past four. "As soon as the curve in the clearing allowed Barlow's men to see the red earth at the salient, they broke into a wild cheer, and, taking the double quick without orders, rushed up against the works. Tearing away the abattis with their hands, Miles's and Brooke's brigades sprang over the intrenchments, bayoneting the defenders or beating them down with clubbed muskets. Almost at the same instant Birney entered the works on his side and the salient was won! Nearly a mile of the Confederate line was in our hands." Four thousand prisoners, two general officers, thirty colors, and eighteen cannon were the fruits of the victory."—Walker's *History of the Second Army Corps*, pp. 465-470.

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during that war. The wife who sent him to the front on her wedding-day died on the 27th of July, 1864, during the Wilderness campaign. Barlow believed that he owed his life to her tender nursing after his desperate wound at the battle of Gettysburg; and old friends will remember how bravely he bore his loss. On Aug. 24, 1864, his health again broke down under the burden of his sorrow and the hardships of war, and he was forced to leave the field. "He had fought," says General Walker, "against disease and the effect of his ghastly wounds received at Antietam and Gettysburg no less bravely than he had fought against the public enemy. During several days preceding he had been more like a dead than a living man. A few days later he made an attempt to resume command of his division, but had to be carried on a stretcher from the field at Ream's Station shortly before the opening of the battle." He was finally sent in November to Europe to recover his health. He returned to duty March 1, 1865, and on April 4 was assigned to the command of the Second Division of the Second Corps under General Hancock, and bore a gallant part in the final scenes of the war until it

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ended at Appomattox Court House. His commission as major-general bears date May 26, 1865.

He was married in 1867 to Miss Ellen Shaw of Staten Island, the sister of Colonel Robert G. Shaw, whom Barlow had fitted for college in the summer of 1856, and also of Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, and Mrs. George William Curtis, and Mrs. Robert B. Minturn. Two sons, Robert Shaw and Charles Lowell and a daughter, Louisa Shaw, were born to them.

Barlow was not merely brave. His courage was more than ignorant insensibility to risk and the consequences of exposure to danger, for he was twice grievously hurt. He seemed throughout life, in civil as well as military affairs, literally incapable of fearing anything in any form. Fear was not in him. Another classmate, Colonel Theodore Lyman, who was serving as aide-de-camp on the staff of General Meade at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, had abundant personal knowledge of Barlow's conduct during those days. From the seclusion of that sick-chamber toward which so many look with loving reverence upon great affliction nobly borne, he dictates with difficulty a few words at the writer's special request, while

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this article is passing through the press. They are the last flowers which he lays upon the grave of his comrade, whom thirty years ago, on the tenth anniversary of our graduation, he had greeted at our board, in the pride of youth and freshness of fame, as "the hero of the salient at Spottsylvania." They dwell upon Barlow's personal courage. "Barlow was so brave," writes Colonel Lyman, "that he made a joke of danger. Once he and General Humphreys, who was just such another man, rode toward the enemy on a reconnoissance. Neither of them was willing to face about, and they nearly went over the rebel's skirmish line, when a shower of bullets persuaded them to retreat, both laughing heartily at the peril."

There is no living man more competent to testify from personal knowledge as to the character and worth of Barlow's military services than General Nelson A. Miles,—himself one of the bravest of the brave,—who now commands the Army of the United States. He was in 1862 on General Howard's staff when Barlow's regiment formed part of Howard's division in front of Richmond. He led the reinforcements which were hurried to support Barlow's regiment at the Battle of Fair Oaks (or Seven

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Pines). He succeeded Barlow as lieutenant-colonel of the Sixty-first New York Volunteers, when Barlow became its colonel; and, finally, when Barlow was promoted to be brigadier-general, Miles succeeded him in his colonelcy. Afterwards, in 1864, in the Wilderness campaign, General Miles's brigade was in Barlow's division when the memorable night march was made to attack the salient at Spottsylvania; and Miles's brigade was a part of the first line of Barlow's division in the assault which captured it. Miles was in the midst of the charge which took the works, and was present during the terrific storm of battle which raged all day long within the captured lines. General Miles, last February, came from Washington to attend the dinner of the Harvard Club in New York, because, as he told the writer, he thought it was his duty to tell the present generation what great and splendid service Barlow rendered as a soldier so many years ago. And now, as the last thing he can do for his old commander, he contributes from his own personal knowledge his story of Barlow's military career.

“It was my good fortune,” says General Miles, “to make the acquaintance of General Barlow in 1861. Returning home after the

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three months' service, he had been appointed by Governor Morgan lieutenant-colonel of the Sixty-first New York Regiment, and with that regiment returned to Washington, in the autumn of 1861, to what was known as 'Camp California,' about six miles south of Alexandria, where the Second Corps was being organized under the veteran general, E. V. Sumner. It was at this camp where we first came together, I occupying the position of aide-de-camp on the brigade staff at that time. Our acquaintance ripened into friendship and mutual regard, and lasted up to the time of General Barlow's death.

“The clear and comprehensive intellect that had enabled him to pass his rivals in his educational race also enabled him to absorb the books on military affairs and to acquire a useful knowledge of military history. Within a few months he had made himself absolute master of military tactics. It was as familiar to him as the alphabet or the multiplication table, and equally so were the Army Regulations. He not only knew what they required, but comprehended the principles, and was enabled to comply with them, and also to instruct his subordinates in the necessities and principles and re-

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quirements of the regulations governing military organizations.

“ During the months of preparation — the winter of 1861–62 — his time was devoted to this work, and on being commissioned colonel of his regiment, Sixty-first New York, he disciplined it as carefully and as rigidly as if it had been part of the regular military establishment of the United States. He paid close attention to its sanitary condition, the promotion of its health and good order in every respect, and exercised the utmost vigilance and energy in preparing it for the terrible ordeals through which that regiment was to pass in the coming battles of the great war.

“ During the great onslaught of the Confederate army at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, and June 1, 1862, his regiment was brought forward as part of the reserve, and, although not engaged in that battle, camped on part of the field on the night of May 30. On the following morning his regiment with the rest of the command was moved forward to occupy a dense timber field and to receive the advance of the enemy, which was then moving down in expectation of repeating the success of the day before.

“ At this time the regiment had not been ‘ fire-

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tried,' and of course there was more consternation in preparing for the first conflict than on subsequent occasions. He, however, deliberately formed his regiment in line of battle, took especial care to see that every officer and non-commissioned officer and soldier was in his correct position, and then, taking his place in rear of the center and close to the colors of the regiment, he addressed a few words to his command, which were simply the announcement that in a few moments the advance of the enemy would reach their line, and an engagement would be fought. He did not hesitate fully to impress upon the minds of those under his command the fact that a serious encounter would occur, and also that he expected every man to stand in his place and fulfill his duty to the utmost with faithful fortitude. Having said these few words of warning, encouragement, and admonition, he drew his sword, and closed his remarks by saying that the first man who left his place and attempted to retreat from the presence of the enemy would receive his swift administration of subjugative discipline. His language may not have been clothed in those exact words, but they were so forcible, and so strongly had he impressed his character and discipline upon the regiment, that

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every man knew what he might expect if he undertook to play the rôle of a coward, and they felt a consciousness that it would be quite as safe to take the risk of the enemy's fire as to encounter the vengeance of his sword. There appears, however, to have been no disposition to take a backward step. The regiment received the onslaught of the victorious and exultant host as the granite wall receives the rush of the tidal wave, with a solidity and strength that hurled it back broken, crippled, and defeated. Although the regiment lost severely in killed and wounded, including the gallant lieutenant-colonel, yet they all fell in line as correctly in position as if they had been formed for parade, and the ground in front of the regiment was thickly strewn with the bodies of the brave enemy. The rebel force, however, was defeated, and from a strong defense the regiment quickly assumed the offensive, and, making a countercharge, swept the enemy from the field, and formed a part of the line that drove them back in disorder.

“This was a type of his military service. The same cool, deliberate courage, undaunted defiance of danger, and intelligent and judicious judgment characterized his actions through the various engagements that followed at Peach Or-

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chard, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Glendale, or Nelson's Farm, as it is sometimes called, and Malvern Hill. During the last two engagements his regiment was in the thickest of the fight, and in the most exposed positions; yet its action was like the true steel, strong and inflexible in all its encounters.

“From Malvern Hill the regiment moved to Harrison's Landing, where it remained until the army was withdrawn from the Peninsula—moved back again to Alexandria, Virginia, where they had embarked several months before. It then moved south to Centreville, where it acted as a partial reserve, but was not brought into serious engagements. From Centreville it was withdrawn back to the District of Columbia, thence through Maryland to the vicinity of South Mountain, and finally fought upon the field of Antietam. In this engagement he distinguished himself, and crowned the regiment with glory. Being a part of the reserve of the Second Corps, it was not at first engaged, but during the battle was brought forward to strengthen the advancing line, and in a well-spirited charge pierced the enemy's line, wheeling to the right took the enemy in flank, captured two battle-flags and between two and three

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hundred prisoners, in what is known as the 'Sunken Road,' which was covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded of the enemy.

"From this position he again assumed the advance, but was stricken down by the discharge of a battery of artillery in his front, and received the severe wound of a shrapnel shot in the groin, which crippled him for several months. He was then promoted to the grade of brigadier-general, and returned to the field in the spring of 1863, and was assigned to a division of the Eleventh Corps. He exercised the same vigilance in the care and discipline in this as he had in former commands, and was engaged at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg, where he was again disabled by a severe wound, and in the retreat the first day was left upon the field, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He was, however, treated with due consideration, and the following day in the advance of our forces he was rescued and sent back to the hospital. This severe wound kept him out of the field for several months, but he returned in time to take part in the campaign the following spring, and was assigned to the first division of the Second Army Corps.

"He was engaged in the fierce battles of the

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Wilderness, where his command took a most important part, and also at Po River. When it was determined to make the assault upon the angle of the enemy's line at Spottsylvania, it was decided that the Second Corps should be the leading command in that great assault, and his division was selected to act as the pivot in that movement. It was considered a most hazardous undertaking, and great doubt was expressed as to the success of the enterprise. He, however, determined to make it a success as far as possible, and decided to make the assaulting column so strong as to render it invincible. He therefore gave orders for the division to be massed in double column by regiments, two brigades in the front line and two brigades immediately in reserve. The character of the country was not very well known. He was expected to charge, and there was some speculation as to the results. After a long, tedious march during the dark night, the command arrived in position in the gray of the morning, and what little information he could gain from the officers who had been reconnoitring the day before was somewhat vague; yet without hesitation they went from column of fours into the formation known as double column on the cen-

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tre, and advanced practically forty men deep over rolling country and through some timber, until they reached the picket line of the enemy, and received their fire without returning it. They rushed on as rapidly as possible to gain the main line of works as soon as practicable. The troops were embarrassed by having to go through slashed brush and timber, and also receiving the fire of the enemy's batteries and infantry, yet without a halt. They rushed on until they reached the chevaux-de-frise, and by main force seized them, tore them to pieces, and rushed on to meet a line of bayonets in the hands of men who had stoutly held their position to receive the attack. By a preponderance of numbers and great overwhelming force, however, the bayonets were crossed but an instant of time, and the line of battle was practically overrun by the great force of the assaulting party. Twelve battle-flags, twenty pieces of artillery, and about three thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the division, as the fruits of one of the most desperate and successful assaults that was ever made.

“Its victory, however, was not to be enjoyed unmolested. A counter-charge was im-

mediately made by the enemy's troops in reserve, and a most desperate battle was fought over the ground, lasting for nine hours, in which portions of the ground were absolutely covered with the dead and wounded. In many places it was impossible to walk without stepping upon the bodies of the dead, and acres of ground were thickly covered with the dead and wounded of both armies.

“From this field the command moved on to the field of North Anna and Tolopotomy, where it was severely engaged, and also in the desperate battle of Cold Harbor, where it succeeded in piercing the enemy's line; but as other parts of the line were not successful, the fruits of its victory were of little value. Thence it crossed the James River, and engaged in the desperate battles in front of Petersburg, and at Deep Bottom, on the north side of the James River. The severity of the campaign had so undermined his strength as to compel him to leave the field for a time, and he was out of the field until the following campaign of 1865.

