

RUSKIN'S
CROWN OF
WILD OLIVE
—
THE QUEEN
OF THE AIR

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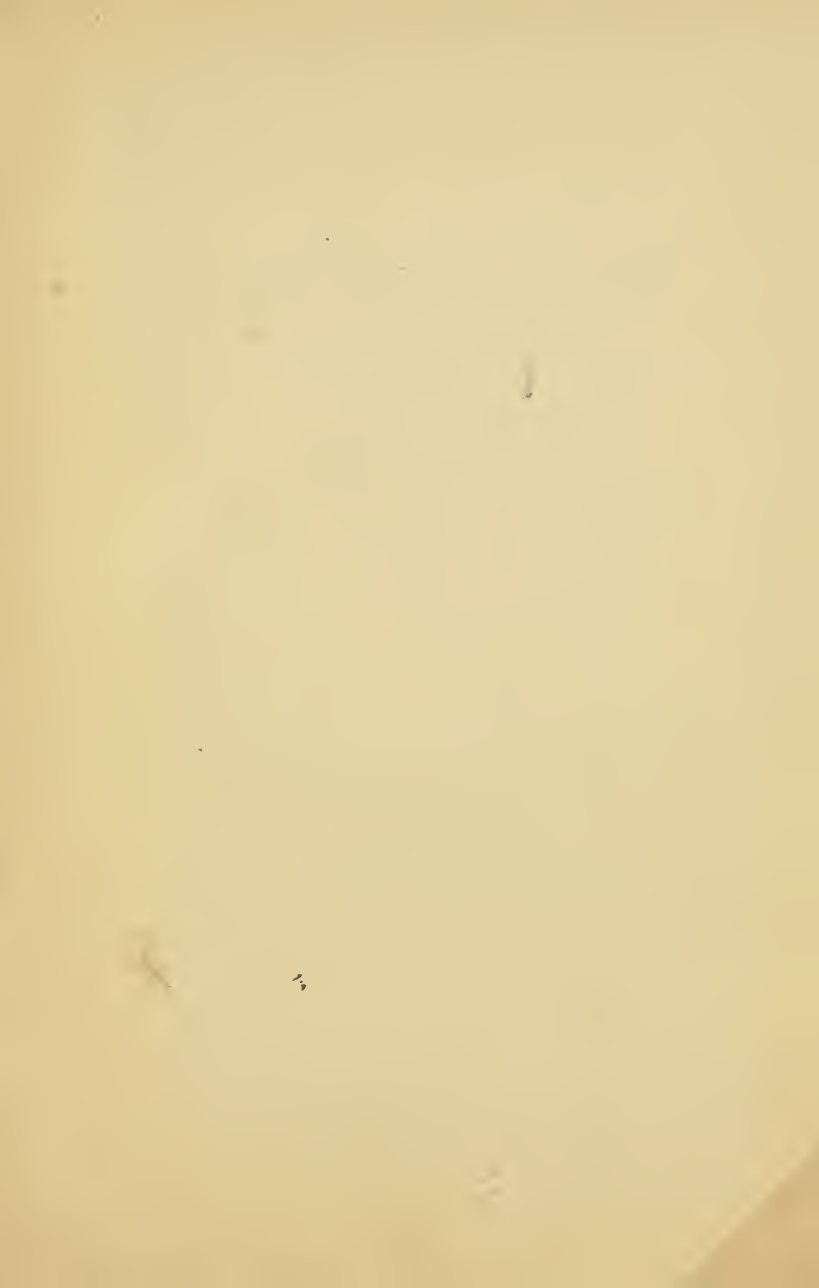
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Southern Poets: Selections.
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Stevenson's Treasure Island.
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Tennyson's Idylls of the King.
Tennyson's The Princess.
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Thackeray's English Humourists.
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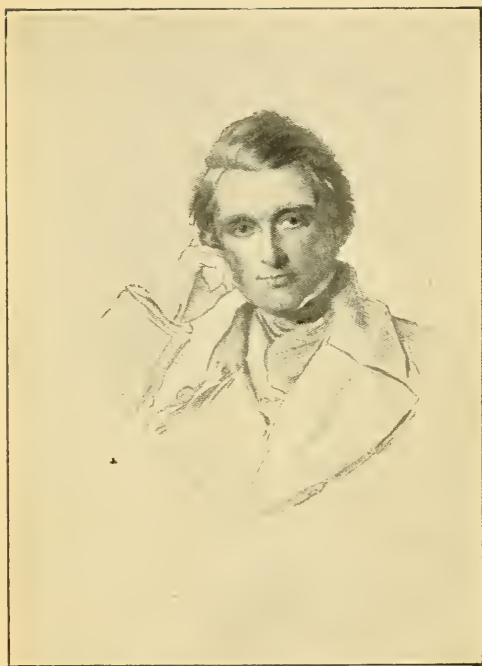


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J. Ruskin

THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE
AND
THE QUEEN OF THE AIR

BY
JOHN RUSKIN

EDITED WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY
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PREFATORY NOTE

RUSKIN is as hard to annotate as he is easy to read. He refers to almost everything in mere glancing allusion. For assistance in "running down" some of these references, I wish to thank my colleagues Dr. Charles W. Peppler, Dr. E. K. Turner, and Professor Edgar W. Johnson. For similar favors I am grateful to Dr. William Hand Browne of the Johns Hopkins University and Miss Frieda Thies of the Hopkins Library.

W. F. M.

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INTRODUCTION

JOHN RUSKIN

JOHN RUSKIN was born in London, February 8, 1819. His parents were educated, well-to-do Scotch people. The father, a successful business man, and a member of a prosperous firm of wine merchants (Ruskin, Telford, and Domecq), was, nevertheless, a lover of good books and pictures, and gave his son ample opportunity for the cultivation and formation of literary style and artistic taste. His mother, an orthodox Scotch woman, looked carefully after the boy's religious training.

In his last years Ruskin gave, in *Præterita*, a detailed and unreserved account of the events of his childhood. It is done so exquisitely that one can do no better than to paraphrase some parts of his story. He tells (p. 16) how, at five or six years of age, he could pass his days contentedly in tracing the squares and comparing the colors in his carpet, examining the knots in the wood of the floor, or counting the bricks in the opposite houses. This pleasure, in simple occupation and loneliness, was doubtless due to the fact that he was allowed to have no toys, and was often whipped. While Ruskin was a small boy it was customary for him, at six P.M., *punctually*, to join his parents in the drawing-room. He had (p. 51) his cup of milk and slice of bread and butter, in a little recess, with a table in front of it, wholly sacred to him, and in which he

remained in the evenings as an idol in a niche, while his mother knitted, and his father read to her, — and to him, so far as he chose to listen. Little Ruskin's niche (pp. 92–93) was a recess beside the fireplace, well lighted from the lateral window in the summer evenings, and by the chimney-place lamp in winter, and out of all inconvenient heat, or hurtful draught. A writing table before the niche shut the boy well in, and served as a place for his cup, plate, and book. After tea, his father read to his mother whatever pleased themselves, while he picked up what he could, or read what he liked better instead. Thus he heard all the Shakespeare comedies and historical plays again and again, — all of Scott, and all of *Don Quixote*, a favorite book of his father's.

Ruskin says his father was an absolutely beautiful reader of the *best* poetry and prose: of Shakespeare, Pope, Spenser, Byron, and Scott; as of Goldsmith, Addison, and Johnson, and that his delivery of Hamlet, Lear, Cæsar, or Marmion, was melodiously grand and just. Ruskin probably first became interested in two of his masters, Scott and Pope, through the influence of his father's reading. Evidently he was quite young, for he says (*Præterita*, p. 1) that on Sundays the effect of Scott's novels and Pope's translation of the *Iliad* was tempered by *Robinson Crusoe* and *Pilgrim's Progress*. He says (p. 51) that he can no more recall the time when he did not know the Waverley Novels than when he did not know the Bible.

Ruskin chronicles (*Præterita*, pp. 52–58), with deep gratitude, his debt to his mother for the resolutely consistent lessons which so exercised him in the Scriptures as to make every word of them familiar to his ear in habitual music, — yet in that familiarity revered, as tran-

scending all thought, and ordaining all conduct. This, he says, she effected, not by her own sayings of personal authority, but simply by compelling him to read the Book thoroughly for himself. As soon as he was able to read with fluency, she began a course of Bible work with him, which never ceased till he went to Oxford. She read alternate verses with him, watching at first every intonation of his voice, and correcting the false ones, till she made him understand the verse, if within his reach, rightly and energetically. It might be beyond him altogether; that she did not care about; but she made sure that as soon as he got hold of it at all, he should get hold of it by the right end. In this way she began with the first verse in Genesis, and went straight through, to the last verse of the Apocalypse; hard names, numbers, Levitical law, and all; and began again at Genesis the next day. After the reading, two or three chapters a day according to their length, he had to learn a few verses by heart, or repeat, to make sure he had not lost something of what was already known.

Mrs. Ruskin allowed not so much as a syllable to be missed or misplaced; while every sentence was required to be said over and over again until she was satisfied with the accent of it. Young Ruskin and his mother had a struggle of about three weeks concerning the accent of the "of" in the lines —

Shall any following spring revive
The ashes of the urn?

Ruskin insisting, partly in childish obstinacy, and partly in true instinct for rhythm, on reciting it with an accented *of*. It was not till after three weeks' labor that his mother got the accent lightened on the "of" and laid on the

ashes, to suit her. Ruskin says if it had taken three years, she would have done it, having once undertaken to do it. He says, furthermore, that he is thankful she succeeded; but after all, we know that the child was right in accenting the *of*.

Ruskin's mother made a list of the chapters which she required him to memorize, and with which she gave him secure ground for all future life, practical and spiritual. It is interesting to note the special influence of these chapters in his various writings. Here is the list:—

Exodus, chapters 15 and 30.

2 Samuel, chapter 1, from verse 17 to the end.

1 Kings, chapter 8.

Psalms, 23, 32, 90, 91, 103, 112, 119, 139.

Proverbs, chapters 2, 3, 8, 12.

Isaiah, chapter 58.

Matthew, chapters 5, 6, 7.

Acts, chapter 26.

1 Corinthians, chapters 13, 15.

James, chapter 4.

Revelations, chapters 5, 6.

Ruskin declares that, though he picked up the elements of a little further knowledge in mathematics, meteorology, and the like, in after life, the essential part of all his education was the careful training in the Bible that his mother gave him.

In his early years young Ruskin accompanied his parents on summer tours through England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Switzerland. It was during these years that he saw (*Præterita*, p. 7) nearly all the noblemen's houses in England; and in reverent and healthy delight of uncourtous admiration, — perceiving, as soon as he could perceive any political truth at all, that it was probably much hap-

pier to live in a small house, and have Warwick Castle to be astonished at, than to live in Warwick Castle and have nothing to be astonished at.

Ruskin was an only child, and while he is not ungrateful for what his parents did to help him, he counts (p. 62) the dominant calamities of his life as being: First, that he had nothing to love; second (p. 63), he had nothing to endure; thirdly, he was taught no precision or etiquette of manners; lastly (p. 64), and chief of evils, his judgment of right and wrong, the powers of independent action (not *thought*, in which he says he was too independent) were left entirely undeveloped; because the bridle and blinkers were never taken off him. He declares (p. 65) that he was by protection innocent, instead of by practice virtuous. But, he adds (p. 71), "My native disposition . . . though I say it, is extremely amiable, when I'm not bothered." Whether acquired in childhood, or later, Ruskin recounts (p. 61) peace, obedience, faith, — these three for chief good; next to these the habit of fixed attention with both eyes and mind, as being the main practical faculty of his life.

We get some idea of the bigness of Ruskin's heart from his remarks (p. 96) concerning a mistaken correspondent who complained of his habit of sneering at people of no ancestry. He says he had no such habit; though not always entirely at ease in writing of his uncles the baker and the tanner. All his readers, he affirms, may trust him when he tells them that, in remembering his dreams in the house of the entirely honest chief baker of Market Street, Croydon, and of Peter, — not Simon, — the tanner, whose house was by the riverside of Perth, he would not change the dreams, far less the tender realities, of those early days, for anything he could hear remembered by lords or dames,

of their days of childhood in castle halls, and by sweet lawns and lakes in park-walled forest.

Of Ruskin's education, a brief account must here suffice. When he was fifteen years old, he planned and carried on courses of study in poetry, engraving, architecture, and geology. When he entered the schoolroom of Rev. Thomas Dale, his whole previous training, except a few lessons in Greek under Dr. Andrews, had been received from his mother. From Mr. Dale's school Ruskin went to Christ Church, Oxford, where, in due course of time, he won the Newdigate Prize for a poem entitled, *Salsette and Elephanta*, depicting the dawn of Christianity in Hindustan. At seventeen (1836) Ruskin found himself deeply in love with Adèle Domecq, eldest daughter of his father's Parisian partner. A few years later (1840) he heard of her approaching marriage to a young French nobleman, and betook himself to France and Italy for his health. About this time (1840), and a year before receiving his B.A. degree from Oxford, Ruskin came back from the continent and spent some time in Scotland. It was then, there, and on the invitation of the Scottish maiden whom he married eight years later, that he wrote the delightful story, *The King of the Golden River*.

To give a list of all Ruskin's writings, with appropriate comment, would make another book. In fact, such a book exists: *John Ruskin*, by Mrs. Meynell, New York, 1900. The student is further referred to the Bibliography which follows (pp. xxvi-xxix) and which, with only slight alteration, is copied with the generous consent of Mr. Herbert Bates, editor of Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, in this (Macmillan) Pocket Classic Series.

One who desires to get, in an hour's reading, a good general idea of "Ruskin the Man," "Ruskin the Writer,"

and "Ruskin's Teaching and Influence," will find it in Bates's Introduction (pp. ix-xxxix). He gives a satisfactory conclusion of the whole matter (p. xxi): "To be willing to see the beauty that is — to show helpful sympathy for men about us, to be willing and glad to work for the joy of doing our work well, and, above all, to keep clear our sight of the real mystery and nobility of life, — that, in short, is the burden of Ruskin's teaching."

This brief introduction may well close with a statement made recently by Mr. Bates in a private letter: "Ruskin certainly is a bigger influence in the best of modern life than he ever gets credit for being. We think we are doing it all ourselves; but he started a great part of the modern feeling toward industrial art."

ANALYSIS OF A LECTURE

In order fully to comprehend these lectures, and to follow the drift of Ruskin's thought, it is worth while, after having first rapidly read a lecture, to reread it slowly and carefully, meanwhile making an analysis of it.

The following brief (Lecture I. Work) is a suggestion as to what may be done and how to do it. The first five paragraphs (17-21) are introductory: —

A. Distinctions.

- I. (§ 22.) Between those who work and those who play, or Work and Play.
- II. Between those who produce the means of life and those who consume them, or Producers and Consumers.
- III. Between those who work with the head and those who work with the hand, or Head-workers and

Hand-workers (called, in § 30, the Rich and the Poor).

IV. Between those who work wisely and those who work foolishly, or Wise Workers and Foolish Workers.

I. (§§ 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.) Work and Play.

1. Work.

a. Definite aim.

b. For utility.

2. Play.

a. No definite aim.

b. For amusement.

c. Kinds of play (games):—

i. "Making" or "winning" money.

ii. Hunting and shooting.

iii. Ladies' dressing.

iv. War.

II. (§§ 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.) Producers and Consumers.

It will be observed that Ruskin deviates into the incidental subject of the rich and the poor, making it difficult to tabulate the subheads of this section. The following may suffice:—

1. Producers.

a. Poor producer.

b. Rich producer.

2. Consumers.

a. Rich consumer.

b. Poor consumer.

III. (§§ 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42.) Head-workers and Hand-workers.

(In § 22, Ruskin gives the order: (1) Head,

(2) Hand. Now (§ 36), he reverses the order.)

1. Head-workers.
 - a. The upper class.
 - i. Gentle work.
 - x. Book-readers.
 - y. Chemists.
 - z. Artists.
 2. Hand-workers.
 - a. The lower class.
 - i. Rough work.
 - x. Ditch-diggers.
 - y. Mechanical engineers.
 - z. Iron-moulders.
 - b. How Hand-workers are to be paid, refreshed, and amused:—
 - i. Better salaries.
 - ii. Regular times of rest.
 - iii. Gardens, flowers, and sunshine.
- IV. (§§ 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.) Wise Workers and Foolish Workers.
1. Wise Workers.
 - a. Workers *with* God.
 - i. Enforce justice.
 - ii. Enforce tidiness.
 - iii. Enforce fruitfulness.
 - b. Wise work is:—
 - i. Honest.
 - x. Fair play in games.
 - y. Fair play in work.
 - ii. Useful.
 - x. Time of self not wasted.
 - y. Time of others not wasted.

iii. Cheerful, as a child's work is.

x. Right childhood is : —

1. Modest.
2. Faithful.
3. Loving.
4. Cheerful.

(In § 51, Ruskin changes these characteristics to Humility, Faith, Charity, and Cheerfulness.)

2. Foolish workers.

a. Workers *against* God.

- i. Permit injustice.
- ii. Permit disorder.
- iii. Permit death.

SUBJECTS FOR COMPOSITION

These subjects, both in number and variety, are intended to enable pupils, in various sections of country and in the various high school grades and college classes, to select something of special interest to write about.

I. WORK

1. The purpose of an education.
2. Why should the "laboring class" be educated?
3. Outdoor games that are helpful.
4. "Making" money, and "winning" money.
5. Shooting song-birds, and harmless animals not needed for food.
6. The tradesmen, and other laborers, upon whom the professional man depends.
7. Should a rich man desire to die poor?
8. Helping the poor.

9. The idle poor; the idle rich.
10. Noble and ignoble hands.
11. Children playing in the streets.
12. Wise work and foolish work.
13. Humility, faith, and charity, without cheerfulness.
14. Talk and talkers.

II. TRAFFIC

1. Good taste.
2. How to learn to like to do right.
3. "Steel-traps! for whom?"
4. Day-dreams.
5. Cotton factories.
6. Iron foundries.
7. Can a boy choose his future?
8. Usury.
9. "Driving a bargain."
10. Should they "take who have the power," and should "they keep who can"?
11. Thrift.
12. That which is not needed is high at any price.
13. The Chinese proverb: "He who keeps a shop should smile."
14. Billboards.

III. WAR

1. Noble and ignoble warfare.
2. The "Golden Rule."
3. Why "seek peace and pursue it"?
4. The folly of betting.
5. "It is better to receive an injury than to inflict one."
6. The home life of some celebrated warrior.

7. A hero in the private ranks.
8. How savages settle their disputes.
9. Pugilism as a profession.
10. The Hague: arbitration.
11. Does a large navy insure peace with foreign nations?
12. Waterloo.
13. Bunker Hill.
14. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

IV. ATHENA IN THE HEAVENS

1. Animal life and health.
2. Fresh air; how, where, and why to get it.
3. Sleep as Nature's restorer.
4. A poem on The Shepherd of the Clouds.
5. Sincere song: why sing at all?
6. National anthems.
7. Song-birds.
8. Shade-trees.
9. "The race is not to the swift."
10. An American hero.
11. A city without a park.
12. Wild flowers.
13. "When I behold a rainbow."
14. "Under the open sky."

V. ATHENA IN THE EARTH

1. Seed-sowing.
2. Nutting time.
3. The flower-garden.

4. A country feast.
5. Food sources.
6. A poem: When it Rains.
7. Christmas when grandfather was a boy.
8. "Eyes have they but they see not."
9. "Lowly" living and high thinking.
10. The future of the farmer's son.
11. "Maud Muller."
12. Harvesting in the West.
13. A world without grass.
14. "Fletcherism."

VI. ATHENA IN THE HEART

1. Rules for happy living.
2. The slothful man.
3. Road-making.
4. Aladdin's palace.
5. The prodigal son.
6. Arguments for liberty.
7. The influence of "disorder and ghastliness" on young life.
8. Common sense, and the use of it.
9. The Olympic games.
10. Field-day sports.
11. A favorite landscape.
12. "A simple English [or American] girl, of pure race and kind heart."
13. An admired work of art.
14. "This one thing I do."

BIBLIOGRAPHY ¹

A. RUSKIN'S WRITINGS

The following is a list of Ruskin's chief works in the order of publication, with statements, here and there, as to when they were written:—

1834–1846. I. Articles on science and art in the *Architectural Magazine* and the *Magazine of Natural History*. II. Poems in *London Monthly Miscellany* and *Friendship's Offering*, also the Newdigate Prize Poem, *Salsette and Elephanta*, printed separately, also in *Oxford Prize Poems*.

1837. The Poetry of Architecture, in *Architectural Magazine*.

1843. Modern Painters. Vol. I. (written 1842); 1846. Vol. II. (written 1845).

1856. Vols. III. and IV. (written 1855). 1860. Vol. V. The Autograph Edition was published in 1873, and there have been many editions and reprints since.

1849. The Seven Lamps of Architecture (written 1847).

1850. Poems, by J. R.

1851. The King of the Golden River (written 1840 or 1841).

The Stones of Venice (written 1850).

Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds.

Pre-Raphaelitism.

