

those of Upsala and Glasgow, are mere copies of the statutes of Bologna:

"The constitution was democratic. The fervor of liberty which warmed the Italian city had, it seems, invaded also those beyond the mountains. These Franks, these Germans, these Bohemians and Poles, coming from their feudal castles, their abbays, and their lordly chapters, learned to subject themselves to civil order, felt the advantage of living in common, and got to desire equality. After strange journeys by sea and over the Alps, students of all Europe meeting here found again their native countries in the 'nations' which constituted the University; had their State in the University; and, in the common use of the Latin tongue, aspired to that higher unity, that civil brotherhood of peoples for good, which Rome had sent out with its law, which the Gospel had proclaimed in spiritual things, which the civilization of to-day wishes with reason. O Italy! O my country! in the torments of slavery it was pleasing to think of thee in the act of sending from the seven hills the flight of victorious eagles over all nations; but perhaps thou wert more humanely fair when, to those same nations that had oppressed thee, thou didst rise, and open with the tongue of the ancient Empire the sources of the new civilization, and, freeing them from the yoke of barbarism, didst persuade them of the glory of making themselves again Roman."

But let us not delay over the *Dist of Roncaglia*, the Four Doctors, the Gloss writers, Accorsio, Odofredo, and the Theorists, or even *Rolandino Passaggerio*, whose tomb, high in air in front of *St. Dominic's Church*, has been covered in these days with laurel leaves by the hand of grateful votaries. Let us pass over the flourishing period of *Provençal poetry* at Bologna; the ancient and even the modern school of Italian poetry; *Petrarch*, *Dante*, and his earliest commentators; *Erasmus*, *Jerome Cardan*, and *Copernicus*; *Galileo* as an unsuccessful candidate for a professorship; *Galvani*; the famous women who taught here—let us come to the *augury* which *Carducci* draws for the future:

"We commemorate," he says, "to-day, with the origin of the University of Bologna, the first uprising of the Italian people. 'All roads lead to Rome' is a proverb common to the Latin peoples, and for Italy is history as well as poetry, and the continual sigh of her eternal soul. Italy, mindful and grateful that her fair fame grew with Rome—Italy has always and by every road desired to go to Rome; in the Middle Ages with Law, in the Renaissance with Art, in our times with Politics. She desired to return to Rome, to which, thanks to independence protected and liberty guaranteed by union, she had given the force of her arms and the vigor of her thoughts; to Rome, forgetful of her and of the ancient pact in the cosmopolitanism of imperial despotism and pontifical theocracy. A man, a great man of our fathers, felt more than all others this historical necessity for Italy; in that lofty, austere intellect, in that heart of Italian hearts, the idea of the *Gracchi* became modern. *Giuseppe Mazzini*, more than any one else, had the sublime, the radiant, the resplendent vision of the third Rome—not aristocratic, not imperial, not pontifical, but Italian. And from the underground vaults of conspirators, from schools and public squares, from prisons and scaffolds, from fields of battle, from the Parliament, from the Palace, Italy, with the heads of her martyrs, with the books of philosophers and songs of poets, with the essays of diplomacy, with the sword of the Revolution, with the artillery of the King, was so obstinate in knocking at the gates of Rome that she at last reached the *Quirinal* and the *Capitol*. Of such worth was a sanctity of daring and devotion incredible in any other history: a monarchical republican, a revolutionary monarch, an obedient dictator—*Victor Emmanuel* conspiring to the same end with *Giuseppe Mazzini* and *Giuseppe Garibaldi*. Whence is it that to-day Bologna, on the 29th anniversary of the 12th of June, 1859, when she saw foreign lordship driven away for the last time and for ever, salutes and acclaims in its republican piazza, between the Palace of the *Podestà*, where she held prisoner the conquered *Alemannic King*, and the Church of *San Petronio*, which she raised in memory of the overthrow of the domestic tyranny of the *Visconti*, salutes and acclaims a splen-

did work of art not inferior to the antique, a solemn monument of love of country superior to the antique—the statue of *King Victor Emmanuel* fighting for the liberty of Italy? Whence is it that to-day the glorious *Superga*, next to the tomb of the saddest of the *Kings of Savoy*, waits in vain for the greatest King not only of Savoy, but of our age, the King who was invoked and saluted as the liberator of the Italian people? When *Victor* had brought his eagle to the fatal hill whence *Romulus* had looked for auspices for the foundation of the city, Rome, receiving in her divine embrace at his death the King of the Alps, placed him in the temple of all the antique gods of the Fatherland, King of Italy and of Rome. No piety or impiety of man shall ever remove *Vittorio* from the Pantheon, nor shall any malignity or violence of things lower that flag which from the shame of the gallows has risen to the light of the *Capitol*. You, *Sire*, faithful asserter of eight centuries of Italian history; you, august interpreter and maintainer of the wish of the whole Italian people; you, with words that sound high before the world; O, King! you have said 'Rome is an unassailable conquest.' Yes, O, King! an unassailable conquest of the Italian people for itself and for the liberty of all."