“On returning to the Second Corps, he was present during the retreat of the Confederate army from Richmond and Petersburg, and took

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part in the engagements at High Bridge, Farmville, and was present at the surrender of the Confederate army at Appomattox.

“Under the most depressing circumstances he never was without hope and fortitude. He was apparently utterly devoid of the sensation of fear, constantly aggressive, and intensely earnest in the discharge of all duties. His integrity of purpose, independence of character, and sterling honesty in the assertion of what he believed to be right and just, made him a marked man among public men. He abhorred a coward; had a perfect contempt for a demagogue, and despised a hypocrite. He believed in the administration of public affairs with the most rigid integrity, and did not hesitate to denounce wrong as he believed it to exist, and maintain what he believed to be right under all circumstances.

“The gentle, wholesome influence and teachings he received in his youth doubtless inspired him to fulfill those principles contained in the lines of ‘Fair Harvard:’—

“‘With freedom to think, and with patience to
bear,
And for right ever bravely to live.’

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“I esteem myself fortunate to have enjoyed for more than thirty years his friendship,—a friendship that was both sincere and earnest, and, with the thousands who knew and respected him, I can but offer my humble tribute to his memory.”

Such is the military history of the senior officer in the War of the Rebellion among the Harvard soldiers. He had entered college in 1851, and throughout his entire course was poor and struggling under peculiar burdens. He was a fine scholar in all departments of study. He did not manifest special fondness for any particular branch at that time, but seemed to be equally good in all kinds of intellectual work. When he graduated at the head of the Class of 1855, he had a colleague in this honor in Robert Treat Paine, but Barlow was the elder twin. College standing in those days was determined by the gross total of the marks received during the four years' course. The system of computation was crude; for absence and behavior both affected in some degree the amount of credits. But the curious coincidence of identical totals did actually occur in the case of Barlow and Paine. Professor Joseph Lovering, whose function as Regent included the

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preparation of the rank-list, told the writer some years after our graduation that he twice went through the calculation and reached both times the same result.

When we graduated, nothing could have seemed more wildly improbable to Barlow's classmates than that he should ever attain military renown. Neither his personal bearing nor his tastes had foreshadowed in any degree a military career, although he was generally believed to have once discharged certain heavy artillery in the State Arsenal yard, on a winter's night during his Freshman year. But retrospect in the light of subsequent events discloses in his college life very distinctly those qualities which characterized his later career and made him so successful as a soldier. He always perceived existing facts and relations with singular precision and quickness. He prided himself in college upon having no illusions, and was resolved to see things as they really were. He then, and ever afterwards, spoke his thoughts without restraint, and with a singular and almost contemptuous disregard of consequence. He indulged throughout his life in a very unusual freedom, not to say license, of speech. He acted and spoke without paying any regard

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to what man could do, or say, or think about him. His total want of reverence and apparent inability to be afraid tended undoubtedly to impair his capacity to form high ideals. He lacked that keen perception of eternal verities which was the source of Phillips Brooks's power in men's lives. Nevertheless, this limitation upon his power for veneration and imagination and poetic conception rendered peculiarly conspicuous a certain honesty of thought and independence in action which is by no means common among men. The secret of Barlow's success in military life lay in his clear perception of the actual situation, and his fearless readiness to realize that perception in action. His boldness enabled him instantly to carry into act what his quick eye saw; and this power of prompt decision and utter fearlessness peculiarly fitted him to lead men in the crisis of battle. He was reputed among our leading soldiers to possess singular ability for seizing the right moment for daring act in the crisis of an event. The good which he could win, he never lost by fearing to attempt. This habit of cool promptitude enabled him to seize the right instant for storming the salient at Spottsylvania, just as the want of this quality in other leaders

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caused the disaster in the Mine on the Petersburg front. If this intelligent courage, not to say audacity, of temper was the mainspring of his military success, it is also plain that he had acquired at his University a trained intelligence which much increased his power for effective action. When he became a soldier, he turned the full strength of his mental powers with intense energy to study the science of war. He made himself master of every detail of tactics, and was eminent for his minute and thorough knowledge and rigid discipline. He thus established his control over his troops by filling his men with absolute faith in his ability to lead them. In his subsequent life he exhibited the same undaunted spirit and power to see through appearance, which made him first among our college soldiers.

It is well to remember how young were the men who fought that war. When Barlow sheathed his sword, and his war record was closed forever, he had been not quite ten years out of college.

When the war was ended, he declined a commission in the regular army, and in September, 1865, was elected by the Republicans to the office of secretary of state in New York. This

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event led him to resume the practice of law in New York, where he opened an office in May, 1866. Failing to be renominated, he continued his practice at the bar until May, 1869, when General Grant, upon the recommendation of Judge E. R. Hoar who was then attorney-general, appointed him United States marshal for the southern district of New York. He retained this office about six months, but took much satisfaction during that time in cleaning out what had become a nest of corruption. He removed every person there within the first week and filled all the places with honest and capable men. During his term of office, the attempts of filibusters to send men, arms, and supplies to aid the Cuban insurrection came very near involving the United States in controversy with Spain through violation of the neutrality laws. That these attempts did not produce serious international complications between Spain and the United States may justly be credited to Barlow's energy. The President, by special commission, conferred upon Barlow extraordinary powers, under the Act of 1818, and gave him command over the military, naval, and revenue forces of New England, New York, and New Jersey. He really conducted a cam-

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paign, and actually captured by force in New York harbor a large party of Cuban recruits, with materials of war, as their vessel was about to leave the harbor. He thus broke up completely their expeditions, and stopped the departure of men and arms from that city. When this emergency was over and he had prevented an occurrence which Spain seemed ready to regard as an act of war, he resigned, because the salary was inadequate and the duties of the office prevented his professional work, on which he depended for his living. His career as marshal showed both legal judgment and personal courage in a very unusual degree.

In 1871 he was one of the founders of the Bar Association, the first institution of its kind, and began the attack upon Fisk, Gould, and David Dudley Field, their counsel. He preferred formal charges against Field which involved Judges Barnard and Cardozo. He became one of the Committee of Seventy, and afterwards was one of its paid counsel. He was then elected attorney-general of New York, and held that office during 1872 and 1873, and, as attorney-general, had superintendence of the counsel and direction of the contest which resulted in the overthrow of Tweed and his as-

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sociates. He officially instituted most of the legal proceedings which, under the guidance of Charles O'Connor, Samuel J. Tilden, and other eminent lawyers, resulted in the removal of Judge Barnard and the reformation of many other judicial abuses.

He dared to attack a corrupt judiciary when success seemed as doubtful as the forlorn hope had seemed desperate in storming the salient. The moral courage he displayed in his leadership in this civic struggle was magnificent indeed. Others followed, but he led. How important a part he played appears in a letter of the Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, late Secretary of the United States Treasury, from which it is permitted to quote:—

“The law firm of which I was at that time a member was employed in some suits against canal contractors, and it fell to me to attend to that business. This brought me in close professional contact with General Barlow. His devotion to public duty, his bravery and aggressiveness therein, and disregard of selfish considerations or consequences to himself, filled me with admiration and enthusiasm, and, I see, as I recall it now, set me a standard of public duty that has influenced all my life since. I believe

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that, if it had not been for General Barlow's zealous work, it would never have come to Mr. Tilden to take the position that he did upon canal matters, a position to which Mr. Tilden owed the immediate prestige that compelled his nomination for the presidency in 1876. Tilden but took up and carried on the work that General Barlow had begun, and begun under circumstances of great difficulty and great danger to himself, for he was all alone. Not another State officer dared stand with him at the beginning of the fight. Before that time he had so pursued and pointed out the judicial wrongs that surrounded the Erie and other litigations that his work was one of the chief contributions to what culminated in the impeachment of the judges. I believe that the State owes General Barlow more than she does any single man for results without which the life of an honest man would have been intolerable in this State."

But Barlow was not renominated for his office. He did not work well in political harness. His readiness to speak his mind as to what he thought, and to tell the whole truth about what he saw, did not harmonize well with those methods which achieve political success where offices depend upon caucuses and popular

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votes. He had also made many enemies, who sought his defeat for personal ends. There is an unhappy significance in the fact that almost all of the high public functions which Barlow administered, and which gave him the opportunity to do great deeds, came to him rather by appointment than election.

At the time of the Hayes and Tilden controversy about the presidency in 1876, Barlow was one of the prominent Republicans who were invited to go, and went, to Florida, to witness the count and investigate into the details of the electoral vote of that State. His bold and frank statement of the facts did not suit at all the purposes of some other visiting statesmen, as they were termed, or of the party with which Barlow had acted. It was said that he was never forgiven for telling the whole story, as he did, about the transactions of that time in Florida, and the facts of the election. He displayed the same spirit then which he had shown when he was United States marshal and had been assessed by his party's committee for a party subscription. The amount of his assessment was based upon the very large income which was generally believed to be, directly or indirectly, within the marshal's reach. The

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letter in which General Barlow declined to pay an assessment based upon supposed pickings and stealings, and not upon the honest salary of his office, did credit to his old teacher of rhetoric. It attracted much attention, and received much commendation from men who were not practical politicians, but it was not acceptable to the managers of political affairs in his party at that time. In short, it became very evident, in the course of years, that he lacked that suppleness of disposition which is an element so potent in gaining political office in this country.

Memorial Hall at Cambridge is for the graduates of Harvard a shrine of memory and reconciliation. The different classes which graduated just before the Civil War have placed in the great dining hall a series of windows commemorative of their own classmates. The window of the class of 1855 contains the figures of the great preacher and the great soldier of the First Crusade. These figures actually reproduce the faces, and symbolize the lives of the two most famous members of the class, Phillips Brooks and Frank Barlow. Each in his own way was the embodiment of duty faithfully done in the presence of a cloud of wit-

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nesses. What ancient heroes are more fitted to stir with noble aspirations the hearts of the young men who pass year after year through the University? What pictured forms can better shadow forth to future generations the kind of man the college tries to make?

VII
HENRY STURGIS RUSSELL

BY
JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

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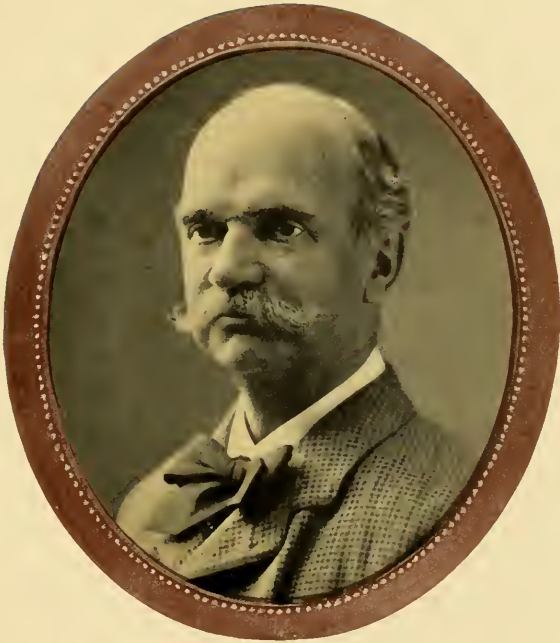
Colonel Russell's lineage, on both sides, was of the best New England type. His grandfather, Jonathan Russell, was 'Minister to Sweden, Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, Commissioner at Ghent to frame the treaty after the War of 1812, and a Representative in Congress. George Russell, son of Jonathan, graduated at Brown University, studied law with the distinguished John Sergeant of Philadelphia, but later turned to commerce and founded the house of Russell & Sturgiss in Manila. Returning thence, after eleven years, with a comfortable fortune, he married Sarah (Parkman) Shaw, daughter of Robert G. Shaw. Thereafter he lived at West Roxbury, and later on his estate in Jube's Lane. He was a gentleman of literary taste, and of note and influence. Henry Sturgis Russell, the first son and second child, named after his father's partner, was born June 21, 1838, at Savin Hill, then a seaside resort for the summer months.

