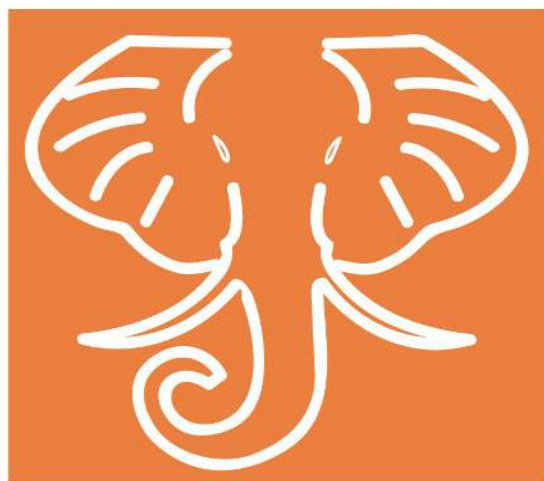


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Francis Parkman  
1823-1923  
and the History of New France

WALDO G. LELAND

Director of historical research in Paris of the Carnegie Institution of Washington,  
and former secretary of the American Historical Association.

IN the entire history of American letters there is not to be found a finer example of patient and enduring heroism than the life of Francis Parkman. He who told the story of the most stirring exploits in American history, the conquest of the northern forest, the mid-winter raids of French and Indians striking across a frozen wilderness at the frontier settlements of New York and New England, was himself a crippled invalid, pushing his wheelchair about his rose garden in a Boston suburb. The historian who absorbed the contents of thousands of pages of manuscript did so through the eyes of another and wrote his history, a few lines a day, in a darkened room, guiding his pencil along wires stretched across a frame of his own devising. The brain which wove the countless tangled threads of narrative into a perfectly finished fabric, which weighed conflicting evidence and arrived at just and sane conclusions was so tortured by nervous disorders that for years the sustained effort of which it was capable was limited to a few minutes each day. In spite of such crushing difficulties Francis Parkman persevered in the great design which he had conceived as a Harvard Sophomore, and at the age of seventy it was accomplished, and his place was assured as the 'most widely read,— and from certain points of view, as the best American historian.

Parkman was of Puritan and of New England origin. His immigrant ancestor came from Devon during the great migration of the early seventeenth century. His great-grandfather was a Puritan clergyman, his grandfather was a successful Boston merchant, his father was a Unitarian clergyman. He himself was born in Boston on Beacon Hill, on September 16, 1823; and a part of his boyhood was passed on the farm of his maternal grandfather in Medford, close to that miniature wilderness of ponds and crags and moorland and forest which bears the name of Middlesex Fells, where he roamed and hunted and absorbed a first love of nature in her wild and romantic aspects. In 1840 he entered Harvard, and by the close of his second year in college he had found his vocation. To use his own words:

"My various schemes had crystallized into a plan of writing what was then known as the 'Old French War',—that is, the war that ended in the conquest of Canada,—for there as it seemed to me, the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than in any other passage of our history. It was not till some years later that I enlarged the plan to include the whole course of the American conflict between France and England, or, in other words, the history of the American forest; for this was the light in which I regarded it. My theme fascinated me and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night."

This purpose, thus conceived, dominated thenceforth Parkman's entire life. Indirectly it was responsible for the tragedy of his invalidism, for his Puritan logic and conscience prescribed for him a preparatory course in exercise and adventure which his body had not the strength to endure. His first "field courses in American history", as his biographer Henry Dwight Sedgwick terms them, were taken during the summer vacations when he tramped through the White Mountains and explored northern New York and the province of Quebec, visiting the scenes of fighting during the French and Indian War, camping in the woods, and trying to live the life of the *coureur de bois*. Exposure to cold and wet, over-fatigue, and hardships far beyond his strength of endurance still further undermined his health, and in November, 1843, he undertook a voyage to Europe hoping that rest and change might improve his physical condition.

In Rome, characteristically enough, he spent part of three days in the convent of the Passionists, in order to get a better understanding,—so far as it was possible for a Boston Unitarian of Puritan antecedents,—of the Church of Rome, its spirit and the secret of its power. The evidence of Parkman's diary is rather to the effect that his understanding was not greatly enlarged; his attitude towards his experience was much that of the zealous reformer who spends a few hours in voluntary confinement in order to understand the life of the prison and the state of mind of the convicts.

Two weeks in Paris was none too long for an introduction to the civilization whose American expansion he was to study during the remainder of his life, but he made amends in later travels and spent long periods in Paris, which he learned to love. The trip ended in England and Scotland, and Parkman returned to America in time to take his degree with the class of 1844 at the June Commencement, and to spend the summer rambling about Massachusetts, observing its inhabitants, and their manners and customs from the point of view of the very

young and very recently returned traveler.

In the autumn he entered the Law School. He had no desire, probably no serious thought, of becoming a lawyer, but his father, the Reverend Francis, had little sympathy with the literary ambitions of his son and hoped to see him become an ornament of the Massachusetts bar. Young Francis appears to have paid only a moderate amount of attention to his legal studies, but on the other hand he read widely and deeply in historical works, and his notebooks reveal his determination to anchor his study of the French in America in the bed-rock of European history. Meanwhile he secretly contributed, over the name of "Capt. Jonathan Carver" (whose reputation for veracity was better then than now), such thrillers as "The Ranger's Adventure" and "The Scalp Hunter" to the columns of the *Knickerbocker*, whose editor thought them, or at least parts of them, worthy of the great Cooper himself, and confessed to lying awake nights after reading their proof sheets.

The vacation of 1845 was spent in wandering over western Pennsylvania and the Detroit and Niagara regions, searching for the sites of the Pontiac uprising, scraping acquaintance with such "tame" Indians as he encountered, and endeavoring to visualize the history which he had resolved to record. After another term in the Law School he was off, in March, 1846, on the great adventure of the "Oregon Trail".

The story of Parkman's "Oregon Trail" does not need to be retold in this short survey. His purpose was to acquaint himself as intimately as possible with the American Indian, to see him as the French of less than a hundred years before had seen him, and to understand him, all as a necessary preliminary to his historical enterprise. He achieved his purpose but paid the price of a lifetime of invalidism. His physical structure, already weakened, could not stand the life of the plains and broke down irreparably. That he returned from the Oregon trail alive was little short of a miracle. Tormented,

weakened to the point of collapse by dysentery, unable to sit in his saddle, he nevertheless carried on until his object was accomplished. There is no finer example of the compelling force of will, the same will that was to sustain him through forty years of effort against desperate odds to complete the undertaking which he had set for himself.

He returned from the west to go under the care of a physician. For two years he seemed only to grow worse; his eyes, always his weakest part, were so affected that he could not use them at all, while his nervous system was so prostrated that his reason seemed at times to be in danger. Nevertheless it was during these first two years of invalidism, while living in New York in order to be under the constant care of his oculist, that Parkman managed to write "The Oregon Trail" which appeared as a serial in the *Knickerbocker*. In the spring of 1848 he commenced the composition of the "Conspiracy of Pontiac", under difficulties which he himself has described in an autobiographical document published after his death.

"The difficulties (he says) were threefold: an extreme weakness of sight, disabling him even from writing his name, except with eyes closed; a condition of the brain prohibiting fixed attention, except at occasional brief intervals; and an exhaustion and total derangement of the nervous system, producing of necessity a mood of mind most unfavorable to effort... He caused a wooden frame to be constructed of the size and shape of a sheet of letter paper. Stout wires were fixed horizontally across it, half an inch apart, and a moveable back of thick pasteboard fitted behind them. The paper for writing was placed between the paper and the wires, guided by which, and using a black lead crayon, he could write not illegibly with closed eyes... The books and documents... were... read to him at such times as he could listen to them; the length of each reading never, without injury, much exceeding half an hour, and periods of several days frequently occurring during which he could not listen at all. Notes were made by him with closed eyes, and afterwards deciphered and read to him till he had mastered them. For the first half year the rate of composition averaged about **six lines a day.**"

In this way, Parkman's health improving and the work of composition becoming more rapid as the work progressed, the "Conspiracy of Pontiac" was completed and published in 1851, but only after the plates had been stereotyped at the author's expense.



FRANCIS PARKMAN

From "A Life of Francis Parkman" by Charles Haight Farnham, published by Little, Brown and Co.