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

THE LAST OF ANCIENT FRANCE.—II.

PARIS, June 27, 1888.

THE effect produced by the battle of *Fontenoy* was very great in Europe; it was a resurrection of the France of the time of *Louis XIV*. *Voltaire* improvised in a few days a "Poem of *Fontenoy*," in which he attempted to name all those who had played a part in the terrible struggle (in 300 verses you will find as many as 57 names). Politically, the battle had not the great consequences which it ought to have had. The great question was this: Was France going to maintain the alliance with *Frederick* and her influence in Germany? All the effort of *Louis XV* had been spent in Flanders; the army of the *Prince de Conti*, which operated across the *Rhine*, had been, so to speak, abandoned. While *Louis XV* was entering the *Low Countries*, *Prince Charles of Lorraine* was entering *Silesia*. *Frederick* learned the issue of the battle of *Fontenoy* at *Breslau*, where he had concentrated all his troops. He had criticised with his usual irony the French expedition to the *Low Countries*; he would have preferred the smallest advantage obtained by the *Prince of Conti* in Germany to the French conquest of Flanders. He opened his heart to *Podewils*; he was fond of saying that the French were degenerate sons of their ancestors of the seventeenth century. He was rather alarmed on finding that *Louis XV* was not quite the man he thought him to be; he was afraid that France would become very intractable. Speaking to *Valori*, the French Minister, in his tent, he told him that he was charmed with the French victory, but that it was of no use to him:

"I have no fewer enemies on my hands, and the Queen of Hungary does not consider this event as being very detrimental to her. . . . Believe me, there is but one way to reduce her to her senses: it is, to give the *Prince of Conti* the means of beating. . . . If he were marching on *Eger*, what good would it not do! *Saxony* would change her attitude, *Hanover* would tremble. . . . If you recrossed the *Rhine*, I should have reason to think myself abandoned, and I might succumb, whatever efforts I might make. . . . I see what it is: you are afraid, my dear friends, to enter into the German oven."

Frederick saw well his danger; what he prophesied happened, but he had first entrapped the Austrians in *Silesia*. "You cannot get mice," said he to *Valori*, "without opening the mouse-trap; if I beat the Austrians, I will follow up my victory." He did beat them at *Hohenfriedberg*, and he wrote at once to *Louis XV*:

"My armies have obtained a victory over the Austrians and the Saxons; your Majesty will see that I have not been long in following his example; now is the turn of the *Prince de Conti*."

Though he had promised to follow up his victory, *Frederick* tarried in the neighborhood of *Königgrätz* in *Bohemia* for six weeks, waiting to see what the *Prince de Conti* would do. *Conti* remained inactive; *D'Argenson* did not wish to interfere with Germany during the imperial election, which was to take place at *Frankfort*. *Frederick* hesitated long before cutting the last thread of the French alliance. *Conti* soon had the mortification of seeing two Austrian corps d'armée concentrating before *Frankfort*, and, fearing to have his line of retreat cut, he crossed the *Rhine* and abandoned Germany. *Frankfort* was opened to Austria, and it became evident that the imperial crown would be placed on the head of *Maria Theresa*.

This was too much for *Frederick*, and he resolved to expect nothing more from the French ministers and generals; he knew how to act rapidly, and to enter the *Saxon territory* in arms. "The more vigor we show," said he to the timid *Podewils*, "the more *Hanover* will feel the need she has of me, and the more will she be obliged to make efforts to obtain a peace." *Podewils* held up to him the interference of *Russia*. "Saxony," replied *Frederick*, "will be *cuite* (cooked) when they learn at *St. Petersburg* that war has begun. . . . Be sure that this blow will give us peace." The *Duc de Broglie* says, in speaking of this sudden resolution: "Once his resolution taken, this marvellous genius straightway found the calm and perspicacity which seemed to fail him often in the worry of deliberations." *Frederick* immediately made proposals to England; he asked merely for the preservation of *Silesia*, under the triple guarantee of England, the *United Provinces*, and the Empire; and, while he sent this ultimatum, he waited with his army at the door of *Saxony*. This proposal greatly embarrassed the *Hanoverian George*; he was not an absolute King, he had to count with his English ministers and with English public opinion. The pride of England had been greatly touched by the French invasion of Flanders and by the battle of *Fontenoy*; the ministers of *George* represented to him that it was impossible not to pay attention to the overtures of the King of Prussia, and not to intercede with *Maria Theresa* for the pacification of Germany. The triumphs of *Marshal Saxe* on the *Scheldt* and on the *Meuse* became the best arguments of *Frederick*. After *Tournay*, *Bruges* had fallen before the French arms; then *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Dendermonde*, *Ostend*, and *Nieuwport*. England felt really alarmed, and the news from Flanders was awaited with the greatest anxiety. It was said that *Louis XV* meditated an invasion of England. *Belle-Isle*, the prisoner of *Windsor*, appeared to the popular imagination as a spy. *Horace Walpole*, in two letters addressed to *Horace Mann* (July 26 and August 1, 1765), makes himself the echo of these groundless fears: "Marshal *Belle-Isle* said a few days ago that he thought us incapable of defending ourselves, and that, with five thousand French soldiers, he would undertake to conquer England; and this is the time chosen to set him free." Nothing in the correspondence of *Belle-Isle* justifies the report of *Walpole*.