Henry, always more pleasantly known as

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Harry, in early boyhood drifted through several schools, of which one was that of Brook Farm where the famous Social Experiment was then in progress. Later he studied several years at the private school of Mr. E. S. Dixwell, whence in 1856 he went to Harvard College, and graduated in 1860. Though little addicted to book learning, he acquitted himself fairly well by steadfastly facing the duty of study. He was popular; of too sober a temperament to be a leader, but for the same reason highly respected.

In 1861 Russell was in the office of that excellent merchant, William Perkins, the business nursery of so many young Bostonians. Promptly joining the Fourth Battalion, he went with it to Fort Independence, in Boston Harbor; and there, for a month, he was thoroughly drilled by Gen. Thomas G. Stevenson, a born commander of soldiers. From this admirable tutelage he passed into active service as 1st Lieutenant in the 2d Mass. Vol. Infantry (May 28, 1861); Dec. 13, 1861, he got his company. His first serious engagement was at Cedar Mountain where the blunder of General Banks caused so shocking a slaughter. When the regiment was ordered to retreat, Capt. Russell performed an act of generous loyalty to his dear friend Lieu-



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tenant-Colonel Savage, which afterwards, at the Harvard exercises held in honor of the graduates slain in the war (July 21, 1865), was thus narrated by Governor Andrew:

“I know of no incident of more perfect, of more heroic, gentility, bespeaking a noble nature, than the act performed by one Captain of the 2d Mass., . . . who, standing by the side of Lieut.-Colonel Savage, . . . fatally wounded, not believed by the enemy to be worth the saving, refused to surrender until he had wrung from the enemy the pledge that they would, in capturing him, save also his comrade and bear him back to the nearest hospital; declaring that, if they did not, he, single-handed and alone, would fight it out, and sell his life at the dearest cost.” At these words Col. Henry Lee, '36, sprang up and called for three cheers for Col. Harry Russell, which were well given. Col. Savage died of his wounds a few days afterward, and later Russell named his first-born son after his friend. The result of Russell's sacrifice was a miserable captivity in Libby Prison. He was liberated Nov. 15, 1862; and on Jan. 22, 1863, was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2d Mass Cav. On April 5, 1864, he accepted the colonelcy of the 5th Mass.

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Cav., a negro regiment. He was loath to leave his comrades of the Second Cavalry; the advancement in rank was inconsiderable; the command of colored troops was then little desired. The inducement, however, was characteristic. Between Russell and his cousin, Robert G. Shaw, '60, there had existed since childhood a close, even a romantic friendship. Shaw's death at the head of his colored troops at Fort Wagner had then lately occurred; and now Russell, taking the offered colonelcy, quietly said, "Bob would have liked to have me do it," and thus simply settled the matter. The Shaw family had long been ultra-Abolitionists; Mr. George Russell, more moderate, was yet decidedly anti-slavery. Col. Russell shared his father's views, insisting always that the war was for the Union, but welcoming the disappearance of slavery as a happy result. It was at the head of this regiment on June 15, 1864, before Petersburg, that Col. Russell received his first wound, a severe one; but he also received special commendation from General Grant which led, a year later, to his brevet as Brigadier-General of Volunteers "for distinguished gallantry and good conduct."

On May 6, 1864, Col. Russell married Mary

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Hathaway Forbes, daughter of the Hon. John M. Forbes. Feb. 14, 1865, by reason of illness in the family, he left the army, and entered his father-in-law's firm, where he remained three years, but developed little taste for business and gladly escaped to more congenial pursuits. He established at West Roxbury the famous Home Farm, which two years later he removed to his handsome estate midway between Milton Hill and the Blue Hills, where he passed the rest of his life. Here he indulged his passion for horses, built fine stables, laid out broad pastures, and kept some of the most famous trotting stallions in the country, notably Fearnaught, Smuggler and Edgemark. Later he turned his attention to Jersey cattle. In 1878, he accepted, from Mayor Pierce, the position of Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners. The police, hitherto managed by an aldermanic committee, had of course sunk into a pitiable condition, from which Russell was expected to retrieve it by his great faculty for organization and his extraordinary capacity for the control of men. For two years he toiled hard, vigilant by night and laborious by day, and brought the force into fine shape. Then he resigned; for in fact he was altogether too much of a

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man to be only a third part of anything; he was not meant to be a fraction, or to contribute to averages and compromises. So he returned to his fields, and had some long, pleasant years there until, Jan. 14, 1895, Mayor Curtis appointed him Fire Commissioner. Here also there was nominally a board of three; but it was understood that the other two should not be appointed save at request of Col. Russell, which request of course never came. So until his death he remained in absolute control. It was long and arduous work to bring the department up to his ideal, but he left it undoubtedly the best organized, and the most efficient fire department in the country. At the beginning the politicians came with their usual demands for "influence," but quickly learned that they had absolutely none! Shocked and angry at so "un-American" a condition, they would fain have ejected the Colonel; but they found him evenly indifferent to threats, gallantly backed by the powerful insurance interests, and attending to business as if such cattle as politicians did not exist. In time they appreciated the situation, and ceased from troubling; and no mayor of either party ever disturbed the Fire Commissioner. With his subalterns he was

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popular; and even with the rank and file; for though very rigid and a strict disciplinarian, he was not a martinet. During his term, he made short work of disquieting agitations concerning hours and pay which meddlesome politicians sought to stir; yet his men, proud of being parts of so fine an organization as he had created, did not audibly murmur. He was a strong commander, and he reaped the fruits of it. During the last year of his life, failing health prevented his always giving the close daily attention which he had hitherto rendered without a day of vacation, but he rested easy in the knowledge that the perfect machinery could run a long while without disorder. So he was still in office when death came to him, in Boston, Feb. 16, 1905.

Though he achieved much, his friends knew that his qualities surpassed his achievements. Character counted in him for more than intellect. His mind worked in a simple, straightforward way, and he reached his conclusions by direct processes, without subtlety. Thus his convictions were strong and definite, and his judgment positive. Naturally, his action followed resolutely, decisively, without compromise. He gave the impression of reserved force, and

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was a man not lightly to be opposed. He was modest, yet conscious of his strong qualities, and by consequence self-reliant. His moral courage was equal to his physical, and fear of any sort was utterly absent in his make-up; but with his masculine strength he combined a very affectionate nature; loyal and kindly, he gave and received warm affection; domestic in his tastes, he knew nothing else so pleasant as to live always at home; the family circle, his own house, his own fields gave him complete and sufficient happiness. Though neither impulsive nor demonstrative, he came instinctively into human touch with all men in every rank of life. Without being imperious, he was always thoroughly the master of his soldiers, his policemen, his firemen, and his employees. His judgments of them were strict, but just, and as generous as the circumstances would permit. At times taciturn, and indisposed to sustained conversation, he yet had a terse, original, and lively wit, which never failed him even in the latest days of weakness and suffering.

VIII
ROGER WOLCOTT
BY
WILLIAM LAWRENCE

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When Roger Wolcott died, the Commonwealth mourned, for there had been taken from her one who, holding her highest office, had expressed in his character her finest traditions, and who had thereby won the affection as well as the admiration of the people.

Roger Wolcott was happy in his ancestry. For two centuries his fathers had been men of force and influence. His very name suggested heroic incidents in American history; for it was his ancestor, Roger Wolcott, lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, who in 1745 was second in command of the expedition of Sir William Pepperell against Cape Breton, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg. In the war of the Revolution another ancestor, Oliver Wolcott, was made brigadier-general,—the same Oliver who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and second governor of the State of Connecticut. His son, Oliver, was in the cabinet of President Washington, as Secretary of

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the Treasury. On his mother's side, too, there was a long line of worthy men and patriots.

He was born in Boston, July 13, 1847, and was the son of Joshua Huntington and Cornelia (Frothingham) Wolcott. His father had come to Boston from Connecticut in 1822 to enter the office of A. & A. Lawrence, merchants. He was later made a partner in the firm. During his boyhood, therefore, Roger Wolcott became familiar with the talk, interests, and principles of Boston commercial life. Both parents inherited the love of culture which has been so typical of New England's best life. A quiet temperament, active mind, and sensitive constitution led him to a deeper interest in literature than was common amongst his schoolmates. A strong religious atmosphere pervaded the home; for both parents, by inheritance and conviction Unitarians, exemplified a high type of the religion of New England.

When young Roger was in the most formative period of his boyhood, there entered into his life one of those tragedies of the home with which the past generation was familiar, and which left a deep mark in his character. The war of the Rebellion was running its course. The boys of Dixwell's School were following



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with interest its victories and defeats. They had seen one of its masters go to the front with a sword in his hand which they had given him. Huntington Wolcott, Roger's only brother, two years older than himself, was in the first class, not yet ready for college. He was a handsome boy, with frank face, bright smile, and curly hair; not so much of a scholar as his brother; of athletic mould; the captain of the school in its military drill, no boy in the school was more popular. It was whispered among the boys from time to time that "Hunty" Wolcott was anxious to enlist, that his father was firm against it, for the war was almost over, and he was too young. Finally the report ran through the school that his father had yielded, and one bright day saw Dixwell's School presenting their playmate with a sword, and heard their cheers as he passed out of Boylston Place. A few months later, and all that remained on earth of the beautiful boy rested quiet in his father's home: fever had laid him low and brought him to death.

Roger, a boy of seventeen, was the only child now left in that darkened house. The spirit of patriotism which was born in him now began to bear fruit, and the devotion to his parents,

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which never flagged, and at times dominated his life, was now revealed.

He entered Harvard College with the Class of 1870. The few who then knew him intimately appreciated his simplicity and gentle nature as well as his intellectual ability. He was not, however, of a temperament to reach out to a wider circle or to make himself immediately felt. As the years passed, he developed, and his sincerity, geniality, and force of character were recognized by an ever-increasing circle. From the day of his birth (Dr. Holmes would say two or three generations before his birth) Roger Wolcott was a gentleman. He was as much so, yet in a perfectly boyish way, at Dixwell's School as he was at the State House. Consequently, he was elected into the social and literary clubs of the College, and, when the Class Day elections came, he was by general consent the one man to be considered for the position of Orator. He was also selected to deliver a Commencement part.

For a man of his tastes, the natural step was to the Law School. He had no special love for the law, and little ambition to excel in the courts. His sympathies were with literature, he inherited an interest in commerce, and he was alive with

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the spirit of patriotism. A training in the law would prepare him for whatever service he might enter, for he was too earnest and industrious a man to have ever dreamed of a life of leisure or aimless culture. It was natural, too, that he should, while studying law, become for one year, 1871-1872, a tutor at the College in History and French. He entered the office of Thornton K. Lothrop, Esq., and in 1874 became a member of the Suffolk bar. During the next few years, his professional calling was that of law, his real interests were in literature, philanthropic institutions, and his home, with an increasing movement towards public life.

In 1874, by his marriage with Edith Prescott, the grand-daughter of Prescott the historian, he united two of the noble families of New England, and gained for his constant companion one whose devotion, wisdom, and force of character were his support and inspiration to the end. At the same time his filial piety was unflagging, and to his parents in their declining years he gave a rare and beautiful devotion. In 1885 he was elected an Overseer of Harvard College; and therewith continued his long service to the University, which claimed his affections to the last.

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It is one of the glories of democracy that, when the public service calls, there come from all ranks men ready and able to serve her. From one class there have risen men who, surrounded by everything that is associated with privilege and aristocracy, have revealed a spirit of democracy which is unexcelled. There was no young man in Boston in 1877 who to the superficial observer was more of an aristocrat than Roger Wolcott: and the same was true to the end. A noble ancestry, wealth, and culture were his. The whole bearing of the man was that of the best aristocracy. That he had the convictions and heart of the best democracy is now recognized by all men. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that men, women, and children of every class — the bootblack, the plough-boy, the school-teacher, the shopkeeper, and the doctor — have claimed him as their friend and the representative of their best ideals. It was fortunate, therefore, that those who were casting about for a nominee for the common council of the city of Boston in 1877 should have hit upon Roger Wolcott, and that by his election the community should have drawn him into its service.