Meanwhile Parkman was married, in 1850, to Miss Catherine Bigelow of Boston, and they commenced housekeeping in Milton on something more than \$600 a year. A son was born, and two daughters, but the son died in 1857 and the next year Mrs. Parkman also died. Parkman's physical condition, which at the time of his marriage seemed to be improving, became worse soon after, following a bad attack of water on the knee which crippled him for life. From 1853 to 1855 he passed through a second severe nervous crisis, which after the death of his wife was followed by a third, so intense as to send him to Paris to consult the physician, Brown Séquard, who had treated Charles



Sumner. Here, he spent several months in the winter of 1858-1859, stopping at the Hôtel de France, 239 Rue Saint Honoré. He found Paris greatly changed since his previous visit fourteen years before, much improved in beauty by the works carried on under Napoleon III, but the cigars still very bad. In February he wrote to his sister :

"I am a little less lame. I get on well enough. The omnibuses of Paris—of which there are about 700 are made with railings, etc. in such a way that with a little science I can swing myself to the top with the arms alone, and here I usually spend the better part of the day smoking cigarettes and surveying the crowds below. I have formed an extensive acquaintance among omnibus cads and the like, whom I find to be first-rate fellows in their way also have learned pretty thoroughly the streets of Paris where much may be seen from the top of an omnibus. When hungry or thirsty, I descend to any restaurant, café or buffet that happens to be near, whether of low or high degree, if only clean. In fine weather, an hour or two may always be spent pleasantly enough, between 2 and 5 o'clock, in the open air, under the porches of the cafés on the Boulevards, where all Paris passes by."

He returned to America in the spring of 1859 and thereafter made his home with his mother and sisters, in their town house on Chestnut Street in the winter, and in the summer at his own little country place of three acres near Jamaica Pond. Here he took to rose gardening, even entering into a brief and not very profitable partnership with a florist, published "The Book of Roses" (1866), bred the "famous Parkman lily", took many prizes in the flower shows, became president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and, irony, Harvard appointed him, who was to become perhaps the most famous historian among her sons, professor of horticulture in the newly established Bussey Institute (1871).

The nine volumes which constitute the great history of the French regime in North America were published between 1865 and 1892. During a part of this time Parkman was able to work steadily, but during much of it his malady had

the upper hand and progress was desperately slow. Fearing that he might be unable to complete the series he broke the chronological order of his volumes in order that he might make sure of the two, bearing the title "Montcalm and Wolfe" (1884), which were devoted to the American phase of the Seven Years War, or as it was commonly called in America the "French and Indian War". The other volumes appeared as follows: "Pioneers of France in the New World" (1865), "The Jesuits in North America" (1867), "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West" (1869), "The Old Regime in Canada (1874), "Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV" (1877), and finally, "A Half Century of Conflict", in two volumes (1892).

During the thirty years of struggle to accomplish his task Parkman did not spend all his time in Boston and in his rose garden. His health occasionally permitted him to visit the scenes of his narrative, and he was several times in Canada, where he made many friends among the numerous French-Canadian historians, with some of whom, particularly with the Abbé Casgrain, he carried on a long and cordial correspondence. He even visited the Mississippi, renewed acquaintance with his guide of the Oregon Trail, Henry Chatillon, and gained some further first-hand knowledge of the American Indian. The winter of 1868-1869 he spent in Paris where he now found a host of friends in the Faubourg Saint Germain, including the Marquis de Montcalm, who placed the papers of his illustrious grandfather at Parkman's disposal. In 1872 and again in 1880 he returned to Paris, for it was here that must be sought the great mass of material which he most needed.

It was during his sojourns in Paris that he became the intimate friend of that loveable, amusing, and irritating character, Pierre Margry, archivist of the Ministry of the Marine and Colonies. Margry had a great passion, the collection of documents relating to French expansion beyond the seas, and the Bibliothèque Nationale now contains over two hundred

volumes of his scribbled notes, his copies of documents, his lists of events, documents which he borrowed and forgot to return, and his correspondence, in this last category there being something like a hundred letters from Parkman. Margry was disposed to aid Parkman, for whom he had a real affection, but not at the expense of his own glory. The material he had gathered respecting La Salle he withheld until, with Parkman's aid, he had exploited it himself. But for Parkman's intervention Margry's monumental collection of six volumes of documents, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, for the publication of which a subvention of \$10,000 was obtained from the American government, would never have seen the light. The story of this affair, too long to be told here, is one of the most interesting in the history of American historiography. To honor Parkman's forty-ninth birthday Margry dedicated to him a poem commencing :

Dans le monde, où vous êtes né  
Vos écrits disent notre gloire;  
Nul n'a, comme vous, honoré  
Les beaux actes de notre histoire.

The last years of his life were passed quietly in Boston and by the side of Jamaica Pond. Honors came to him, especially the sincere homage of his fellow craftsmen. His last volume was finished none too soon, for a year after its publication he passed quietly away, on November 8, 1893. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote of him :

Halting with feeble step, or bending o'er  
The sweet-breathed roses which he loved so  
While through long years his burdening cross he  
From those firm lips no coward accents fell.  
A brave, bright memory! his the stainless shield  
No shame defaces and no envy mars!  
When our far future's record is unsealed,  
His name will shine among its morning stars.

earnestly for the publication of your  
work. Your articles in the *Journal de  
l'Éducation* (1862) on the subject of the  
and I am happy to see by a brief  
article in the *Canadian Journal of Edu-  
cation* (Revue du voyage des religieuses  
françaises) that your interest in the  
subject still continues.  
It is not improbable that  
some publications of yours may have  
escaped my attention, and I shall  
be greatly obliged by any indications  
of any such work which you may favor  
me. I shall take pleasure in making  
a public and emphatic acknowledgment  
of any counsel or assistance with which  
you may favor me and remain  
With distinguished regard  
Your obedient servant  
T. S. P. Parkman

LETTER FROM PARKMAN TO MARGRY, Dated Boston, July 7, 1867. From the Parkman-Margry correspondence in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The letter accompanies a copy of his "Pioneers of France", and is interlined by the translator. In it he says :

"The volume which I send you will serve in part to explain the character of my plans... The discoverers of the Valley of the Mississippi hold a very conspicuous place among the heroes of New France and the great Norman explorer La Salle is, as I think, the foremost of all the pioneers of any race or nation who ever trod American soil. As such I mean to represent him. I have no purpose more at heart than that of making the American people aware of the extent to which the civilization of this continent is indebted to the fortitude and enterprise of Frenchmen..."

Then follows the page, a facsimile of which is presented above.

The fame of Francis Parkman as a historian is secure. Today he is among the greatest of American historical writers. The reader who seeks a fascinating story of high adventure may take up any of his volumes and find it. The lover of nature who delights in the vivid portrayal of forest and lake and river and rocky coast will find the volumes full of pictures that enthrall the imagination. The student who seeks to know one of the most important phases of American history, French colonization in North America and the struggle between France and England for the control of the New World may read these volumes with the assurance that he will not be lead astray.

For Parkman's work is as good history as it is literature; both his method and his point of view have admirably withstood the tests of time and of further research. Nevertheless, it is no disparagement of him as a historian, to say that there are certain limitations in his work which may well be borne in mind by those of his readers who read primarily for information.

In the first place he was unable to explore for himself the vast masses of documentary material in French and English archives, and for these preliminary investigations was compelled to rely upon others, with results not always satisfactory to himself, as he occasionally remarked in his correspondence with Margry. In spite of this handicap, however, anyone who, like the writer, has himself explored the archives from which Parkman drew and who has also examined carefully the transcripts, now deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, which were made for Parkman and which he used as the basis of his work, can not fail to be impressed with the abundance of the material which he secured and with its representative character. Inevitably there has come to light much new material since Parkman's time, material which it was impossible for him even to have known of, and which, had it been accessible to him, would doubtless have altered some of his statements and modified certain of his conclusions,

but even such new material has very little affected the value of his work.

Although Parkman is one of the fairest and most impartial of historians, maintaining throughout his work that sympathetic detachment which is the ideal of scholarship, he nevertheless, at least in the opinion of the writer, failed to do entire justice to certain of the institutions of New France. The Church and the Jesuits he could not understand, at least not with that spiritual comprehension displayed by another Boston Puritan, Henry Adams, and thus he was unable to realize the full extent to which their role in Canadian history was vital and necessary and a source of strength.

In the same way the seigniorial system, transplanted to Canada, appeared to him archaic and an instrument of despotism, hampering the economic development of the colony, and in this it is fair to say that his view is shared by other historians. But the seigniorial system, in the form which it took in French America, and under the conditions which prevailed there—far different from those prevailing in New England, may fairly be regarded as a source of strength rather than of weakness. At any rate its introduction into Canada was by no means a gratuitous act of absolute power, but was as natural and even as inevitable as the introduction into New England of the system of freehold tenure of land. Like many other Anglo-Saxon writers, Parkman saw in the outcome of the American struggle between England and France, the triumph of free institutions over those of despotism, but to regard the American conflict in that light is to mistake its nature. The government of New France was frankly absolutist, but it was also benevolently paternal, not despotic, and there was as much individual freedom in Canada as in New England, and very likely more. The reasons for the fall of New France are to found elsewhere than in its form of government, which even gave it, in time of war, a clear advantage over the English colonies.