1853. Stones of Venice. Vols. II. and III. (written 1852).

1853–1860. Giotto and his Works in Padua.

¹Compiled, with slight alterations and additions, from Bates's Bibliography. See acknowledgment, Introduction, p. xviii.

1854. Lectures on Architecture and Painting.

1856. Modern Painters. Vols. III. and IV. (written 1855).

The Harbors of England.

1857. Elements of Drawing (written 1856).

The Political Economy of Art. Reprinted under the title, *A Joy Forever (and its Price in the Market)*. Education in Art.

1859. The Two Paths.

Elements of Perspective.

1860. Modern Painters, Vol. V.

Unto this Last.

1862–1863. Munera Pulveris (written 1861).

1865. Sesame and Lilies. First two lectures (written 1864).

1866. Ethics of the Dust.

Crown of Wild Olive (written 1864).

1867. Time and Tide by Weare and Tyne.

1869. The Queen of the Air.

1871–1884. Fors Clavigera.

1870–1872. Aratra Pentelici.

The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret.

The Eagle's Nest.

1873. Love's Meinie, Parts I. and II.

Ariadne Florentina (written 1872).

1873–1874. Val-d'Arno.

1875–1877. Mornings in Florence.

1875–1886. Proserpina.

1875–1878. Deucalion.

1877–1884. St. Mark's Rest.

1877–1878. The Laws of Fésole.

1880. Elements of English Prosody.

Arrows of the Chace.

- 1880-1885. The Bible of Amiens.
 1881. Love's Meinie, Part III.
 1883. The Art of England.
 1884. The Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century.
 1884-1885. The Pleasures of England.
 1885. On the Old Road.
 1886-1888. Præterita.
 1886. Dilecta.
 Hortus Inclusus.
 1890. Ruskiana.
 1891. The Poems of John Ruskin.

B. WRITINGS ABOUT RUSKIN

Among the best biographies and sketches of Ruskin are the following: *The Life of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood (Houghton, Mifflin Co.); *John Ruskin*, M. H. Spielmann (Lippincott & Co.); *John Ruskin, his Life and Teaching*, T. Marshall Mather (Warne & Co.); *Ruskin et la Religion de la Beauté*, Robert de la Sizeranne (Hachette et Cie); *John Ruskin, Aspects of his Thought and Teaching*, Baillie; *Work of John Ruskin*, Charles Waldstein (Harper and Brothers); *Studies in Ruskin*, Edward T. Cook (George Allen); *John Ruskin*, Mrs. Meynell (Dodd, Mead and Company). Ruskin is discussed also in *Modern Humanists*, John M. Robertson (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.). Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* may be consulted for the long list of interesting magazine articles that have appeared, from time to time, on Ruskin, The Man, The Artist, The Political Economist, The Writer, etc. Bates's Bibliography gives a list of the magazine articles of especial interest which appeared during the year 1900, and prior to that time.

RUSKIN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Thomas Carlyle	1795-1881.
J. M. W. Turner	1775-1851.
Alfred Tennyson	1809-1892.
Robert Browning	1812-1889.
John Ruskin	1819-1900.
Matthew Arnold	1822-1888.
Charles Eliot Norton	1827-1908.
Dante Gabriel Rossetti	1828-1882.
William Morris	1834-1890.
Algernon C. Swinburne	1837-1909.

“Do you look out,” wrote George Eliot to her friend Miss Sarah Hennell, “for Ruskin’s books whenever they appear? . . . I venerate him as one of the great teachers of the age. . . . He teaches with the inspiration of a Hebrew prophet.”

“Do you read Ruskin’s *Fors Clavigera*?” Carlyle asked of Emerson. “If you don’t, do, I advise you. Also . . . whatever else he is now writing. There is nothing going on among us as notable to me.”

— EDWARD T. COOK, *Studies in Ruskin*, London, 1890,
p. 3.

THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE

THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE

INTRODUCTION ¹

1. TWENTY years ago, there was no lovelier piece of lowland scenery in South England, nor any more pathetic in the world, by its expression of sweet human character and life, than that immediately bordering on the sources of the Wandel,^o and including the low moors of Addington, ⁵ and the villages of Beddington and Carshalton, with all their pools and streams. No clearer or diviner waters ever sang with constant lips of the hand which "giveth rain from heaven^o;" no pastures ever lightened in springtime with more passionate blossoming; no sweeter homes ever ¹⁰ hallowed the heart of the passer-by with their pride of peaceful gladness — fain-hidden — yet full-confessed.^o The place remains (1870)^o nearly unchanged in its larger features; but with deliberate mind I say, that I have never seen anything so ghastly in its inner tragic meaning, — not ¹⁵ in Pisan Maremma,^o — not by Campagna^o tomb, — not by the sand-isles of the Torcellan^o shore, — as the slow stealing of aspects of reckless, indolent, animal neglect, over the delicate sweetness of that English scene: nor is any blasphemy or impiety, any frantic saying or godless thought, ²⁰

¹ Called the "preface" in former editions; it is one of my bad habits to put half my books into preface. Of this one, the only prefatory thing I have to say is that most of the contents are stated more fully in my other volumes; but here are put in what, at least, I meant to be a more popular form, all but this introduction, which was written very carefully to be read, not spoken, and with which I have taken extreme pains.^o

more appalling to me, using the best power of judgment I have to discern its sense and scope, than the insolent defiling of those springs by the human herds that drink of them. Just where the welling of stainless water, trembling and
5 pure, like a body of light, enters the pool of Carshalton, cutting itself a radiant channel down to the gravel, through warp of feathery weeds, all waving, which it traverses with its deep threads of clearness, like the chalcedony^o in moss-agate, starred here and there with white grenouillette^o;
10 just in the very rush and murmur of the first spreading currents, the human wretches of the place cast their street and house foulness; heaps of dust and slime, and broken shreds^o of old metal, and rags of putrid clothes; which, having^o neither energy to cart away, nor decency enough to
15 dig into the ground,^o they thus shed into the stream, to diffuse what venom of it will float and melt, far away, in all places where God meant those waters to bring joy and health. And, in a little pool, behind some houses farther
20 in the village, where another spring rises, the shattered stones of the well, and of the little fretted channel which was long ago built and traced for it by gentler hands,^o lie scattered, each from each, under a ragged bank of mortar, and scoria,^o and bricklayer's refuse, on one side, which the
clean water nevertheless chastises to purity; but it can-
25 not conquer the dead earth beyond; and there, circled and coiled under festering scum, the stagnant edge of the pool effaces itself into a slope of black slime, the accumulation of indolent years.^o Half-a-dozen men, with one day's work, could cleanse those pools, and trim the flowers about
30 their banks, and make every breath of summer air above them rich with cool balm; and every glittering wave medicinal, as if it ran, troubled only of angels, from the porch of Bethesda.^o But that day's work is never given,

nor, I suppose,° will be; nor will any joy be possible to heart of man, for evermore, about those wells of English waters.

2. When I last left them, I walked up slowly through the back streets of Croydon, from the old church to the 5 hospital; and, just on the left, before coming up to the crossing of the High Street, there was a new public-house built. And the front of it was built in so wise manner,° that a recess of two feet was left below its front windows, between them and the street-pavement; a recess too nar- 10 row for any possible use (for even if it had been occupied by a seat, as in old time it might have been, everybody walking along the street would have fallen over the legs of the reposing wayfarer). But, by way of making this two feet depth of freehold° land more expressive of the 15 dignity of an establishment for the sale of spirituous liquors, it was fenced from the pavement by an imposing iron railing, having four or five spearheads to the yard of it, and six feet high; containing as much iron and iron-work, indeed, as could well be put into the space; and by this stately 20 arrangement, the little piece of dead ground° within, between wall and street, became a protective receptacle of refuse; cigar ends, and oyster shells, and the like, such as an open-handed° English street-populace habitually scatters°; and was thus left, unsweepable by any ordinary 25 methods. Now the iron bars which, uselessly (or in great degree worse than uselessly), enclosed this bit of ground, and made it pestilent, represented a quantity of work which would have cleansed the Carshalton pools three times over: of work, partly cramped and perilous,° in 30 the mine; partly grievous and horrible,° at the furnace; partly foolish and sedentary, of ill-taught students making bad designs: work from the beginning to the last fruits of

it, and in all the branches of it, venomous, deathful,¹ and miserable.

3.^o Now, how did it come to pass that this work was done instead of the other; that the strength and life of
5 the English operative were spent in defiling ground, instead of redeeming it, and in producing an entirely (in that place) valueless piece of metal, which can neither be eaten nor breathed, instead of medicinal fresh air and pure water?

10 4. There is but one reason for it, and at present a conclusive one, — that the capitalist can charge percentage on the work in the one case, and cannot in the other. If, having certain funds for supporting labor at my disposal, I pay men merely to keep my ground in order, my money
15 is, in that function, spent once for all; but if I pay them to dig iron out of my ground and work it, and sell it, I can

¹ A fearful occurrence took place a few days since, near Wolverhampton. Thomas Snape, aged nineteen, was on duty as the "keeper" of a blast furnace at Deepfield, assisted by John Gardner, aged eighteen, and Joseph Swift, aged thirty-seven. The furnace contained four tons of molten iron, and an equal amount of cinders, and ought to have been run out at 7.30 P.M. But Snape and his mates, engaged in talking and drinking, neglected their duty, and, in the meantime, the iron rose in the furnace until it reached a pipe wherein water was contained. Just as the men had stripped, and were proceeding to tap the furnace, the water in the pipe, converted into steam, burst down its front and let loose on them the molten metal, which instantaneously consumed Gardner; Snape, terribly burnt, and mad with pain, leaped into the canal and then ran home and fell dead on the threshold. Swift survived to reach the hospital, where he died too.

In further illustration of this matter, I beg the reader to look at the article on the "Decay of the English Race," in the *Pall-Mall Gazette* of April 17, of this year [1870]; and at the articles on the "Report of the Thames Commission," in any journals of the same date.

charge rent for the ground, and percentage^o both on the manufacture and the sale, and make my capital profitable in these three by-ways.^o The greater part of the profitable investment of capital, in the present day, is in operations of this kind, in which the public is persuaded to buy 5 something of no use to it, on production or sale of which the capitalist may charge percentage; the said public remaining all the while under the persuasion that the percentages thus obtained are real national gains, whereas, they are merely filchings^o out of partially light pockets, to 10 swell heavy ones.

5.^o Thus, the Croydon publican^o buys the iron railing, to make himself more conspicuous to drunkards. The public-house keeper on the other side of the way presently buys another railing, to out-rail^o him with. Both are, as 15 to their *relative* attractiveness, just where they were before^o; but they have lost the price of the railings; which they must either themselves finally lose, or make their aforesaid customers, the amateurs of railings,^o pay, by raising the price of their beer, or adulterating it. Either 20 the publicans, or their customers, are thus poorer by *precisely what the capitalist has gained*^o; and the value of the industry itself, meantime, has been lost to the nation; the iron bars in that form and place being wholly useless.

6. It is this mode of taxation of the poor by the rich 25 which is referred to in the text (§ 34), in comparing the modern acquisitive power of capital with that of the lance and sword; the only difference being that the levy of blackmail^o in old times was by force, and is now by cozening.^o The old rider and reiver^o frankly quartered^o him- 30 self on the publican for the night; — the modern one merely makes his lance into an iron spike, and persuades his host to buy it. One comes as an open robber,^o the

other as a cheating pedler; but the result, to the injured person's pocket, is absolutely the same. Of course many useful industries mingle with, and disguise the useless ones; and in the habits of energy aroused by the struggle, there is a certain direct good. It is better to spend four thousand pounds in making a gun, and then to blow it to pieces, than to pass life in idleness. Only do not let the proceeding^o be called "political economy."^o

7. There is also a confused notion in the minds of many persons, that the gathering of the property of the poor into the hands of the rich does no ultimate harm; since, in whosoever hands it may be, it must be spent at last, and thus, they think, return to the poor again. This fallacy has been again and again exposed; but granting the plea true, the same apology may, of course, be made for blackmail, or any other form of robbery. It might be (though practically it never is) as advantageous for the nation that the robber should have the spending of the money he extorts, as that the person robbed should have spent it. But this is no excuse for the theft.^o If I were to put a turnpike^o on the road where it passes my own gate, and endeavor to exact a shilling from every passenger, the public would soon do away with my gate, without listening to any plea on my part that 'it was as advantageous to them, in the end, that I should spend their shillings, as that they themselves should.' But if, instead of outfacing^o them with a turnpike, I can only persuade them to come in and buy stones, or old iron, or any other useless thing, out of my ground, I may rob them to the same extent, and be, moreover, thanked as a public benefactor, and promoter of commercial prosperity. And this main question for the poor of England — for the poor of all countries — is wholly omitted in every common treatise on the subject

of wealth. Even by the laborers themselves, the operation of capital is regarded only in its effect on their immediate interests; never in the far more terrific power of its appointment of the kind and the object of labor. It matters little, ultimately, how much a laborer is paid for 5 making anything; but it matters fearfully what the thing is, which he^o is compelled to make. If his labor is so ordered as to produce food, and fresh air, and fresh water, no matter that his wages are low; — the food and fresh air and water will be at last there; and he will at last get them. 10 But if he is paid to *destroy*^o food and fresh air, or to produce iron bars instead of them, — the food and air will finally *not* be there, and he will *not* get them, to his great and final inconvenience.^o

8.^o I have been long accustomed, as all men engaged in 15 work of investigation must be, to hear my statements laughed at for years before they are examined or believed^o; and I am generally content to wait the public's time. But it has not been without displeased surprise that I have found myself totally unable, as yet, by any repetition, or 20 illustration, to force this plain thought into my readers' heads, — that the wealth of nations, as of men, consists in substance, not in ciphers; and that the real good of all work, and of all commerce, depends on the final intrinsic^o worth of the thing you make, or get by it. This is a “prac- 25 tical”^o enough statement, one would think: but the English public has been so possessed by its modern school of economists^o with the notion that Business is always good, whether it be busy in mischief or in benefit; and that buying and selling are always salutary, whatever the intrinsic 30 worth of what you buy or sell, that it seems impossible to gain so much as a patient hearing for any inquiry respecting the substantial result of our eager modern labor.^o

9. I have never felt more checked by the sense of this impossibility than in arranging the heads^o of the following lectures, which, though delivered at considerable intervals of time, and in different places, were not prepared
5 without reference to each other. Their connection would, however, have been made far more distinct, if I had not been prevented, by what I feel to be another great difficulty in addressing English audiences, from enforcing, with any decision, the common, and to me the most important, part
10 of their subjects. I chiefly desired^o to question my hearers — operatives, merchants, and soldiers — as to the ultimate meaning of the *business* they had in hand; and to know from them what they expected or intended their manufacture to come to, their selling to come to, and
15 their killing to come to. That appeared the first point needing determination before I could speak to them with any real utility or effect. “You craftsmen — salesmen — swordsmen, — do but tell me clearly what you want; then, if I can say anything to help you, I will; and if not,
20 I will account to you as I best may for my inability.”

10. But in order to put this question into any terms, one had first of all to face the difficulty^o — to me for the present insuperable, — the difficulty of knowing whether
25 to address one’s audience as believing, or not believing, in any other world than this. For if you address any average modern English company as believing in an Eternal life, and then^o endeavor to draw any conclusions, from this assumed belief, as to their present business, they will forthwith tell you that “what you say is very beautiful, but it
30 is not practical.”^o If, on the contrary, you frankly address them as *unbelievers*^o in Eternal life, and try to draw any consequences from that unbelief, — they immediately hold you for an accursed person, and shake off the dust from their feet at you.^o

11. And the more I thought over what I had got^o to say, the less I found I could say it, without some reference to this intangible or intractable question.^o It made all the difference, in asserting any principle of war, whether one assumed that a discharge of artillery would merely 5 knead down a certain quantity of once living clay into a level line, as in a brick-field; or whether, out of every separately Christian-named portion of the ruinous heap, there went out, into the smoke and dead-fallen air of battle, some astonished condition of soul, unwillingly released. It 10 made all the difference, in speaking of the possible range of commerce, whether one assumed that all bargains related only to visible property — or whether property, for the present invisible,^o but nevertheless real, was elsewhere purchasable on other terms. It made all the difference, in 15 addressing a body of men subject to considerable hardship, and having to find some way out of it — whether one could confidently say to them, “My friends, — you have only to die, and all will be right”; or whether one had any secret misgiving that such advice was more blessed to him that 20 gave, than to him that took it.^o

12. And therefore the deliberate reader will find, throughout these lectures, a hesitation in driving points home, and a pausing short of conclusions which he will feel I would fain have come to; — hesitation which arises 25 wholly from this uncertainty of my hearers’ temper. For I do not speak, nor have I ever spoken, since the time of first forward youth,^o in any proselyting temper, as desiring to persuade any one to believe anything^o; but whomsoever I venture to address, I take for the time his 30 creed^o as I find it, and endeavor to push it into such vital fruit as it seems capable of. Thus, it is a creed with a great part of the existing English people, that they are in pos-

session of a book which tells them, straight from the lips of God, all they ought to do, and need to know. I have read that book, with as much care as most of them, for some forty years^o; and am thankful that, on those who
5 trust it, I can press its pleadings. My endeavor has been uniformly to make them trust it more deeply than they do; trust it, not in their own favorite verses only, but in the sum of all; trust it not as a fetish^o or talisman,^o which they are to be saved by daily repetitions of; but as a Captain's
10 order, to be heard and obeyed at their peril. I was always encouraged by supposing my hearers to hold such belief. To these, if to any, I once had hope of addressing, with acceptance, words which insisted on the guilt of pride, and the futility of avarice; from these, if from any, I once ex-
15 pected ratification of a political economy, which asserted that the life was more than the meat, and the body than raiment^o; and these, it once seemed to me, I might ask, without being accused of fanaticism,^o not merely in doctrine of the lips, but in the bestowal of their heart's
20 treasure, to separate themselves from the crowd of whom it is written, "After all these things do the Gentiles seek."^o

13.^o It cannot, however, be assumed, with any semblance of reason, that a general audience is now wholly, or even in majority, composed of these religious persons. A
25 large portion must always consist of men who admit no such creed; or who, at least, are inaccessible to appeals founded on it. And as, with the so-called Christian, I desired to plead for honest declaration and fulfilment of his belief in life, — with the so-called Infidel, I desired
30 to plead for an honest declaration and fulfilment of his belief in death. The dilemma is inevitable. Men must either hereafter live, or hereafter die; fate may be bravely met, and conduct wisely ordered, on either expectation;

but never in hesitation between ungrasped hope, and un-confronted fear. We usually believe in immortality, so far as to avoid preparation for death; and in mortality, so far as to avoid preparation for anything after death. Whereas, a wise man will at least hold himself ready for 5 one or other of two events, of which one or other is inevitable; and will have all things ended in order^o for his sleep, or left in order for his awakening.

14.^o Nor have we any right to call it an ignoble judgment, if he determine to end^o them in order, as for sleep. 10 A brave belief in life is indeed an enviable state of mind, but, as far as I can discern, an unusual one. I know few Christians so convinced of the splendor of the rooms in their Father's house,^o as to be happier when their friends are called to those mansions, than they would have been 15 if the Queen had sent for them to live at court^o: nor has the Church's most ardent "desire to depart, and be with Christ,"^o ever cured it of the singular habit of putting on mourning for every person summoned to such departure. On the contrary, a brave belief in death has been assuredly 20 held by many not ignoble persons, and it is a sign of the last depravity in the Church itself, when it assumes that such a belief is inconsistent with either purity of character, or energy of hand. The shortness of life is not, to any rational person, a conclusive reason for wasting the space 25 of it which may be granted him; nor does the anticipation of death to-morrow suggest, to any one but a drunkard,^o the expediency of drunkenness to-day. To teach that there is no device in the grave,^o may indeed make the deviceless person more contented in his dulness; but it will 30 make the deviser only more earnest in devising; nor is human conduct likely, in every case, to be purer, under the conviction that all its evil may in a moment be pardoned,

and all its wrong-doing in a moment redeemed; and that the sigh of repentance, which purges the guilt of the past, will waft the soul into a felicity which forgets its pain, — than it may be under the sterner, and to many not unwise 5 minds, more probable, apprehension, that “what a man soweth that shall he also reap”^o — or others reap, — when he, the living seed of pestilence, walketh no more in darkness,^o but lies down therein.