The seriousness of purpose, industry, con-

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scientiousness, and ability which went with him through life now began to be revealed to a larger circle. It was natural that soon after he had served in the common council, in the years 1877, 1878, and 1879, with credit to himself and the city, he should have been elected to the lower house of the Legislature. During 1882, 1883, and 1884, he was a hardworking and efficient member of that house. On the committees he did his full share of duty. He made no special mark by any great speech or sensational action. He simply gained and gained steadily in the confidence of the members of the house.

In the year 1884, the Republican party had reached a point where, under the domination of its machine, it nominated, in spite of the protest of a large fraction of its early and noblest members, James G. Blaine for the presidency. The moral sense and political judgment of Roger Wolcott revolted against this action, and, though still at heart in sympathy with the greater principles of the Republican party, he cast his vote in the presidential election for Mr. Cleveland. Although he received high honors from the Republican party in later years, no one, to my knowledge, ever heard him express a word of regret for that vote. He esteemed his action

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then as the best service that he could do for the nation, which was more to him than party, and incidentally he believed that it was the best service that he could do for the Republican party.

In the reaction which set in against the Republican party during the administration of President Harrison, the Democrats gained strength in Massachusetts. They had a worthy and strong leader in William E. Russell. He had won, as he deserved, the confidence and loyalty not only of his own party but of thousands of citizens who were good Republicans or whose party affiliations sat lightly upon them. A group of high-minded and ardent Republicans of the younger generation felt that something should be done to stem the tide and to bring before the Commonwealth a type of Republicanism which was different in some of its characteristics from that element which was in control of the national and state party. They organized the Republican Club of Massachusetts; and in selecting a standard-bearer for the younger Republicanism, their eye naturally fastened upon Roger Wolcott as their first president. His inaugural speech, with its outspoken language, its program of a better Republican-

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ism, its clarion call to the young men to set before them higher ideals of political life, confirmed the wisdom of his selection and called the attention of the Commonwealth to an element of political life in their midst which had to be reckoned with.

In September, 1892, was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, the Republican State Convention. Mr. Haile, the lieutenant-governor, was nominated for governor. The interesting issue was upon the nomination for lieutenant-governor. There was a conviction on the part of some of the Republicans that the president of the Republican Club was such a leader of youth that he could enter into the lists at election with that other youthful leader, Governor Russell. The competition between the candidates was sharp, but the question was settled upon the second ballot, and by a vote of 499 to 473 Roger Wolcott became the nominee for lieutenant-governor. His position as lieutenant-governor under a Democratic governor, and with a governor's council at odds with the governor on certain questions of policy and matters of appointment, was a delicate one. His courtesy never failed him, and, while supporting what he believed to be the true principles, he

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and the governor always sustained that respect for each other's opinions and that mutual regard which go with strong characters touched by the graces of Christian culture.

After three years of honorable service as governor, William E. Russell retired, and the year 1894 saw a change of administration. Frederick T. Greenhalge, of Lowell, who made an excellent record as representative to Congress, a Republican, was elected, with Roger Wolcott as lieutenant-governor. The same administration followed in 1895 and 1896. To be elected four times to a public office which is clearly a subordinate position, to hold it for over three years with such dignity, efficiency, and grace as to gain the confidence of the people and to keep them assured that the faculty of leadership is still there, is no mean task. When Governor Greenhalge, with whom the lieutenant-governor had always worked in sympathy and mutual regard, died, there was no doubt in the public mind that the acting governor could take up the task and administer the office with force as well as with that conscientiousness and grace already familiar to the people. As acting governor he served almost a whole year. Then for three successive years he was elected governor. This

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was not without some questioning and even opposition within the recesses of the party. Roger Wolcott was not a skilful politician; his seriousness of purpose sometimes caused him to lose even legitimate political influence. He never deviated in the slightest from what he believed to be the right and honorable path, for the sake of any political gain either for his party or for himself. The sentiment arose now and again that he was not quite the man for party leadership. He sometimes neglected to notice sufficiently, he even offended by an honest and outspoken word, some influential man in the party. There were occasions when a more skilled and at the same time an honorable action would have enabled him to avoid some misunderstandings by the people. It augurs well for the Commonwealth that, whatever some politicians might say, Roger Wolcott had the confidence of the people. He was a vote-getter because the people trusted him. They knew that what he promised he would do. Therefore to him belongs the honor of polling by far the largest majority that has ever been given to a governor of Massachusetts.

A glance at his administration reveals no great political crisis or constitutional change.

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His work was simply the administration of the highest executive office of the Commonwealth,—an office far more burdensome and important and far more potent for good or evil than most people realize. Under the present arrangement of government by commissions, the efficiency of the administration of the public service is largely dependent upon the personnel of the commissions. Upon the governor rests the responsibility of appointment. It is often the case that the men best fitted for public positions are the most difficult to get. Therefore a governor, besides having a high conception of the class of men needed, and an insight into the character and ability of men, must also have a personality and a persuasive or magnetic quality that will lead men to see the importance of the office, and induce them to take it. Governor Wolcott had that quality, and the result was that his appointees were of an unusually excellent character and ability.

In questions of legislation he felt deeply his responsibility. The return of an act to the legislature with his veto meant much labor and serious thought, and sometimes real moral courage. Possibly his sensitive conscience and earnest desire to do what was right prevented him

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at times from seeing things in their true perspective. With rare exceptions, however, he was sustained by the legislature and public opinion. By his word and action, the fear of his veto was a potent influence, and on several occasions caused the amendment or defeat of unwise legislation. It was natural that his historic sense and artistic temperament should have led him to take an active part in saving the Bulfinch front of the State House.

At the breaking out of the war with Spain, Governor Wolcott was keenly alert to all the demands of the nation and the people. He had so anticipated action that under his administration Massachusetts sustained her ancient reputation for putting soldiers earliest into the field, equipped and ready for active service. The memories of his boyhood and of his soldier brother, struck down by fever, prompted him to organize the Volunteer Aid Association, which, by its hospital ship, *The Bay State*, and by its various agencies, ministered to the comfort and safety of soldiers of other States and of the regular army, as well as those of Massachusetts. During those months the governor was as truly at the service of the nation night and day as any soldier in the field. Wherever

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he was most wanted, there he went,— to camp, to hospital, to the sick soldier in his home, or to the council chamber. Although there was still the bright smile and vigorous step, he seemed to some of us perceptibly to age.

The people of the Commonwealth had become familiar with his face and presence. He had spoken to hundreds of thousands of them at public meetings and dinners, and on the round of public functions so wearing to the governor, but sometimes so grateful in its public recognition. They were proud of his integrity, his bearing, and his beauty. During the war, they saw, or rather felt, the heart of the man revealed, his sympathy, tenderness, his thought for the individual, his grace and Christian charity. From that time he was built into the affections and heart of the people in a way that has been the privilege of very few public servants in the history of our country. Those who saw him at the dedication of Grant's Tomb in New York will never forget the scene. Well mounted, dressed with the severe simplicity of the governor of Massachusetts, a black frock coat and tall hat, with no gilt or gay caparison to call attention to him or to detract from his radiant beauty, he sat the saddle for hours in that bitter

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wind, waiting the command to move. Then, as he and his staff swept up the avenue and broke from the rolling cloud of dust into the sight of the people, the flash of his white hair, the flush of his face, and the brilliancy of the whole man moved the multitude, and there burst forth such a shout as would in other ages have welcomed home a Crusader. For to the people, even those who knew not his name or office, he seemed to represent the beauty and glory of the knight-hood of America.

The opening of the year 1900 found Roger Wolcott again a private citizen. For seven successive years he had served the State with honor. The people saw in him a man whom they wished to promote to larger responsibilities and higher honors. The President of the United States offered him first a position upon the Commission to the Philippines, and then that of Ambassador to the court of Italy. He declined both with full appreciation of the honor. For the present he had done his duty in the public service. He felt that he had a high and God-given responsibility in his home and in leading his children into the paths their ancestors had walked. One dream of his busy years was fulfilled. A few bright and happy months in Europe with his

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wife and children were given him. The pleasure was unalloyed, because won by hard work and sacrifice.

He returned in the autumn in time to vote. He was in the fulness of his powers, radiant. A few weeks later, and all was over. The same typhoid fever that laid his brother low brought him to death. On the afternoon of December 21, 1900, at his home in Boston, his fight for life was ended, and Roger Wolcott, a pure, chivalrous, and high-minded gentleman, a patriot, a humble Christian, fell asleep.

IX
WILLIAM EUSTIS RUSSELL
BY
CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

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Three years ago this month, at the one hundredth anniversary of Williams College, the Governor of the Commonwealth began his speech with these words: "An honorable, useful life, whether of an individual or institution, is always worth commemorating, not only as our grateful remembrance of worthy things accomplished, but as a duty to make them an influence helpful to the present and future. And when such a life is part of the history of the State, interwoven with her work and fulfilling her high ideals, it is fitting that she should give it her recognition and commendation."

He who spoke these words was the man to do honor to whose memory we are assembled here to-night, a man whose life has now become, alas! a part of the history of the State, and who,

* A Memorial Address, delivered in Sanders Theatre at the invitation of the City of Cambridge, Oct. 26, 1896. Mayor W. A. Bancroft, '78, presided at the Memorial Exercises, Bishop Lawrence, '71, offered a prayer, and the Beacon and Albion Quartets sang "Integer Vitae," "Into the Silent Land," and "America."

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above any other of her younger sons in public life, fulfilled the high ideals of the Commonwealth, the dear mother of us all, who now mourns for him.

It is especially becoming for this city to commemorate gratefully, with every token of respect and of affection, the life of her child, born within her borders, trained in her schools, who gave his early years of manhood to her service, and displayed first in her offices those qualities which secured for him the confidence of the people of Massachusetts, and led them to select him thrice, with special personal selection, for the highest office of the State.

The public career of Governor Russell is comprised within the brief space of fifteen years. He had graduated at Harvard in 1877, he had been admitted to the bar in 1880, and in 1881, at the age of 24 years, he was elected a member of the Cambridge Common Council. His entrance into public service afforded a curious forecast of his later successes. His election to the Council was both unsought and unexpected by him. He had received no regular nomination, but, on the morning of the election, when he went to the polls to cast his vote, he found to his surprise that friends of his were distrib-



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uting slips bearing his name to be pasted on the ballot in substitution for the name of the regular nominee. It was too late to interfere, and when the result of the voting was ascertained, it appeared that he had been elected by a majority of a single vote.

What is now known as the " Cambridge Idea " had not yet become the principle and determined the character of our civic politics. But of that idea, which includes in its meaning the combination of good morals and good sense in the administration of the affairs of the city, young William Russell was the representative. After a year's service in the Common Council he was chosen for two years successively a member of the Board of Aldermen. The affairs of the City of Cambridge, from the date of its charter, had in the main been discreetly and uprightly administered. But good government was not entrenched, as it now is, in the City Hall, and there had been a period, not long before, when the business of the city had been managed not in the general interest, but with a view to private ends and personal advancement. During Mr. Russell's term of service as alderman there were symptoms in the Executive Department of the government of a recurrence of such conditions,

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and it became obvious that effort was required to withstand them. Mr. Russell had already shown such qualities as put him at the head of the movement for reform, and in the autumn of 1884 he was nominated for the mayoralty by an independent body of citizens, and in December was elected mayor upon a ticket which had the support of a majority of voters without distinction of party. He was chosen mayor, year after year, for the four years from 1885 to 1888, and such was the general approval of his course as chief officer of the city that, for two of these years, he was the only candidate in the field.