By a strange coincidence, on the day when *Belle-Isle* left *Dover* for France, the young *Stuart* was arriving in Scotland, almost alone. Nobody could believe that the son of the Pretender would do such a bold thing if he had not behind him a French squadron. The peo-

ple of England did not know that D'Argenson had turned a deaf ear to all the solicitations of the Pretender. In the manifesto of Charles Edward, George was represented as considering England as a mere conquest, and as living chiefly in Hanover, and spending in his electorate all the wealth derived from India and the New World. George was so angry with the manifesto that he tore his wig and his lace ruffles. He was obliged to return to England, and to reconcile himself with Prussia, as he could not abandon his electorate to his dangerous neighbor.

The pacification of Germany required not only the reconciliation of Hanover and Prussia, it required also the consent of Maria Theresa and her final abandonment of Silesia. The English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Robinson, announced with fear and trembling to the proud Queen of Hungary the change which had taken place in the feelings and the resolutions of England; and when Charles Edward, having rallied an army round him, marched on Edinburgh, England hastened to conclude with Frederick's envoy a convention which re-established the treaty of Breslau, and which left Silesia to Frederick and Bohemia to Maria Theresa. In this convention, England stipulated for her allies. She promised a cessation of hostilities in Germany and a mutual guarantee of the territories of the contending parties, and on these conditions Frederick was to give his vote to the Grand Duke in the imperial election.

This diplomatic act was conceived outside of all the usual rules, but it was dictated by an imperious necessity. England had no more consulted Austria than Frederick had consulted France. Frederick had resolved to act independently of Louis XV. so soon as Conti's army had crossed the Rhine. In a letter which he prepared for the King of France, he said: "Your Majesty has not served the interests of his allies in Germany, so he has lost them one after another. I am mortified at what is going to happen, but I have my conscience clear, for, after all, my first duty is the preservation of my State. I feel that your Majesty will find these truths hard, but they must be told, and princes, however great they may be, must get accustomed to the truth." The secretary who received this piece, with order to copy, was so frightened by it that he sent it to Podewils, and, on second thought, Frederick consented to change it, and he replaced it by another, very different in tone, much more ironical than serious. "What I can tell your Majesty seems very little in comparison with what is going on in Flanders.

In so fine a picture there is only one spot which disfigures a part of it. I speak of the retreat of the Prince de Conti; he puts the crown on the head of the Grand Duke and places the allies of your Majesty in a violent and dangerous condition. For the present, the evil is without a remedy, and I take the election of the Grand Duke to be certain."

The irony was felt, and Louis XV. made no answer. The Duc de Broglie admits very extenuating circumstances for what the French historians have sometimes called the treason of Frederick. He condemns the weakness of the French Cabinet and the stupidity of D'Argenson, who did not know how to use his liberty and to treat with Maria Theresa. D'Argenson remained faithful in principle to the Prussian alliance, though he did nothing for Frederick; he had a great repugnance to the Austrian alliance; he lost one ally and would not find another.

Maria Theresa learned at the same moment of the election of her husband, the Grand-

Duke, as Emperor; under the name of Francis I., and of the Hanover convention, which had been signed by England and Frederick. Her first feeling was one of great irritation, and she proposed to Louis XV., by the intermediary of the French ministers in Saxony and in Bavaria, to treat with her. She positively refused to adhere to the convention with Hanover. The negotiation with France had no result, chiefly on account of the ill-will of D'Argenson, who could not detach himself from the Prussian alliance even when Prussia had ceased to be an ally. Maria Theresa obstinately refused, notwithstanding the entreaties of the English Government, to treat with Prussia, and, with her usual boldness, she resolved, in concert with Saxony, to attack in a winter campaign the hereditary provinces of Frederick. She concentrated an army on the frontier of Saxony. She negotiated with Russia, who promised to help her with a timely intervention.