15 15.^o But to men for whom feebleness of sight, or bitterness of soul, or the offence^o given by the conduct of those who claim higher hope, may have rendered this painful creed the only possible one, there is an appeal to be made, more secure than any which^o can be addressed to happier persons. Might not a preacher, in comfortless but 20 faithful zeal — from the poor height of a grave-hillock for his Hill of Mars,^o and with the Cave of the Eumenides^o at his side — say to them^o: Hear me, you dying men, who will soon be deaf forever. For these others, at your right hand and your left, who look forward to a state of infinite 25 existence, in which all their errors will be overruled, and all their faults forgiven; — for these, who, stained and blackened in the battle smoke of mortality, have but to dip themselves for an instant in the font of death, and to rise renewed of plumage, as a dove that is covered with silver, 30 and her feathers like gold: — for these, indeed, it may be permissible to waste their numbered moments, through faith in a future of innumerable hours; to these, in their weakness, it may be conceded that they should tamper with sin which can only bring forth fruit of righteousness,^o and profit by the iniquity which, one day, will be remembered no more.^o In them, it may be no sign of hardness of heart to neglect the poor, over whom they know their Master is watching, and to leave those to perish tempora-

rily, who cannot perish eternally. But, for *you*,^o there is no such hope, and therefore no such excuse. This fate, which you ordain for the wretched, you believe to be all their inheritance; you may crush them, before the moth,^o and they will never rise to rebuke you; — their breath,⁵ which fails for lack of food,^o once expiring, will never be recalled to whisper^o against you a word of accusing; — they and you, as you think, shall lie down together in the dust,^o and the worms cover you^o; and for them there shall be no consolation, and on you no vengeance, — only the ¹⁰ question murmured above your grave: “Who shall repay him what he hath done?” Is it therefore easier for you in your heart to inflict the sorrow for which there is no remedy? Will you take, wantonly, this little all of his life from your poor brother, and make his brief hours long to him with ¹⁵ pain? Will you be more prompt to the injustice which can never be redressed; and more niggardly^o of the mercy which you *can* bestow but once, and which, refusing, you refuse forever?

16. I think better of you, even of the most selfish, than ²⁰ that you would do this, well understanding your act.^o And for yourselves, it seems to me, the question becomes not less grave when brought^o into these curt limits. If your life were but a fever fit,^o — the madness of a night, whose follies were all to be forgotten in the dawn, it might ²⁵ matter little how you fretted away the sickly hours, — what toys you snatched at, or let fall, — what visions you followed wistfully with the deceived eyes of sleepless frenzy. Is the earth only an hospital? are health and heaven to come^o? *Then* play, if you care to play, on the ³⁰ floor of the hospital dens. Knit its straw into what crowns^o please you; gather the dust of it for treasure, and die rich in that, though^o clutching at the black motes in the

air with your dying hands;—and yet, it may be well with you. But if this life be *no*° dream, and the world no hospital, but your Palace-inheritance°;—if all the peace and power and joy you can ever win, must be won now, and all
 5 fruit of victory gathered here, or never;—will you still, throughout the puny totality of your life, weary yourselves in the fire for vanity? If there is no rest which remaineth° for you, is there none you might presently take? was this grass of the earth made green for your shroud only, not for
 10 your bed? and can you never lie down *upon* it, but only *under* it? The heathen, in their saddest hours, thought not so.° They knew that life brought its contest, but they expected from it also the crown° of all contest: No proud one! no jewelled circlet flaming through Heaven above
 15 the height of the unmerited throne; only some few leaves of wild olive,° cool to the tired brow, through a few years of peace. It should have been of gold, they thought; but Jupiter was poor°; this was the best the god could give them. Seeking a better than this, they had known
 20 it a mockery. Not in war, not in wealth, not in tyranny, was there any happiness to be found for them—only in kindly peace, fruitful and free. The wreath was to be of *wild olive*,° mark you:—the tree that grows carelessly, tufting the rocks with no vivid bloom, no verdure of
 25 branch; only with soft snow of blossom, and scarcely fulfilled fruit, mixed with gray leaf and thornset stem; no fastening of diadem for you but with such sharp embroidery! But this, such as it is, you may win while yet you live; type of gray honor and sweet rest.¹ Free-heartedness, and
 30 graciousness, and undisturbed trust, and requited love, and the sight of the peace of others, and the ministry to their pain;—these, and the blue sky above you, and the

¹ μελιτρεσσα, ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν.°

sweet waters and flowers of the earth beneath; and mysteries and presences, innumerable, of living things, — may yet be here your riches^o; untormenting and divine: seviceable for the life that now is; nor, it may be, without promise of that which is to come.^o

LECTURE I

WORK

Delivered before the Working Men's Institute, at Camberwell [1865]

17. MY FRIENDS, — I have not come among you to-night to endeavor to give you an entertaining lecture; but to tell you a few plain facts, and ask you a few plain questions.° I have seen and known too much of the struggle for life among our laboring population, to feel at 5 ease, under any circumstances, in inviting them to dwell on the trivialities of my own studies; but, much more, as I meet to-night, for the first time, the members of a working Institute established in the district in which I have passed the greater part of my life, I am desirous 10 that we should at once understand each other, on graver matters. I would fain tell you, with what feelings, and with what hope, I regard this Institute, as one of many such, now happily established throughout England, as well as in other countries; and preparing the way for a 15 great change in all the circumstances of industrial life; but of which the success must wholly depend upon our clearly understanding the conditions, and above all, the necessary *limits* of this change. No teacher can truly

promote the cause of education, until he knows the mode of life for which that education is to prepare his pupil. And the fact that he is called upon to address you, nominally, as a "Working Class," must compel him, if he is
5 in any wise earnest or thoughtful, to inquire in the outset, on what you yourselves suppose this class distinction has been founded in the past, and must be founded in the future. The manner of the amusement, and the matter of the teaching, which any of us can offer you, must
10 depend wholly on our first understanding from you, whether you think the distinction heretofore drawn between working men and others is truly or falsely founded. Do you accept it as it stands? do you wish it to be modified? or do you think the object of education is to efface
15 it, and make us forget it forever?

18. Let me make myself more distinctly understood. We call this — you and I — a "Working Men's" Institute, and our college in London, a "Working Men's" College. Now, how do you consider that these several
20 institutes differ, or ought to differ, from "idle men's" institutes and "idle men's" colleges? Or by what other word than "idle" shall I distinguish those whom the happiest and wisest of working men do not object to call the "Upper Classes"? Are there necessarily upper classes?
25 necessarily lower? How much should those always be elevated, how much these always depressed? And I pray those among my audience who chance to occupy, at present, the higher position, to forgive me what offence there may be in what I am going to say. It is not *I* who
30 wish to say it. Bitter voices say it; voices of battle and of famine through all the world, which must be heard some day, whoever keeps silence. Neither, as you well know, is it to *you* specially that I say it. I am sure that

most now present know their duties of kindness, and fulfil them, better perhaps than I do mine. But I speak to you as representing your whole class, which errs, I know, chiefly by thoughtlessness, but not therefore the less terribly. Wilful error is limited by the will, but what limit is there to that of which we are unconscious?

19. Bear with me, therefore, while I turn to these workmen, and ask them what they think^o the "upper classes" are, and ought to be, in relation to them. Answer, you workmen who are here, as you would among yourselves, frankly; and tell me how you would have me call your employers.^o Am I to call them — would *you* think me right in calling them — the idle classes^o? I think you would feel somewhat uneasy, and as if I were not treating my subject honestly, or speaking from my heart, if I proceeded in my lecture under the supposition that all rich people were idle. You would be both unjust and unwise if you allowed me to say that; — not less unjust than the rich people who say that all the poor are idle, and will never work if they can help it, or more than they can help.

20.^{1o} For indeed the fact is, that there are idle poor and idle rich; and there are busy poor and busy rich. Many a beggar is as lazy as if he had ten thousand a year; and many a man of large fortune is busier than his errand-boy, and never would think of stopping in the street to play marbles.^o So that, in a large view, the distinction between workers and idlers, as between knaves and honest men, runs through the very heart and innermost nature of men of all ranks and in all positions. There is a work-

¹ Note this paragraph. I cannot enough wonder at the want of common charity which blinds so many people to the quite simple truth to which it refers.

ing class — strong and happy, — among both rich and poor; there is an idle class — weak, wicked, and miserable, — among both rich and poor. And the worst of the misunderstandings arising between the two orders
5 come of the unlucky fact that the wise of one class [how little wise in this!]° habitually contemplate the foolish of the *other*. If the busy rich people watched and rebuked the idle rich people, all would be right among *them*°: and if the busy poor people watched and rebuked the idle poor
10 people, all would be right among *them*. But each looks° for the faults of the other. A hard-working man of property is particularly offended by an idle beggar; and an orderly, but poor, workman is naturally intolerant of the licentious luxury of the rich. And what is severe
15 judgment in the minds of the just men of either class, becomes fierce enmity in the unjust — but among the unjust *only*. None but the dissolute among the poor look upon the rich as their natural enemies, or desire to pillage their houses and divide their property. None but the
20 dissolute among the rich speak in opprobrious terms of the vices and follies of the poor.

21. There is, then, no worldly distinction° between idle and industrious people; and I am going to-night to speak only of the industrious. The idle people we will put
25 out of our thoughts at once — they are mere nuisances — what ought to be done with *them*, we'll talk of at another time. But there are class distinctions among the industrious themselves; — tremendous distinctions, which rise and fall to every degree in the infinite thermometer of
30 human pain and of human power, — distinctions of high and low, of lost and won, to the whole reach of man's soul and body.

22. These separations we will study, and the laws of

them, among energetic men only, who, whether they work or whether they play, put their strength into the work, and their strength into the game; being in the full sense of the word "industrious," one way or another, — with purpose, or without. And these distinctions are mainly 5 four: —

I. Between those who work, and those who play.

II. Between those who produce the means of life, and those who consume them.

III. Between those who work with the head, and those 10 who work with the hand.

IV. Between those who work wisely, and those who work foolishly.

For easier memory, let us say we are going to oppose, in our examination, —

15

I. Work to play;

II. Production to consumption;

III. Head to hand; and,

IV. Sense to nonsense.

23. I. First, then, of the distinction between the 20 classes who work and the classes who play. Of course we must agree upon a definition^o of these terms, — work and play, — before going farther. Now, roughly, not with vain subtlety of definition, but for plain use of the words, "play" is an exertion of body or mind, made to please 25 ourselves, and with no determined end; and work is a thing done because it ought to be done, and with a determined end. You play, as you call it,^o at cricket, for instance. That is as hard work as anything else; but it amuses you, and it has no result but the amusement. If 30 it were done as an ordered form of exercise, for health's sake, it would become work directly. So, in like manner, whatever we do to please ourselves, and only for the sake

of the pleasure, not for an ultimate object, is "play," the "pleasing thing," not the useful thing. Play may be useful in a secondary sense (nothing is indeed more useful or necessary); but the use of it depends on its being spontaneous.

24.° Let us, then, inquire together what sort of games the playing class in England spend their lives in playing at.

The first of all English games is making money. That is an all-absorbing game; and we knock each other down oftener in playing at that than at football, or any other roughest sport; and it is absolutely without purpose; no one who engages heartily in that game ever knows why. Ask a great money-maker what he wants to do with his money — he never knows. He doesn't make it to do anything with it. He gets it only that he *may* get it. "What will you make of what you have got?" you ask. "Well, I'll get more,"° he says. Just as, at cricket, you get more runs. There's no use in the runs, but to get more of them than other people is the game. And there's no use in the money, but to have more of it than other people is the game. So all that great foul city of London there, — rattling, growling, smoking, stinking, — a ghastly heap of fermenting brickwork, pouring out poison at every pore, — you fancy it is a city of work? Not a street of it! It is a great city of play; very nasty play, and very hard play, but still play. It is only Lord's cricket ground without the turf, — a huge billiard table without the cloth, and with pockets as deep as the bottomless pit; but mainly a billiard table, after all.

25. Well, the first great English game is this playing at counters. It differs from the rest in that it appears always to be producing money, while every other game is expensive. But it does not always produce money.

There's a great difference between "winning" money and "making" it; a great difference between getting it out of another man's pocket into ours, or filling both.°

26. Our next great English games, however, hunting and shooting, are costly altogether; and how much we are 5 fined for them annually in land, horses, gamekeepers, and game laws, and the resultant demoralization of ourselves, our children, and our retainers,° and all else that accompanies that beautiful° and special English game, I will not endeavor to count now: but note only that, except for 10 exercise, this is not merely a useless game, but a deadly one, to all connected with it. For through horse-racing, you get every form of what the higher classes everywhere call "Play," in distinction from all other plays; that is, gambling°; and through game-preserving, you get also 15 some curious laying out of ground; that beautiful arrangement of dwelling-house for man and beast, by which we have grouse and black-cock — so many brace to the acre, and men and women — so many brace° to the garret. I often wonder what the angelic builders and surveyors — 20 the angelic builders who build the "many mansions"° up above there; and the angelic surveyors, who measured that four-square city° with their measuring reeds — I wonder what they think, or are supposed to think, of the laying out of ground by this nation.¹ 25

27. Then, next to the gentlemen's game of hunting, we must put the ladies' game of dressing. It is not the cheapest of games.° And I wish I could tell you what this "play" costs, altogether, in England, France, and Russia

¹ The subject is pursued at some length in *Fors Clavigera* for March, 1873; but I have not yet properly stated the opposite side of the question nor insisted on the value of uncultivated land to the national health of body and mind.

annually. But it is a pretty game, and on certain terms I like it; nay, I don't see it played quite as much as I would fain have it. You ladies like to lead the fashion:—by all means lead it—lead it thoroughly,—lead it far
5 enough. Dress yourselves nicely, and dress everybody else nicely. Lead the *fashions for the poor* first; make *them* look well, and you yourselves will look, in ways of which you have now no conception, all the better. The fashions you have set^o for some time among your peasantry are not
10 pretty ones; their doublets are too irregularly slashed, or as Chaucer calls it “all toslittered,” though not for “queintise,”^o and the wind blows too frankly through them.

28. Then there are other games, wild enough, as I
15 could show you if I had time.

There's playing at literature, and playing at art;—very different, both, from working at literature, or working at art, but I've no time to speak of these. I pass to the greatest of all,—the play of plays, the great gentlemen's game,
20 which ladies like them best to play at,—the game of War. It is entrancingly pleasant to the imagination^o; we dress for it, however, more finely than for any other sport; and go out to it, not merely in scarlet, as to hunt, but in scarlet and gold, and all manner of fine colors; of course we could
25 fight better in gray, and without feathers; but all nations have agreed that it is good to be well dressed at this play. Then the bats and balls^o are very costly; our English and French bats, with the balls and wickets, even those which we don't make any use of, costing, I suppose, now, about
30 fifteen millions of money annually to each nation; all which you know is paid for by hard laborer's work in the furrow and furnace. A costly game!—not to speak of its consequences; I will say at present nothing of these

The mere immediate cost of all these plays is what I want you to consider ; they are all paid for in deadly work somewhere, as many of us know too well. The jewel-cutter, whose sight fails over the diamonds ; the weaver, whose arm fails over the web ; the iron-forged, whose breath fails 5 before the furnace — *they* know what work is — they, who have all the work, and none of the play, except a kind they have named for themselves down in the black north country, where “play” means being laid up by sickness. It is a pretty example for philologists,^o of varying dialect, 10 this change in the sense of the word, as used in the black country of Birmingham,^o and the red and black country of Baden Baden.^o Yes, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, of England, who think “one moment unamused a misery, not made for feeble man,” this is what you have brought the 15 word “play” to mean, in the heart of merry England ! You may have your fluting and piping ; but there are sad children sitting in the market-place, who indeed cannot say to you, “We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced^o :” but eternally shall say to you, “We have 20 mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.”

29. This, then, is the first distinction between the “upper and lower” classes. And this is one which is by no means necessary ; which indeed must, in process of good time, be by all honest men’s consent abolished. Men 25 will be taught that an existence of play, sustained by the blood of other creatures, is a good existence for gnats and jelly-fish^o ; but not for men : that neither days, nor lives, can be made holy or noble by doing nothing in them : that the best prayer at the beginning of a day is that we may 30 not lose its moments ; and the best grace before meat, the consciousness that we have justly earned our dinner. And when we have this much of plain Christianity preached to

us again, and cease to translate the strict words,^o “Son, go work to-day in my vineyard,”^o into the dainty ones: “Baby, go play to-day in my vineyard,” we shall all be workers, in one way or another; and this much at least of the distinction between “upper” and “lower” forgotten.

30. II. I pass then to our second distinction; between the rich and poor, between Dives and Lazarus,^o — distinction which exists more sternly, I suppose, in this day, than ever in the world, Pagan or Christian, till now.
 10 Consider, for instance, what the general tenor of such a paper as the *Morning Post* implies of delicate luxury among the rich; and then read this chance extract^o from it: —

“Yesterday morning, at eight o’clock, a woman, pass-
 15 ing a dung-heap in the stone-yard near the recently erected almshouses in Shadwell Gap, High Street, Shadwell, called the attention of a Thames police-constable to a man in a sitting position on the dung-heap, and said she was afraid he was dead. Her fears proved to be true. The wretched
 20 creature appeared to have been dead several hours. He had perished of cold and wet, and the rain had been beating down on him all night. The deceased was a bone-picker.^o He was in the lowest stage of poverty, poorly clad, and half-starved. The police had frequently driven
 25 him away from the stone-yard, between sunset and sunrise, and told him to go home. He selected a most desolate spot for his wretched death. A penny and some bones were found in his pockets. The deceased was between fifty and sixty years of age. Inspector Roberts, of the K
 30 division, has given directions for inquiries to be made at the lodging-houses respecting the deceased, to ascertain his identity if possible.” — *Morning Post*, November 25, 1864.

Compare the statement of the finding bones in his pocket with the following, from the *Telegraph* of January 16 of this year:—

“Again, the dietary scale for adult and juvenile paupers was drawn up by the most conspicuous political economists in England. It is low in quantity, but it is sufficient to support nature; yet within ten years of the passing of the Poor Law Act,^o we heard of the paupers in the Andover Union gnawing the scraps of putrid flesh and sucking the marrow from the bones^o of horses which they were employed to crush.”

You see my reason for thinking that our Lazarus of Christianity has some advantage over the Jewish one. Jewish Lazarus expected, or at least prayed, to be fed with crumbs from the rich man’s table^o; but *our* Lazarus is fed with crumbs from the dog’s table.

31. Now this distinction between rich and poor rests on two bases. Within its proper limits, on a basis which is lawful and everlastingly necessary; beyond them, on a basis unlawful, and everlastingly corrupting the framework of society. The lawful basis of wealth is, that a man who works should be paid the fair value of his work; and that if he does not choose to spend it to-day, he should have free leave to keep it, and spend it to-morrow. Thus, an industrious man working daily, and laying by daily, attains at last the possession of an accumulated sum of wealth, to which he has absolute right. The idle person who will not work, and the wasteful person who lays nothing by, at the end of the same time will be doubly poor—poor in possession, and dissolute in moral habit; and he will then naturally covet the money which the other has saved. And if he is then allowed to attack the other, and rob him of his well-earned wealth, there is no more any

motive for saving, or any reward for good conduct; and all society is thereupon dissolved, or exists only in systems of rapine.^o Therefore the first necessity of social life is the clearness of national conscience in enforcing the law —
5 that he should keep who has JUSTLY EARNED.

32. That law, I say, is the proper basis of distinction between rich and poor. But there is also a false basis of distinction; namely, the power held over those who are earning^o wealth by those who already possess it, and only
10 use it to gain more.^o There will be always a number of men who would fain set themselves to the accumulation of wealth as the sole object of their lives. Necessarily, that class of men is an uneducated class, inferior in intellect, and more or less cowardly. It is physically impossible for
15 a well-educated, intellectual, or brave man to make money the chief object of his thoughts; just as it is for him to make his dinner the principal object of them. All healthy people like their dinners, but their dinner is not the main object of their lives. So all healthily-minded people like
20 making money — ought to like it, and to enjoy the sensation of winning it; but the main object of their life is not money; it is something better than money. A good soldier, for instance, mainly wishes to do his fighting well. He is glad of his pay — very properly so, and justly grum-
25 bles when you keep him ten years without it^o — still, his main notion of life is to win battles, not to be paid for winning them. So of clergymen. They like pew-rents, and baptismal fees, of course; but yet, if they are brave and well-educated, the pew-rent is not the sole object of their
30 lives, and the baptismal fee is not the sole purpose of the baptism; the clergyman's object^o is essentially to baptize and preach, not to be paid for preaching. So of doctors. They like fees^o no doubt, — ought to like them; yet if

they are brave and well-educated, the entire object of their lives is not fees. They, on the whole, desire to cure the sick; and, — if they are good doctors, and the choice were fairly put to them, — would rather cure their patient and lose their fee, than kill him, and get it. And so with 5 all other brave and rightly-trained men; their work is first, their fee second — very important always, but still *second*. But in every nation, as I said, there are a vast class who are ill-educated, cowardly, and more or less stupid. And with these people, just as certainly the fee is first, and the 10 work second, as with brave people the work is first and the fee second. And this is no small distinction. It is between life and death *in* a man, between heaven and hell *for* him. You cannot serve two masters^o: — you *must* serve one or other. If your work is first with you, and your fee second, 15 work is your master, and the lord of work, who is God. But if your fee is first with you, and your work second, fee is your master, and the lord of fee, who is the Devil; and not only the Devil, but the lowest of devils — the “least erected fiend that fell.”^o So there you have it in brief 20 terms: Work first — you are God’s servants; Fee first — you are the Fiend’s. And it makes a difference, now and ever, believe me, whether you serve Him who has on His vesture and thigh written, “King of Kings,”^o and whose service is perfect freedom; or him on whose vesture and 25 thigh the name is written, “Slave of Slaves,” and whose service is perfect slavery.