The services which Mr. Russell rendered to the city of Cambridge during his mayoralty were signal and exceptional. In his Inaugural Address to the City Council in January, 1885, he stated certain principles which he believed should be followed in the administration of city affairs. The result of applying these principles with efficiency and integrity was set forth in a remarkable statement in his Address at the beginning of his second year of office. "The financial year began," he said, "with an almost empty treasury, with unpaid bills of over \$20,000, with a floating debt for current expenses

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of \$206,040, including a deficiency of \$35,040 to the city sinking-fund, and with the example before us of a year when expenses had largely exceeded appropriations, and a higher tax-rate had been fixed than for five years. The year has ended with the bills of 1884 all paid, and none of 1885 unpaid, the deficiency to the sinking-fund has been made good, the floating debt funded, \$16,000 of it paid into the sinking-fund, and no other floating debt created, expenses have been well kept within appropriations, the tax-rate is the lowest since 1874, and there remains a surplus in the treasury of nearly \$45,000. The needs of the city have been fully met. More money has been spent on our schools, more work done on our streets, more lamps have been set, more sewers have been laid, more has been done for health, fire and police protection, and more for the gentle, kindly care of our helpless poor, during the past year than for many years." It was not strange that the citizens approved an administration which secured such results. The succeeding years of Mr. Russell's term of service as mayor had a similar character. Great works of permanent local interest were undertaken and carried on partly by his originating impulse, partly with

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his efficient concurrence. The last year of his mayoralty was marked by one of the most memorable and striking events in the history of the city,—the gifts to it by Mr. Frederick H. Rindge,—gifts unique in their munificence and the importance of their objects. To this audience I need hardly recount them: the foundation of the Manual Training School, the site and building for the Public Library, the superb City Hall, the fine site for the High School. Such gifts were alike extraordinary in amount and in the admirable selection of the objects to which they were devoted; and while the city will hold the name of the donor in grateful honor and remembrance, it will associate with his name in similar remembrance that of the young Mayor, who had deservedly won the confidence of Mr. Rindge, and to whose wise suggestion the direction which the gifts should take was primarily due.

The fight which Mr. Russell had made against municipal corruption, the capacity which he displayed in his official career, and the distinction which he had secured for Cambridge as a municipality whose affairs were better administered than those of any other city in the Commonwealth, naturally drew attention to him

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throughout the State. The election of Mr. Cleveland to the Presidency in 1884, and the strong and able policy of his administration, had given a new prestige to the Democratic party, and restored a confidence to it which had long been wanting. In Massachusetts, where it had held a discredited position, not improved by the short interval of partial control of State affairs which it had obtained under the spectacular lead of General Butler, an attempt was now making, mainly by young men of high character, dissatisfied with the conduct of both parties alike, to restore credit to the Democratic party, and they found in Mayor Russell a standard-bearer admirably fitted for the functions of leader. Born, as he himself said, "a veteran Democrat," in other words, a member of the Democratic party by inheritance, yet not merely a member of that party, but a Democrat in the widest sense, alike by nature and by conviction, young, but already trained by difficult experience in executive office, popular wherever he was known, possessing in a rare degree the peculiar capacities of a public man, with a clear intelligence, a sound moral character and wide sympathies, and gifted with an attractive person, great capacity of labor, and unusual power of

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plain and forcible speech, addressed to the intelligence rather than to the emotions of an audience,— with such qualities and gifts he stood as the natural leader of his party in its efforts to recover character and place. He was nominated Governor in 1888, and defeated by a plurality of 28,000. But he had made himself known, and increased his reputation by a series of vigorous speeches throughout the State. The next year he was renominated, again he carried on an active campaign, again he was defeated, but by a largely reduced plurality,— not 7,000. In 1890 he was renominated again, and this year his character and his work brought success. His party generally was defeated, but he himself was elected by a plurality of more than 9,000 votes. No younger man had ever been elected by popular vote Governor of Massachusetts. He was reëlected in 1891 and 1892. Few men have ever deserved and received such an expression of intelligent public regard. No more remarkable personal triumph was ever known in the political history of our Commonwealth; and no more extraordinary combination was ever known in the administration of the State; for during the three years in which Mr.

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Russell held office as Governor, every other elected official, with a single comparatively unimportant exception, from the Lieutenant-Governor and the Secretary of State downwards, was a Republican. Russell, the leader of the Democratic party, was practically elected by the votes of his party adversaries. The Governor's Council and both branches of the Legislature were Republican.

Such facts as these are absolutely exceptional, and they are only to be accounted for by the rare character of the man thus exceptionally honored. He won, not because of any considerable change in the relations of parties in their comparative numerical proportions, but because of the personal impression he had made on the people of the State in the campaigns he had conducted, and of the confidence he had established in his integrity, in his capacity, his superiority to mere party considerations, and his devotion to the higher interests of the State. His triumph was a testimony not only to his own high qualities, but to the good sense of the body of the voters in discriminating between the objects of party victory and of public good. The Democratic party as a party did not hold the

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confidence of the majority of voters, but the individual Democrat, strong party man as he was, had deservedly gained their trust.

This unexampled triumph was, indeed, largely the direct result of the mode in which Governor Russell conducted his campaigns. He threw himself into the combat with the unflagging energy of youth, and with the zeal of moral no less than political conviction. From the hills of Berkshire to the shores of Plymouth County, he went everywhere, addressing every variety of the people of Massachusetts, till, as he himself said, he had spoken from every stump in the State. His addresses were carefully and laboriously prepared. There was no repetition in them. The main topics were indeed often the same, but the course of his argument and the quality of his illustration were always fresh and always had special application to the particular interests and concerns of the audience to which he spoke. He was not a great orator in the sense of being a master of rhetorical eloquence; he did not appeal to the passions or prejudices of his hearers with words of fire, he did not lift them on the wings of imagination, nor thrill them with bursts of splendid declamation. He did not move them by the bitterness of sarcasm,

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or with heated denunciation of his opponents; he did not pack his speech with epigram, he rarely enlivened it with humor or with anecdote. He had, in short, none of the arts of the professional orator; but he possessed in large measure the command of persuasive and effective speech, above all, the power of impressing those who listened to him with his entire sincerity. He made them feel that he was speaking to them what he believed to be the truth, and he was able to set forth the truth as he held it with remarkable clearness and consecutiveness of statement, with great abundance of effective illustration, with steady enforcing of the main points of his discourse, so that he succeeded, to use a phrase of Burke's, in "leaving a sting in their minds." He spoke as a man of good sense and of strong convictions to men whom he addressed as capable of appreciating sound reasoning and valid argument. They might differ from him, they could not but respect the fairness of his appeal to them as rational beings, while his frank manner of speech, his manly bearing, his pleasantness of address, created toward him a sentiment of personal attachment.

The general character of his discourses was, as I have already indicated, essentially practical.

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He was not an idealist or a theorist in politics. Abstract speculation had but little interest for him. The special form of his democratic convictions was largely shaped by the teachings of Jefferson, and the traditions of the Jeffersonian school, but they were not so much anything that he had learned, as they were a part of the body doctrine which every genuine American derives unconsciously from the conditions of birth and breeding in the social and political atmosphere of America. They were of his blood and bone. The fundamental proposition of his creed, or perhaps it were better to say the essential principle of his life as a citizen of the Republic, is expressed in the saying of Theodore Parker, that "Democracy means not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'you're as good as I am.'" And it was because Governor Russell believed that the principles of the Democratic party — not always the professions of its platforms, or the doctrines and conduct of its leaders — that its principles were nearer to a true embodiment of democracy thus understood, than those of any other party in the nation, that he was a faithful servant in its ranks. He was a Democrat, as he said, "in heart and soul, not for the triumph of any man, but for the triumph

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of ideas." He stated the creed of the Democratic party to be "from its first to its thirty-ninth article an abiding trust in the people, a belief that men, irrespective of the accident of birth or fortune, have a right to a voice in the government that rules them. Its principles are the equality and freedom of all men in the affairs of State and before the altar of their God; that a government least felt is the best; that in its administration there should be simplicity, purity, and economy, and in its form it should be closely within the reach and control of the people." But there was a qualification of them, or rather an addition to them, which he held not less firmly. "While we insist," he said, "that the proper sovereign of a nation is its people, we realize that our safety and prosperity rest upon their intelligence and education."

Of national questions, which affected the interests of all the States of the Union, there were, during his active political campaigns, three of paramount importance,—the tariff, whether for revenue or protection, the adoption of silver as a basis for the currency, and the reform of the civil service. In the discussion of each of these questions he applied the touchstone of his Dem-

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ocratic principles. The question of the tariff was a question of taxation; in other words, of the right of government to exact for its support or for public uses a portion of the property of the individual citizen. "We believe," said Governor Russell, "in the freedom of the individual from unnecessary restrictions and unnecessary burdens; that taxation, with its enormous power, is not to be used to take from one to give to another, nor to enrich the few at the expense of the many: that it is a necessary evil to be lessened by prudence and economy, and that it should be levied, not upon necessities of life, nor upon those comforts that may make the humblest fire-side more cheerful, but upon the luxuries which minister to extravagance and to selfish indulgence, and which beget a spirit of excess and of selfishness dangerous alike to domestic virtue and to public security." It was with this belief that Governor Russell discussed before the people of the State the question of the Protective Tariff. He did not deal with it so much in its broader aspects, the false notions of the functions of government implied in a protective system, its corrupting influence upon national character, its subtle sapping of the very roots of equality, self-help, industry, and frugality; its

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nurturing of the perilous policy of which the logical end is State Socialism,— but he discussed it, with admirable abundance of knowledge and aptness of illustration, in its direct bearing upon the lives of the men and women of the manufacturing towns and farming communities of the State, as a system which robbed a thousand Peters to enrich a single Paul. Protection to native industry has long been a favorite doctrine and a successful party cry in Massachusetts. But Governor Russell did not hesitate to attack the system in its very strongholds, and the vigor, force, and intelligence of his attack were such as to win applause, if not agreement, from those most strongly bound by party ties or personal interest, by conviction or by prejudice, to the support of the policy against which he marshaled his armies of fact and of argument. There have been no political campaigns in Massachusetts more gallantly conducted, or of more service to the people of the State as campaigns of discussion and enlightenment.

The peculiar composition of the State government during the three years of Governor Russell's administration, the fact that he stood alone, with a Council, a Legislature, and all the chief officials of State belonging to the party ad-

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verse to that of which he was the representative, made his official position one of great difficulty, and limited his opportunities of service to the State. He was checked and thwarted at every turn, but the opposition he encountered made him the more ready to take advantage of those points where he might promote the public interest without meeting with the hindrance of principle or of faction. His pleasant temper, his natural tact, his conciliatory bearing, his readiness of resource, his experience in dealing with men, his practical turn of mind, all stood him in good stead. He practiced, in fine, the method of true statesmanship, the method of endeavoring to accomplish not the ideally best, but the best possible under the circumstances by which action is controlled.

In the campaign preceding his last election to the governorship, he took occasion in a speech at Dedham to review the policy and acts of the two years during which he had been chief magistrate; the reforms which he had suggested, the measures he had recommended, the vetoes which he had put to acts of the Legislature, the appointments to office which he had made, the standard of official duty which he had maintained; the responsibility for independent action

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which he had claimed as Governor. It is a striking and significant review, in which the consistency of his principles, and the elevation of his views of his official duty are alike manifest. Three main features of the record may be selected as the most prominent and most important, — first, the defense of local self-government, as against the attempt to control the independent action of cities and towns, by means of special legislation, or by the appointment of independent commissions in charge of important branches of administration; secondly, the prevention of special legislation for special interests; thirdly, the assertion of responsibility in executive office, unshared by a Council with power to assert the will of its members as against the judgment of the elected Governor of the State.

The Annual Addresses of Governor Russell to the Legislature are models of what such papers should be, surveying broadly the interests and the needs of the State, not from the point of view of a party, but with simple regard to the general welfare; straight-forward and business-like in statement, large in their survey of the affairs of the Commonwealth, sensible in their recommendations, and earnest in their urgency for reform in those portions of the

affairs in which reform was required. Much that he advised was accomplished; more still remains to be done.