First, and most obvious of these reasons was its geographical situation, its enormous territorial expanse from the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, the entire interior of the continent, but with access to the sea, in the north, only six months out of the year, and in the south, at a point so remote as to render it of little avail during the final struggle. In the second place, the economic life of New France was exceedingly weak. The chief source of wealth, the fur trade, absorbed energies that might better have been devoted to agriculture and to taking a firm root in the soil; while, by reason of its very nature, the fur trade drew the strength of the colony farther and farther into the interior, dispersing it more and more as the nearby sources of supply were successively exhausted. Finally the failure of immigration from France kept the population of the colony at so low a figure that when the Seven Years War opened there were, in all the vast domain of New France not more than 70,000 whites, outnumbered 20 to 1 by the compact population of nearly a million and a half of the English colonies supported by sea power.

Finally, a limitation that many scholars of today find in Parkman's work is that it is occupied too little with social and economic matters and institutions, and too much with warfare and forest life. But it must be remembered that it was precisely these latter aspects of his subject that most appealed to Parkman, and also, that in fact the history of French Canada was very largely one of warfare. To this interest we owe some of Parkman's most enthralling pages, for he possessed in the superlative degree the art of recreating for his reader the background, especially the forest background, of his narrative.

One would like to quote any number of passages illustrative of his art, if only for the purpose of inspiring the reader to seek more of them for himself, but two or three must suffice. Here for example is his description of Tadoussac:

This port of Tadoussac was long the centre of the Canadian fur-trade. A desolation of barren mountains closes round it, betwixt whose ribs of rugged granite, bristling with savins, birches, and firs, the Saguenay rolls its gloomy waters from the northern wilderness. Centuries of civilization have not tamed the wildness of the place; and still, in grim repose, the mountains hold their guard around the waveless lake that glistens in their shadow, and doubles in its sullen mirror, crag, precipice, and forest. ("Pioneers of France in the New World", p. 327).

Here again is his account of the start of the expedition against the Iroquois in 1666:

On the day of the Exaltation of the Cross... Tracy and Courcelle left Quebec with thirteen hundred men. They crossed Lake Champlain and launched their boats again on the waters of St. Sacrement, now Lake George. It was the first of the warlike pageants that have made that fair scene historic. October had begun, and the romantic wilds breathed the buoyant life of the most inspiring of American seasons, when the blue-jay screams from the woods; the wild duck splashes along the lake; and the echoes of distant mountains prolong the quavering cry of the loon; when weather-stained rocks are plumed with the fiery crimson of the sumac, the claret hues of young oaks, the amber and scarlet of the maple, and the sober purple of the ash; or when gleams of sunlight, shot aslant through the rents of cool autumnal clouds, chase fitfully along the sides of painted mountains. Amid this gorgeous euthanasia of the dying season, the three hundred boats and canoes trailed in long procession up the lake, threaded the labyrinth of the Narrows, that sylvan fairy-land of tufted islets and quiet waters, and landed at length where Fort William Henry was afterwards built. ("Old Regime in Canada", p. 243).

One more extract must suffice. Let us choose the vision that Parkman saw as he commenced his work and that inspired him through all his years of effort.

The French dominion is a memory of the past; and when we evoke its departed shades, they rise upon us from their graves in strange, romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us; an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent

in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilization. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in the antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death. Men of courtly nurture, heirs to the polish of a far-reaching ancestry here, with their dauntless hardihood, put to shame the boldest sons of toil. ("Pioneers of France," Introduction, p. xii).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(A Star \* indicates that the books mentioned are in the American Library in Paris)

There are two biographies of Francis Parkman; the earlier and more formal is that by Charles Haight Farnham, "Life of Francis Parkman" (Little, Brown and Co.), 1900; the shorter, sympathetic and well written, is by Henry Dwight Sedgwick "Francis Parkman", in the "American Men of Letters Series", (Houghton Mifflin, 1904). It is upon the latter that the above sketch is based. Parkman's works have been published in successive editions, the latest being that known as the "Centenary Edition" (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1922), in 13 volumes<sup>(1)</sup>. The titles of his historical works have been noted.

A few works dealing with Parkman's field, the history of New France, may be mentioned as of value to the general reader. A volume by the late Reuben Gold Thwaites, "France in America", in the series edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, "The American Nation, a History" (New York, Harper, 1905) is a rather bare summary, evidently hastily compiled and lacking in evidences of original scholarship. Its biblio-

(1) This has been presented to the American Library by Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Allen of Boston in memory of Mrs. Allen's father, Professor Charles C. Jewett, "Pioneer among American Librarians".

graphical chapter is useful as a guide to further reading. Two volumes of the co-operative work, "Chronicles of American History", recently published by the Yale University Press under the direction of Professor Allen Johnson, deal with the French regime and are reliable and entertaining; "\*Crusaders of New France", by William Bennett Munro, devoted to social, economic and institutional history, and "\*The Conquest of New France", by George M. Wrong, being chiefly a military narrative. Several volumes of a similar co-operative history, "Chronicles of Canada" (Toronto, 1913) may also be mentioned. Still another co-operative history of great merit "Canada and its Provinces", edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto, 1914), includes a number of useful volumes: Volume I contains a narrative history of French Canada; volume II, an account of its social, economic and political institutions; volume XIII, the history of Acadia; and volumes XV and XVI the history of the Province of Quebec.

Of the many histories by French Canadians probably the best for general purposes is that by F. X. Garneau, "Histoire du Canada", first published in 1845 but brought out recently in a fifth edition, very much enlarged and intelligently revised and annotated by Hector Garneau (Paris, Alcan, "Bibliothèque France-Amérique", 1920), 2 volumes. Of the few works by French writers the most important is Emile Salone, "La Colonization de la Nouvelle France" (Paris, Guilmoto), which is an exceedingly valuable study of the process of peopling Canada and of its economic and social progress; as a supplement to Parkman it is indispensable. A very recent work on Acadia, by a French scholar, Emile Lauvrière, "La Tragédie d'un Peuple" (Paris, Bossard, 1922, 2 volumes), contains a vast amount of information, but its point of view is so *tendancieux* and its tone is so passionately hostile to the English that scholars will display a cautious reserve in accepting the author's judgments and conclusions.



There is no satisfactory general history of the French regime in the Mississippi Valley, which, except for the history of explorations, received slight attention from Parkman. Pierre Heinrich, in "La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes", (Paris, Guilmoto) presents a detailed and careful study of the history of Louisiana from 1717 to 1731, with an introductory chapter on the earlier history of the colony, and a valuable bibliographical section. The later history of Louisiana, 1753-1803, is dealt with by the Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage in "Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française" (Paris, Guilmoto, 1903). Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey's study of "The Commerce of Louisiana during the French

Regime" (New York, Longman's, 1916) is based on intensive work in the archives in Paris, but is of more value to the student than to the general reader; it is full of detailed and definite information, and contains a very comprehensive bibliography. The history of the Illinois Country is told in admirable and authoritative fashion by Clarence W. Alvord in the first volume of the "Centennial History of Illinois", edited by him: "The Illinois Country, 1673-1818" (Springfield Ill. 1920), while the history of the region about Detroit may be read in Charles Moore's excellent book. "The Northwest under Three Flags" (New York, Harper, 1900).

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## Literary Notes

"The Soviet Constitution", edited by Andrew Rothstein (Labour Publishing Co.) is full of interesting information. The standing orders of the all-Russian central executive committee, for example, limit speeches in support of amendments to three minutes; and the regulations of the village soviets provide for the organization of a reading hut in each village, and public readings of newspapers, decrees of the government, etc.

In an article in the *New York Evening Post Literary Review* Margaret Widdemer urges the importance of a course in whimsicality. She would, of course, start her class with Lewis Carroll's "The Hunting of the Snark" and Lucretia Hale's "Peterkin Papers". These should be followed, she says, by Edmund Lear's "Nonsense Rhymes" and Gilbert's "Bab Ballads" and attendance at Gilbert and Sullivan operas.

The editor of the *Reviewer*, Hunter Stagg, is so tired of hearing Arthur Machen's "The Three Impostors" (Knopf) compared with Stevenson's "New Arabian Nights" that he desires to go on record as thinking it a great deal better, just as he thinks the Old Arabian Nights better. This is not, he adds, the Machen of "The Hill of Dreams"; it is the Machen of those intricate and gruesome stories which make up "The House of Souls".

In an article on Amy Lowell the *Bookmen* for December says: "In a certain sense she will never surpass the vision and execution of 'Can Grande Castle'."

In "Mirrors of Moscow" (Thomas Seltzer) Louise Bryant has tried to show the leaders of the Russian revolution as they really are, as she knew them in their homes, "where the red glare does not penetrate and they live as other men". In addition to chapters on Lenin and Trotsky, there are eight on Lunacharsky and Russian culture, Kalinin and the peasants, Mme. Kollontai and the woman's movement, Enver Pasha and the Mohamedans, Tikon and the church, Tchicherin, commissar for foreign affairs, and others.

Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is described by Mr. Alfred Noyes as the greatest elegy in any language.

There are many who think that James Stephens' best work is to be found in "The Charwoman's Daughter".