33. However in every nation there are, and must always be, a certain number of these Fiend’s servants, who have it principally for the object of their lives to make 30 money. They are always, as I said, more or less stupid, and cannot conceive of anything else so nice as money. Stupidity is always the basis of the Judas bargain.^o We

do great injustice to Iscariot,^o in thinking him wicked above all common wickedness. He was only a common money-lover, and, like all money-lovers, did not understand Christ; — could not make out the worth of Him, or
5 meaning of Him. He never thought He would be killed.^o He was horror-struck when he found that Christ would be killed; threw his money away instantly, and hanged himself. How many of our present money-seekers, think you, would have the grace to hang themselves, whoever
10 was killed? But Judas was a common, selfish, muddle-headed, pilfering fellow; his hand always in the bag of the poor, not caring for them. Helpless to understand Christ,^o yet believed in Him, much more than most of us do; had seen Him do miracles, thought He was quite
15 strong enough to shift for Himself, and he, Judas, might as well make his own little by-perquisites out of the affair. Christ would come out of it well enough,^o and he have his thirty pieces. Now, that is the money-seeker's idea, all over the world. He doesn't hate Christ, but can't under-
20 stand Him — doesn't care for Him — sees no good in that benevolent business; makes his own little job out of it at all events, come what will. And thus, out of every mass of men, you have a certain number of bagmen — your "fee-first" men, whose main object is to make money.
25 And they do make it — make it in all sorts of unfair ways, chiefly by the weight and force of money itself, or what is called the power of capital; that is to say, the power which money, once obtained, has over the labor of the poor, so that the capitalist can take all its produce to himself,
30 except the laborer's food. That is the modern Judas's way of "carrying the bag,"^o and "bearing what is put therein."

34. Nay, but (it is asked) how is that an unfair advan-

tage? Has not the man who has worked for the money a right to use it as he best can? No, in this respect, money is now exactly what mountain promontories over public roads were in old times. The barons fought for them fairly:— the strongest and cunningest^o got them; then 5 fortified them, and made every one who passed below pay toll. Well, capital now is exactly what crags were then. Men fight fairly (we will, at least, grant so much, though it is more than we ought) for their money; but, once having got it, the fortified millionaire can make everybody 10 who passes below pay toll to his million, and build another tower of his money castle. And I can tell you, the poor vagrants by the roadside suffer now quite as much from the bag-baron, as ever they did from the crag-baron. Bags and crags have just the same result on rags.^o I have 15 not time, however, to-night to show you in how many ways the power of capital is unjust; but remember this one great principle^o— you will find it unfailing^o— that whenever money is the principal object of life with either man or nation, it is both got ill, and spent ill; and does 20 harm both in the getting and spending; but when it is not the principal object, it and all other things will be well got and well spent. And here is the test, with every man, of whether money is the principal object with him, or not. If in mid-life he could pause and say, “Now I have enough 25 to live upon, I’ll live upon it; and having well earned it, I will also well spend it, and go out of the world poor, as I came into it,” then money is not principal with him; but if, having enough to live upon in the manner befitting his character and rank, he still wants to make more, and to 30 *die rich*, then money is the principal object with him, and it becomes a curse to himself, and generally to those who spend it after him. For you know it *must* be spent some

day; the only question is whether the man who makes it shall spend it, or some one else, and generally it is better for the maker to spend it, for he will know best its value and use.^o And if a man does not choose thus to spend his
5 money, he must either hoard it or lend it, and the worst thing he can generally do is to lend it; for borrowers are nearly always ill-spenders, and it is with lent money that all evil is mainly done, and all unjust war protracted.

35. For observe what the real fact is, respecting loans
10 to foreign military governments, and how strange it is. If your little boy came to you to ask for money to spend in squibs and crackers, you would think twice before you gave it him, and you would have some idea that it was wasted, when you saw it fly off in fireworks,
15 even though he did no mischief with it. But the Russian children and Austrian children come to you, borrowing money, not to spend in innocent squibs, but in cartridges and bayonets to attack you in India with, and to keep down all noble life in Italy with, and to murder Polish
20 women and children with; and *that* you will give at once, because they pay you interest for it. Now, in order to pay you that interest, they must tax every working peasant in their dominions; and on that work you live. You therefore at once rob the Austrian peasant, assassinate or
25 banish the Polish peasant, and you live on the produce of the theft, and the bribe for the assassination! That is the broad fact — that is the practical meaning of your foreign loans, and of most large interest of money; and then you quarrel with Bishop Colenso,^o forsooth, as if *he* denied the
30 Bible, and you believed it! though, every deliberate act of your lives is a new defiance of its primary orders.^o

36. III. I must pass, however, now to our third condition of separation, between the men who work with the hand and those who work with the head.^o

And here we have at last an inevitable distinction. There *must* be work done by the arms, or none of us could live. There *must* be work done by the brains, or the life we get would not be worth having. And the same men cannot do both. There is rough work to be done, and 5 rough men must do it; there is gentle work to be done, and gentlemen must do it; and it is physically impossible that one class should do, or divide, the work of the other. And it is of no use to try to conceal this sorrowful fact by fine words, and to talk to the workman about the honor- 10 ableness of manual labor, and the dignity of humanity.° Rough work, honorable or not, takes the life out of us; and the man who has been heaving clay out of a ditch all day, or driving an express train against the north wind all night, or holding a collier's helm° in a gale on a lee-shore,° or 15 whirling white-hot iron at a furnace mouth, is not the same man at the end of his day, or night, as one who has been sitting in a quiet room, with everything comfortable about him, reading books, or classing butterflies, or painting pictures.°¹ If it is any comfort to you to be told that the 20 rough work is the more honorable of the two, I should be sorry to take that much of consolation from you; and in some sense I need not. The rough work is at all events real, honest, and, generally, though not always, useful; while the fine work is, a great deal of it, foolish and false 25 as well as fine, and therefore dishonorable: but when both kinds are equally well and worthily done, the head's is the noble work, and the hand's the ignoble.° Therefore, of all hand work whatsoever, necessary for the maintenance of life, those old words, "In the sweat of thy face thou 30 shalt eat bread,"° indicate that the inherent nature of it is

¹ Compare § 57.

one of calamity: and that the ground, cursed for our sake, casts also some shadow of degradation into our contest with its thorn and its thistle; so that all nations have held their days honorable, or "holy," and constituted them "holy-days" or "holidays," by making them days of rest; and the promise, which, among all our distant hopes, seems to cast the chief brightness over death, is that blessing of the dead who die in the Lord, that "they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."°

10 37. And thus the perpetual question and contest must arise, who is to do this rough work? and how is the worker of it to be comforted, redeemed, and rewarded? and what kind of play should he have, and what rest, in this world, sometimes, as well as in the next? Well, my good labori-
 15 ous friends,° these questions will take a little time to answer yet. They *must* be answered: all good men are occupied with them, and all honest thinkers. There's grand head work doing° about them; but much must be discovered, and much attempted in vain, before anything
 20 decisive can be told you. Only note these few particulars, which are already sure.

38. As to the distribution of the hard work. None of us, or very few of us, do either hard or soft work° because we think we ought; but because we have chanced to fall
 25 into the way of it, and cannot help ourselves.° Now, nobody does anything well that they cannot help doing: work is only done well when it is done with a will; and no man has a thoroughly sound will unless he knows he is doing what he should, and is in his place. And, depend
 30 upon it, all work must be done at last, not in a disorderly, scrambling, doggish way, but in an ordered, soldierly, human way° — a lawful or "loyal" way.° Men are enlisted for the labor that kills — the labor of war: they

are counted, trained, fed, dressed, and praised for that. Let them be enlisted also for the labor that feeds^o: let them be counted, trained, fed, dressed, praised for that. Teach the plough exercise as carefully as you do the sword exercise, and let the officers of troops of life be held as 5 much gentlemen as the officers of troops of death; and all is done: but neither this, nor any other right thing, can be accomplished — you can't even see your way to it — unless, first of all, both servant and master are resolved that, come what will of it, they will do each other justice.^o 10

39. People are perpetually squabbling about what will be best to do, or easiest to do, or advisablest to do, or profitablest to do; but they never, so far as I hear them talk, ever ask^o what it is *just* to do. And it is the law of heaven that you shall not be able to judge what is wise or easy, 15 unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and to do it. That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our Master — the order of all others that is given oftenest — “Do justice and judgment.”^o That's your Bible order; that's the “Service of God,” — not praying nor psalm- 20 singing. You are told, indeed, to sing psalms^o when you are merry, and to pray when you need anything^o; and, by the perverseness of the Evil Spirit, we get to think that praying and psalm-singing are “service.” If a child finds itself in want of anything, it runs in and asks its father 25 for it — does it call that doing its father a service? If it begs for a toy or a piece of cake — does it call that serving its father? That, with God, is prayer, and He likes to hear it^o: He likes you to ask Him for cake when you want it; but He doesn't call that “serving Him.” Begging is 30 not serving: God likes mere beggars as little as you do — He likes honest servants, not beggars. So when a child loves its father very much, and is very happy, it may sing

little songs about him; but it doesn't call that serving its father^o; neither is singing songs about God, serving God. It is enjoying ourselves, if it's anything; most probably it is nothing^o; but if it's anything, it is serving ourselves, not God. And yet we are impudent enough to call our beggings and chantings "Divine service:" we say "Divine service will be 'performed'" (that's our word — the form of it gone through)^o "at so-and-so o'clock."^o Alas! unless we perform Divine service in every willing
10 act of life, we never perform it at all. The one Divine work — the one ordered sacrifice — is to do justice; and it is the last we are ever inclined to do. Anything rather than that! As much charity^o as you choose, but no justice. "Nay," you will say, "charity is greater than justice."
15 Yes, it is greater; it is the summit of justice — it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. But you can't have the top without the bottom; you cannot build upon charity. You must build upon justice, for this main reason, that you have not, at first, charity to build with.
20 It is the last reward of good work. Do justice to your brother (you can do that, whether you love him or not), and you will come to love him. But do injustice to him, because you don't love him^o; and you will come to hate him.
25 40. It is all very fine to think you can build upon charity to begin with; but you will find all you will have got^o to begin with, begins at home,^o and is essentially love of yourself. You well-to-do people, for instance, who are here to-night, will go to "Divine service"
30 next Sunday, all nice and tidy, and your little children will have their tight little Sunday boots on, and lovely little^o Sunday feathers in their hats; and you'll think, complacently and piously, how lovely they look going

to church in their best! So they do: and you love them heartily, and you like sticking feathers in their hats. That's all right: that *is* charity; but it is charity beginning at home. Then you will come to the poor little crossing-sweeper,^o got up also, — it, in its Sunday dress, — 5 the dirtiest rags it has, — that it may beg the better: you will give it a penny, and think how good you are,^o and how good God is to prefer your child to the crossing-sweeper and bestow on it a divine hat, feathers, and boots, and the pleasure of giving pence instead of begging for 10 them.^o That's charity going abroad. But what does Justice say, walking and watching near us? Christian Justice has been strangely mute, and seemingly blind^o; and, if not blind, decrepit, this many a day: she keeps her accounts still, however — quite steadily — doing them at 15 nights, carefully, with her bandage off, and through acutest spectacles (the only modern scientific invention she cares about). You must put your ear down ever so close to her lips to hear her speak; and then you will start at what she first whispers, for it will certainly be, “Why 20 shouldn't that little crossing-sweeper have a feather on its head, as well as your own child?” Then you may ask Justice, in an amazed manner, “How she can possibly be so foolish as to think children could sweep crossings with feathers on their heads?”^o Then you stoop again, and 25 Justice says — still in her dull, stupid way — “Then, why don't you, every other Sunday, leave your child to sweep the crossing, and take the little sweeper to church in a hat and feather?” Mercy on us (you think), what will she say next? And you answer, of course, that “you 30 don't, because everybody ought to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed them.” Ah, my friends, that's the gist of the whole question. *Did*

Providence put them in that position, or did *you*? You knock a man into a ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the "position in which Providence has placed him." That's modern Christianity.^o You say — "We
5 did not knock him into the ditch." We shall never know what you have done or left undone,^o until the question with us every morning, is not how to do the gainful thing, but how to do the just thing during the day; nor until
10 we are at least so far on the way to being Christian, as to acknowledge that maxim of the poor half-way Mahometan, "One hour in the execution of justice is worth seventy years of prayer."

41. Supposing, then, we have it determined with appropriate justice, *who* is to do the hand work, the next
15 questions must be how the hand-workers are to be paid, and how they are to be refreshed, and what play they are to have. Now, the possible quantity of play depends on the possible quantity of pay; and the quantity of pay is not a matter for consideration to hand-workers only, but to
20 all workers. Generally, good, useful work, whether of the hand or head, is either ill-paid, or not paid at all. I don't say it should be so, but it always is so. People, as a rule, only pay for being amused or being cheated,^o not for being served. Five thousand a year to your talker,^o and a
25 shilling a day to your fighter, digger, and thinker, is the rule. None of the best head work in art, literature, or science, is ever paid for. How much do you think Homer got for his *Iliad*^o? or Dante for his *Paradise*^o? only bitter bread and salt, and going up and down other people's
30 stairs. In science, the man who discovered the telescope,^o and first saw heaven, was paid with a dungeon; the man who invented the microscope,^o and first saw earth, died of starvation, driven from his home. It is indeed very

clear that God means all thoroughly good work and talk to be done for nothing.° Baruch,° the scribe, did not get a penny a line for writing Jeremiah's second roll for him, I fancy; and St. Stephen° did not get bishop's pay for that long sermon of his to the Pharisees; nothing but 5 stones. For, indeed, that is the world-father's° proper payment. So surely as any of the world's children work for the world's good, honestly, with head and heart; and come to it, saying, "Give us a little bread, just to keep the life in us," the world-father answers them, "No, my 10 children, not bread; a stone,° if you like, or as many as you need, to keep you quiet° and tell to future ages, how unpleasant you made yourself to the one you lived in."°

42. But the hand-workers are not so ill off as all this comes to. The worst that can happen to *you* is to break 15 stones; not be broken by them. And for you there will come a time for better payment°; we shall pay people not quite so much for talking in Parliament and doing nothing, as for holding their tongues out of it and doing something; we shall pay our ploughman a little more, and our lawyer 20 a little less, and so on: but, at least, we may even now take care that whatever work is done shall be fully paid for; and the man who does it paid for it, not somebody else; and that it shall be done in an orderly, soldierly, well-guided, wholesome way, under good captains and lieu- 25 tenants of labor; and that it shall have its appointed times of rest, and enough of them; and that in those times the play shall be wholesome play, not in theatrical gardens, with tin flowers and gas sunshine, and girls dancing because of their misery; but in true gardens, 30 with real flowers, and real sunshine, and children dancing because of their gladness; so that truly the streets shall be full (the "streets," mind you, not the gutters) of

children, playing in the midst thereof.° We may take care that working-men shall have at least as good books to read as anybody else, when they've time to read them; and as comfortable firesides to sit at as anybody else, 5 when they've time to sit at them. This, I think, can be managed for you, my laborious friends,° in the good time.

43. IV. I must go on, however, to our last head, concerning ourselves all, as workers. What is wise work, and what is foolish work°? What the difference between sense 10 and nonsense, in daily occupation?

There are three tests of wise work:— that it must be honest, useful, and cheerful.

i. It is HONEST. I hardly know anything more strange than that you recognize honesty in play, and you do not 15 in work. In your lightest games, you have always some one to see what you call "fair-play." In boxing, you must hit fair; in racing, start fair. Your English watchword is "fair-play," your English hatred, "foul-play."° Did it never° strike you that you wanted another watch- 20 word also, "fair-work," and another and bitterer° hatred — "foul-work"°? Your prize-fighter has some honor in him yet; and so have the men in the ring round him: they will judge him to lose the match, by foul hitting. But your prize-merchant gains his match by foul selling, and 25 no one cries out against that. You drive a gambler out of the gambling-room who loads dice,° but you leave a tradesman in flourishing business who loads scales°! For observe, all dishonest dealing is loading scales. What difference does it make° whether I get short weight, adulterate substance, or dishonest fabric? — unless that flaw 30 in the substance or fabric is the worse evil of the two.° Give me short measure of food, and I only lose by you; but give me adulterate food, and I die by you. Here, then, is

your chief duty, you workmen and tradesmen — to be true to yourselves, and to us who would help you.° We can do nothing for you, nor you for yourselves, without honesty. Get that, you get all; without that, your suffrages, your reforms, your free-trade measures, your institutions 5 of science, are all in vain. It is useless to put your heads together, if you can't put your hearts together. Shoulder to shoulder, right hand to right hand, among yourselves, and no wrong hand° to anybody else, and you'll win the world yet. 10

44. ii. Then, secondly, wise work is USEFUL. No man minds, or ought to mind, its being hard, if only it comes to something; but when it is hard, and comes to nothing; when all our bees' business turns to spiders'; and for honey-comb we have only resultant cobweb, 15 blown away by the next breeze — that is the cruel thing for the worker. Yet do we ever ask ourselves, personally, or even nationally, whether our work is coming to anything or not? We don't care to keep what has been nobly done; still less do we care to do nobly what others would 20 keep; and, least of all, to make the work itself useful instead of deadly to the doer, so as to exert° his life indeed, but not to waste it. Of all wastes, the greatest waste that you can commit is the waste of labor. If you went down in the morning into your dairy, and found° that 25 your youngest child had got down before you, and that he and the cat were at play together, and that he had poured out all the cream on the floor for the cat to lap up, you would scold the child, and be sorry the cream° was wasted. But if, instead of wooden bowls with milk in 30 them, there are golden bowls with human life in them, and instead of the cat to play with — the devil to play with; and you yourself the player; and instead of

leaving that golden bowl to be broken by God at the fountain,° you break it in the dust yourself, and pour the human life° out on the ground for the fiend to lick up — that is no waste!

5 45. What! you perhaps think, “to waste the labor of men is not to kill them.” Is it not? I should like to know how you could kill them more utterly — kill them with second deaths, seventh deaths, hundredfold deaths? It is the slightest way of killing to stop a man’s breath.

10 Nay, the hunger, and the cold, and the whistling bullets° — our love-messengers between nation and nation — have brought pleasant messages to many a man° before now; orders of sweet release, and leave at last to go where he will be most welcome and most happy. At the worst

15 you do but shorten his life,° you do not corrupt his life. But if you put him to base labor, if you bind his thoughts, if you blind his eyes, if you blunt his hopes, if you steal his joys, if you stunt his body, and blast his soul, and at last leave him not so much as strength° to reap the poor

20 fruit of his degradation, but gather that for yourself, and dismiss him to the grave, when you have done with him, having, so far as in you lay, made the walls of that grave everlasting; (though, indeed, I fancy the goodly bricks of some of our family vaults will hold closer° in the resurrec-

25 tion day than the sod over the laborer’s head), this you think is no waste and no sin!

46. iii. Then, lastly, wise work is CHEERFUL, as a child’s work is. And now I want you to take one thought home with you, and let it stay with you.

30 Everybody in this room has been taught to pray daily, “Thy kingdom come.”° Now, if we hear a man swear in the streets, we think it very wrong, and say he “takes God’s name in vain.”° But there’s a twenty times worse

way of taking His name in vain, than that. It is to *ask God for what we don't want*. He doesn't like that sort of prayer. If you don't want a thing, don't ask for it: such asking is the worst mockery of your King you can insult^o Him with; the soldiers striking Him on the head⁵ with the reed^o was nothing to that. If you do not wish for His kingdom, don't pray for it. But if you do, you must do more than pray for it; you must work for it. And, to work for it, you must know what it is: we have all prayed for it many a day without thinking. Observe,¹⁰ it is a kingdom that is to come to us; we are not to go to it. Also, it is not to be a kingdom of the dead, but of the living. Also, it is not to come all at once, but quietly; nobody knows how. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Also, it is not to come outside of us,¹⁵ but in our hearts: "the kingdom of God is within you."^o And, being within us, it is not a thing to be seen, but to be felt; and though it brings all substance of good with it, it does not consist in that: "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, [and] peace, and joy in²⁰ the Holy Ghost^o:" joy, that is to say, in the holy, healthful, and helpful Spirit. Now, if we want to work for this kingdom, and to bring it, and enter into it, there's one curious condition^o to be first accepted. You must enter it as children, or not at all; "Whosoever will not receive it as²⁵ a little child shall not enter therein."^o And again, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, *for of such is the kingdom of heaven.*"^{o 1}

47. *Of such*, observe. Not of children themselves, but

¹ I have referred oftener to the words of the English Bible in this lecture than in any other of my addresses, because I was here speaking to an audience which professed to accept its authority implicitly.

of such as children. I believe most mothers who read that text think that all heaven or the earth — when it gets to be like heaven^o — is to be full of babies. But that's not so.^o "Length of days, and long life and peace,"^o
5 that is the blessing, not to die, still less to live,^o in babyhood. It is the *character* of children we want, and must gain at our peril; let us see, briefly, in what it consists.