Frederick was informed of this plan by an indiscretion of Count Brühl, the Saxon Minister. He lost no time, placed an army of observation at Halle, and watched himself, on the frontier of Silesia and of Lusatia, the army of Prince Charles of Lorraine. The military operations were very ill-conducted on the Austrian side; as soon as Prince Charles moved he was attacked, and he immediately retreated. Frederick promptly ordered the army which was at Halle, under Prince Anhalt, to march on Leipzig and Dresden, and to treat the Saxons as enemies. Meanwhile, he sent a message to Augustus III., and offered him peace on condition of adhering to the Hanover convention. Augustus fled from Dresden and left for Prague, abandoning Saxony. Anhalt arrived before Dresden and gained a victory under its walls. Frederick entered the capital of Saxony and dictated the terms of peace, not only to the unfortunate Augustus, but also, it may be said, to Maria Theresa. She at last felt that she could no longer struggle. Frederick claimed nothing but the conditions of the treaty of Breslau, where he made a triumphant entry. His Saxon campaign won for him the admiration of all Europe. Maurice de Saxe, the conqueror of Fontenoy, wrote to him: "I cannot help, as a Saxon, sympathizing with the sufferings of Saxony; but my admiration for what took place there passes all expression. The learned and judicious manœuvres of your Majesty offer a vast subject for meditation. I cannot sufficiently admire them, and, since Alexander and Caesar, I know nothing so great or so striking." Coming from such a man, these words were not idle expressions of adulation; the campaign of Frederick in Saxony deserved afterwards the study and the praise of Napoleon I.

Correspondence.

THE NATIONAL WEALTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have before me a paper entitled 'Wealth of the Republic,' by Chas. S. Hill, read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In it I note a rather caustic criticism of the census estimate of the national wealth, as published in the volume on Valuation, Debt, and Taxation. Mr. Hill objects to it on the three following grounds: (1) That it does not agree with certain official State figures; (2) that several important industries are not given; and (3) "that the figures of items as specified in different parts of the census do not harmonize."

On the first count little defence can be made.

The public must choose between the results of the Federal census, with its resources for information, and those figures given out under State authority. On the second count the defence is more complete. The omissions in the census estimate are presumably supplied by Mr. Hill in his own estimate of our national wealth, which he itemizes as follows:

	Millions of dollars
Real estate, urban property	15,000
Farms, assessed value	10,000
Personal property	6,000
Manufactures	8,000
Railroads	7,500
Stock and farm implements	4,000
Minerals	800
Banking	700
Insurance, life assets	400
Insurance, fire assets	200
Canals	170
Shipping	150
Forest	100
Telegraphs	100
Sundries, floating investments, etc.	2,000
Public property	5,000
	58,120 (sic)
From which deduct the national debt	1,700
	56,920 (sic)

It appears from a comparison of this table with a similar one accompanying the census estimate, that banking, life and fire insurance, and floating investments were omitted in the latter. Mr. Hill must know that these consist of real estate, mortgages, notes, and specie. The first item he has already included. The second and third have no value from a national standpoint. Specie is included in the census estimate.

The third count is as easily disposed of. Mr. Hill instances in a footnote the fact that the value of real estate, as given in the census estimate of true valuation, is largely in excess of the assessed value, as given elsewhere in the census report. He ignores the fact that the assessed valuation is everywhere so specified distinctly. Is it possible that he is not aware that the assessed and true values are seldom the same, and that the latter is usually greatly in excess of the former? Again, he finds a discrepancy between the value of personal property as returned by the assessors and the item of household goods, etc., in the estimate of wealth. It is not surprising that he does. They bear no relation to one another.

Concluding, I would recommend that Mr. Hill read with care the paper on the true valuation of the United States in the census report. He will learn that the national wealth consists entirely of tangible articles, excepting perhaps franchises, good will, and credit, the value of which cannot be estimated. He will learn that paper obligations do not add to the nation's wealth, any more than a note drawn by himself in his own favor increases his assets. He will learn that the national debt, so far as it is held by our own citizens, does not reduce the national wealth, and should not be deducted from it. And possibly he may discover that the estimate of wealth therein presented was made with some care, and not without intelligence.—Very respectfully, HENRY GANNETT.

U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1888.

BEGGING ARTS OF A FAMILY PAPER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some of your readers may perhaps be surprised to learn that your interesting account of the manual of instructions for the use of beggars, with which the members of that fraternity can supply themselves in France, is not without a parallel in our own country, which, though somewhat different in purport, affords equally convincing evidence that "the business of begging has been reduced to an art," and that the means are not wanting for the education of sneaks.