In "The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul" (Houghton) Demetra Vaka establishes her reputation as a Margot Asquith of the Orient, the *New York Times* says.

"Paris, the Literary Capital of the United States", is the title of an interesting article in the *New York Times Book Review* for December 23.

The editor of the *Bookman* in speaking of Robert Nathan's "The Puppet Master" (MacBride) says: "It is a book which I should like to be sure every follower of the *Bookman* reads—and if you once read it, you will re-read it, as I do his 'Autumn'."

# Cowboy Songs

W. W. IRWIN

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**A**MONG the rapidly vanishing wild life of the United States may be classed that almost extinct animal, the cowboy. The few captive specimens that have been preserved to us in the movies bear the same relation to the real animal, that the average movie drama bears to the book from which it was taken. The outlines are there but so distorted and so weirdly changed as to be scarcely recognizable.

Thanks to Professor J. A. Lomax and those who followed in his footsteps, the songs and ballads with which the cowboy whiled away the weary hours of night-herd and trail duty have been saved for posterity. Many of these songs are adaptations of the ancient English and Scottish ballads, others are taken from hymns, but a certain number are absolutely native to the range country. These native songs are, as might be expected, the most interesting to the student of Americana. In them the time, the tune, and the subject are all three characteristic of the makers and their environment.

Being nearly always sung while on horseback, these songs take their tempo from the beat of the horse's hoofs. You will find in them either the slow walk of the night-herder, the trot of the horse-herd, or the easy lope of the man traveling. If you will hum to yourself "The Old Chisholm Trail" you will get the beat of the feet of a trotting horse, "Get Along Little Dogies" has the easy swing of the lope, and "Bury Me Not On the Lone Prairee" has the slow measure of the night-herder around the bedded cattle.

The tunes vary, almost at the will of the singer, for the reason that they are transmitted orally and the reproduction depends on the memory, the ear and the voice of the performer. Certain of the songs are so well known that the airs are absolutely fixed, but in others one finds almost

as many variants in the tune as in the words. The cowboy enjoyed imagining he was sad and in consequence was exceedingly fond of minors, but in this he was only following in the track of most Anglo-Celtic folk-song.

The subjects of the songs may be divided into three broad classes: those concerning the glory of force, incidents of daily life, and—plain filth. The life of the cowboy was hard—the writer speaks from experience—not even the sailor before the mast in the old days of wind-jammers faced danger and hardship as constantly as did the riders of the range. Danger from the cattle, danger from his horse, danger from nature—cloud-bursts, prairie-fires, blizzards—and danger from his fellow men; for since Colonel Colt made all men the same size, the cowboy's life often hung on his ability to use the Colonel's invention. This *milieu* weeded out the weaklings with an unsparing hand and those who survived were a picked race. Is it any wonder that these men worshipped the hero and made ballads about him? The heroes were sometimes rather shoddy, Billy the Kid and Jesse James, but the songs were of the strong man who fought against odds and Ecclefechan Tam would have understood their spirit.

Another series of ballads were descriptive of the daily life of the cow puncher, and like that life—or indeed any life—were sometimes grave and sometimes gay. Among the more serious songs were "The Dying Cowboy", more often known as "The Cowboy's Lament", or more simply "The Lament", and the previously mentioned "Bury Me Not On the Lone Prairee". In the old days more than one cowboy was buried with no other attempt at religious services than these two songs, sung by his comrades around the grave on the open range, while the trail herd was allowed to drift for an hour or so.



The most primitive type of man finds humorous something that kills someone—a step upward, and filth becomes funny. Many—a great many—of the cowboy's repertoire are entirely unfit to be printed for general circulation. Do not think however, that the puncher was naturally foul-minded;—he was quite the contrary,—only, those songs did not affect his mentality as being dirty, but as being funny. A good example of this type is "My Lulu Girl" that Owen Wister refers to in "The Virginian". The writer has more than once heard a big, clean-hearted boy carolling like a lark this song, whose scabrous words would have brought a blush of envy to the cheeks of the Curé of Meudon. An easterner once summed up the thing by saying, "They take such an innocent, child-like delight in their smut". In this regard a point worth noting is that in general the fouler the song, the better the tune. Some of the worst specimens fairly sing themselves.

It will be asked why it was that the cowboy had all this long repertoire of songs, when none of the other makers of the west appear to have had any great leanings toward vocal music. As in most things, there is a reason. Cattle when in the open at night are subject to unexplained attacks of nerves, which cause them to become restless and suspicious. At such a time they refuse to lie down, move about restlessly in an irregular circle—"milling" is the cowboy word—and a very small shock is sufficient to set them off on a wild stampede that means extra and dangerous work for the men and losses for the owners. Now it is a fact, tho a strange one, that at such times these half-savage range cattle are comforted and calmed by the sound of the human voice. The two night-herders circle at a walk, in opposite directions, the mass of milling,

nervous cattle and quiet them by singing to them. The words or the tune are of no consequence and the men relieve each other, singing turn and turn about. Gradually the restless movement lessens and finally the cattle stand quiet and listen. Then, here and there one will lie down, and in an hour or so—if you have luck—all the bunch will be safely bedded down, chewing their cud or sleeping.

This calming effect of the human voice is well known to all those who handle cattle in bulk. Kipling mentions it in his "Mulholland's Contract" where on the cattle-boat during the storm :.....

"I had been singin' to them to keep 'em quiet there.

For the lower deck is the dangerousest, requirin' constant care..."

On the range as a rule they took no chances and started singing to the bunch as soon as they had them on the bed-ground.

Here you have the real reason why the cowboy has so many songs when the other trades of the old west have so few. His songs were in their way just as much a tool of the trade as his rope itself. Two night-herders singing could hold the cattle on the bedding-ground better and easier than could the entire outfit, depending on their horses alone.

While several collections of cowboy songs have been published, giving the words, the music has never been popularised, except to a very slight extent in Lomax's first book. This seems a great pity, as most of them have the same simple appeal that makes the "College Songs" so popular for generation after generation. Lord, Lord, what memories, and what pictures of a west that is no more, those simple airs would bring back to many an old man!



### A Weekly Story Hour For Children

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THESE story hours are conducted by Mademoiselle Huchet of the Book Committee on Children's Libraries. The first of these was held November 8th, when French stories from Picardy and Provence were told. These were followed by German, Scandinavian, Russian and Polish tales, and will conclude with English and American stories, all translated into French. The principal sources drawn upon are the collections made by Perrault, Bouchor, Grim, Jaubert and Jacob.

The program of the Christmas story hour consisted of the following : "Le Soulier de Jean-Marie", by Jeanroy ; "La Légende de la Rose de Noël", by Lagerlöf ; "La Visite des Araignées" ; "Pourquoi les Arbres Résineux gardent leurs Feuilles en Hiver", by Holbrook ; the first from "Les Plus Jolies Contes de Noël" (Hachette) ; the second from the author's "Livre des Légendes" (Perrin) ; and the two last from Miss Bryant's "Comment Raconter des Histoires à nos Enfants" (Nathan).

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# EX LIBRIS

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*The Primary aim of Ex Libris is to give its readers information in regard to the best American and English books of general interest. The primary aim of the American Library is to make these books available to its members throughout Europe.*

At the meeting of the Trustees, February 5, Mr. J. G. Hay was elected Treasurer to succeed Mr. James R. Barbour, resigned; Professor Earle B. Babcock, former director of the American University Union was elected, a member of the American Committee; and the following were appointed to serve with the President as a Building Committee, Mr. M. Percy Peixotto and Mr. Lawrence Slade.

The report of the Librarian for January showed gifts of books amounting to 1,424, including collections from Miss Gordon, Mr. Frederic Mallet, Miss Florence Heywood, Mr. E. W. Brooks, Professor J. Mark Baldwin, Miss Bachemann and Mrs. Ryle. The Librarian also reported a registration of 423 subscribers, including the following new members: M. L. de la Rochebrochard, Mr. Homer Croy, Mr. H. O. Lewis and Miss C. Goldsmith. The large number of subscriptions is interesting in itself, but the fact that the number of French subscribers exceeded the number of British is equally significant. The book circulation for the month was 9,765, or six per cent more than one year ago.

## Relations with American Scientific Societies

In the last issue of *Ex Libris* attention was called to the unique relations which exist between the American Library in Paris and the American Library Association.

In the Annual report of the Librarian emphasis is also laid upon the importance of the establishment of close relations with American scientific institutions and societies. "The American Library Association", the report says, "may assist in the development of an effective library organization here and in the determination of the best methods of library administration, but only the scientific institutions and societies can be

of much assistance to us in selecting the books and periodicals which we should have on our shelves to represent American thought and achievement or do much to promote the use of these collections among European scholars.