The first character of right childhood is that it is Modest. A well-bred child does not think it can teach its parents,
10 or that it knows everything. It may think its father and mother know everything, — perhaps that all grown-up people know everything; very certainly it is sure that *it* does not. And it is always asking questions, and wanting to know more. Well, that is the first character of a good
15 and wise man at his work. To know that he knows very little; — to perceive that there are many above him wiser than he; and to be always asking questions, wanting to learn, not to teach. No one ever teaches well who wants to teach, or governs well who wants to govern;
20 it is an old saying (Plato's,^o but I know not if his, first), and as wise as old.

48. Then, the second character of right childhood is to be Faithful. Perceiving that its father knows best what is good for it, and having found always, when it has tried
25 its own way against his, that he was right and it was wrong, a noble child trusts him at last wholly, gives him its hand, and will walk blindfold with him, if he bids it. And that is the true character of all good men also, as obedient workers, or soldiers under captains. They must trust
30 their captains; — they are bound for their lives to choose none but those whom they *can* trust. Then, they are not always to be thinking that what seems strange to them, or wrong in what they are desired to do, *is* strange or

wrong. They know their captain: where he leads they must follow, — what he bids, they must do; and without this trust and faith, without this captainship and soldier-ship, no great deed, no great salvation, is possible to man.°

49. Then the third character of right childhood is to be Loving.° Give a little love to a child, and you get a great deal back. It loves everything near it, when it is a right kind of child; would hurt nothing, would give the best it has away, always, if you need it; does not lay plans for getting everything in the house for itself, and delights in helping people; you cannot please it so much as by giving it a chance of being useful, in ever so humble° a way. 10

50. And because of all these characters, lastly, it is Cheerful. Putting its trust in its father, it is careful for nothing° — being full of love to every creature, it is happy always, whether in its play or in its duty. Well, that's the great worker's character also. Taking no thought for the morrow°; taking thought only for the duty of the day; trusting somebody else to take care of to-morrow; knowing indeed what labor is, but not what sorrow is; and always ready for play — beautiful play. For lovely human play is like the play of the Sun. There's a worker for you. He, steady to his time, is set as a strong man to run his course, but also, he *rejoiceth* as a strong man to run his course.° See how he plays in the morning, with the mists below, and the clouds above, with a ray here and a flash there, and a shower of jewels everywhere°; — that's the Sun's play; and great human play is like his — all various — all full of light and life, and tender, as the dew of the morning. 25

51. So then, you have the child's character in these four things — Humility, Faith, Charity, and Cheerfulness. That's what you have got to be converted to. “Except 30

ye be converted and become as little children.”^o — You hear much of conversion nowadays; but people always seem to think they have got to be made wretched by conversion, — to be converted to long faces. No, friends,
5 you have got to be converted to short ones; you have to repent into childhood, to repent into delight, and delight-someness. You can’t go into a conventicle^o but you’ll hear plenty of talk of backsliding.^o Backsliding, indeed! I can tell you, on the ways most of us go, the faster we
10 slide back the better. Slide back into the cradle, if going on is into the grave: — back, I tell you: back — out of your long faces, and into your long clothes. It is among children only, and as children only, that you will find medicine for your healing^o and true wisdom for your teach-
15 ing.^o There is poison in the counsels of the *men* of this world; the words they speak are all bitterness, “the poison of asps is under their lips,”^o but, “the sucking child shall play by the hole of the asp.”^o There is death in the looks of men. “Their eyes are privily set against the poor^o;”
20 they are as the uncharmable serpent, the cockatrice, which slew by seeing. But “the weaned child shall lay his hand on the cockatrice den.”^o There is death in the steps of men: “their feet are swift to shed blood; they have compassed us in our steps like the lion that is greedy of his
25 prey, and the young lion lurking in secret places^o;” but, in that kingdom, the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and the fatling with the lion, and “a little child shall lead them.”^o There is death in the thoughts of men: the world is one wide riddle to them, darker and darker as it draws to
30 a close; but the secret of it is known to the child, and the Lord of heaven and earth^o is most to be thanked in that “He has hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them unto babes.”^o Yes, and there is

death — infinitude of death in the principalities and powers^o of men. As far as the east is from the west,^o so far our sins are — *not* set from us, but multiplied around us: the Sun himself, think you he *now* “rejoices”^o to run his course, when he plunges westward to the horizon, so 5 widely red, not with clouds, but blood?^o And it will be red more widely yet. Whatever drought of the early and latter rain^o may be, there will be none of that red rain.^o You fortify yourselves, you arm yourselves against it in 10 vain; the enemy and avenger will be upon you also, unless you learn that it is not out of the mouths of the knitted gun, or the smoothed rifle, but “out of the mouths of babes and sucklings” that the strength is ordained, which shall “still the enemy and avenger.”^o

LECTURE II

TRAFFIC°

Delivered in the Town Hall, Bradford

52. My good Yorkshire friends, you asked me down here among your hills that I might talk to you about this Exchange° you are going to build: but earnestly and seriously asking you to pardon me, I am going to do
5 nothing of the kind. I cannot talk, or at least can say very little, about this same Exchange. I must talk of quite other things, though not willingly;—I could not deserve your pardon, if when you invited me to speak on one subject, I *wilfully* spoke on another. But I cannot
10 speak, to purpose, of anything about which I do not care; and most simply and sorrowfully I have to tell you, in the outset, that I do *not* care about this Exchange of yours.

If, however, when you sent me your invitation, I had answered, “I won’t come, I don’t care about the Ex-
15 change of Bradford,” you would have been justly offended with me, not knowing the reasons of so blunt a carelessness. So I have come down, hoping that you will patiently let me tell you why, on this, and many other such occasions, I now remain silent, when formerly I should have caught at
20 the opportunity of speaking to a gracious audience.

53. In a word, then, I do not care about this Exchange, — because *you* don’t; and because you know perfectly well I cannot make you. Look at the essential

conditions^o of the case, which you, as business men, know perfectly well, though perhaps you think I forget them. You are going to spend £30,000, which to you, collectively, is nothing; the buying a new coat is, as to the cost of it, a much more important matter of consideration to me than 5 building a new Exchange is to you. But you think you may as well have the right thing for your money. You know there are a great many odd styles of architecture about; you don't want to do anything ridiculous; you hear of me, among others, as a respectable architectural 10 man-milliner^o; and you send for me, that I may tell you the leading fashion; and what is, in our shops, for the moment, the newest and sweetest thing in pinnacles.

54. Now, pardon me for telling you frankly, you cannot have good architecture merely by asking people's advice 15 on occasion. All good architecture is the expression of national life and character; and it is produced by a prevalent and eager national taste, or desire for beauty.^o And I want you to think a little of the deep significance of this word "taste"; for no statement of mine has been more 20 earnestly or oftener controverted than that good taste is essentially a moral quality. "No," say many of my antagonists, "taste is one thing, morality is another. Tell us what is pretty: we shall be glad to know that; but we need no sermons even were you able to preach them, 25 which may be doubted."^o

Permit me, therefore, to fortify this old dogma of mine somewhat. Taste is not only a part and an index of morality — it is the ONLY morality. The first, and last, and closest trial question to any living creature is, "What 30 do you like?" Tell me what you like, and I'll tell you what you are.^o Go out into the street, and ask the first man or woman you meet, what their "taste" is, and if

they answer candidly, you know them, body and soul. "You, my friend in the rags, with the unsteady gait, what do *you* like?" "A pipe and a quartern^o of gin." I know you. "You, good woman, with the quick step and tidy
5 bonnet, what do you like?" "A swept hearth and a clean tea-table, and my husband opposite me, and a baby at my breast." Good, I know you also. "You, little girl with the golden hair and the soft eyes, what do you like?" "My canary, and a run among the wood hyacinths."
10 "You, little boy with the dirty hands and the low forehead, what do you like?" "A shy at the sparrows,^o and a game at pitch farthing."^o Good; we know them all now. What more need we ask?

55. "Nay," perhaps you answer: "we need rather to
15 ask what these people and children do, than what they like. If they *do* right, it is no matter that they like what is wrong; and if they *do* wrong, it is no matter that they like what is right. Doing is the great thing; and it does not matter that the man likes drinking, so that he does not drink; nor
20 that the little girl likes to be kind to her canary, if she will not learn her lessons; nor that the little boy likes throwing stones at the sparrows, if he goes to the Sunday School." Indeed, for a short time, and in a provisional sense, this is true. For if, resolutely, people do what is right, in time
25 they come to like doing it. But they only are in a right moral state when they *have* come to like doing it; and as long as they don't like it, they are still in a vicious state. The man is not in health of body who is always thinking of the bottle^o in the cupboard, though he bravely bears his
30 thirst; but the man who heartily enjoys water in the morning and wine in the evening, each in its proper quantity and time. And the entire object of true education is to make people not merely *do* the right things, but *enjoy*

the right things — not merely industrious, but to love industry — not merely learned, but to love knowledge — not merely pure, but to love purity — not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice.°

56. But you may answer or think, “Is the liking for 5 outside ornaments, — for pictures, or statues, or furniture, or architecture, — a moral quality?” Yes, most surely, if a rightly set liking.° Taste for *any* pictures or statues is not a moral quality, but taste for good ones is. Only here again we have to define the word “good.” I don’t mean 10 by “good,” clever — or learned — or difficult in the doing. Take a picture by Teniers,° of sots quarrelling over their dice: it is an entirely clever picture; so clever that nothing in its kind has ever been done equal to it; but it is also an entirely base and evil picture. It is an expression of 15 delight in the prolonged contemplation of a vile thing, and delight in that is an “unmannered,” or “immoral” quality. It is “bad taste” in the profoundest sense — it is the taste of the devils. On the other hand, a picture of Titian’s,° or a Greek statue, or a Greek coin, or a Turner° 20 landscape, expresses delight in the perpetual contemplation of a good and perfect thing. That is an entirely moral quality — it is the taste of the angels. And all delight in fine art,° and all love of it, resolve themselves into simple love of that which deserves love. That deserving 25 is the quality which we call “loveliness” — (we ought to have an opposite word, hateliness, to be said of the things which deserve to be hated); and it is not an indifferent nor optional thing whether we love this or that; but it is just the vital function of all our being. What 30 we *like* determines what we *are*, and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character.

57. As I was thinking over this, in walking up Fleet

Street the other day, my eye caught the title of a book standing open in a book-seller's window. It was — "On the necessity of the diffusion of taste among all classes." "Ah," I thought to myself, "my classifying friend, when 5 you have diffused your taste, where will your classes be? The man who likes what you like, belongs to the same class with you, I think. Inevitably so. You may put him to other work if you choose; but, by the condition you have brought him into, he will dislike the other work as much 10 as you would yourself. You get hold of a scavenger, or a costermonger,^o who enjoyed the Newgate Calendar^o for literature, and 'Pop goes the Weasel'^o for music. You think you can make him like Dante^o and Beethoven^o? I wish you joy of your lessons^o; but if you do, you have 15 made a gentleman of him: — he won't like to go back to his costermongering."

58. And so completely and unexceptionally is this so, that, if I had time to-night, I could show you that a nation cannot be affected by any vice, or weakness, without ex- 20 pressing it, legibly, and forever, either in bad art, or by want of art; and that there is no national virtue, small or great, which is not manifestly expressed in all the art which circumstances enable the people possessing that virtue to produce. Take, for instance, your great English 25 virtue of enduring and patient courage. You have at present in England only one art of any consequence — that is, iron-working. You know thoroughly well how to cast and hammer iron.^o Now, do you think in those masses of lava which you build volcanic cones to melt, and which you 30 forge at the mouths of the Infernos^o you have created; do you think, on those iron plates, your courage and endurance are not written forever — not merely with an iron pen, but on iron parchment? And take also your great

English vice — European vice — vice of all the world — vice of all other worlds that roll or shine in heaven,^o bearing with them yet the atmosphere of hell — the vice of jealousy, which brings competition into your commerce, treachery into your councils, and dishonor into your wars 5 — that vice which has rendered for you, and for your next neighboring nation,^o the daily occupations of existence no longer possible, but with the mail^o upon your breasts and the sword loose in its sheath; so that at last, you have realized for all the multitudes of the two great peoples 10 who lead the so-called civilization of the earth, — you have realized for them all, I say, in person and in policy, what was once true only of the rough Border riders of your Cheviot hills —

“ They carved at the meal 15
With gloves of steel,

And they drank the red wine through the helmet barr'd;”^o —

do you think that this national shame and dastardliness of heart are not written as legibly on every rivet of your iron armor^o as the strength of the right hands that 20 forged it?

59. Friends, I know not whether this thing be the more ludicrous^o or the more melancholy.^o It is quite unspeakably both. Suppose, instead of being now sent for by you, I had been sent for by some private gentleman, living 25 in a surburban house, with his garden separated only by a fruit-wall from his next door neighbor's; and he had called me to consult with him on the furnishing of his drawing room. I begin looking about me, and find the walls rather bare; I think such and such a paper might be 30 desirable — perhaps a little fresco^o here and there on the ceiling — a damask curtain or so at the windows. “Ah,”

says my employer, "damask curtains,° indeed! That's all very fine, but you know I can't afford that kind of thing just now!" "Yet the world credits you with a splendid income!" "Ah, yes," says my friend, "but do
5 you know, at present, I am obliged to spend it nearly all in steel-traps?" "Steel-traps! for whom?" "Why, for that fellow on the other side the wall, you know: we're very good friends, capital friends; but we are obliged to keep our traps set on both sides of the wall; we could not
10 possibly keep on friendly terms without them, and our spring guns.° The worst of it is, we are both clever fellows enough; and there's never a day passes that we don't find out a new trap, or a new gun-barrel, or something; we spend about fifteen millions a year° each in our traps,
15 take it all together; and I don't see how we're to do with less." A highly comic state of life for two private gentlemen! but for two nations, it seems to me, not wholly comic? Bedlam° would be comic, perhaps, if there were only one madman in it; and your Christmas pantomime°
20 is comic, when there is only one clown in it; but when the whole world turns clown, and paints itself red with its own heart's blood in stead of vermilion,° it is something else than comic, I think.

60. Mind, I know a great deal of this is play, and will-
25 ingly allow for that. You don't know what to do with yourselves for a sensation: fox-hunting and cricketing° will not carry you through the whole of this unendurably long mortal life: you liked pop-guns when you were school-boys, and rifles and Armstrongs° are only the same things
30 better made: but then the worst of it is, that what was play to you when boys, was not play to the sparrows; and what is play to you now, is not play to the small birds of State neither°; and for the black eagles,° you are somewhat shy of taking shots at them, if I mistake not.

61. I must get back to the matter in hand, however. Believe me, without farther^o instance, I could show you, in all time, that every nation's vice, or virtue, was written in its art: the soldiery of early Greece^o; the sensuality of late Italy^o; the visionary religion of Tuscany^o; the 5 splendid human energy and beauty of Venice.^o I have no time to do this to-night (I have done it elsewhere before now)^o; but I proceed to apply the principle to ourselves in a more searching manner.

I notice that among all the new buildings which cover 10 your once wild hills, churches and schools are mixed in due, that is to say, in large proportion, with your mills and mansions; and I notice also that the churches and schools are almost always Gothic,^o and the mansions and mills are never Gothic. Will you allow me to ask precisely 15 the meaning of this? For, remember, it is peculiarly a modern phenomenon.^o When Gothic was invented, houses were Gothic as well as churches; and when the Italian style^o superseded the Gothic, churches were Italian as well as houses. If there is a Gothic spire to the cathedral of 20 Antwerp,^o there is a Gothic belfry to the Hôtel de Ville at Brussels^o; if Inigo Jones builds an Italian Whitehall,^o Sir Christopher Wren builds an Italian St. Paul's.^o But now you live under one school of architecture, and worship under another. What do you mean by doing this? Am 25 I to understand that you are thinking of changing your architecture back to Gothic; and that you treat your churches experimentally, because it does not matter what mistakes you make in a church? Or am I to understand that you consider Gothic a preëminently sacred and beauti- 30 ful mode of building, which you think, like the fine frankincense,^o should be mixed for the tabernacle only, and reserved for your religious services? For if this be the feel-

ing, though it may seem at first as if it were graceful and reverent, at the root of the matter, it signifies neither more nor less than that you have separated your religion from your life.

5 62. For consider what a wide significance this fact has; and remember that it is not you only, but all the people of England, who are behaving thus just now.

You have all got into the habit of calling the church "the house of God." I have seen, over the doors of many
10 churches, the legend actually carved, "*This is the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.*"^o Now, note where that legend comes from, and of what place it was first spoken. A boy leaves his father's house to go on a long journey on foot, to visit his uncle^o; he has to cross a
15 wild hill-desert; just as if one of your own boys had to cross the wolds^o to visit an uncle at Carlisle.^o The second or third day your boy finds himself somewhere between Hawes and Brough, in the midst of the moors,^o at sunset. It is stony ground, and boggy^o; he cannot go one foot farther that
20 night. Down he lies, to sleep, on Wharnside, where best he may, gathering a few of the stones together to put under his head; — so wild the place is, he cannot get anything but stones. And there, lying under the broad night, he has a dream; and he sees a ladder set up on the earth,
25 and the top of it reaches to heaven, and the angels of God are seen ascending^o and descending upon it. And when he wakes out of his sleep, he says, "How dreadful is this place; surely, this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." This PLACE, observe;
30 not this church; not this city; not this stone, even, which he puts up for a memorial — the piece of flint on which his head has lain. But this *place*; this windy slope of Wharnside; this moorland hollow, torrent-bitten,^o snow-

blighted; this *any* place where God lets down the ladder. And how are you to know where that will be? or how are you to determine where it may be, but by being ready for it always°? Do you know where the lightning is to fall next? You *do* know that, partly; you can guide the lightning°; but you cannot guide the going forth of the Spirit,° which is as that lightning when it shines from the east to the west.°

63. But the perpetual and insolent warping of that strong verse to serve a merely ecclesiastical purpose, 10 is only one of the thousand instances in which we sink back into gross Judaism.° We call our churches “temples.”° Now, you know perfectly well they are *not* temples. They have never had, never can have, anything whatever to do with temples. They are “synagogues”° — 15 “gathering places” — where you gather yourselves together as an assembly; and by not calling them so, you again miss the force of another mighty text — “Thou, when thou prayest, shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the *churches*”° [we should 20 translate it], “that they may be seen of men. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father,” — which is, not in chancel nor in aisle, but “in secret.”°

64. Now, you feel, as I say this to you — I know you 25 feel — as if I were trying to take away the honor of your churches. Not so; I am trying to prove to you the honor of your houses and your hills°; not that the Church is not sacred — but that the whole Earth is. I would have you feel, what careless, what constant, what infectious sin 30 there is in all modes of thought, whereby, in calling your churches only “holy,” you call your hearths and homes “profane”; and have separated yourselves from the

heathen by casting all your household gods to the ground, instead of recognizing, in the place of their many and feeble Lares, the presence of your One and Mighty Lord and Lar.°

5 65. "But what has all this to do with our Exchange?" you ask me, impatiently. My dear friends, it has just everything to do with it; on these inner and great questions depend all the outer and little ones; and if you have asked me down here to speak to you, because you had
10 before been interested in anything I have written, you must know that all I have yet said about architecture was to show this. The book I called "The Seven Lamps"°
15 was to show that certain right states of temper and moral feeling were the magic powers by which all good architecture, without exception, had been produced. "The Stones
20 of Venice"° had, from beginning to end, no other aim than to show that the Gothic architecture of Venice had arisen out of, and indicated in all its features, a state of pure national faith, and of domestic virtue; and that its
25 Renaissance architecture° had arisen out of, and in all its features indicated, a state of concealed national infidelity, and of domestic corruption. And now, you ask me what style is best to build in; and how can I answer, knowing the meaning of the two styles, but by another question —
30 do you mean to build as Christians or as Infidels? And still more — do you mean to build as honest Christians or as honest Infidels°? as thoroughly and confessedly either one or the other? You don't like to be asked such rude questions. I cannot help it; they are of much more importance than this Exchange business°; and if they can be at once answered, the Exchange business settles itself in a moment. But, before I press them farther,° I must ask leave to explain one point clearly.

66. In all my past work, my endeavor has been to show that good architecture is essentially religious — the production of a faithful and virtuous, not of an infidel and corrupted people. But in the course of doing this, I have had also to show that good architecture is not *ecclesiastical*.^o People are so apt to look upon religion as the business of the clergy, not their own, that the moment they hear of anything depending on “religion,” they think it must also have depended on the priesthood; and I have had to take what place was to be occupied between these 10 two errors, and fight both, often with seeming contradiction. Good architecture is the work of good and believing men; therefore, you say, at least some people say, “Good architecture must essentially have been the work of the clergy, not of the laity.”^o No — a thousand times 15 no; good architecture¹ has always been the work of the commonalty, *not* of the clergy. What, you say, those glorious cathedrals — the pride of Europe — did their builders not form Gothic architecture? No; they corrupted Gothic architecture. Gothic was formed in the 20 baron’s castle,^o and the burgher’s street.^o It was formed by the thoughts, and hands, and powers of free citizens and warrior kings.^o By the monk it was used as an instrument for the aid of his superstition; when that superstition became a beautiful madness, and the best hearts of 25 Europe vainly dreamed and pined in the cloister,^o and vainly raged and perished in the crusade^o — through that fury of perverted faith and wasted war, the Gothic rose also to its loveliest, most fantastic, and, finally, most foolish dreams; and, in those dreams, was lost. 30

¹ And all other arts, for the most part; even of incredulous and secularly-minded commonalties.

