

nior, of high French lineage, and a refugee from the massacre of St. Domingo. The equal of her husband in mental force, and not less trained by the hard discipline of life, she shared with her compatriots their language, their faith and sympathies. With her great beauty and her inherited distinction of manner, it is easy to conceive the many ways and occasions such a wife could improve to smooth the path of an ambitious and able man in society and politics, among a people with whom personality goes for so much as it does with the French. The regard and affection for her always expressed by Jackson prove her influence over her husband's fortunes where his own countrymen were concerned.

Livingston, more fortunate than most advocates, whose fame is likened to that of actors, perishing in the hearing, left a monument of his genius and sagacity in the Civil Code of Louisiana, which became the law of the State, and in the Penal Code prepared by him, though not enacted. For the perpetuation of this in two languages he is partly indebted to a woman's aid—his daughter having supervised the production of a new edition of all his works on penal law at Paris not many years ago. In everything except the acquisition of wealth Edward Livingston reaped the full fruits of his courage in choosing what was then a foreign home. He became a leader of the bar at New Orleans, always conspicuous for men of mark. He represented Louisiana in the Lower House for six years and in the Senate for two, until appointed by Jackson Secretary of State in 1831. The old soldier saw the coming storm, and chose his political aids as sagaciously as, in the former time at least, he had chosen his military ones. Webster's terrible logic and the President's stern will were formulated by Livingston's eloquence in the famous proclamation denouncing nullification doctrines. South Carolina's attempt at rebellion was crushed, only to rise again and overwhelm her in ruin a generation later.

The position of his wife among the matrons and Senators of the earlier republic is charmingly described. Her house was officially the centre of foreign society, attracted by her fascinating manners, which disarmed even political animosity. When serious questions arose threatening our friendly relations with France, Livingston's peculiar fitness for their discussion led to his appointment, once before declined, as Minister to that country. Randolph wrote a characteristic letter, urging its acceptance, saying, "In Mrs. Livingston you have a most able coadjutor. *Dowdies* won't do for European courts, Paris especially—there she would dazzle and charm." Livingston's political importance at home and his literary repute in Europe—perhaps, too, the remembrance of his brother's great services at the same court—suggested the selection, fully justified by his firm and dignified management of delicate negotiations. These concerned a quarrel inherited from the days of the First Empire, over redress for French spoliation on American commerce. Their result is a matter of history, which continued also for fifty years to record the disgraceful delay of the country in paying over to its own citizens the indemnity recovered from France.

Here for the first time Mrs. Livingston found herself completely at home, as in her native air. Their circle at Paris included all that was most distinguished in statesmanship and literature. The language and manners of the capital were naturally her own. She never forgot that while so much a Frenchwoman she was first of all American, and amusing instances are given of her beating at their own weapon of epigram those who seemed to assail her country. Such was her retort to the Prussian Ambassador, asking what might be the population of Washington village:

"A peu près celle de Potsdam." She was received as an intimate in the royal family circle, and we are given pleasant glimpses of the domestic life and simple ways of the Citizen King, whose Austrian Queen still never forgot, though she never imposed, her rank. At the Hague, where they visited her brother, who held the post of Minister at that court for seventeen years, her graciousness won the regard and attention of the most eminent, already prepossessed in her husband's favor by his achievements as a publicist.

The mention of the Hague recalls a curious anecdote (not appearing in this memoir) of Martin Van Buren, who was presented to the King of Holland during the short stay he made in England in 1831, as a Minister expectant but not confirmed. Van Buren's conversation with the King in his own language drew from him the remark that he spoke Dutch with great purity, but in antiquated style—such Dutch as his ancestors had taken with them from their home two centuries and a half ago: Dutch like that of the early Bible translators.

Livingston's return from France coincided with his retirement from public life. The remainder of his days he intended to devote to perfecting his system of criminal law, but they were closed by sudden illness within a year. His widow survived him for twenty-five years. She pursued with vigor and understanding the task of retrieving her husband's embarrassed affairs. The Louisiana property was in litigation, and the estate on the Hudson seemed threatened with sale. In correspondence with leading lawyers on these interests, and in visits to New Orleans, she showed an intelligence and energy not to be subdued even by her confirmed ill-health. Books were her solace, and works of kindness and charity her relief from trials. She died at the age of seventy-eight, outliving most of her generation, and leaving none to represent her in direct descent. The memoir closes becomingly with the words: "She was an intelligent and useful influence at several epochs of our history. American annals are enriched by many names taken from her sex. It is thought they ought to have some place for Mrs. Livingston's."

Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln. By Distinguished Men of his Time. Collected and edited by Allan Thorndike Rice. North American Publishing Co. 1886.

THIS bulky volume of more than six hundred pages contains papers upon Lincoln by Grant, E. B. Washburne, Julian, Fenton, Usher, Boutwell, B. F. Butler, Coffin, Frederick Douglass, Weldon, Poore, Coffey, Beecher, W. D. Kelley, C. M. Clay, Ingersoll, Markland, Colfax, Voorhees, C. A. Dana, Kasson, Fry, McCulloch, Depew, David R. Locke, Swett, Walt Whitman, Piatt, E. W. Andrews, Welling, Conness, Alley, and Hicks; and there is a supplementary volume to come. Most of these are records of personal reminiscence; but that from Grant is only a few notes by Col. Fred. Grant, those by Ingersoll and Whitman are merely rhetorical, and the one by Welling is largely a discussion of the Emancipation Proclamation. The gathering of such a mass of material is an excellent service, since it contributes to make Lincoln's memory personal instead of merely a great name, and hereafter, when it is sifted for his biography, the usefulness of it will be better appreciated. The character of the contributors apparently forbade much editing by Mr. Rice; as it is, the volume is very diffuse, is marred by frequent and long repetitions of history which did not come under the eye of the writers, by anecdotes at second-hand when the original versions are to be found elsewhere in the book, and by similar defects which generally

it is the duty of an editor to do away with. Mr. Rice himself contributes a paper partly of second-hand reminiscence and partly of criticism; gives a facsimile of the famous Seward despatch in the Trent affair, with Lincoln's corrections—a most interesting paper; and interleaves the separate articles with portraits of many of the authors.

There is a singular unanimity in the judgment of all these writers in respect to the qualities, motives, and purposes of Lincoln, and the transcendence of his character both in leadership, wisdom, and patriotic elevation beyond all other statesmen of the time. Donn Piatt is the only one whose words indicate dissent from the common views, and at the close even he confesses Lincoln's superiority. His unfavorable remarks, however, are amply challenged by the other participants in the work. Thus when he writes that, "descended from the poor whites of a slave State through many generations, he inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the negro," the reader need only turn to Frederick Douglass's account where it is said, "He was the first great man that I talked with in the United States freely who in no single instance reminded me of the difference between himself and myself, of the difference in color, and I thought that all the more remarkable because he came from a State where there were black laws. . . . I felt as though I was in the presence of a big brother." And when Donn Piatt says, "I doubt whether Mr. Lincoln had at all a kind, forgiving nature"; or denies that he felt the "anxiety" which would have broken down men of "delicate mold and sympathetic nature such as Chase or Seward," but, on the contrary, "lived through the awful responsibility of the situation with the high courage and comfort that came of indifference," one is simply lost in wonder at the writer's incapacity. The thing which Donn Piatt did remember was Lincoln's rage, which once descended upon himself, justly, as he acknowledges; and it is evident from Lincoln's tone in the conversations between the two that he had no liking whatever for Donn Piatt. Of this "rage" of Lincoln there are several instances recorded, all of them instructive, and quite sufficient to set him beside Washington in this capacity for unbridled anger on fit occasions.

It will not be expected that we should summarize even what is new in this volume, because it is anecdotal in character and is connected with many matters of detail. Much of the matter is old, but we do not remember to have seen before the remark, "I have never had much to do with bishops where I live, but do you know? Sumner is my idea of a bishop." Perhaps one should be a Westerner to appreciate all that was conveyed by that. Of what is new, it is not unlikely that some capital may be made of Lincoln's use of the public service as a politician. Boutwell takes the occasion to preach the doctrine of the "Places for the Partisans" out-and-out; Julian gives one instance in which the President used the whip in his behalf; Fenton tells the price of office for which Thurlow Weed consented to support him in 1864; and Mr. Rice, on an unnamed authority, discloses that ten thousand Pennsylvania soldiers were furloughed from Meade's and Sheridan's commands to affect the vote in their State by the contagious patriotism of their presence. Nevertheless, it is equally plain that, while Lincoln used every instrument of power he possessed to accomplish his ends, he was also ready to lay down all power; and, in illustration of this, Mr. Rice publishes, on the authority of Col. W. H. Croffut and Thurlow Weed's statements, the story of the embassy of the latter to Gov. Seymour and to Gen. McClellan, in '62-'63, to say that Lincoln would stand aside if they would declare unequivocally for carrying on the war for the Union to the end, and of their failure to meet the required

ment. Another interesting matter that Gen. Butler tells is, that the lieutenants of both Chase and Lincoln offered him by authority the Vice-Presidential nomination for '64, which he declined, and also that he then sent advice, to Lincoln to dismiss Chase because of the latter's use of the Treasury patronage for himself.