"With this in view the American Historical Association at its meeting in New Haven, December 27-30, 1923, recommended the appointment of Dr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to represent the Association in co-operation with the American Library in Paris, and authorized its Committee on Bibliography to undertake and give such

advice and assistance to the American Library in organizing its department of American history as it could. This Committee consists of the following : Professor George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, chairman ; Professor William H. Allison, Colgate University ; Professor Sidney B. Fay, Smith College ; Dr. A. H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo ; and Professor Henry R. Shipman, Princeton University. Dr. Leland has almost completed a list of the books on the history of the French regime in America which the Library should acquire, with the idea that a collection of books on this subject would not only add to the Library's usefulness to students of Franco-American relations, but also give that distinction to the Library's collections which special collections alone can confer.

"A similar committee has been appointed more recently by the American Political Science Association to advise us in the development of the department of political science. This committee consists of Professor Pitman B. Potter, University of Wisconsin, chairman ; Professor C. E. Merriam, University of Chicago ; Professor W. J. Shepard, Washington University,

Saint Louis ; Professor Everett Kimball, Smith College ; and Dr. Raymond R. Buell, Harvard University. Professor Potter will advise on international law and diplomacy, Professor Merriam on municipal government, Professor Shepard on political theory and comparative government, and Dr. Buell on world politics.

"The American Institute of Architects, through the chairman of its educational committee, Professor William Emerson, has not only made a list of the more useful books on American architecture or representative of American architectural thought, but has, through the generosity of Professor Emerson, purchased the books and presented them to the library.

"The American Association for the Advancement of Colored People also has offered to assist in the collection of books by American negroes or relating to them, and other organizations more or less scientific in character are certain to become interested in different parts of the Library, not only in order that its collections may properly represent American opinion and life but also that the library may be of the largest possible service to their members who visit Europe either for study or travel."

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## Literary Notes

A reviewer of Gamaliel Bradford's "Damaged Souls" (Houghton) in the *Atlantic Monthly* speaks of Mr. Bradford as far and away the most notable biographer in the country.

Hunter Stagg says in *The Reviewer* that Mrs. Wharton has not surpassed "A Son at the Front" (Scribner's) save in "Ethan Frome" and in perhaps half a dozen of her short stories.

Of Irving Fisher's "League or War" *Headway* says : "This is the sort of book that some rich man ought to have circulated by the million throughout America and England."

He who would become acquainted with Frank Swinnerton is advised by Grant Overton to begin with "The Three Lovers", and follow that by "Coquette", "September", "Shops and Houses", and "Nocturne".

In a recent article in the *Bookman* Homer Croy describes "Huckleberry Finn" as the greatest humorous novel the United States has ever produced. The other outstanding American humorous novels, he says, are "David Harum", "Mrs. Wiggs", and "Seventeen".

*Studies in Philology* for January (The University of North Carolina Press) is devoted to "An Analytical Index to the Ballad-entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London", compiled by Professor H. E. Rollins of New York University.

Professor Nansen's "Russia and the Peace" (Allen and Unwin) is described by *Morgenbladet* as the most straightforward, well informed and enlightening book on Russia published since the war.

## Books Reviews

L'ŒUVRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, by Léon Bourgeois, Délégué Permanent de La France à La Société Des Nations. Paris. Payot. 1923. 456 pages.

The life of every institution seems to depend in its final analysis upon public opinion. To answer the requirements of this public opinion modern institutions must have a *raison d'être*, inherent merit in their organization and after at least a few years of life substantial accomplishments to justify the future support of their adherents. So it is with the League of Nations.

The League of Nations is now a little over four years old. Is the public opinion of the world behind it? Has it inherent in its system the fundamental principles of international association and peace? Have its accomplishments been such as to justify continued support by its present adherents and perhaps the added support of the United States? For a perspective on these and other questions we may turn to a scholarly book by Leon Bourgeois, a leading French authority, entitled "L'Œuvre de La Société Des Nations."

The first part of M. Bourgeois' book gives a historical sketch of the first three years of the activities of the League, the subject-matter being selected discourses pronounced by the author upon various occasions. The second part gives an excellent discussion of the acts and accomplishments of the League Assembly and Council; the Permanent Court of International Justice; such political problems as the Aland Islands, the question of Upper Silesia, and the restoration of Austria; the mandats, Dantzic and the Saar; armaments; such technical commissions as those on Finance and Economics, Health, Labor, and Transit; social and humanitarian work; and finally the jurisprudence of the Assembly and the Council.

In a short conclusion the author discusses the *raisons de vivre* of the League. In his conclusion and in fact throughout the book the author endeavors to tear down the arguments of opponents of the League of Nations. The reader is soon impressed that the League is certainly neither a "super-state" on the one hand nor a mere "debating society" on the other. Many illusions and commonly-held inaccurate apprehensions about the League are effectively dispelled.

In a word the layman just starting to tackle the problem of the League of Nations will find many parts of the book very instructive, while those seriously interested in international problems

and the League should not fail to read such a comprehensive book by an author whose labors in this field have been so conspicuous.

L. D. Egbert

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION AND AFTER, by Heinrich Stræbel, Translated by H. J. Stenning. London. Jarrolds. 1923. 320 pages.

This is an absorbingly interesting discussion of German political history since the War, and of the attitude of the different parties toward the Treaty of Versailles and toward the new German Constitution. Interesting as it is as a general survey of recent events, however, its chief value lies in the author's criticism of the Socialists of the Right, on the one hand, and of the Socialists of the Left, or Spartacus Group, on the other. The big capitalis's have shown as much boldness and determination in the creation of a new economic structure as the Social Democrat Party has been passive and irresolute in its attitude toward economic problems, he observes. "Instead of creating a great Republican Bloc of the left, bourgeois Democrats and Centrists sought refuge in a bloc of the center of which the German Peoples Party has become the driving force—precisely the party which has put the greatest difficulties in the way of the Republic, which has constantly flirted with monarchism and Jingoism, which has denounced as treachery to the Fatherland every honorable endeavour to fulfil the obligations of the Peace Treaty, and which has hitherto unscrupulously jeopardized the existence of the Republic by its economic and financial policy." He feels that reconciliation of the Capitalist and the Socialist is impossible, and that the only hope for the future lies in the renunciation by the Right Socialists of the policy of supine compromise; the renunciation by the Left Socialists of irresponsible phrasemongering; and the union of both on a progressive program of reconstruction. Among the proposals which he believes should receive their serious consideration are those of Alfons Horten.

The occupation of the Ruhr, if persisted in, he says, will frustrate the peaceful evolution of Germany along democratic lines. "Surely, in these circumstances", he adds, "The German people have a right to expect the fullest moral support from the great western democracies, and the most positive diplomatic intervention by England and America, who presumably do not wish discredited German Militarism to be replaced in Europe by aggrandized French Imperialism."

GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY: A STUDY OF THE REPARATION PROBLEM, by Harold G. Moulton and Constantine E. Mc Guire. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc. 1923. 384 pages.

This is one of the publications of the Institute of Economics of Washington, D. C. founded by the Carnegie Corporation. It is the most complete scientific study of the reparation problem now available for the average serious inquirer. While the book was issued in June of last year its usefulness has not been reduced or impaired by what has happened in the intervening months. In fact a revision at this moment would, we apprehend, suggest very few alterations or additions.

According to Messrs. Moulton and McGuire, Germany's capacity to pay will be in direct proportion to her ability to develop an export surplus; and, inasmuch as it is impossible to say what the surplus, if any, will amount to, there is no way to fix in advance the annual sums which Germany can turn over in payment of reparations.

The appendices which make up more than one-third of the volume are extremely valuable. The section dealing with budgetary and taxation questions in Germany is especially helpful at the present moment. Mention should be made of a tabular summary of the various steps taken in the reparation controversy from the beginning to June 1923.

RUSSIA AND PEACE, by Fridtjof Nansen. London. George Allen and Unwin. 1923. 162 pages.

"It appears probable to me," the author says, "that not only will Russia some day, and at a date not far distant, save Europe in things material, but that the sorely needed spiritual renewal will also come from there."

The only policy which can save Europe, he believes, is that which resolutely regards all problems from an international economic point of view.

The successive chapters of his book on Russian agriculture, industry, and transportation, however, show clearly that this can not come without wider recognition of Russia's importance in the economy of Europe. Without foreign help the recovery of agriculture will take a long time, and although the new economic policy has rendered possible notable improvement in the condition of industry, more capital—that is, more foreign credit—is required to replace or repair worn out machinery and buy the necessary raw materials.

In view of the new economic policy which has been adopted by the Government he believes that this credit will be forthcoming. The Communist system continues to have a theoretical

existence in the minds of the leaders but in practice, they have passed over to State Socialism, and then to a regime wherein private initiative constantly receives a larger share.

MODERN ITALY, by Tommaso Tittoni. London. Macmillan. 1922. 236 pages. (The Institute of Politics Publications, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.).

A scholarly discussion of the intellectual, cultural and economic aspects of modern Italy. The author takes up all phases of literature, science and art and shows what contribution Italy has made to each in recent years. The modern thinkers and writers of Italy are mentioned and a short review of the work of each presented.