67. I hope, now, that there is no risk of your misunderstanding me when I come to the gist^o of what I want to say to-night; — when I repeat, that every great national architecture has been the result and exponent of a great national religion. You can't have bits of it here, bits there — you must have it everywhere, or nowhere. It is not the monopoly of a clerical company — it is not the exponent of a theological dogma — it is not the hieroglyphic^o writing of an initiated priesthood; it is the manly language of a people inspired by resolute and common purpose, and rendering resolute and common fidelity to the legible laws of an undoubted God.

68. Now, there have as yet been three distinct schools of European architecture. I say, European, because Asiatic and African architectures belong so entirely to other races and climates, that there is no question of them here; only, in passing, I will simply assure you that whatever is good or great in Egypt,^o and Syria,^o and India,^o is just good or great for the same reasons as the buildings on our side of the Bosphorus.^o We Europeans, then, have had three great religions: the Greek, which was the worship of the God of Wisdom and Power; the Mediæval,^o which was the Worship of the God of Judgment and Consolation; the Renaissance,^o which was the worship of the God of Pride and Beauty; these three we have had, — they are past, — and now, at last, we English have got a fourth religion, and a God of our own, about which I want to ask you. But I must explain these three old ones first.

69. I repeat, first, the Greeks essentially worshipped the God of Wisdom; so that whatever contended against their religion, — to the Jews a stumbling block, — was, to the Greeks — *Foolishness*.^o

The first Greek idea of Deity was that expressed in

the word, of which we keep the remnant in our words "Di-urnal" and "Di-vine"—the god of *Day*, Jupiter the revealer. Athena^o is his daughter, but especially daughter of the Intellect, springing armed from the head. We are only with the help of recent investigation 5 beginning to penetrate the depth of meaning couched under the Athenaic symbols: but I may note rapidly, that her ægis,^o the mantle with the serpent fringes, in which she often, in the best statues, is represented as folding up her left hand for better guard, and the Gorgon^o on her 10 shield, are both representative mainly of the chilling horror and sadness (turning men to stone, as it were,) of the outmost and superficial spheres of knowledge — that knowledge which separates, in bitterness, hardness, and sorrow, the heart of the full-grown man from the heart of the 15 child. For out of imperfect knowledge spring terror, dissension, danger, and disdain; but from perfect knowledge, given by the full-revealed Athena, strength and peace, in sign of which she is crowned with the olive spray,^o and bears the resistless spear. 20

This, then, was the Greek conception of purest Deity, and every habit of life, and every form of his art developed themselves from the seeking this bright, serene, resistless wisdom; and setting himself, as a man, to do things evermore rightly and strongly; ¹ not with any ardent affection 25

¹ It is an error to suppose that the Greek worship, or seeking, was chiefly of Beauty. It was essentially of Rightness and Strength, founded on Forethought: the principal character of Greek art is not Beauty, but design: and the Dorian Apollo-worship^o and Athenian Virgin-worship^o are both expressions of adoration of divine Wisdom and Purity. Next to these great deities rank, in power over the national mind, Dionysus^o and Ceres,^o the givers of human strength and life: then, for heroic example, Hercules.^o

or ultimate hope ; but with a resolute and continent energy of will, as knowing that for failure there was no consolation, and for sin there was no remission. And the Greek architecture rose unerring, bright, clearly defined, and self-contained.

70. Next followed in Europe the great Christian faith, which was essentially the religion of Comfort. Its great doctrine is the remission of sins^o; for which cause it happens, too often, in certain phases of Christianity, that sin and sickness themselves are partly glorified, as if, the more you had to be healed of, the more divine was the healing. The practical result of this doctrine, in art, is a continual contemplation of sin and disease, and of imaginary states of purification from them; thus we have an architecture conceived in a mingled sentiment of melancholy^o and aspiration,^o partly severe, partly luxuriant, which will bend itself to every one of our needs, and every one of our fancies, and be strong or weak with us, as we are strong or weak ourselves. It is, of all architecture, the basest, when base people build it — of all, the noblest, when built by the noble.

71. And now note that both these religions — Greek and Mediæval — perished by falsehood in their own main purpose. The Greek religion of Wisdom perished in a false philosophy — “Oppositions of science, falsely so called.” The Mediæval religion of Consolation perished in false comfort; in remission of sins given lyingly. It was the selling of absolution^o that ended the Mediæval faith; and I can tell you more, it is the selling of absolution which, to the end of time, will mark false Christi-

There is no Venus-worship^o among the Greeks in the great times: and the Muses^o are essentially teachers of Truth, and of its harmonies. Compare Aratra Pentelici, § 200.^o

anity. Pure Christianity gives her remission of sins only by *ending* them; but false Christianity gets her remission of sins by *compounding*° for them. And there are many ways of compounding for them. We English have beautiful little quiet ways of buying absolution, 5 whether in low Church or high,° far more cunning than any of Tetzels trading.°

72. Then, thirdly, there followed the religion of Pleasure, in which all Europe gave itself to luxury, ending in death. First, *bals masqués*° in every saloon, and then 10 guillotines° in every square. And all these three worships issue in vast temple building. Your Greek worshipped Wisdom, and built you the Parthenon°—the Virgin's temple. The Mediæval worshipped Consolation, and built you Virgin temples also — but to our Lady of Sal- 15 vation.° Then the Revivalist° worshipped beauty, of a sort, and built you Versailles,° and the Vatican.° Now, lastly, will you tell me what *we* worship, and what *we* build?

73. You know we are speaking always of the real, active, continual, national worship; that by which men 20 act while they live; not that which they talk of when they die. Now, we have, indeed, a nominal religion, to which we pay tithes of property° and sevenths of time°; but we have also a practical and earnest religion, to which we devote nine-tenths of our property and sixth-sevenths of 25 our time. And we dispute a great deal about the nominal religion; but we are all unanimous about this practical one, of which I think you will admit that the ruling goddess may be best generally described as the "Goddess of Getting-on," or "Britannia of the Market." The Athenians 30 had an "Athena Agoraia,"° or Athena° of the Market; but she was a subordinate type of their goddess, while our Britannia Agoraia is the principal type of ours. And all

your great architectural works, are, of course, built to her.° It is long since you built a great cathedral; and how you would laugh at me, if I proposed building a cathedral on the top of one of these hills of yours, to make it
 5 an Acropolis°! But your railroad mounds, vaster than the walls of Babylon°; your railroad stations, vaster than the temple of Ephesus,° and innumerable; your chimneys how much more mighty and costly than cathedral spires! your harbor piers°; your warehouses; your exchanges! —
 10 all these are built to your great Goddess of "Getting-on"; and she has formed, and will continue to form, your architecture, as long as you worship her; and it is quite vain to ask me to tell you how to build to *her*; you know far better than I.

74. There might indeed, on some theories, be a conceivably good architecture for Exchanges — that is to say, if there were any heroism in the fact or deed of exchange, which might be typically carved on the outside of your building. For, you know, all beautiful architect-
 20 ure must be adorned with sculpture or painting; and for sculpture or painting, you must have a subject. And hitherto it has been a received opinion among the nations of the world that the only right subjects for either, were *heroisms* of some sort. Even on his pots and his flagons,
 25 the Greek put a Hercules slaying lions, or an Apollo° slaying serpents, or Bacchus° slaying melancholy giants, and earth-born despondencies. On his temples, the Greek put contests of great warriors in founding states, or of gods with evil spirits. On his houses and temples alike, the
 30 Christian put carvings of angels conquering devils; or of hero-martyrs exchanging this world for another; subject inappropriate, I think, to our direction° of exchange here. And the Master of Christians not only left his fol-

lowers without any orders as to the sculpture of affairs of exchange on the outside of buildings, but gave some strong evidence of his dislike of affairs of exchange within them.^o And yet there might surely be a heroism in such affairs; and all commerce become a kind of selling of doves, not im- 5 pious. The wonder has always been great to me, that heroism has never been supposed to be in any wise consistent with the practice of supplying people with food, or clothes; but rather with that of quartering^o one's self upon them for food, and stripping them of their clothes. 10 Spoiling of armor is an heroic deed in all ages; but the selling of clothes, old or new, has never taken any color of magnanimity.^o Yet one does not see why feeding the hungry and clothing the naked^o should ever become base businesses, even when engaged in on a large scale. If one 15 could contrive to attach the notion of conquest to them anyhow^o! so that, supposing there were anywhere an obstinate race, who refused to be comforted, one might take some pride in giving them compulsory comfort^o! ¹ and as it were, "*occupying*^o a country" with one's gifts, 20 instead of one's armies? If one could only consider it as much a victory to get a barren field sown, as to get an eared field stripped; and contend who should build villages, instead of who should "carry" them^o! Are not all forms of heroism, conceivable in doing these serviceable 25 deeds? You doubt who is strongest? It might be ascertained by push of spade, as well as push of sword. Who is wisest? There are witty^o things to be thought of in planning other business than campaigns. Who is bravest? There are always the elements^o to fight with, stronger than 30 men; and nearly as merciless.

¹ Quite serious, all this, though it reads like jest.

75. The only absolutely and unapproachably heroic element in the soldier's work seems to be — that he is paid little for it — and regularly^o: while you traffickers, and exchangers, and others occupied in presumably benevolent business, like to be paid much for it — and by chance. I never can make out how it is that a *knight-errant*^o does not expect to be paid for his trouble, but a *pedler*^o-errant always does; — that people are willing to take hard knocks for nothing, but never to sell ribands^o cheap; — that they are ready to go on fervent crusades^o to recover the tomb of a buried God, but never on any travels to fulfil the orders of a living one; — that they will go anywhere barefoot to preach their faith, but must be well bribed to practise it, and are perfectly ready to give the Gospel gratis, but never the loaves and fishes.¹

76. If you chose to take the matter up on any such soldierly principle, to do your commerce, and your feeding of nations, for fixed salaries; and to be as particular about giving people the best food, and the best cloth, as soldiers are about giving them the best gunpowder,^o I could carve something for you on your exchange worth looking at. But I can only at present suggest decorating its frieze^o with pendent purses; and making its pillars broad at the base, for the sticking of bills.^o And in the innermost chambers of it there might be a statue of Britannia of the Market, who may have, perhaps advisably, a partridge for her crest, typical at once of her courage in fighting for noble ideas, and of her interest in game; and round its neck the inscription in golden letters,

¹ Please think over this paragraph, too briefly and antithetically put, but one of those which I am happiest in having written.

“Perdix fovit quæ non peperit.”¹ Then, for her spear, she might have a weaver’s beam; and on her shield, instead of St. George’s Cross,^o the Milanese boar, semi-fleeced, with the town of Gennesaret proper,^o in the field,^o and the legend “In the best market,”^{2 o} and her corselet, 5 of leather, folded over her heart in the shape of a purse, with thirty slits^o in it for a piece of money to go in at, on each day of the month. And I doubt not but that people would come to see your exchange, and its goddess, with applause. 10

77. Nevertheless, I want to point out to you certain strange characters in this goddess of yours. She differs from the great Greek and Mediæval deities essentially in two things — first, as to the continuance of her presumed power; secondly, as to the extent of it. 15

1st, as to the Continuance.

The Greek Goddess of Wisdom^o gave continual increase of wisdom, as the Christian Spirit of Comfort (or Comforter) continual increase of comfort. There was no question, with these, of any limit or cessation of function. But 20 with your Agora Goddess,^o that is just the most important question. Getting on — but where to? Gathering together — but how much? Do you mean to gather always — never to spend? If so, I wish you joy of your goddess, for I am just as well off as you, without the trouble of 25 worshipping her at all. But if you do not spend, somebody else will — somebody else must. And it is because of this (among many other such errors) that I have fear-

¹ Jerem. xvii. 11 (best in Septuagint and Vulgate). “As the partridge, fostering what she brought not forth, so he that getteth riches, not by right shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool.”^o

² Meaning fully, “We have brought our pigs to it.”

lessly declared your so-called science of Political Economy to be no science; because, namely, it has omitted the study of exactly the most important branch of the business — the study of *spending*. For spend you must, and as much
 5 as you make, ultimately. You gather corn:— will you bury England under a heap of grain; or will you, when you have gathered, finally eat? You gather gold^o:— will you make your house-roofs^o of it, or pave your streets with it? That is still one way of spending it. But if
 10 you keep it, that you may get more, I'll give you more; I'll give you all the gold you want — all you can imagine — if you can tell me what you'll do with it. You shall have thousands of gold pieces;— thousands of thousands — millions — mountains, of gold: where will you keep them?
 15 Will you put an Olympus^o of silver upon a golden Pelion^o — make Ossa^o like a wart? Do you think the rain and dew would then come down to you, in the streams from such mountains, more blessedly than they will down the mountains which God has made for you, of moss and whin-
 20 stone^o? But it is not gold that you want to gather! What is it? greenbacks? No; not those neither.^o What is it then — is it ciphers after a capital I? Cannot you practise writing ciphers, and write as many as you want? Write ciphers for an hour every morning, in a big
 25 book, and say every evening, I am worth all those noughts more than I was yesterday. Won't that do? Well, what in the name of Plutus is it you want^o? Not gold, not greenbacks, not ciphers after a capital I? You will have to answer, after all, "No; we want, somehow or other,
 30 money's *worth*." Well, what is that? Let your Goddess of Getting-on discover it, and let her learn to stay therein.

78. II. But there is yet another question to be asked respecting this Goddess of Getting-on. The first was of

the continuance of her power; the second is of its extent.

Pallas^o and the Madonna^o were supposed to be all the world's Pallas, and all the world's Madonna. They could teach all men, and they could comfort all men. But, ⁵ look strictly into the nature of the power of your Goddess of Getting-on; and you will find she is the Goddess — not of everybody's getting on — but only of somebody's getting on. This is a vital, or rather deathful,^o distinction. Examine it in your own ideal of the state of national life ¹⁰ which this Goddess is to evoke and maintain. I asked you what it was, when I was last here^o; ¹ — you have never told me. Now, shall I try to tell you?

79. Your ideal of human life then is, I think, that it should be passed in a pleasant undulating world,^o with ¹⁵ iron and coal everywhere underneath it. On each pleasant bank of this world is to be a beautiful mansion, with two wings; and stables, and coach-houses; a moderately sized park; a large garden and hot-houses; and pleasant carriage drives through the shrubberies. In this mansion ²⁰ are to live the favored votaries^o of the Goddess; the English gentleman, with his gracious wife, and his beautiful family; always able to have the boudoir^o and the jewels for the wife,ⁿ and the beautiful ball dresses for the daughters, and hunters for the sons, and a shooting in ²⁵ the Highlands for himself. At the bottom of the bank, is to be the mill; not less than a quarter of a mile long, with a steam engine at each end, and two in the middle, and a chimney three hundred feet high.^o In this mill are to be in constant employment from eight hundred to a thousand ³⁰ workers, who never drink, never strike, always go to

¹ "The Two Paths," p. 115 (small edition), and p. 99 of vol. x, of the "Revised Series of the Entire Works."

church on Sunday, and always express themselves in respectful language.

80. Is not that, broadly, and in the main features, the kind of thing you propose to yourselves? It is very
5 pretty indeed, seen from above^o; not at all so pretty, seen from below.^o For, observe, while to one family this deity is indeed the Goddess of Getting-on, to a thousand families she is the Goddess of *not* Getting-on. "Nay," you say, "they have all their chance." Yes, so has every one in a
10 lottery, but there must always be the same number of blanks.^o "Ah! but in a lottery it is not skill and intelligence which take the lead, but blind chance." What then! do you think the old practice, that "they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can,"^o is less
15 iniquitous, when the power has become power of brains instead of fist? and that, though we may not take advantage of a child's or a woman's weakness, we may of a man's foolishness? "Nay, but finally, work must be done, and some one must be at the top, some one at the bottom."
20 Granted, my friends. Work must always be, and captains of work must always be; and if you in the least remember the tone of any of my writings, you must know that they are thought unfit for this age, because they are always insisting on need of government, and speaking with
25 scorn of liberty.^o But I beg you to observe that there is a wide difference between being captains or governors of work, and taking the profits of it. It does not follow, because you are general of an army, that you are to take all the treasure, or land, it wins (if it fight for treasure or
30 land); neither, because you are king of a nation, that you are to consume all the profits of the nation's work. Real kings, on the contrary, are known invariably by their doing quite the reverse of this, — by their taking the least

possible quantity of the nation's work for themselves. There is no test of real kingdom so infallible as that. Does the crowned creature live simply, bravely, unostentatiously? probably he *is* a King. Does he cover his body with jewels, and his table with delicates^o? in all probability he is *not* a King. It is possible he may be, as Solomon^o was; but that is when the nation shares his splendor with him. Solomon made gold, not only to be in his own palace as stones, but to be in Jerusalem as stones. But even so, for the most part, these splendid kingdoms expire in ruin,¹⁰ and only the true kingdoms live, which are of royal laborers governing loyal laborers; who, both leading rough lives, establish the true dynasties. Conclusively you will find that because you are king of a nation, it does not follow that you are to gather for yourself all the wealth of that¹⁵ nation; neither, because you are king of a small part of the nation, and lord over the means of its maintenance — over field, or mill, or mine — are you to take all the produce of that piece of the foundation of national existence for yourself.²⁰

81. You will tell me I need not preach against these things, for I cannot mend them. No, good friends, I cannot; but you can, and you will; or something else can and will. Even good things have no abiding power — and shall these evil things persist in victorious evil^o? All²⁵ history shows, on the contrary, that to be the exact thing they never can do. Change *must* come; but it is ours to determine whether change of growth, or change of death. Shall the Parthenon^o be in ruins on its rock, and Bolton priory^o in its meadow, but these mills of yours be the con-³⁰ summation of the buildings of the earth, and their wheels be as the wheels of eternity? Think you that “men may come, and men may go,” but — mills — go on forever^o?

Not so; out of these, better or worse shall come; and it is for you to choose which.

82. I know that none of this wrong is done with deliberate purpose. I know, on the contrary, that you wish your
5 workmen well; that you do much for them, and that you desire to do more for them, if you saw your way to such benevolence^o safely. I know that even all this wrong^o and misery are brought about by a warped sense of duty, each of you striving to do his best; but unhappily, not
10 knowing for whom this best should be done. And all our hearts have been betrayed by the plausible impiety of the modern economist,^o that "To do the best for yourself, is finally to do the best for others."^o Friends, our great Master said not so^o; and most absolutely we shall find
15 this world is not made so. Indeed, to do the best for others, is finally to do the best for ourselves; but it will not do to have our eyes fixed on that issue. The Pagans^o had got beyond that. Hear what a Pagan says of this matter; hear what were, perhaps, the last written words
20 of Plato,^o — if not the last actually written (for this we cannot know), yet assuredly in fact and power his parting words — in which, endeavoring to give full crowning and harmonious close to all his thoughts, and to speak the sum of them by the imagined sentence of the Great Spirit, his
25 strength and his heart fail him, and the words cease, broken off forever.

83. They are at the close of the dialogue called "Critias,"^o in which he describes, partly from real tradition, partly in ideal dream, the early state of Athens^o; and
30 the genesis,^o and order, and religion, of the fabled isle of Atlantis^o; in which genesis he conceives the same first perfection and final degeneracy of man, which in our own Scriptural tradition is expressed by saying that the Sons of

God intermarried with the daughters of men,^o for he supposes the earliest race to have been indeed the children of God; and to have corrupted themselves, until "their spot was not the spot of his children." And this, he says, was the end; that indeed "through many generations, so long 5 as the God's nature in them yet was full, they were submissive to the sacred laws, and carried themselves lovingly to all that had kindred with them in divineness; for their uttermost spirit was faithful and true, and in every wise great; so that, in *all meekness of wisdom, they dealt 10 with each other,*^o and took all the chances of life; and despising all things except virtue, they cared little what happened day by day, and *bore lightly the burden* of gold and of possessions; for they saw that, if *only their common love and virtue increased, all these things would be increased 15 together with them*^o; but to set their esteem and ardent pursuit upon material possession would be to lose that first, and their virtue and affection together with it. And by such reasoning, and what of the divine nature remained in them, they gained all this greatness of which we have 20 already told; but when the God's part of them faded and became extinct, being mixed again and again, and effaced by the prevalent mortality^o; and the human nature at last exceeded, they then became unable to endure the courses of fortune; and fell into shapelessness of life, and baseness 25 in the sight of him who could see, having lost everything that was fairest of their honor; while to the blind hearts^o which could not discern the true life, tending to happiness, it seemed that they were then chiefly noble and happy, being filled with all iniquity of inordinate possession and 30 power. Whereupon, the God of gods, whose Kingdom is in laws, beholding a once just nation thus cast into misery, and desiring to lay such punishment upon them as

might make them repent into restraining, gathered together all the gods into his dwelling-place, which from heaven's centre overlooks whatever has part in creation; and having assembled them, he said" —

5 84. The rest is silence. Last words^o of the chief wisdom of the heathen, spoken of this idol of riches; this idol of yours; this golden image high by measureless eubits,^o set up where your green fields of England are furnace-burnt into the likeness of the plain of Dura^o: this idol, for-
 10 bidden to us, first of all idols, by our own Master and faith^o; forbidden to us also by every human lip that has ever, in any age or people, been accounted of as able to speak according to the purposes of God. Continue to make that forbidden deity your principal one, and soon no more
 15 art, no more science, no more pleasure will be possible. Catastrophe will come; or worse than catastrophe, slow mouldering and withering into Hades.^o But if you can fix some conception of a true human state of life to be striven for — life good for all men^o as for yourselves — if
 20 you can determine some honest and simple order of existence; following those trodden ways of wisdom, which are pleasantness, and seeking her quiet and withdrawn paths, which are peace¹; — then, and so sanctifying wealth into "commonwealth,"^o all your art, your litera-
 25 ture, your daily labors, your domestic affection, and citizen's duty, will join and increase into one magnificent harmony. You will know then how to build, well enough; you will build with stone well, but with flesh better; temples not made with hands, but riveted of hearts; and that
 30 kind of marble, crimson-veined, is indeed eternal.^o

¹ I imagine the Hebrew chant merely intends passionate repetition, and not a distinction of this somewhat fanciful kind; yet we may profitably make it in reading the English.