Disappointed and harassed as he often was under the burden of opposition and the weight of care, Governor Russell had the satisfaction of knowing, when at the end of three years of hard and difficult service he laid down the great charge which had been committed to him, that he retired from office with a stronger hold upon the respect and confidence of the people of the Commonwealth than that with which he had entered upon it. However much the wisdom of special acts, or of his general policy, might be questioned, they recognized, with hardly an exception, that he had served the State with entire fidelity, with no private ends, but with steady regard to public interests. He had won the ungrudging respect of his opponents; he had deepened the affection of his friends, and had secured for himself the devotion of a large personal following such as no other man in the State possessed. Whenever he appeared on a public occasion, he was greeted with plaudits of genuine heartiness. If his familiar and almost boyish figure were seen entering the gate at the Harvard-Yale football game at Springfield, he

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was hailed not only with the cheers of the Harvard men, but of the whole vast crowd as he passed along to his seat. Nor was such greeting as this confined to his own State. In New York, in Chicago, on occasion of great processions in which he had place as Governor of Massachusetts, he was singled out by the multitude of spectators as the recipient of special, distinguishing applause. He drank deep of the infinite flatteries that are poured out to youth and success, but they did not intoxicate him. They never disturbed the even balance of his judgment, or deluded him into self-flattery and conceit. They were for him but stimulants to virtue, but encouragements to new effort.

It was, indeed, an extraordinary hold upon public confidence and expectation for so young a man to have gained; and it had been gained by legitimate means; by the force of strong, simple, upright character.

The first essential element of such a character is a clear mind, trained in the exercise of its own faculties, capable of reflection, accustomed to think its thought out to a conclusion; not mistaking, as Sinbad's companions mistook the floating back of a whale for an island, the floating and shifting mass of popular opinion and

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of transient party doctrine for the immovable ground of principle and the unshaken rock of truth. And with this, inseparable from it, must be the firm moral sense, the conviction of the absolute supremacy of the moral law as the rule of conduct, with authority to control the will, the affections, the passions, to determine the direction and to limit the sphere of ambition, and as possessing not only this authority, but also the power in the long run to enforce its injunctions.

A clear mind and a firm moral sense were united in Governor Russell with a remarkable simplicity of nature. There was no pretension in him, no affectation. He was a pattern of simple manliness. Never unmindful of the dignity of great office, he put on no official airs, but secured through his own simple self-respect the respect due to the position which he occupied. He had no conceit, but he did not fear to trust himself, for he was conscious of his own sincerity. Sincerity is, indeed, but a part of such simplicity as his. His simplicity and his sincerity were the chief sources of the influence of his public speech. However much men might dissent from his opinion or differ from his policy, they could not but believe in his honesty of

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motive and directness of purpose. What Plutarch says of the speech of the younger Cato might be said of his,— that it was straight-forward, full of matter, and the speaker's character, showing itself in all he said, excited a sympathetic response in the feelings of his hearers. As a candidate for office he stooped to no mean acts to secure success. He was a true democrat, and therefore no sycophant of the people; he showed the genuineness of his democracy in never attempting to take advantage of the lack of information or the lack of reason of the multitude, by trying to deceive them with fallacious arguments or with specious flattery. He did not pander to their prejudices or excite their passions by appeals to distinctions of class, and to motives of envy and of jealousy. He held in contempt and abhorrence the men in public life, men, some of them, with advantages of birth and education not inferior to his own, who used such arts as these to advance their private ends or to gain a partisan victory. He never had to reproach himself with weakening the foundations of free institutions by scoffs at the value of higher education, or by sneers at the teachers who had helped to train him in knowledge, and direct him in the paths of honor.

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His strong sense of duty compelled him to continual labor to fit himself for the public service. He was in earnest in whatever he undertook. He gave himself wholly to his work, and his sound health and his power of concentration of his faculties on the work in hand enabled him to accomplish hard and laborious tasks with comparative ease.

Few men surpassed him in the knowledge requisite for dealing intelligently with the current questions of politics. He was well informed of the history of our institutions, and of the development of the conditions and principles of our national life. Busily employed in public affairs from early youth, he had little leisure for wide general culture, but he had read much, he had an excellent memory, and he kept his mind fresh and enlarged its resources by resort to the springs of history, and by occasional readings of the poets. His tastes and his mode of life displayed the simplicity and genuineness of his nature. He loved the sports of the woods and the river, he took a hearty interest in the games of youth in which he himself had been an adept; he was an excellent horseman. But more than all, he was a lover of nature, with a quick eye and a keen sensitiveness

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to her charm, and with a ready responsiveness in his own being to her capacity for the refreshment alike of the mind and of the body of the man worn with harassing cares and burdened with heavy responsibilities.

His humane sympathies were wide, quick, and generous. He had a most kindly disposition, and his kindness was not a matter of mere temperament, but of principle and thoughtfulness. It was a vital part of his democracy. For to him the best lover and servant of his fellow-men was the best democrat. He was a true friend; he had one of the happiest of homes. Ready for public service, ambitious to be of use, he yet was content with private station, and satisfied with the opportunities which it afforded for the exercise of his powers, and for the discharge of duties not the less important that they are of the common order.

Upon laying down the office of governor, he resumed, as we all know, the practice of his profession, and gave himself to it with characteristic ardor and fidelity. And I believe that among the many tributes to his worth there is none which, could he have foreseen it, would have given him more satisfaction than the high and honorable testimony borne to him as lawyer

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and as public man, in Resolutions adopted a few days since at the Annual Meeting of the Bar Association of the City of Boston, for presentation to the Supreme Judicial Court, and to the Suffolk Bar.

But though, after laying down the burden of office, Governor Russell in resuming the practice of the law devoted himself with steadiness and success to his professional engagements, his concern in public affairs remained as deep and constant as ever. While taking no active part in them, he held himself in reserve ready to respond to the call of public duty whenever it might sound for him. A little more than two years ago, disturbed by the course of a considerable section of the Democratic party in its manifest hostility to President Cleveland, and by the popular misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the causes which had brought about the financial perplexities and distress from which the country was suffering, he prepared a brief, clear, and forcible paper, entitled "A Year of Democratic Administration," which was published in *The Forum* for May, 1894. In this paper he set forth what he regarded as the true aims and duties of the party in the actual conditions of the times, and insisting that the first test of suc-

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cess was fidelity to principle, he maintained that, measured by this standard, the first year of President Cleveland's second administration had been successful. The conclusion which he drew might be disputed, but the whole tone and spirit of the article were those of a patriot who was a strong party man because of his honest conviction that the essential principles of his party were those upon adherence to which the permanent welfare of the country depended. His party was indeed dear to him, but dear only as it represented and maintained these principles. For him party success meant public good. He closed his paper with striking and prophetic words: "The Democratic party in the past," he said, "has achieved success only by loyalty to principle; it never has succeeded by substituting tactics for statesmanship, or compromise for courage, and it never will. If now in the high tide of its power it should fritter away its opportunity in quarrels over petty things, forgetting the larger; if in the face of its united, aggressive enemy, it should become rent by factional or sectional discord,—there will be ample leisure in the future for it to ponder on its fatal blunders and wasted opportunities. We cannot and must not overlook this danger. Per-

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sonal politics, local interests and sectional influences, which create discord and impair efficiency, must yield to a higher view of party duty and responsibility." He spoke in vain. As has so often happened in the history of parties, the voices to which the party listened, the influences to which it yielded, were not those of wisdom and of patriotism, but of unreason and of selfishness. He watched with anxiety to the course of affairs during the last two years, foreboding defeat to his party and harm to his country. But even he did not foresee the catastrophe which was to rend his party in twain, and to make of one wing of it a menace to the national welfare.

In this very year, on the 13th of April, in celebration of the birthday of Jefferson, Governor Russell delivered at Monticello, in Virginia, a speech which contains an admirable summary of his interpretation of the principles of the Democratic party. His discourse was earnest, was eloquent, was high-minded. "We need not fear defeat," he declared; "defeat may be but the preliminary to victory; we should fear the discredit of sacrificing principles to expediency."

Upon the question which was already dividing his party in Virginia, and on which he had been

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warned that silence might be expedient, he spoke with the plainest words, with the full courage of his convictions, and in a single sentence condensed the substance of a thousand speeches which have since been made all over the land. "Free coinage of silver," he said, "or its compulsory purchase, or any compromise legislation in that direction, in my judgment, is distinctly class legislation, which would unsettle business, impair credit, reduce all savings and the value of all wages, and whose injurious results no man can measure."

It was but three months after the delivery of this speech that Governor Russell found himself at Chicago as a member of that extraordinary convention, the result of which was the disruption of the Democratic party, and the adoption of a platform of doctrine to most of which he was radically opposed, and of which the plank of "free silver" was the central and most prominent part.

The spectacle presented at the convention was unexampled. Never before in the history of nominating conventions, unreasonable and headstrong as many of them have been, and unexpected as have been their issues, had there been such an overpowering predominance of hysterical

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passion and irrational action. It was no meeting of men prepared for manly discussion, and for temperate and well-advised counsel. It was a mob of individuals deaf to reason, drunk with the wine of folly, rejecting the authority of wisdom and of experience, and plunging headlong into a pit of confusion and of darkness. It was, indeed, a miserable spectacle of the wilfulness of misguided ignorance and selfishness; an alarming spectacle to every one who believes that free institutions rest securely only on the intelligence and moral sense of the mass of the people to whose guardianship they are committed.

To this mob, hardly to be restrained even for a moment to listen to him, Governor Russell addressed himself in the last words which he was to speak to the public ear. They were words worthy of him. He was deeply moved. He was witnessing the degradation of the great party which he had loved and served so well; it was the disappointment of his most cherished hopes, the shattering of his desires, and the arousing of new anxieties for the future of the country for whose sake, and for whose sake alone, he had loved his party. "I speak," he declared,—“I speak, and I have a right to, for the Democracy of my State. . . . We did not

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think we should live to see the time when the great Democratic principles would be forgotten in a Democratic convention, when we should be asked to give up the principles for which we have labored, and at the demand of a section to adopt a policy which we believe invites peril to our country and disaster to our party. . . . I appeal to you, my associates of the Massachusetts delegation, do I not speak the true sentiment of our State and our party when I utter its and your earnest, emphatic, and unflinching protest against the platform of this convention?" But it was not with protest or with despair that he concluded, but with prophecy of confidence, that when "this storm has subsided, and the dark clouds of passion and prejudice have passed away, and there comes after the turmoil of this convention the sober second thought, then the protest we of the minority now make will be held as the ark of the covenant of the faith, with which we shall meet, again united, to carry our old principles to triumph and to victory."

Such words as these were not unworthy to be the last which his country should hear from a statesman whose appeal had always been to reason and to judgment and to the higher motives of patriotic duty; who from the begin-

ning of his career had been faithful to principle, and who loved honor more than victory.

He returned from Chicago, worn by the fatigues of the convention, with a cruel burden of disappointment, but not disheartened, rather girding himself afresh for new and more difficult efforts, with no abatement of confidence in the principles which he had maintained, and with no bitterness towards those who had brought about their temporary defeat.

He had never stood in so commanding and so conspicuous a position before the country as at this moment. The qualities of his character had produced their legitimate effect. "The name of William E. Russell," said the *New York Tribune*, a paper that seldom had a good word for him, "the name of William E. Russell is a platform in itself." The uprightness and dignity of his nature, the fairness, the solidity, the liberality of his intelligence, the disciplined powers of his mind, the self-respecting simplicity and purity of his bearing and life, his freedom from self-seeking ambitions, his devotion to public ends, all made him the pattern of what a public man should be. His career seemed but at its opening; no man awakened juster expectancy,

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or had fairer promise of rendering important service to his country.