There are, however, no disclosures that affect Lincoln's integrity, simplicity, and greatness. On the other hand, his qualities are illustrated from many sides, and the figure presented is that of a very lonely man, working out his duty with infinite patience and tact, in the midst of a conflict of strong personalities, violent ambitions, and burning jealousies, amid uncertain though mighty events, with a complete self-reliance, but none the less with weariness, intense anxiety, and suffering. The humor that was his mental safeguard is a welcome relief to that part of the story which concerns the war; and the sharpness with which it enters into the narrative at points of the deepest feeling in his own heart shows rather the strain than the frivolity (as has been alleged) of his emotions. The anecdotes of his humanity constantly light up the pages. But if one seeks for the main and permanent element in the whole, it must be agreed that the most constant impression is of a singular and partly inexplicable pathos alike in the character and situation of Lincoln, which, felt rather vaguely in his earlier life, darkened to the end. The wisdom of his public acts, as in the Seward despatch; the sagacity of his dealing with his generals and his secretaries; that quality, which Seward designated as a cunning that amounted to genius, in manoeuvring subordinates and avoiding antagonisms and postponing ruptures; his masterly power of waiting upon time, and his statesman's sense of the conjunction of political necessity with popular support—these and like characteristics make him seem great; but beyond them and absorbing them lies his personality, affecting all who met him with a sense of mystery which was felt the more in proportion to their intimacy. That these reminiscences give this same impression is a proof of their veracity of character.

A Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana; or The First Ten Decades of Our Era. By Daniel M. Tredwell. Frederic Tredwell. 1886.

MR. TREDWELL'S zeal is great, but it is not according to knowledge. He is not qualified by his culture or the habit of his mind for such an investigation as that on which he has entered. His grammar is bad; his rhetoric is worse; his scholarship is the worst of all. But no; his temper is a deeper deep. What cannot be denied to him is great enthusiasm in the prosecution of his task; great industry in the reading of books of the most various quality; great shrewdness in the choice of De Vinne for his printer, whereby his book is outwardly so beautiful that it is likely to deceive some of the very elect into a hasty purchase. The avowed object of Mr. Tredwell's book is to prove the folly of a "Brooklyn clergyman," whose name is not revealed, in declaring that the life and doctrines of Jesus are better known (from the Gospel of Matthew) than the life, sayings, and doings of any other person of his time. But, as he proceeds, a secondary purpose of much more importance discloses itself. It is to prove that Apollonius of Tyana is not only better known to us than Jesus, but better worth our knowing: the teacher of a superior morality and religion. Mr. Tredwell's dislike of Jesus is extreme. The iconoclasm of Col. Ingersoll and Thomas Paine is tender reverence as compared with his. For the most part this line of his advance is confined to his foot-notes, while the body of his book is taken up with a para-

phrase of the biography of Apollonius by Philostratus.

Having stated the purpose of his book, he gives very little attention to the argument that is necessary to make it good. What we have a right to expect of him is that he should discuss the authenticity of Matthew and its relation to previous accounts of Jesus, and also the authenticity of Philostratus and his relation to Damis, Moeragenes, and Maximus of Aegæ, the only authorities for his biography mentioned by Philostratus. But to Matthew he gives no attention, and his discussion of Philostratus and his sources, and those not named by him who mentioned Apollonius in the second century, does not exceed the limits of a single page. Few of his readers will allow that his contention is made good. Many of them will wonder at his credulity, and think that if the criticism of the New Testament had been of this free-and-easy sort, the Neanders and Tischendorfs and others who have defended it against the Baur and Strausses and Renans would have had little trouble in maintaining their position. It would be hard to find a Christian critic of the present time so little critical of our sources of information about Jesus as Mr. Tredwell is of the sources in the case of Apollonius. He is not critical at all. He simply accepts Philostratus for all that he assumes to be.