LECTURE III

WAR

Delivered at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 1865

85. YOUNG soldiers, I do not doubt but that many of you came unwillingly to-night, and many in merely contemptuous curiosity, to hear what a writer on painting could possibly say, or would venture to say, respecting your great art of war. You may well think within your-⁵ selves, that a painter might, perhaps without immodesty, lecture younger painters upon painting, but not young lawyers upon law, nor young physicians upon medicine — least of all, it may seem to you, young warriors upon war. And, indeed, when I was asked to address you, I declined ¹⁰ at first, and declined long; for I felt that you would not be interested in my special business, and would certainly think there was small need for me to come to teach you yours. Nay, I knew that there ought to be *no* such need, for the great veteran soldiers of England are now ¹⁵ men every way so thoughtful, so noble, and so good, that no other teaching than their knightly example,^o and their few words^o of grave and tried counsel should be either necessary for you, or even, without assurance of due modesty in the offerer, endured by you. ²⁰

86. But being asked, not once nor twice, I have not ventured persistently to refuse; and I will try, in very few words, to lay before you some reason why you should

accept my excuse, and hear me patiently. You may imagine that your work is wholly foreign to, and separate from mine. So far from that, all the pure and noble arts of peace are founded on war; no great art ever yet rose
5 on earth, but among a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people, if it remains at peace. There is no art among an agricultural people, if it remains at peace. Commerce is barely consistent with fine art; but cannot produce it. Manufacture not only is unable to
10 produce it, but invariably destroys whatever seeds of it exist. There is no great art possible to a nation but that which is based on battle.

87. Now, though I hope you love fighting for its own sake, you must, I imagine, be surprised at my assertion
15 that there is any such good fruit of fighting. You supposed, probably, that your office was to defend the works of peace, but certainly not to found them: nay, the common course of war, you may have thought, was only to destroy them. And truly, I who tell you this of the use
20 of war, should have been the last of men to tell you so had I trusted my own experience only. Hear why: I have given a considerable part of my life to the investigation of Venetian painting, and the result of that inquiry was my
25 fixing upon one man as the greatest of all Venetians, and therefore, as I believed, of all painters whatsoever. I formed this faith (whether right or wrong matters at present nothing), in the supremacy of the painter Tintoret,^o under a roof covered with his pictures; and of those
30 pictures, three of the noblest were then in the form of shreds of ragged canvas, mixed up with the laths of the roof, rent through by three Austrian shells. Now it is not every lecturer who *could* tell you that he had seen three of his favorite pictures torn to rags by bomb-shells. And

after such a sight, it is not every lecturer who *would* tell you that, nevertheless, war was the foundation of all great art.

88. Yet the conclusion is inevitable, from any careful comparison of the states of great historic races at different 5 periods. Merely to show you what I mean, I will sketch for you, very briefly, the broad steps of the advance of the best art of the world. The first dawn of it is in Egypt; and the power of it is founded on the perpetual contemplation of death, and of future judgment, by the mind of a nation 10 of which the ruling caste were priests, and the second, soldiers. The greatest works produced by them are sculptures of their kings going out to battle, or receiving the homage of conquered armies. And you must remember also, as one of the great keys to the splendor of the Egyptian na- 15 tion, that the priests were not occupied in theology only. Their theology was the basis of practical government and law; so that they were not so much priests as religious judges; the office of Samuel,^o among the Jews, being as nearly as possible correspondent to theirs. 20

89. All the rudiments of art then, and much more than the rudiments of all science, are laid first by this great warrior-nation, which held in contempt all mechanical trades, and in absolute hatred the peaceful life of shepherds. From Egypt art passes directly into Greece, where 25 all poetry, and all painting, are nothing else than the description, praise, or dramatic representation of war, or of the exercises which prepare for it, in their connection with offices of religion. All Greek institutions had first respect to war; and their conception of it, as one necessary office 30 of all human and divine life, is expressed simply by the images of their guiding gods. Apollo is the god of all wisdom of the intellect; he bears the arrow and the bow,

before he bears the lyre.^o Again, Athena is the goddess of all wisdom in conduct. It is by the helmet and the shield, oftener than by the shuttle, that she is distinguished from other deities.

5 90. There were, however, two great differences in principle between the Greek and the Egyptian theories of policy. In Greece there was no soldier caste; every citizen was necessarily a soldier. And, again, while the Greeks rightly despised mechanical arts as much as the Egyptians, they
10 did not make the fatal mistake of despising agricultural and pastoral life; but perfectly honored both. These two conditions of truer thought raise them quite into the highest rank of wise manhood that has yet been reached; for all our great arts, and nearly all our great thoughts, have
15 been borrowed or derived from them. Take away from us what they have given; and I hardly can imagine how low the modern¹ European would stand.

91. Now, you are to remember, in passing to the next phase of history, that though you *must* have war to produce
20 art — you must also have much more than war; namely, an art-instinct or genius in the people; and that, though all the talent for painting in the world won't make painters of you, unless you have a gift for fighting^o as well, you may have the gift for fighting, and none for painting.
25 Now, in the next great dynasty of soldiers, the art-instinct is wholly wanting. I have not yet investigated the Roman character enough to tell you the causes of this; but I believe, paradoxical^o as it may seem to you, that, however truly the Roman might say of himself that he was born of
30 Mars, and suckled by the wolf,^o he was nevertheless, at

¹ The *modern*, observe, because we have lost all inheritance from Florence or Venice, and are now pensioners upon the Greeks only.

heart, more of a farmer than a soldier. The exercises of war were with him practical, not poetical; his poetry was in domestic life only, and the object of battle, "pacies imponere morem."^o And the arts are extinguished in his hands, and do not rise again, until, with Gothic chivalry, 5 there comes back into the mind of Europe a passionate delight in war itself, for the sake of war. And then, with the romantic knighthood which can imagine no other noble employment, — under the fighting kings of France, England, and Spain; and under the fighting dukeships and 10 citizenships of Italy, art is born again, and rises to her height in the great valleys of Lombardy^o and Tuscany, through which there flows not a single stream, from all their Alps^o or Apennines,^o that did not once run dark red from battle: and it reaches its culminating glory in the 15 city which gave to history the most intense type of soldier-ship yet seen among men; — the city whose armies were led in their assault by their king, led through it to victory by their king,¹ and so led, though that king of theirs was blind, and in the extremity of his age. 20

92. And from this time forward, as peace is established or extended in Europe, the arts decline. They reach an unparalleled pitch of costliness, but lose their life, enlist themselves at last on the side of luxury and various corruption, and, among wholly tranquil nations, wither 25 utterly away; remaining only in partial practice among races who, like the French and us, have still the minds, though we cannot all live the lives, of soldiers.

93. "It may be so," I can suppose that a philanthropist^o might exclaim. "Perish then the arts, if they can flourish 30 only at such a cost. What worth is there in toys of canvas

¹ Henry Dandolo: the King of Bohemia is very grand, too, and by the issue, his knighthood is, to us, more memorable.

and stone, if compared to the joy and peace of artless domestic life?" And the answer is — truly, in themselves, none. But as expressions of the highest state of the human spirit, their worth is infinite. As results they may be
5 worthless, but, as signs, they are above price. For it is an assured truth that, whenever the faculties of men are at their fulness, they *must* express themselves by art; and to say that a state is without such expression, is to say that it is sunk from its proper level of manly nature. So that,
10 when I tell you that war is the foundation of all the arts, I mean also that it is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men.

94. It is very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful — but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact.
15 The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the *vices* of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the
20 words which the Muse of History^o coupled together: that on her lips, the words were — peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were
25 nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace; — in a word, that they were born in war and expired in peace.^o

95. Yet now note carefully, in the second place, it is
30 not *all* war of which this can be said — nor all dragon's teeth, which, sown, will start up into men.^o It is not the ravage of a barbarian wolf-flock, as under Genseric or Suwarrow^o; nor the habitual restlessness and rapine of

mountaineers, as on the old borders of Scotland^o; nor the occasional struggle of a strong peaceful nation for its life, as in the wars of the Swiss with Austria^o; nor the contest of merely ambitious nations for extent of power, as in the wars of France under Napoleon,^o or the just 5 terminated war in America.^o None of these forms of war build anything but tombs. But the creative or foundational war is that in which the natural restlessness and love of contest among men are disciplined, by consent, into modes of beautiful — though it may be fatal — play: in 10 which the natural ambition and love of power of men are disciplined into the aggressive conquest of surrounding evil: and in which the natural instincts of self-defence are sanctified by the nobleness of the institutions, and purity of the households, which they are appointed to 15 defend. To such war as this all men are born; in such war as this any man may happily die; and out of^o such war as this have arisen throughout the extent of past ages, all the highest sanctities and virtues of humanity.

I shall therefore divide the war of which I would speak 20 to you into three heads. War for exercise or play; war for dominion; and, war for defence.

96. I. And first, of war for exercise or play. I speak of it primarily, in this light, because, through all past history, manly war has been more an exercise than any- 25 thing else, among the classes who cause, and proclaim it. It is not a game to the conscript, or the pressed sailor^o; but neither of these are the causers of it. To the governor who determines that war shall be, and to the youths who voluntarily adopt it as their profession, it has always 30 been a grand pastime; and chiefly pursued because they had nothing else to do. And this is true without any exception. No king whose mind was fully occupied with the

development of the inner resources of his kingdom, or with any other sufficing subject of thought, ever entered into war but on compulsion. No youth who was earnestly busy with any peaceful subject of study, or set on any serviceable course of action, ever voluntarily became a soldier. Occupy him early and wisely, in agriculture or business, in science or in literature, and he will never think of war otherwise than as a calamity.¹ But leave him idle; and, the more brave and active and capable he is by nature, the more he will thirst for some appointed field for action; and find, in the passion and peril of battle, the only satisfying fulfilment of his unoccupied being. And from the earliest incipient civilization until now, the population of the earth divides itself, when you look at it widely, into two races; one of workers, and the other of players — one tilling the ground, manufacturing, building, and otherwise providing for the necessities of life; — the other part proudly idle, and continually therefore needing recreation, in which they use the productive and laborious orders^o partly as their cattle, and partly as their puppets or pieces in the game of death.^o

97. ²Now, remember, whatever virtue or goodliness there may be in this game of war, rightly played, there is none when you thus play it with a multitude of human pawns.^o

If you, the gentlemen of this or any other kingdom,

¹ A wholesome calamity, observe, not to be shrunk from, though not to be provoked.

² I dislike more and more every day the declamatory forms in which what I most desired to make impressive was arranged for oral delivery, but these two paragraphs, 97 and 98, sacrifice no accuracy in their endeavor to be pompous, and are among the most importantly true passages I have ever written.

choose to make your pastime of contest, do so, and welcome; but set not up these unhappy peasant-pieces upon the checker of forest and field.° If the wager is to be of death, lay it on your own heads, not theirs. A goodly struggle in the Olympic dust,° though it be the dust of the 5 grave, the gods will look upon, and be with you in°; but they will not be with you, if you sit on the sides of the amphitheatre,° whose steps are the mountains of earth, whose arena° its valleys, to urge your peasant° millions into gladiatorial° war. You also, you tender and delicate 10 women, for whom, and by whose command, all true battle has been, and must ever be; you would perhaps shrink now, though you need not, from the thought of sitting as queens above set lists where the jousting° game might be mortal. How much more, then, ought you to shrink 15 from the thought of sitting above a theatre pit in which even a few condemned slaves were slaying each other only for your delight! And do you *not* shrink from the *fact* of sitting above a theatre pit, where, — not condemned slaves, — but the best and bravest of the poor sons of 20 your people, slay each other, — not man to man, — as the coupled gladiators; but race to race, in duel of generations? You would tell me, perhaps, that you do not sit to see this; and it is indeed true, that the women of Europe — those who have no heart-interest of their own at peril in 25 the contest — draw the curtains of their boxes, and muffle the openings; so that from the pit of the circus of slaughter there may reach them only at intervals a half-heard cry and a murmur as of the wind's sighing, when myriads of souls expire. They shut out the death-cries; and are 30 happy, and talk wittily among themselves. That is the utter literal fact of what our ladies do in their pleasant lives.

98. Nay, you might answer, speaking with them^o — “We do not let these wars come to pass for our play, nor by our carelessness; we cannot help them. How can any final quarrel of nations be settled otherwise than by
5 war?”

I cannot now delay to tell you how political quarrels might be otherwise settled. But grant that they cannot. Grant that no law of reason can be understood by nations; no law of justice submitted to by them: and that, while
10 questions of a few acres, and of petty cash, can be determined by truth and equity, the questions which are to issue in the perishing or saving of kingdoms can be determined only by the truth of the sword, and the equity of the rifle. Grant this, and even then, judge if it will always
15 be necessary for you to put your quarrel into the hearts of your poor, and sign your treaties with peasants' blood. You would be ashamed to do this in your own private position and power. Why should you not be ashamed also to do it in public place and power? If you quarrel
20 with your neighbor, and the quarrel be indeterminable by law, and mortal, you and he do not send your footmen to Battersea^o fields to fight it out; nor do you set fire to his tenants' cottages, nor spoil their goods. You fight out your quarrel yourselves, and at your own danger, if at all.
25 And you do not think it materially affects the arbitrament^o that one of you has a larger household than the other; so that, if the servants or tenants were brought into the field with their masters, the issue of the contest could not be doubtful? You either refuse the private duel, or you
30 practise it under laws of honor,^o not of physical force; that so it may be, in a manner, justly concluded. Now the just or unjust conclusion of the private feud is of little moment, while the just or unjust conclusion of the public

feud is of eternal moment : and yet, in this public quarrel, you take your servants' sons from their arms to fight for it, and your servants' food from their lips to support it ; and the black seals on the parchment of your treaties of peace are the deserted hearth and the fruitless field. 5

99. There is a ghastly ludicrousness in this, as there is mostly in these wide and universal crimes. Hear the statement of the very fact of it in the most literal words of the greatest of our English thinkers^o :—

“What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net 10 purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain ‘natural enemies’ of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty 15 able-bodied men. Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them ; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty 20 stone avoirdupois.^o Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected ; all dressed in red ; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain ; and fed there till wanted. 25

“And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending ; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition ; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his 30 hand.

“Straightway the word ‘Fire!’ is given, and they blow the souls out of one another, and in place of sixty brisk

useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is,^o not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; 5 nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot." (Sartor Resartus.^o)

10 100. Positively, then, gentlemen, the game of battle must not, and shall not, ultimately be played this way. But should it be played any way? Should it, if not by your servants, be practised by yourselves? I think, yes. Both history and human instinct seem alike to say, yes.

15 All healthy men like fighting, and like the sense of danger; all brave women like to hear of their fighting, and of their facing danger. This is a fixed instinct in the fine race of them^o; and I cannot help fancying that fair fight is the best play for them; and that a tournament was a better

20 game than a steeple-chase.^o The time may perhaps come in France as well as here, for universal hurdle-races and cricketing^o: but I do not think universal crickets will bring out the best qualities of the nobles of either country. I use, in such question, the test which I have adopted, of

25 the connection of war with other arts; and I reflect how, as a sculptor, I should feel, if I were asked to design a monument for a dead knight, in Westminster abbey,^o with a carving of a bat at one end, and a ball at the other. It may be the remains in me only of savage Gothic prejudice;

30 but I had rather carve it with a shield at one end, and a sword at the other. And this, observe, with no reference whatever to any story of duty done, or cause defended. Assume the knight merely to have ridden out occasionally

to fight his neighbor for exercise; assume him even a soldier of fortune, and to have gained his bread, and filled his purse, at the sword's point. Still, I feel as if it were, somehow, grander and worthier in him to have made his bread by sword play than any other play; I had rather he 5 had made it by thrusting than by batting; — *much* rather, than by betting. Much rather that he should ride war horses, than back race horses; and — I say it sternly and deliberately — much rather would I have him slay his neighbor, than cheat him.° 10

101. But remember, so far as this may be true, the game of war is only that in which the *full personal power of the human creature* is brought out in management of its weapons. And this for three reasons: —

First, the great justification of this game is that it truly, 15 when well played, determines *who is the best man*; — who is the highest bred, the most self-denying, the most fearless, the coolest of nerve, the swiftest of eye and hand. You cannot test these qualities wholly, unless there is a clear possibility of the struggle's ending in death. It 20 is only in the fronting of that condition that the full trial of the man, soul and body, comes out. You may go to your game of wickets, or of hurdles, or of cards, and any knavery that is in you may stay unchallenged all the while. But if the play may be ended at any moment by a lance- 25 thrust, a man will probably make up his accounts a little before he enters it. Whatever is rotten and evil in him will weaken his hand more in holding a sword-hilt, than in balancing a billiard-cue; and on the whole, the habit of living lightly hearted, in daily presence of death, always 30 has had, and must have, power both in the making° and testing of honest men. But for the final testing, observe, you must make the issue of battle strictly dependent on

fineness of frame, and firmness of hand. You must not make it the question, which of the combatants has the longest gun, or which has got^o behind the biggest tree, or which has the wind in his face, or which has gunpowder
 5 made by the best chemists, or iron smelted with the best coal, or the angriest mob at his back. Decide your battle, whether of nations, or individuals, on *those* terms; — and you have only multiplied confusion, and added slaughter to iniquity. But decide your battle by pure trial which
 10 has the strongest arm, and steadiest heart, — and you have gone far to decide a great many matters besides, and to decide them rightly.¹

102. And the other reasons for this mode of decision of cause, are the diminution both of the material destructive-
 15 ness, or cost, and of the physical distress of war. For you must not think that in speaking to you in this (as you may imagine), fantastic praise of battle, I have overlooked the conditions weighing against me. I pray all of you, who have not read, to read with the most earnest atten-
 20 tion, Mr. Helps's^o two essays on War and Government, in the first volume of the last series of "Friends in Council." Everything that can be urged against war is there simply, exhaustively, and most graphically stated. And all, there urged, is true. But the two great counts of evil alleged
 25 against war by that most thoughtful writer, hold only against modern war. If you have to take away masses of men from all industrial employment, — to feed them by the labor of others, — to provide them with destructive machines,^o varied daily in national rivalry of inventive
 30 cost; if you have to ravage the country which you attack, — to destroy for a score of future years, its roads, its woods, its cities, and its harbors; — and if, finally, having

¹ Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter XIV., p. 9.

brought masses of men, counted by hundreds of thousands, face to face, you tear those masses to pieces with jagged shot, and leave the living creatures,° countlessly beyond all help of surgery, to starve and parch, through days of torture, down into clots of clay — what book of accounts 5 shall record the cost of your work; — what book of judgment sentence the guilt of it?

103. That, I say, is *modern* war, — scientific war, — chemical and mechanic war, — how much worse than the savage's poisoned arrow°! And yet you will tell me, per- 10 haps, that any other war than this is impossible now. It may be so; the progress of science cannot, perhaps, be otherwise registered than by new facilities of destruction; and the brotherly love of our enlarging Christianity be only proved by multiplication of murder. Yet hear, for a 15 moment, what war was, in Pagan and ignorant days; — what war might yet be, if we could extinguish our science in darkness, and join the heathen's practice to the Christian's theory. I read you this from a book which probably most of you know well, and all ought to know — Müller's 20 "Dorians";¹ — but I have put the points I wish you to remember in closer connection than in his text.