The promise was not to be fulfilled. His death fell suddenly on the heart of the nation as an irreparable loss and a great sorrow. Not a week ago, a day or two after I wrote the preceding words, I received a letter from a total stranger, resident in another State, who wrote: "Many tears were shed when Governor Russell died, and much sorrow was felt all over the country by men who, like myself, had never seen him, but looked to him as the best promise of statesmanship and leadership for the future." The forces of good in politics were, indeed, distinctly weakened by his death. There was no one to take his place. We could ill spare him. He was greatly needed at the moment of his death; he is greatly needed now; he will be greatly needed in the coming years. We shall long lament his death as untimely. And yet the service he had already rendered was abundant, and though short not transient. Death came to him in a fair hour. "Alas!" exclaims Ben Jonson, in his noble ode on the death of Sir Henry Morison —

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“Alas! but Morison fell young:
He never fell,—thou fall’st my tongue,
He stood a soldier to the last right end,
A perfect patriot, and a noble friend.
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All offices were done
By him so ample, full and round,
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As, though his age imperfect might appear,
His life had the just image of a sphere.”

Yes, I repeat, death came to our friend in a fair hour, just at the close of youth, leaving his memory to us as the exemplar of what youth inspired with the sense of public duty may accomplish in the service of the State. He stands as the type of the youthful patriot in time of peace. It was not by virtue of rare genius, not by intellectual gifts which exalted him above his fellow-men, not by exceptional advantages of accident or felicities of fortune, that he won the place which he holds and will keep in the affection and respect of his fellow-men; but it was by virtue of the right use of faculties which are a common inheritance, and of qualities which every youth may imitate and may hope to attain. He stands all the brighter as an example to youth, because the inspiration of his life was the simple

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inspiration of duty. In this democracy of ours, where we are all one in mutual and common interests, where every man has a share in the fate of all, the insistent call of his country upon every youth is to make the best of himself that he may serve her well. His life must be work; and his private work must be adjusted to public ends. His duty as a member of society is his prime duty toward himself. This was the motive of Russell's life, and it is this which makes the memory of his life precious, exemplary, deserving of our lasting reverence and gratitude. In the last letter which he wrote to his wife,—a sacred letter which she has permitted me to see,—written from Chicago on the 8th of July, from the midst of the turbulence and passion of the convention, he said, “I had no idea how hard and distasteful this task would be. I have but one comfort in it. I know I have done my duty with fidelity.” Memorable and impressive words! “I have done my duty with fidelity;” the summary of his life; the fit inscription for his tomb; his best legacy to his countrymen, for they are words of highest counsel and of highest comfort which every man may make his own. No man could desire a better memory than that of having done his duty with fidelity. No man

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but may leave this memory behind him as a blessing.

It was but three or four days after this letter was written that Governor Russell returned home. He came back with joy to those whom he best loved. He was tired, and to secure the refreshment that he needed, after spending two days at home, he went to a beautiful region among the wilds of Canada, where in the heart of nature, and with out-door occupations, in the company of friends, he had before, more than once, gained health and recovered from weariness and depression. He reached the camp in good heart and hope. He thought a little rest would restore him to his wonted vigor; but the blow struck at his country had fallen too heavily upon him. He went to sleep, and he never awoke. Clarendon ends his character of Lord Falkland with the words: "Whoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him."

X
CHARLES ELIOT
BY
WILLIAM R. THAYER

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Charles Eliot, the elder son of Charles W. and Ellen Derby (Peabody) Eliot, was born in Cambridge, Nov. 1, 1859. As a boy he was not strong, which led to unusual care being taken to keep him out of doors. Three years of his boyhood were passed in Europe. After his father was chosen President of Harvard College in 1869, Cambridge became the family home, and there young Charles was fitted for college. His studies were sometimes interrupted by ill health; he was taken to Florida and to Canada; and he spent many summers in camp or on a small yacht on the coast of Maine. From a child, he had learned to sketch, and he rarely failed to illustrate his log with drawings, or to make a map of the country which he walked over in short excursions out of Cambridge. He entered Harvard in 1878 and had hardly more than a bowing acquaintance with most of his classmates, an almost morbid shyness, often misinterpreted, preventing him from lifting the veil of reserve which seemed to smother his intrinsic friendli-

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ness. The truth is, he was by nature self-distrustful and subject to periods of depression, to which his not strong physique unquestionably contributed: and as a young man he passed through several years of spiritual conflict, or earnest pondering on the burden of the mystery, which augmented his native taciturnity. Graduating *cum laude* with the Class of 1882, he was still undecided as to his profession but during that summer, having by a process of elimination "rejected one after another of the common professions," he determined to fit himself to be a landscape architect. The profession was comparatively new, but he had heard something of it from his uncle, Mr. R. S. Peabody, a Boston architect, and the fact that it involved much open-air life was a recommendation. Accordingly he studied at the Bussey Institution until April, 1883, when Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, the foremost of American landscape architects, took him into his office as an apprentice. The connection was invaluable, since it afforded not only the opportunity for an apt pupil to study at close range the methods of a master, but also to visit the various works, public and private, which Mr. Olmsted then had under way, to learn business details, to superintend workmen and



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contractors, and to make useful acquaintances. In moments of leisure, he read up the literature of his profession. He left Mr. Olmsted's office in May, 1885, and after six months spent chiefly in making trips through New England and as far south as Natural Bridge of Virginia, he sailed for Europe in November.

It was an immense amount of work which Charles Eliot accomplished during a year abroad. He visited England, France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Holland, studying the parks of the chief cities and the great country estates, observing the characteristic landscape of each region and the flora natural to it, making innumerable notes, diagrams and drawings, and above all, storing up in his memory impressions which were thenceforth a precious addition to his equipment as an artist. His diary shows that besides the immediate objects of his profession, he had a keen eye for buildings, statues and paintings, a healthy curiosity for the history of the lands he visited, and an interest in the every-day life of the people. He attended the Good Friday service at St. Mark's, Venice. "Within the church, shadows and darkness, quiet moving crowds,—the singing most touching, I sat in a

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corner till all was done. Life more a dream than ever." At St. Petersburg he says, "The common people are dirty and of strangely primeval appearance, so to speak. They might be cave-men, most of them — long-haired, and completely unkempt, and hungry-looking." Especially copious and enthusiastic are his memoranda on pictures. "To stand before the glorified men and women of Titian!" he exclaims, after a visit to the Louvre. "What superb creatures! gifted with the same calm divinity as the Victory; more than humanly lovely, healthy and sane. We folk of to-day — and particularly these French — are the veriest apes and idiots in comparison. How I wish I might have a drop or two of their rich, warm blood put into my feeble heart. . . . After a sight of these, the rest of the Louvre counts for little,— at least one cannot care for it the same day." Many another quotation might be given showing that the love of beauty, by virtue of which he was an artist, and was to embody his artistic talent in landscape architecture, made him appreciative of the beautiful in the fine arts not less than in nature.

On his return home in the autumn of 1886 Charles Eliot opened an office in Boston. In

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an admirable circular he designated himself a "landscape architect," stated what sort of service he was prepared to render, and gave a schedule of his charges, from which it appeared that "he decided not to undertake surveying of any sort, not to take contracts for the execution of his plans, and not to take commissions on labor or materials, or on the amount of contract, as architects habitually do, but to be in all cases strictly a professional adviser like a lawyer." Among his earliest works were the laying out of the Norton estate and of the Longfellow Park, Cambridge, and the suggesting of a proper distribution of shrubs and plants round the buildings and along the fences of the Harvard College yard. Larger engagements soon came to him, parks at Newburyport, at Concord, N. H., and at Youngstown, O., the laying out of private places, the design for a town-site on Salt Lake, Utah, and many similar works. He contributed frequently professional articles to "*Forest and Stream*," and to the Boston "*Transcript*" and other papers, he occasionally sent articles describing the suburban beauty of Boston, and urging that more should be done to preserve them.

And here, at last, he found his life-work.

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The times were propitious — as we are accustomed to say when an individual of independent force comes along and accomplishes a great work; possibly, without Charles Eliot, as much might have been done, by other persons, to effect what has been effected: but the truth remains that, so far as a retrospect of what actually happened can instruct us, he was indispensable. The general idea that Boston, which was growing rapidly, ought to have a well-considered park system, was already in the air. Enthusiasts, like Elizur Wright, had already urged that such a rare tract of wild nature as the Middlesex Fells ought to be preserved forever. But it was Charles Eliot who concentrated these various purposes. It was he who conceived the establishing of a Board of Trustees of Public Reservations, to hold in behalf of the public such pieces of land or water as they preëempt in any part of Massachusetts. It was he who, as landscape architect to the Metropolitan Park Commission,—he received the appointment in 1892 — gave the Commissioners, who were men of broad views and unflagging zeal, the specific information which they needed in order to formulate wisely and to carry out to the extent which we now see the park system of the Boston Met-

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ropolitan district. The work has progressed so gradually that few persons realize how stupendous it has been — 9,342 acres of land and water set apart for the perpetual benefit of the people of Greater Boston, and 24 miles of parkway completed — all between 1892 and 1902. Charles Eliot's ample project embraced not only the Middlesex Fells, but the Waverly Oaks and Beaver Brook, Revere Beach, the Blue Hills, the Charles River, and the Mystic Valley. It is significant that one who had been when younger so self-distrustful proved now most convincing in dealing with legislative and other committees, on whose support depended the appropriations necessary for carrying out the work of the Commission. He had a simple, direct, earnest way of speaking, backed by a complete mastery of every professional detail, which won over to his side the most reluctant lawmaker, who might be impervious to every appeal to preserve suburban scenery because of its beauty, but who could not resist the appeal in behalf of improving the healthfulness of Greater Boston, and who saw at once that a proposition, which by increasing the attractiveness of property would in the long run enhance its taxable value, was a practical proposition. It seldom

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happens that a single advocate can command the assent of his fellow specialists, of devotees of beauty, and of the average personnel of our legislative and municipal bodies: this Charles Eliot did. The several reports, with maps, which he prepared for the Metropolitan Park Commission, are monuments to his professional ability; they are also remarkable for a literary excellence seldom met with in writings of this kind.

His work for the Park Commissioners did not, however, consume all his time. In 1893 he had become a member of Mr. Olmsted's firm, which had a large practice, much of the responsibility for which, owing to Mr. Olmsted's advanced age, fell on him. New problems of all kinds were constantly pressing for solution, and his professional letters show how squarely he met each problem, applying to it the general principles of his art, and then fitting his solution to the special needs of each case. He was engaged on the Kenney Park, at Hartford, Conn., when he was seized with cerebro-spinal meningitis, from which he died at his home in Brookline, on March 25, 1897. He was indeed "a lover of nature and of his kind, who trained himself for a new profession, practiced it hap-

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pily, and through it wrought much good." "Charles Eliot found in this community," the Trustees of Public Reservations recorded in their minutes, "a generous but helpless sentiment for the preservation of our historical and beautiful places. By ample knowledge, by intelligent perseverance, by eloquent teaching, he created organizations capable of accomplishing his great purposes, and inspired others with a zeal approaching his own."

Looking back over his life one sees how from boyhood everything — even his not robust physique, which kept him out of doors — contributed to train him for the work in which he came to excel. He was primarily an artist, who worked not in marble, or colors, or words, but with Nature herself, using her fields and rocks and rivers, her lakes and seashore, her trees and shrubs and flowers, as materials out of which to compose a humanized Nature, adapted to man's need of recreation, beauty, rest. He was an artist, but he was also a true-stock New Englander, filled with the desire to serve his fellow-men: so that in the vital work of his life his art was but the means for procuring the largest benefits for the greatest number of persons. He employed Art to better

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Nature, and thereby to better Man. In his early days, after an evening of music, he wrote, "I hope that, some day or other, work of mine may give some human being pleasure, pleasure of that helpful kind which beauty of music and of scenery give me." His hope has been magnificently fulfilled. To-day, and to-morrow, and as far ahead as any one can foresee, thousands and tens of thousands of human beings will be healthier and stronger, gladder and more virtuous, for what Charles Eliot accomplished, directly and indirectly, in his short life. Before such an achievement, so lasting and so beneficent, how cheap and transitory are the conquests of the sword!

XI

WILLIAM HENRY BALDWIN, Jr.

BY

GEORGE R. NUTTER

WILLIAM HENRY BALDWIN, JR.