The second half of the book is devoted to subjects of economic and financial importance—such as the labor question, the international problem of raw materials and the Italian budget. The last chapter on emigration is of especial interest to Americans who must regard this subject as one of national importance.

The author was president of the Italian Senate and speaks with authority.

E. G. P.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, by Watson Kirkconnell. London. 1923. 217 pages.

The author reviews in colorful language the position of the nations of the world at the present time—especially of those nations affected by the war and its results. His language is vigorous and the tone of his writing sincere. The field covered, both in time and geography, is too large to allow more than a sketch. The arguments by which the author's theses are elaborated show him to be of the Keynes school of economic thought, and to be convinced that the payment of interallied debts presages disaster to the creditors—provided payment be even possible. France is portrayed as vindictive and highly imperialistic. A series of short portraits of the other countries of Europe are interestingly presented.

Recovery from the world's ills the author believes can come only through a gradual and painful restoration of production, improvement of distribution, "curative treatment" of our money economy—a subject discussed rather too summarily—and the development of an atmosphere of peace.

Proper adjustments of these sorts, supplemented by national policies which will stop the drift toward the cities and lessen seasonal unemployment will bring about an adjustment of the unemployment problem and head off the threatened shortage in world food supplies. A concrete program to accomplish this end is not presented. One

is left uncertain whether the author's remedies, even assuming them to be ones which would bring relief, are palliatives or cures, for his general argument is mildly Malthusian.

Few readers will agree with all the statements in the book, but many will find it a stimulus to clarifying their own reasonings.

Chester Lloyd Jones

**NON-VIOLENT COERCION ; A STUDY IN METHODS OF SOCIAL PRESSURE**, by Clarence Marsh Case. New York and London. The Century Co. 1923. 423 pages.

This interesting supplement to Robert Hunter's "Violence and the Labor Movement" describes the three types of conscientious objector (1) the religious sectarian, (2) the non-religious peace advocate, and (3) the pro-German partisan. It recites the experiences of drafted members of the first group and reviews briefly the attitude of the different sects toward the War as shown in their official proceedings. In the second group the author finds three different types,—the Socialist, the Individualist, and the Humanitarian. To the third group he gives no consideration.

The work concludes with a discussion of the psychological basis of non-violent resistance and the bearing of this doctrine upon the problems of modern democracy and social idealism, as expressed in the strike, the boycott, and non-co-operation as organized in India during the World War. While this is sympathetic he does not fail to take issue with those peace advocates who are opposed to war under any circumstances ; from his point of view war is simply an extension of the police principle, i.e. the use of public force against the private violence of lawless nations.

He adds, however, that peace like most good things, will become effective only through organization.

**THE ROMANCE OF THE PARIS STREETS**, by Mary D. Stuart. London. Chapman and Dodd. 1923. 226 pages.

Perhaps all books on Paris are interesting, but some of them like this are more interesting than others. It gives a vivid picture of the movement of social life from the Ile St. Louis to the Marais, from there to the Faubourg Saint Germain, and then, with the Revolution, to the new avenues in and around the Champs Elysées, and with it glimpses of historic buildings and anecdotes of those who lived in them.

Among those mentioned by the author which belong entirely to the past are : the Tour de Nesle given by Francis I to Benvenuto Cellini for a workshop ; the Hotel de St. Paul, built by Charles V after he had tired of the palace on the Ile de la Cité ;

and the Hotel des Tournelles, which Louis XI made the royal residence and continued to be the royal residence until Catherine de Medicis built the Tuileries.

Of the older buildings which still remain Sainte Chapelle, which is almost all that remains today of the old palace of Saint Louis, and the Hotel de Sens, which shares with the Cluny the distinction of being the only 15th century dwelling house still existing in Paris, receive special attention, as does the Luxembourg Gardens, the only Renaissance gardens left in Paris.

The Rue Brisemiche is described as "one of the few perfect remains of that ancient Paris which has nearly disappeared".

**THE LURE OF THE LOIRE**, by Mary Raphael. London. Mills and Boon. 1923. 189 pages.

Again that delightful region, the chateau country of France, is pictured by one who calls herself a "loiterer near the Loire". The author does not claim to be a "learned travel-writer", but describes in a pleasant conversational style her leisurely trips to the chateaux in the vicinity of Tours. With her we rest by the still waters of Azay le-Rideau, recalling the early history of this beautiful chateau ; at her side we glimpse the ancient market-place at Luynes and see again the gorgeous wedding of Anne de Bretagne and Charles VIII in the great hall at Langeais.

The book covers fourteen of the Loire chateaux besides giving pleasing glimpses of some of the surrounding towns. It is well illustrated with photographs taken by the author and may be enjoyed in an easy chair at home or used as a guide when visiting the chateaux.

E. G. P.

**THE SPELL OF PROVENCE**, by André Hallays. Boston. L. C. Page & Co. 1923. 367 pages.

In these essays the author does not attempt the description of the better known places on the Rhone and on the Riviera, but devotes himself to less familiar places remarkable either for their architectural monuments, their natural historical associations, or their natural beauty.

He does not fail, however, to express his feelings about much of the work of restoration and many of the "improvements" made in Orange, and in Arles, the latter "no more than a museum, but the worst kept museum in Europe". For Aix on the other hand, his enthusiasm is unqualified. "Other towns may possess more numerous and more valuable masterpieces", he says, "but not one of them is in itself such a perfect and complete work of art". Fréjus also and the temple of le Verneques are the subjects of interesting chapters.

Of medieva monuments those which excite his admiration most are the Chateau of Grignan which he describes as one of the most beautiful of the works of art which still exist in France, and the cloister of Thoronet, which he calls one of the most successful works of Provençal Romanesque.

The approach to Provence by the river from Lyons or Valence to Avignon leads him to exclaim that there is nothing in France more magnificent or more varied.

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF BRITAIN, 1721-1921, by the Hon. Clive Bigham. Dutton & Co. New York. 1923.

A delightful narrative of 200 years of British Prime Ministers from Walpole to Lloyd George. Although the writer disclaims any thought of writing a history of the political events of these two centuries, his story does in fact provide an excellent series of nuclei round which a larger knowledge of the national politics and policies may be gathered. The careers of the successive leaders and their political destinies are easily but clearly narrated, and their vicissitudes are often most enlightening for the present time. The narrative is enlivened, especially in regard to the working of the party systems, by spicy anecdotes which reveal the most typically British characteristics of these personalities standing in that fierce light which beats upon all public characters. The book is well produced and illustrated by excellent portraits.

F. H. W.

ENGLISH DIARIES, by Arthur Ponsonby. London. Methuen & Co. 1923. 447 pages.

Over one hundred diaries, of which eight are in manuscript, are described, with extended illustrative extracts, in this volume. The first to receive notice is that of King Edward VI. This is followed by four others of the 16th century, some thirty of the 17th; and about the same number of the 18th, while the remainder belong to the 19th century and early years of the 20th.

That delightfully garrulous diarist of the 17th century, Samuel Pepys, is, of course, given the first place among English diarists. Charles Greville's memoirs, John Wesley's Journal, and the life of Haydon, the painter, are also noted as of extraordinary interest, the first, as the most graphic contemporary account of events between 1814 and 1860 which there is, the second, as the most complete record of the great religious revival of the 18th century, and the last embracing the period 1786 to 1846, as "one of the most interesting human documents ever penned"; he was more successful as a diarist than he was as a painter.

Of particular interest to French readers are the descriptions of the diary of Sir Thomas Coningsby relating to the siege of Rouen in 1591 and that of Mary Browne, a girl of fourteen who visited France in 1821. "I can not tell what made me dislike France so very much", she says, "one reason I think was that I raised my expectations too high".

Mrs. Browne's Diary of her journey to America in 1754, still in manuscript, is of special interest to students of American history. "It is far better worth printing than many of the diaries that have been published"; the author observes.

DAMAGED SOULS, by Gamaliel Bradford. Boston. Houghton Mifflin and Co. 1923. 285 pages.

Here are depicted seven "damaged souls", who were, all but one, illustrious in American history. Of these Benedict Arnold and John Randolph of Virginia would appear the worst damaged: the first because he was a traitor, the second, poor soul, because he was so very sour.

It is disconcerting to notice that none of these much contending men died young. John Brown met his fate at the age of fifty-nine, when he was still going strong; Benedict Arnold gave up at sixty after twenty years of misery; Thomas Paine at seventy-two; Aaron Burr at eighty; John Randolph at sixty; P. T. Barnum at eighty-one; Benjamin Butler at seventy-five. And mind you these men lived! Gad, how they lived!

It would however be amiss to argue that the secret of longevity lies in taint; it is more probable that strong, however wrong, souls generally inhabit vigorous bodies, and the combination takes a lot of killing.