Philostratus was born about 172 A. D., and wrote his account of Apollonius about fifty years from that date. Apollonius, according to this account, and we can check it with no other, was born at the beginning of our era and died 98 A. D., "if he did die." Thus we have a gap of one hundred and twenty years between the life and the biography. But Philostratus is continually quoting a certain Damis, the companion of Apollonius. The reality of this Damis would be questioned by any scholar having a critical faculty ever so germinal. Mr. Tredwell rejects all his miracle stories and accepts everything else. It is certain that Apollonius had no vogue in the second century. Origen refers to the books of Moeragenes, which Philostratus mentions to disparage them because they represented Apollonius as a magician. This was probably his second-century repute. Lucian's contemptuous reference is to the same effect. In the account of Philostratus we probably have a daring idealization, somewhat akin to Xenophon's 'Cyropædia.' Fortunately we are not confined to Mr. Tredwell for a modern study of Apollonius and Philostratus. Dr. Albert Réville, a genuine scholar, has written a little monograph, 'Apollonius of Tyana: the Pagan Christ of the Third Century,' full of instruction in regard to the literary methods of the time and the religious temper of the century that brought Christianity to the foot of the imperial throne. Here was a splendid opportunity for Mr. Tredwell, if he had been the person to avail himself of it. One is often reminded by his methods of the Trinitarian who quoted against a Unitarian the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses. "Why!" said the Unitarian, "don't you know that that is spurious?" "Oh, yes," said the other, "but I thought perhaps you didn't." Mr. Tredwell often presumes upon the ignorance of his readers and endeavors to confound them with a show of knowledge. It is hard for him to resist a proper name like that of Cujacius, page 353, where its use is utterly absurd. The book closes with a sentence from Réville which is dreadfully misleading. It is given as Réville's, when it is his paraphrase of Philostratus and by no means expresses his own opinion. But this is a fair sample of Mr. Tredwell's literary ethics.

Historical Sketch of the Distribution of Land in England, with Suggestions for Some Improve-

ment in the Law. By William Lloyd Birbeck, Master of Downing College, and Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. Macmillan. 12mo, pp. 100.

PROFESSOR BIRBECK'S little book is in the main controversial in its object, being principally designed to defend the English land system against the assaults of the land reformers, and especially of Professor Rogers. Against this distinguished writer he appears to have made out his case in one point at least, having shown that he is wrong in attributing to "two lawyers of the Restoration, Palmer and Bridgman," the invention of the most injurious features of the modern law. The whole controversial portion of the work is conducted in excellent spirit, and with great fullness of learning and clearness of statement; it is, indeed, so excellent that we wish it had been expanded, although we cannot see our way to accepting the author's views in full. His theory is that the aggregation of great estates and the disappearance of peasant proprietorship, which are so characteristic features of the English land system, were the work of feudalism rather than of later legislation. Very well: the great estates were undoubtedly the creation of feudalism; but France and Germany had feudalism as well as England, and in those countries peasant proprietorship exists to this day. The question still remains, how it came about that England, in modern times, diverged from the countries of the Continent in this respect; and this question our author does not answer. It is customary to attribute this historical result, which is peculiar to England, to a series of legal enactments which again are peculiar to England; and, in spite of the ability of his argument, we cannot think that he has rebutted this rational presumption.

The earlier chapters, relating to the institutions of earlier times, are less satisfactory. The brevity of the treatment, which leads one to desire more expansion even in the best portions of the work, leaves these chapters very inadequate. In general, the author's view coincides with Mr. Seebohm's—that serfdom was the controlling system of labor in England from the first; and he has added some strength to Mr. Seebohm's arguments. We cannot think, however, that they have disproved, or rendered improbable, the existence of a large class of free peasants among the Anglo-Saxons of the sixth and seventh centuries. On page 37 he speaks of it as an error "to represent serfage as a feudal institution," because it has often existed without feudalism. Here there is a lack of clearness: of course serfdom has existed without feudalism, but can we conceive of feudalism without serfdom? It is impossible (p. 16) that the socmen of Domesday Book "formed the rank and file of the Saxon armies," because Domesday Book mentions no socmen except in a few eastern (Danish) counties.

The Laird of Lag. A Life Sketch. By Alexander Fergusson, Lieut.-Colonel, author of 'Henry Erskine and his Kinsfolk,' 'Mrs. Calderwood's Letters,' etc. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1886. 8vo, pp. 271.

UNDER this attractive title, and in the most elegant style of typography, we have the life of one of the most noted of the Scotch persecutors, of the time and the type of Claverhouse. It is a book well worth reading in connection with 'Old Mortality,' but belongs more directly with 'Redgauntlet,' inasmuch as Sir Robert Redgauntlet, the hero of "Wandering Willie's Tale," "is none other than Sir Robert Grierson [the Laird of Lag], the Persecutor." The title-page, too, con-