The story of Baldwin's life is best told by the mere recital of his deeds, even if such a recital may seem a Catalogue of Ships. For he was essentially a man of action. Of no one could it be said more truly, that he was "the son of his own works." The number of them shows his astonishing vitality, and in their character, as his life, short in years, but full in accomplishment, gradually unfolded, appears the fine and noble spirit that was behind them. He was born in Boston on February 5, 1863, the son of William H. Baldwin and Mary F. A. (Chaffee) Baldwin. He came of good and simple New England stock. For many years his father has been the president of the Young Men's Christian Union of Boston.

He fitted for College at the Roxbury Latin School, the famous school founded in 1645 as a free school for the youth of Roxbury to which a Boston boy was eligible on the payment of a small fee. His scholarship at school was only fair, and in fact his vitality, which in after

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years was a distinguishing characteristic, rather inclined him to fun and frolic; so much so that at one period he was favored with a seat in the front row, where he might be constantly under a higher power. But he was always attractive, and popular with his teachers and fellows alike. When a petition was drawn up by the boys in favor of a delinquent, it was Baldwin who handed it in. He was a captain in the military drill, and while in those days athletics in the secondary schools were modest in comparison with their importance to-day, he took part in all the games.

He passed the examination for Harvard in the spring of 1881 and entered College in the Class of 1885. His course at College was marked more by the broadness and diversity of his interests than by préminence in any one of them, and he took most readily to those sides of College life that called for executive and administrative ability. Thus perhaps his most absorbing work was his connection with the Harvard Dining Association, of which he was president. It was at a crisis in its history, for during his administration a new steward had to be procured and in the management of this Association Baldwin showed the traits that after-



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wards were so conspicuous in his executive work. On the social side, he was a member of the Dickey, the A. Δ. Φ. and the Hasty Pudding. He was a Freshman editor of the *Harvard Echo*, the first daily paper at College, famous in its day chiefly for the eccentricities of its proof-reading, and later became a member of the O. K. He rowed on his Class Crew in his Junior and Senior years and took a modest hand at lacrosse. The love of music, which he cherished throughout his life, led him to the Glee Club, of which he became the leader, and he sang some of the chief parts in the Pudding theatricals. With all this diversity of employment, his scholarship at College, as at school, was only fair, and he graduated without even a "*cum laude*." But he became one of the best known men of his Class and was elected chairman of the Class Committee, a position he held until his death. It is useless to speculate upon what he would have accomplished had he not gone to College or to Cambridge. But no one who knew him there can doubt that Harvard was the great influence in his life. He lived his College life to the full and never for a moment loosened the ties he formed there. But more than all, it was at Cambridge that he re-

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ceived the civic impulse that afterwards became controlling in his life.

On his graduation he found, as many a graduate has found before, that no particular opportunity offered itself, and as many a graduate before had done, he took refuge in the Law School. It is doubtful how far his tastes were suited to the study of the law. After he had once passed the period of study and had reached the chance for action, he might have found it interesting. But in those first days, he was certainly restless in the study of it. He had hardly been in the Law School, however, more than a month or so, when an opportunity came, almost by chance, which led him into very different field and was the opportunity of his life. Mr. Charles Francis Adams had become the president of the Union Pacific Railway Company and was searching for young men of education for that work. He offered a position to an intimate friend of Baldwin's, who, however, had already decided upon a very different course in life. The friend suggested Baldwin. Mr. Adams sent for Baldwin, was attracted by his personality, and after some conference with President Eliot, offered Baldwin a chance on the Union Pacific. The offer was accepted.

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For a month or two Baldwin studied railroad law in Cambridge, and in February, 1886, went to Omaha to fill a place in the statistical department of the railroad.

The next eight years, to July, 1894, when he went to Washington as a vice-president of the Southern Railway, were for Baldwin a period of preparation, when he devoted himself to learning thoroughly the details of his calling. He remained in Omaha until May, 1887, when he was sent to Butte, Montana, as division freight agent, and was in rapid succession made manager of the Leavenworth Division in Kansas, general manager of the Montana Union Railroad, and finally in 1890, recalled to Omaha as assistant vice-president of the Union Pacific Railway. In 1891 he left the Union Pacific and for the next three years was the general manager of the Flint and Père Marquette Railroad, with headquarters at Saginaw, Michigan. The important events in his life during these years were his marriage in 1889 to Ruth Standish Bowles of Springfield, Mass., a daughter of the late Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*, and the births of two children, Ruth Standish Baldwin and William H. Baldwin, 3d. As in every period of preparation, there was

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outwardly not much to tell in his life. Yet as usual some of his vitality overflowed into other channels. He organized the first Harvard Club in Omaha, and finding in Butte only four Harvard men, he organized a University Club, which took in all the University men, with a membership of seventy. His love of music led him to take part in the formation of a male choral society in Omaha. These years in the West did not change him, but seemed to broaden certain characteristics which he had shown in his College days. He became even more democratic and unaffected. The West seemed to give him a sense of the reality and true proportion of things that made him even more simple and direct and effective in everything to which he laid his hand.

In July, 1894, he was appointed third vice-president of the Southern Railway Company, a consolidation of railways recently effected by the Morgan interests, and later was made second vice-president in charge of maintenance and construction. This appointment necessitated his removal to Washington. With this change began the period of fruition, toward which his years of preparation had tended. For it was here that he came into contact at first hand

with men of national importance in financial matters, and it was here that his strong leaning toward civic work, always in his mind and only waiting the opportunity to become effective, led him into some of the leading educational movements of the day. In his railroad work, he succeeded in bringing the system out of chaos. The best example of his management is found in his treatment of a threatened strike on the system. The condition of the Southern Railway at this time was similar to that of many railroads after 1893. It had been compelled to reduce expenses in every direction, including wages. The men sent a committee to the management asking that the ten per cent. reduction in wages should be restored. The road was then operating over 4,000 miles of railway and the prospect of a strike was alarming. After some reluctance on the part of the management, Baldwin was finally given power to deal with the situation in his own way. He met the men in full confidence, laid before them an elaborate report of the financial condition of the road, and showed them unreservedly the returns to the bondholders and stockholders. After a full discussion lasting several days, some trifling inequalities were adjusted, and the

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demands for an increase were withdrawn. Each side came away with respect for the other, and the strike was averted. Later when his name was under consideration for the presidency of the Long Island Railroad, Baldwin told the directors of his attitude in this strike, which was only typical of his general views on labor questions, and said to them very frankly that he was not the man of whom they were in search. He was met with the unexpected reply that this was among the very reasons why he was selected.

His outside interests at this time lay chiefly in the line of education. He began then his active interest in Tuskegee and the work of Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington brought to him a letter of introduction from the elder Baldwin, commending the enterprise to his son. "I shall be glad to help you," Baldwin said, "if on investigation I find it is the real thing." For this investigation he visited Tuskegee, spent some time in going over all the details, and became a trustee of the Tuskegee Institute. For some years he spent what he called his spring vacation on the grounds, making a thorough inspection of every department of the institution. When he first took an interest in Tuskegee, it had property of the

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valuation of about \$300,000, and an endowment fund of \$200,000. When he died the property had increased, largely through his efforts, to \$700,000, and the endowment fund to \$1,040,000. In this, as in everything else, his interest never faltered, and a week before his death, he sent a telegram to Tuskegee, conveying his Christmas greetings.

In 1896, he came to New York to assume the presidency of the Long Island Railroad in succession to Austin Corbin, and there entered upon the last and most important phase of his life. Like the period of his preparation, it lasted eight years. When he took hold of the Long Island Railroad, it was in poor physical condition. By his efforts, its physical condition to-day averages very high. He immediately entered upon the work of eliminating steam from Atlantic Avenue, a problem which had been under consideration by the railroad company and the city of New York for thirty years. The work has now been practically completed at a cost of about \$4,000,000. In 1900 he carried through the negotiations by which the Long Island Railroad became a part of the Pennsylvania System. While his title after this union still remained that of president of the

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Long Island Railroad, his activities on behalf of the Pennsylvania System assumed much wider proportions, not only in the city of New York but elsewhere. He became a leading spirit in the conception and execution of the extensive projects of subways, tunnels, and bridge connections now actually in operation or under construction, which when completed will change the entire question of transportation in New York City. He was a member of the executive boards in connection with the Interborough interests and the Metropolitan Railroad interests, and one of the committee which had charge of letting the contracts for the great subway. It is hardly too much to say that the visitor to New York City will find Baldwin's monument, as the epitaph reads of Sir Christopher Wren, by looking about him. At the same time, his activity in other business directions was almost boundless. When he died, he was president or a director in over forty institutions, including fifteen transportation lines, six banks and trust companies, and such institutions as the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

His civic side kept pace with his business development. Continuing his interest in Tuskegee, he became chairman of the General Edu-

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cation Board, the special purpose of which is the promotion of education in the South, and a trustee of the Southern Education Board. He had been for some years a trustee of Smith College, and served the University of Tennessee in the same capacity. He became a director in the Armstrong Association and a trustee of the John F. Slater Fund. Naturally he was led into the many municipal problems of New York itself, and perhaps his chief service in that direction was as chairman of the famous Committee of Fifteen. This committee was organized in November, 1900, as the result of a meeting of citizens held at the Chamber of Commerce. The object of the Committee was to trace the relation between the Tammany government of that day and the promotion of crime and to point out the increasing corruption under the political conditions then existing. He not only assumed the general direction, but served as chairman of a special Committee of Investigation, consisting of five members, who carried on through the winter an investigation of the responsibilities for the affairs of the city. This called for certain hours of work for some days of each week for a term of a year, and Baldwin remained in town during a large portion of a

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hot summer in order that no part of the work might be neglected. A portion of the labors of the Committee was subsequently published in book form, and is an important contribution to the problem of the "Social Evil."

He took an active interest in the Citizens' Union, and was himself mentioned in 1903 as a candidate for the mayoralty, but refused to be considered. He became a member of the Civic Federation, the National Municipal League, and was interested in Civil Service. The East Side took much of his time. He once said, and it was the keynote of his great success with men, "I am for the man that is down;" and he was interested in the University Settlement and served as a member of the National and Local Child Labor Committees. To recount these names is not to tell the work that Baldwin really did. For he was not the man who lent his name and not his heart to any enterprise. When he took hold of anything he did it to the utmost. "I have served with many chairmen," writes a prominent man who was with him, "and I have never known one whose management of his responsibilities was so thoroughly effective."

In the midst of it all, the time came for the

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wheel to be broken at the cistern. In a letter of June 27, 1904, Baldwin wrote that he would be in Cambridge for Commencement, but that he had a temporary physical difficulty that might prevent him. He never came again. Within a month an operation showed that he had a disease from which there could not be any recovery. It is perhaps a sad satisfaction to feel that it did not come from overwork, in spite of his wonderful activity. He lingered until the New Year. On Christmas he sent a greeting by telegram to the employees of the Long Island Railroad, and on the morning of January 3, 1905, the world became the poorer by the loss of a rare and forceful spirit.

Any one who knows the demands of the modern life realizes at once the fulness of Baldwin's life. It was not alone that he was a great business administrator. The present age has summoned other men as well to be great administrators. It was not alone that he was profoundly moved by an ethical impulse to help his fellows. Other men have felt that impulse as profoundly. But he united the two in so remarkable a degree that it is difficult to name another in this country in whom such a union existed. He touched every type of man from

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the East Side to Wall Street, from the workshop to the college, and each found him responsive. Himself an optimist, he gives the best hope for optimism, for if Harvard can temper such steel as this, the battle must wage unceasingly.

Yet the doer was himself finer than any of his deeds. One day in the Elevated train he caught a glimpse of a little Jewish child in a squalid tenement. Struck by the look of sickness, he alighted at the next station, and the child was taken to the hospital. After his death a woman in a distant state wrote a letter of sympathy. She had come across the ocean in the same steamer with him, but in the second cabin. Her child was ill and Baldwin insisted on giving the use of his stateroom to her. With him who died at Zutphen, following the great original of them both, he could always say: "Thy necessities are yet greater than mine." It was this that makes every one who knew him in the wide gamut he touched forget that he made a success, and remember only that a friend has gone; for "whoso touched his little finger, drew after it his whole body."





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