As to the choice of the subjects that Mr. Bradford draws with so firm a touch and as to his definition of "damaged not damned" souls, his reflection, speaking of John Brown, is illuminating: "He was perhaps the most curious American example of fanatical enthusiasm, and as such the analysis of his soul, with its damage and its glory, has a profound and absorbing interest." Of John Randolph, he remarks: "But in the main he was a furious negative, nothing more. His private life is summed up by saying that he was always opposed to his own best interests. It is a striking thing that this man whose soul was all oddity, should have grown up on an estate called 'Bizarre'."

Speaking of Aaron Burr's religion, he quotes Burr's delicious remark: "I think that God is a great deal better than most people suppose." When asked as to his hope of salvation through Christ, Burr replied that "on that subject he was coy".

Again, John Brown remarked, as he was being driven to the gallows; "This is a beautiful country, I never had the pleasure of seeing it before!"

Strong souls these!



In speaking of the terrible power of words, Mr. Bradford does not of course allude to current English fiction. This book is not only written in fine pure English but it is also beautifully presented and illustrated.

George G. Fleuret

THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, by Rosaline Masson. Edinburgh. W. & R. Chambers, 1923. 358 pages.

So much has already been written about Stevenson that there is little new in this his most recent biography, beyond some extracts from a few unpublished letters. But the lovers of Stevenson, and they are many, are never weary of hearing of one, who was not only a writer of great and unusual charm, but also a sympathetic and lovable companion.

There is much sad reading in the book, for it tells in simple words of a gallant struggle which shadowed his life from childhood. His literary output is the more remarkable when one realises the conditions under which he worked, straightened means as well as ill health. Stevenson himself in one of his letters described his life as that of a pallid brute who lived at Skerryvore like a weevil in a biscuit! A true Scotsman, he inherited grit. Rarely he alludes to his own troubles, only towards the last does he write of the "creak of Charon's oars and the miasma of the Styx". It is possible Henley may have had his friend in mind when he wrote his famous poem, for never was anyone more "Captain of his Soul" than Stevenson.

If the merit of Stevenson's works put to the ballot of public opinion, "Treasure Island", "The Master of Ballantrae", and "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" would probably lead the list, but there are passages in his South Sea sketches, and the "New Arabian Nights", in which his unique style finds perhaps its finest expression.

The words he wrote for his own epitaph have appealed to thousands :

This be the verse that you grave for me,  
Here he lies where he longed to be,  
Home is the sailor, home from sea,  
And the hunter home from the hill.

Rosaline Masson has given a truthful and interesting account of a man whose name will always be remembered as one of the leading writers of the 19th century.

L. H.

THE INNOCENCE OF G. K. CHESTERTON, by Gerald Bullett. London. Cecil Palmer. 1923. 233 pages.

Here is no prostrate obeisance to one who writes no wrong—rather a conscientious effort towards

criticism of all the versatile Chesterton's angles. As essayist, controversialist, novelist, poet and critic he is held up for praise or blame and usually both.

Mr. Bullett's greatest quarrel with Chesterton is the usual one—that of being too much of a literary acrobat. He occupies himself also at some length in disagreeing with the ideas of "that wise baby with innocent visions".

Fully alive to the dangers of molding public opinion while his subject is still alive the author has launched bravely out with a method and arguments ever interesting even when unconvincing.

M. L. L.

THE TROUBADOURS AND ENGLAND, by H. J. Chaytor. Cambridge. The University Press. 1923. 164 pages.

This is an interesting study showing the French influence on English lyric.

Mr. Chaytor gives us the origin of the "*chanson reale*" and points out how the poesy of the English gleeman or minstrel was modified and superseded by the Provençal *trouveur* who followed the Norman court to England.

These troubadours from far Provence, whose wandering footsteps took them far and wide through the pleasant land, were always welcome. They passed from house to house, bringing with them the soft liquid speech of the glowing South. They sang of war, they sang of love, of heroes, and of the sacred Cross, for the most part pastoral poets finding their symbols of love in Nature's fields and woods. Like the Persian poet Hafiz who wrote later, they delighted in roses, nightingales, the lush greenness of grass, and rippling water.

Amongst the many charming verses quoted by Mr. Chaytor, two may be mentioned. The first by Bernart de Vensdorn is an exquisite specimen:

"Can lo boschatges es floritz  
E vei lo tems renovar,  
E chascus auzels quer sa par  
El rossinhols fai chans et critz,  
D'un gran joi me creis tals oblitz  
Que ves re mais no-m posc virar".

The second by Amanieu de Sescas is an amusing verse, in which he instructs a young lady of the 13th century in the art of conversation at the dinner table.

It is a pleasure to spend an hour with this book and to be taken back far from the present prosaic age to the days of real romance.

L. H.

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- ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH. *Russian Soviet Republic*. New York. The Century Co. 1923.
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- MOULTON, HAROLD GLENN, and McGUIRE, CONSTANTINE E. *Germany's Capacity to Pay*, by Harold G. Moulton. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1923.

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- KELLY, GEORGE. *Finders-Keepers*. Play in One Act. Cincinnati. Stewart Kidd Co. 1923.
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### Literary Notes

The subject of the *Bookman* Literary Spotlight for January is Fannie Hurst, who, in the opinion of the writer, is supreme in her own sphere,—the sphere of the short story, the sphere of Kipling and O. Henry.

In the edition of Emerson's "English Traits" just published by Hatier, the editor, Georges Roth, has an interesting bibliographical note on French translations and criticisms of Emerson's writings.

Of Dr. Gooch's "History of Modern Europe" (Holt) Professor A. C. Coolidge says: "As a general summary of the period it stands among English works in a class by itself."

E. Phillips Oppenheim's new novel, "Michael's Evil Deeds" (Little, Brown and Co.) is described by the *New York Times Book Review* as the most successful of all Mr. Oppenheim's numerous and arresting books.

In an article on "Bojer's Conquest of America" in the *Bookman* for November, Professor Porterfield says that Norwegians agree on the following as their four greatest living writers: Arne Gorborg, Gunnar Heiberg, Knut Hamsun, and Johan Bojer.

Of "A Lost Lady" by Willa Cather (Knopf) Henry Seidel Canby says, "It is to the eyes and perhaps to the first impression, the slenderest of Miss Cather's novels; it is also, I think, the most perfect."

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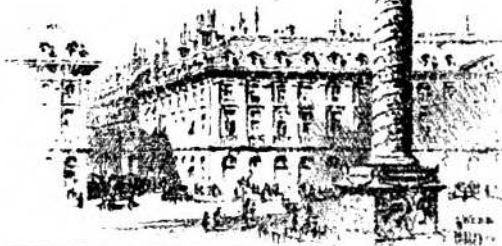
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## Literary Notes

In an article on Joseph Conrad in the *Contemporary Review* for January, C. K. Allen declares that his favorite Conrad is "Romance": "Not even 'The Three Musketeers'," he says, "is more impregnated with the true spirit of the romantical-picaresque."

Of the English translation of Marie Lenéru's Journal made by Mr. W. A. Bradley, and published by Macmillan, Professor Porterfield says, "It is probably as valuable a document straight from the human heart as has come out in this country since the days of Lincoln."

"The Mind in the Making", by James Harvey Robinson, has been republished in London by Jonathan Cape. In an introduction Mr. Wells declares that this book was the most interesting thing he found in America, the Disarmament Conference not excepted.

Of Clarence M. Case's "Non-Violent Coercion" (Century) John Haynes Holmes says in the *Literary Review*, "It is the one solid work on pacifism with which I am familiar. It takes its place at once as the standard treatise on the subject."

In a recent article on "Present Tendencies in American Literature" in the *New York Times Book Review*, Professor Erskine describes Mr. Edward Arlington Robinson's "Lancelot" as one of the best narrative poems in the language.

In the National Arts Club's vote on the ten best books of 1923, the following stood first: Papini's "Life of Christ", Mrs. Wharton's "A Son at the Front", Willa Cather's "A Lost Lady", Burton Hendrick's "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page", and Basil King's "The Conquest of Fear".

The *Dial* award of \$2,000 to the writer who has done the most service to American letters during the year has been made to Van Wyck Brooks, editor of the *Freeman*. Previous awards were made to Sherwood Anderson and T. S. Eliot.

The fifteen cent paper edition of books by contemporary writers which Doubleday, Page and Co. are issuing is to include, in addition to the series of western and sea tales by well known short story writers, a series of novelettes by Booth Tarkington, Edith Wharton, Joseph Hergesheimer, Harry Leon Wilson and others.

*Le Journal Industriel* reports an increase in French book exports for the the first eight months of 1923 of 16 per cent. Of the entire volume of exports 7 per cent went to the United States.

In an article on Arnold Bennett in the *North American Review* for January, Brian W. Downs describes "The Old Wives' Tale" as the best of his novels, "The Death of Simon Fuge" as the best of his short stories, and "The Honeymoon" as the best of his plays.

Joseph Hergesheimer, writing of George Moore, says that with the "Memoirs" and the "Confessions" he invented what was practically a new form of literature, and that he developed and perfected what might be called symbolical autobiography.

Thorstein Veblen is described by Professor Robinson as the Henry James of economics and sociology, and William James, John Dewey, George Santayana and he as our four most eminent intellectuals.

In a review of Professor Stephenson's "Lincoln" (Bobbs-Merrill) in the *Literary Review*, Professor William MacDonald says, "I venture to think that Mr. Stephenson's book, read in the clear, cold light in which the historian must eventually read it, will be found to have dissipated the Lincoln myth."

The translation of Rémy de Gourmont's "Decadence and other Essays on the Culture of Ideas" (Harcourt, Brace) by William Aspenwall Bradley, a reviewer in the *Nation* says, furnishes the best introduction to the author's thought now available in English.

Of biographies of Dickens, A. Edward Newton says that he knows of only two which are thoroughly admirable, Chesterton's "Appreciations and Criticisms of the Works of Charles Dickens", and Gissing's "Charles Dickens, a Critical Study".

In an article on John Galsworthy as novelist in the December *Bookman* (London) Gerald Gould says that while the author's claim to immortality rests in the last resort on "The Forsyte Saga", "The Country House" and "The Freeland" are both better in detail.



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## AMERICAN

- American Historical Review*, January: American Opinion of the French Nineteenth Century Revolutions. Eugene N. Curtis.
- American Review*, January-February: Fundamentalism and Modernism, Shailer Mathews. The Peace of Lausanne, Nathaniel Schmidt. The International Organization of Intellectual Work, Arnold Dresden. The Governmental Research Movement—An Interpretation, Frederick P. Gruenberg. Engineering Foundation, Alfred D. Flinn.
- American Review of Reviews*, January: Our Railroad Problem, Bronson Batchelor. Women in Parliaments, Marjorie Schuler. Is Canada Going "Wet"? J. P. Gerrie.
- Current History*, January: The Versailles Treaty and After, Ray Stannard Baker. Europe's Debts to the United States, George W. Hinman, Jr. The Reparations Problem, William MacDonald.
- Dial*, January: An American Critic: Van Wyck Brooks, Mary M. Colum.
- Harper's Magazine*, January: Thackeray Writes to His Family, Hester Thackeray Ritchie. Protecting Civilization, Stewart Paton, M.D. Mussolini—One Year and After, T. R. Ybarra.
- Literary Digest*, January 19: France's Attitude Towards Russia.  
— — January 26: French Fears of German Air Power. Poetic Drama in Kentucky's Mountains.  
— — January 5: American Aloofness from Europe. Caveman Art Unearthed in France.
- Living Age*, January 5: The Centenary of the Monroe Doctrine, Lord Charnwood. The League and M. Lauzanne, H. Wilson Harris. Reminiscences of August Strindberg, I. Trotskii.  
— — January 12: Russia and the Little Entente, Italian Communist Comment. Oscar Wilde as a Letter-Writer, Bernard Lintot.  
— — January 19: American Designs in China, Georges Dubarbier. Russian Situation, Aylmer Maude.

- Nation*, January 2: Bok Peace Propaganda.  
— — January 9: France and Soviet Russia Join Hands, Scott Nearing.  
— — January 16: The Great Book Humbug. British Labor Faces Power, Harold J. Laski.  
— — January 23: The Mind of the Puritan, W. W. Fenn. Ratify the Turkish Treaty, Edward Meade Earle.
- Nation's Business*, January: Are There Jobs Too Big to Fill? Henry Bruere. No Great Need to Import Labor, Albert Johnson. The Illusion of Government Commissions, George E. Roberts.
- North American Review*, February: Reparations and Sanctions, Chas. Robinson Smith. The Foreign Service of the United States, Alfred L. P. Dennis. When Germany Occupied France, A Rejoinder, Stephanę Lauzanne.
- Political Science Quarterly*, December: Soviet Russia and Federated Russia, Alfred L. P. Dennis. Modern French Views on the Doctrine of the Separation of Powers, R. K. Gooch.
- Survey*, January 1: The Stakes in Mexico, Frank Tannenbaum. The Wreck of the British Guilds, Alexander M. Bing.  
— — January 15: Whoso Liveth to Himself. Jane Addams.
- World's Work*, January: The Immigration Peril, Gino Speranza. Federal Taxes and the Tired Business Man, Robert H. Montgomery. The Occupation of the Ruhr and the French Program, Raymond Recouly. The Big Problem Before Congress, Mark Sullivan.

## BRITISH

- Contemporary Review*, February: The League and the Old Diplomacy, Professor Alfred E. Zimmern. The French Senatorial Elections, Dennis Gwynn. The Rhineland in Inter-Allied Negotiations During the War, S. Maccoby.

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*Foreign Affairs*, February: The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, H. M. Swanwick. Can a British Labour Government Save the Workers of Germany? Professor Thomas C. Hall. Italy and Jugo-Slavia: France and Czecho-Slovakia.

*Fortnightly Review*, February: American Intervention in Europe, J. D. Whelpley. A Study of John Addington Symonds, Arthur Symons. James Elroy Flecker, Alec MacDonald. Baltic Alliances: Finland at the Cross-Roads, H. F. Lyon.

*Nation*, London, January 12: The Case of Professor Toynbee.

— January 19: The Revolt of Youth in Germany, Meyrick Booth. The Mystery of Manet, Clive Bell.

*Nineteenth Century and After*, February: Imperial Preference, The Right Hon. Stanley M. Bruce, M. C. Reunion, The Right Revd. The Lord Bishop of Durham. Spain and England, Mrs. Bernard Wishaw.

*Saturday Review*, January 19: The Franc Falls.

*Spectator*, January 19: The French in the Palatinate.

## FRENCH

*Belles-Lettres*, January: Paul Adam.

*Mercure de France*, February: Maurice Barrès à l'Action Française, Robert Launay. Les Lettres de Nicolas II, J. W. Bienstock.

*Nouvelle Revue Française*, February: La Crise du Concept de Littérature, Jacques Rivière. Valéry Larbaud, Edmond Jaloux.

*Revue Critique*, January: M. Pierre Mille, Ecrivain de Droite, Robert Lejeune.

*Revue Hebdomadaire*, 5th January.: Eugène Marsan, Pierre Dominique. La Situation Politique en Pologne.

— 19th January: La Mort de Lord Byron, Roger Boutet de Monvel.

— 2nd February: Balzac. I. La Jeunesse de Balzac, André Bellessort.

*La Vie des Peuples*, January: W. B. Yeats, Poète de l'Irlande, Mad. L. Cazamian. La Constitution de Weimar, Joseph Dresch. Une Enquête sur le Mouvement Littéraire en Italie, Paul Guiton. Le Séparatisme Bavarois, P. Benaerts.

## Literary Notes

A reviewer of Walter de la Mare's collection of stories, entitled "The Riddle" (Selwyn and Blount) says that the ghost story in it, called "Out of the Deep", is to be placed beside Henry James' "Turn of the Screw". Of all his books, however, "The Return" seems to him the most exquisite.

Sheila Kaye-Smith's "End of the House of Alard" is considered by Clement Wood the greatest novel ever written in the English speech; he admits that Samuel Butler's "Way of All Flesh" has brighter discursive flashes, but that it lacks the constructive magnificence of Miss Kaye-Smith's book.

Is an article in the *New York Times Book Review* for January 13th, Joseph Pennell recalls his adventures with Philip Gilbert Hamerton on the Saône in 1886, a record of which was published by the latter in his "Saône: A Summer Voyage". It was Hamerton's "Painter's Camp" and "The Unknown River", Pennell says, which turned Stevenson to canoeing and tramping.

Of Professor Paul Van Dyke's "Catherine de Medicis" (Scribner) Arthur Tilley says in the *Observer*, "It leaves us with a clear and faithful impression of Catherine as a queen and a woman,

and it may stand beside the narrative of M. Mariéjol as the best and most reliable account of the French wars of religion that we possess."

Sidney Lanier's best poems, Professor Foerster says in his "Nature in American Literature" (Macmillan), are "Corn", "The Song of the Chattahoochee", "The Marshes of Glynn", and "Sunrise". "And as a poet of nature", he adds, "he happily does what none of his predecessors had done, he presents with some adequacy the southern scene."

"The Law of the Kinsmen", by Lord Shaw of Dunfermline (Hodder and Stoughton) contains a description of the author's visit to the United States and Canada as a guest of the American and Canadian Bar Associations, together with his addresses before the two associations, one entitled "The Widening Range of Law", the other, "Law as the Link of Empire".

In a review of Harry Leon Wilson's "Oh, Doctor!" Malcolm Cowley says, "It was in earlier novels, when he was creating personalities like Ruggles or Ma Pettingill or Merton, that Wilson was at his best. Ma Pettingill is by far the strongest of them; she is distinct as Sairy Gamp, Sam Weller's father, or even Pickwick himself."

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