104. "The chief characteristic of the warriors of Sparta° was great composure and subdued strength; the violence (λύσσα)° of Aristodemus° and Isadas° being considered 25 as deserving rather of blame than praise; and these qualities in general distinguished the Greeks from the northern Barbarians,° whose boldness always consisted in noise and tumult. For the same reason the Spartans *sacrificed to the Muses* before an action; these goddesses being ex- 30 pected to produce regularity and order in battle; as they *sacrificed on the same occasion in Crete° to the god of love*, as

¹ Vol. ii., chap. 12, § 9.

the confirmer of mutual esteem and shame. Every man put on a crown, when the band of flute-players gave the signal for attack; all the shields of the line glittered with their high polish, and mingled their splendor with the dark
5 red of the purple mantles, which were meant both to adorn the combatant, and to conceal the blood of the wounded; to fall well and decorously being an incentive the more to the most heroic valor. The conduct of the Spartans in battle denotes a high and noble disposition, which rejected
10 all the extremes of brutal rage. The pursuit of the enemy ceased when the victory was completed; and after the signal for retreat had been given, all hostilities ceased. The spoiling of arms, at least during the battle, was also interdicted^o; and the consecration of the spoils of slain
15 enemies to the gods, as, in general, all rejoicings for victory, were considered as ill-omened."

105. Such was the war of the greatest soldiers who prayed to heathen gods. What Christian war is, preached by Christian ministers, let any one tell you, who saw the
20 sacred crowning, and heard the sacred flute-playing, and was inspired and sanctified by the divinely-measured and musical language,^o of any North American regiment preparing for its charge. And what is the relative cost of life in Pagan and Christian wars, let this one fact tell you:—
25 the Spartans won the decisive battle of Corinth^o with the loss of eight men; the victors at indecisive Gettysburg^o confess to the loss of 30,000.

106. II. I pass now to our second order of war, the commonest among men, that undertaken in desire of dominion.
30 And let me ask you to think for a few moments what the real meaning of this desire of dominion is — first in the minds of kings — then in that of nations.

Now, mind you this first, — that I speak either about

kings, or masses of men, with a fixed conviction that human nature is a noble and beautiful thing; not a foul nor a base thing. All the sin of men I esteem as their disease, not their nature; as a folly which may be prevented, not a necessity which must be accepted. And 5 my wonder, even when things are at their worst, is always at the height which this human nature can attain. Thinking it high, I find it always a higher thing than I thought it; while those who think it low, find it, and will find it, always lower than they thought it: the fact being, that it 10 is infinite, and capable of infinite height and infinite fall; but the nature of it — and here is the faith which I would have you hold with me — the *nature* of it is in the nobleness, not in the catastrophe.

107. Take the faith in its utmost terms. When the 15 captain of the "London" shook hands with his mate, saying "God speed you! I will go down with my passengers," *that* I believe to be "human nature." He does not do it from any religious motive — from any hope of reward, or any fear of punishment; he does it because he is 20 a man. But when a mother, living among the fair fields of merry England, gives her two-year-old child to be suffocated under a mattress in her inner room, while the said mother waits and talks outside^o; *that* I believe to be *not* human nature. You have the two extremes there, 25 shortly. And you, men, and mothers, who are here face to face with me to-night, I call upon you to say which of these is human, and which inhuman — which "natural" and which "unnatural"? Choose your creed^o at once, I beseech you: — choose it with unshaken choice — choose 30 it forever. Will you take, for foundation of act and hope, the faith that this man was such as God made him, or that this woman was such as God made her? Which of them

has failed from their nature — from their present, possible, actual nature; — not their nature of long ago, but their nature of now? Which has betrayed it — falsified it? Did the guardian who died in his trust, die inhumanly, and as a fool; and did the murderess of her child fulfil the law of her being? Choose, I say; infinitude of choices hang upon this. You have had false prophets among you — for centuries you have had them — solemnly warned against them though you were; false prophets, who have told you that all men are nothing but fiends or wolves, half beast, half devil. Believe that, and indeed you may sink to that. But refuse that, and have faith that God “made you upright,” though *you* have sought out many inventions^o; so, you will strive daily to become more what your Maker meant and means you to be, and daily gives you also the power to be — and you will cling more and more to the nobleness and virtue that is in you, saying, “My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go.”^o

108. I have put this to you as a choice, as if you might hold either of these creeds you liked best. But there is in reality no choice for you; the facts being quite easily ascertainable. You have no business to *think* about this matter, or to choose in it. The broad fact is, that a human creature of the highest race, and most perfect as a human thing, is invariably both kind and true; and that as you lower the race, you get cruelty and falseness, as you get deformity: and this so steadily and assuredly, that the two great words which, in their first use, meant only perfection of race, have come, by consequence of the invariable connection of virtue with the fine human nature, both to signify benevolence of disposition. The word generous, and the word gentle, both, in their origin,

meant only "of pure race," but because charity and tenderness are inseparable from this purity of blood, the words which once stood only for pride, now stand as synonyms for virtue.

109. Now, this being the true power of our inherent 5 humanity, and seeing that all the aim of education should be to develop this; — and seeing also what magnificent self-sacrifice the higher classes of men are capable of, for any cause that they understand or feel, — it is wholly inconceivable to me how well-educated princes, who ought 10 to be of all gentlemen the gentlest, and of all nobles the most generous, and whose title of royalty means only their function of doing every man "*right*" — how these, I say, throughout history, should so rarely pronounce themselves on the side of the poor and of justice, but continually 15 maintain themselves and their own interests by oppression of the poor, and by wresting of justice; and how this should be accepted as so natural, that the word loyalty, which means faithfulness to law, is used as if it were only the duty of a people to be loyal to their king, and not the 20 duty of a king to be infinitely more loyal to his people. How comes it to pass that a captain will die with his passengers, and lean over the gunwale to give the parting boat its course; but that a king will not usually die with, much less *for*, his passengers, — thinks it rather incumbent on 25 his passengers in any number, to die for *him*?

110.° Think, I beseech you, of the wonder of this. The sea captain, not captain by divine right, but only by company's appointment; — not a man of royal descent, but only a plebeian° who can steer; — not with the 30 eyes of the world upon him, but with feeble chance, depending on one poor boat, of his name being ever heard above the wash of the fatal waves; — not with the cause

of a nation resting on his act, but helpless to save so much as a child from among the lost crowd with whom he resolves to be lost, — yet goes down quietly to his grave, rather than break his faith to these few emigrants. But
 5 your captain by divine right,^o — your captain with the hues^o of a hundred shields of kings upon his breast, — your captain whose every deed, brave or base, will be illuminated or branded forever before unescapable eyes of men, — your captain whose every thought and act are
 10 beneficent, or fatal, from sunrising to setting, blessing as the sunshine, or shadowing as the night, — this captain, as you find him in history, for the most part thinks only how he may tax his passengers, and sit at most ease in his state cabin!

15 111. For observe, if there had been indeed in the hearts of the rulers of great multitudes of men any such conception of work for the good of those under their command, as there is in the good and thoughtful masters of any small company of men, not only wars for the sake of mere in-
 20 crease of power could never take place, but our idea of power itself would be entirely altered. Do you suppose that to think and act even for a million of men, to hear their complaints, watch their weaknesses, restrain their vices, make laws for them, lead them, day by day, to purer life,
 25 is not enough for one man's work? If any of us were absolute lord only of a district of a hundred miles square, and were resolved on doing our utmost for it; making it feed as large a number of people as possible; making every elod productive, and every roek defensive, and every
 30 human being happy; should we not have enough on our hands, think you?

112.^o But if the ruler has any other aim than this; if, careless of the result of his interference, he desire only

the authority to interfere; and, regardless of what is ill-done or well-done, cares only that it shall be done at his bidding;—if he would rather do two hundred miles' space of mischief, than one hundred miles' space of good, of course he will try to add to his territory; and to add 5 illimitably. But does he add to his power? Do you call it power in a child, if he is allowed to play with the wheels and bands of some vast engine, pleased with their murmur and whirl, till his unwise touch, wandering where it ought not, scatters beam and wheel into ruin? Yet what ma- 10 chine is so vast, so incognizable, as the working of the mind of a nation; what child's touch so wanton, as the word of a selfish king? And yet, how long have we allowed the historian to speak of the extent of the calamity a man causes, as a just ground for his pride; and to extol him as the great- 15 est prince, who is only the centre of the widest error. Follow out this thought by yourselves; and you will find that all power, properly so called, is wise and benevolent. There may be capacity in a drifting fire-ship to destroy a fleet; there may be venom enough in a dead body to infect 20 a nation:—but which of you, the most ambitious, would desire a drifting kingdom, robed in consuming fire, or a poison-dipped sceptre whose touch was mortal? There is no true potency, remember, but that of help; nor true ambition, but ambition to save. 25

113. And then, observe farther,° this true power, the power of saving, depends neither on multitude of men, nor on extent of territory. We are continually assuming that nations become strong according to their numbers. They indeed become so, if those numbers can be made of 30 one mind; but how are you sure you can stay them in one mind, and keep them from having north and south minds? Grant them unanimous, how know you they will be unani-

mous in right? If they are unanimous in wrong, the more they are, essentially the weaker they are. Or, suppose that they can neither be of one mind, nor of two minds, but can only be of *no* mind? Suppose they are a mere
5 helpless mob; tottering into precipitant catastrophe, like a waggon-load of stones when the wheel comes off. Dangerous enough for their neighbors, certainly, but not "powerful."

114. Neither does strength depend on extent of territory, any more than upon number of population. Take
10 up your maps when you go home this evening, — put the cluster of British Isles beside the mass of South America; and then consider whether any race of men need care how much ground they stand upon. The strength is in
15 the men,° and in their unity and virtue, not in their standing room: a little group of wise hearts is better than a wilderness full of fools°; and only that nation gains true territory, which gains itself.

115. And now for the brief practical outcome of all this.
20 Remember, no government is ultimately strong, but in proportion to its kindness and justice; and that a nation does not strengthen, by merely multiplying and diffusing itself. We have not strengthened as yet, by multiplying
25 into America.° Nay, even when it has not to encounter the separating conditions of emigration, a nation need not boast itself of multiplying on its own ground, if it multiplies only as flies or locusts do, with the god of flies for its god. It multiplies its strength only by increasing as one
30 great family, in perfect fellowship and brotherhood. And lastly, it does not strengthen itself by seizing dominion over races whom it cannot benefit. Austria° is not strengthened, but weakened, by her grasp of Lombardy; and whatever apparent increase of majesty and of wealth

may have accrued to us from the possession of India,^o whether these prove to us ultimately power or weakness, depends wholly on the degree in which our influence on the native race shall be benevolent and exalting.

116.^o But, as it is at their own peril that any race ex- 5 tends their dominion in mere desire of power, so it is at their own still greater peril that they refuse to undertake aggressive war, according to their force, whenever they are assured that their authority would be helpful and protective. Nor need you listen to any sophistical objection 10 of the impossibility of knowing when a people's help is needed, or when not. Make your national conscience clean, and your national eyes will soon be clear. No man who is truly ready to take part in a noble quarrel will ever stand long in doubt by whom, or in what cause, his aid 15 is needed. I hold it my duty to make no political statement of any special bearing in this presence; but I tell you broadly and boldly, that, within these last ten years, we English have, as a knightly nation, lost our spurs: we have fought where we should not have fought, for gain; 20 and we have been passive where we should not have been passive, for fear. I tell you that the principle of non-intervention, as now preached among us, is as selfish and cruel as the worst frenzy of conquest, and differs from it only by being not only malignant, but dastardly. 25

117.^o I know, however, that my opinions on this subject differ too widely from those ordinarily held, to be any farther intruded upon you; and therefore I pass lastly to examine the conditions of the third kind of noble war;— war waged simply for defence of the country in which we 30 were born, and for the maintenance and execution of her laws, by whomsoever threatened or defied. It is to this duty that I suppose most men entering the army consider

themselves in reality to be bound, and I want you now to reflect what the laws of mere defence are; and what the soldier's duty, as now understood, or supposed to be understood. You have solemnly devoted yourselves to be
5 English soldiers, for the guardianship of England. I want you to feel what this vow of yours indeed means, or is gradually coming to mean.

118. You take it upon you, first, while you are sentimental schoolboys; you go into your military convent, or
10 barracks, just as a girl goes into her convent while she is a sentimental schoolgirl; neither of you then know what you are about, though both the good soldiers and the good nuns make the best of it afterwards. You don't understand perhaps why I call you "sentimental" schoolboys,
15 when you go into the army? Because, on the whole, it is love of adventure, of excitement, of fine dress and of the pride of fame, all which are sentimental motives, which chiefly make a boy like going into the Guards better than into a counting-house. You fancy, perhaps, that there
20 is a severe sense of duty mixed with these peacocky motives^o? And in the best of you, there is; but do not think that it is principal. If you cared to do your duty to your country in a prosaic and unsentimental way, depend upon it, there is now truer duty to be done in raising harvests,
25 than in burning them; more in building houses, than in shelling them — more in winning money by your own work, wherewith to help men, than in taxing other people's work, for money wherewith to slay men; more duty finally, in honest and unselfish living than in honest and
30 unselfish dying, though that seems to your boys' eyes the bravest. So far then, as for your own honor, and the honor of your families, you choose brave death in a red coat before brave life in a black one, you are sentimental;

and now see what this passionate vow of yours comes to. For a little while you ride, and you hunt tigers or savages, you shoot, and are shot; you are happy, and proud, always, and honored and wept if you die; and you are satisfied with your life, and with the end of it; believing, on the whole, that good rather than harm of it comes to others, and much pleasure to you.

119. But as the sense of duty enters into your forming minds, the vow takes another aspect. You find that you have put yourselves into the hand of your country as a weapon. You have vowed to strike, when she bids you, and to stay scabbarded^o when she bids you; all that you need answer for is, that you fail not in her grasp. And there is goodness in this, and greatness, if you can trust the hand and heart of the Britomart^o who has braced you to her side, and are assured that when she leaves you sheathed in darkness,^o there is no need for your flash to the sun. But remember, good and noble as this state may be, it is a state of slavery. There are different kinds of slaves and different masters. Some slaves are scourged to their work by whips, others are scourged to it by restlessness or ambition. It does not matter what the whip is; it is none the less a whip, because you have cut thongs for it out of your own souls: the fact, so far, of slavery, is in being driven to your work without thought, at another's bidding. Again, some slaves are bought with money, and others with praise. It matters not what the purchase-money is. The distinguishing sign of slavery is to have a price, and be bought for it. Again, it matters not what kind of work you are set on; some slaves are set to forced diggings, others to forced marches; some dig furrows, others field-works, and others graves. Some press the juice of reeds, and some the juice of vines, and some the

blood of men. The fact of the captivity is the same whatever work we are set upon, though the fruits of the toil may be different.

120. But, remember, in thus vowing ourselves to be the
5 slaves of any master, it ought to be some subject of fore-
thought with us, what work he is likely to put us upon.
You may think that the whole duty of a soldier is to be
passive, that it is the country you have left behind who is
to command, and you have only to obey. But are you
10 sure that you have left *all* your country behind, or that
the part of it you have so left is indeed the best part of it?
Suppose — and, remember, it is quite conceivable — that
you yourselves are indeed the best part of England; that
you, who have become the slaves, ought to have been the
15 masters; and that those who are the masters, ought to
have been the slaves! If it is a noble and whole-hearted
England, whose bidding you are bound to do, it is well;
but if you are yourselves the best of her heart, and the
England you have left be but a half-hearted England,
20 how say you of your obedience? You were too proud to
become shop-keepers: are you satisfied then to become the
servants of shop-keepers? You were too proud to become
merchants or farmers yourselves: will you have mer-
chants or farmers then for your field marshals? You
25 had no gifts of special grace for Exeter Hall^o: will you
have some gifted person thereat for your commander-in-
chief, to judge of your work, and reward it? You im-
agine yourselves to be the army of England: how if you
should find yourselves, at last, only the police of her manu-
30 facturing towns, and the beadles of her little Bethels^o?

121.^o It is not so yet, nor will be so, I trust, forever;
but what I want you to see, and to be assured of, is, that
the ideal of soldiership is not mere passive obedience and

bravery ; that, so far from this, no country is in a healthy state which has separated, even in a small degree, her civil from her military power. All states of the world, however great, fall at once when they use mercenary armies ; and although it is a less instant form of error (because involving 5 no national taint of cowardice), it is yet an error no less ultimately fatal — it is the error especially of modern times, of which we cannot yet know all the calamitous consequences — to take away the best blood and strength of the nation, all the soul-substance of it that is brave, and 10 careless of reward, and scornful of pain, and faithful in trust ; and to cast that into steel, and make a mere sword of it ; taking away its voice and will ; but to keep the worst part of the nation — whatever is cowardly, avaricious, sensual, and faithless — and to give to this the 15 voice, to this the authority, to this the chief privilege, where there is least capacity, of thought.

122. The fulfilment of your vow for the defence of England will by no means consist in carrying out such a system. You are not true soldiers, if you only mean to stand 20 at a shop door, to protect shop-boys who are cheating inside. A soldier's vow to his country is that he will die for the guardianship of her domestic virtue, of her righteous laws, and of her anyway challenged or endangered honor. A state without virtue, without laws, and without honor, he 25 is bound *not* to defend ; nay, bound to redress by his own right hand that which he sees to be base in her.

123. So sternly is this the law of Nature and life, that a nation once utterly corrupt can only^o be redeemed by a military despotism — never by talking, nor by its free 30 effort. And the health of any state consists simply in this : that in it, those who are wisest shall also be strongest ; its rulers should be also its soldiers ; or, rather, by

force of intellect more than of sword, its soldiers also its rulers. Whatever the hold which the aristocracy of England^o has on the heart of England, in that they are still always in front of her battles, this hold will not be enough, unless they are also in front of her thoughts. And truly her thoughts need good captain's leading now, if ever! Do you know what, by this beautiful division of labor (her brave men fighting, and her cowards thinking), she has come at last to think? Here is a bit of paper in my hand,¹
10 a good one too, and an honest one; quite representative of the best common public thought of England at this moment; and it is holding forth in one of its leaders upon our "social welfare," — upon our "vivid life" — upon the "political supremacy of Great Britain." And what do
15 you think all these are owing to? To what our English sires have done for us, and taught us, age after age? No: not to that. To our honesty of heart, or coolness of head, or steadiness of will? No: not to these. To our thinkers, or our statesmen, or our poets, or our captains, or
20 our martyrs, or the patient labor of our poor? No: not

¹ I do not care to refer to the journal quoted, because the article was unworthy of its general tone, though in order to enable the audience to verify the quoted sentence, I left the number containing it on the table, when I gave this lecture.^o But a saying of Baron Liebig's,^o quoted at the head of a leader on the same subject in the *Daily Telegraph* of January 11, 1866, summarily digests and presents the maximum folly of modern thought in this respect. "Civilization," says the Baron, "is the economy of power, and English power is coal." Not altogether so, my chemical friend. Civilization is the making of civil persons, which is a kind of distillation of which alembics^o are incapable, and does not at all imply the turning of a small company of gentlemen into a large company of ironmongers. And English power (what little of it may be left) is by no means coal, but, indeed, of that which, "when the whole world turns to coal, then chiefly lives."

to these; or at least not to these in any chief measure. "Nay," says the journal, "more than any agency, it is the cheapness and abundance of our coal which have made us what we are." If it be so, then "ashes to ashes"^o be our epitaph! and the sooner the better. 5

124. Gentlemen of England,^o if ever you would have your country breathe the pure breath of heaven again, and receive again a soul into her body, instead of rotting into a carcase, blown up in the belly with carbonic acid (and great *that* way), you must think, and feel, for your 10 England, as well as fight for her: you must teach her that all the true greatness she ever had, or ever can have, she won while her fields were green and her faces ruddy^o; — that greatness is still possible for Englishmen, even though the ground be not hollow under their feet, nor the 15 sky black over their heads.^o

125. And bear with me, you soldier youths,^o who are thus in all ways the hope of your country; or must be, if she have any hope: if I urge you with rude earnestness to remember that your fitness for all future trust depends 20 upon what you are now.^o No good soldier in his old age was ever careless or indolent in his youth. Many a giddy and thoughtless boy has become a good bishop, or a good lawyer, or a good merchant; but no such an one ever became a good general. I challenge you, in all history, to 25 find a record of a good soldier who was not grave and earnest in his youth. And, in general, I have no patience with people who talk about "the thoughtlessness of youth" indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age, and the indulgence due to *that*. When a man has 30 done his work, and nothing can any way be materially altered in his fate, let him forget his toil, and jest with his fate, if he will; but what excuse can you find for wilfulness

of thought, at the very time when every crisis of future fortune hangs on your decisions? A youth thoughtless! when all the happiness of his home forever depends on the chances, or the passions, of an hour! A youth thoughtless! when the career of all his days depends on the opportunity of a moment! A youth thoughtless! when his every act is as a torch to the laid train of future conduct,^o and every imagination a fountain of life or death! Be thoughtless in *any* after years, rather than now — though, indeed, there is only one place where a man may be nobly thoughtless, — his deathbed. No thinking should ever be left to be done *there*.^o

126.^o Having, then, resolved that you will not waste recklessly, but earnestly use, these early days of yours, remember that all the duties of her children to England may be summed in two words — industry, and honor. I say first, industry, for it is in this that soldier youth are especially tempted to fail. Yet, surely, there is no reason, because your life may possibly or probably be shorter than other men's, that you should therefore waste more recklessly the portion of it that is granted you; neither do the duties of your profession, which require you to keep your bodies strong, in any wise involve the keeping of your minds weak. So far from that, the experience, the hardship, and the activity of a soldier's life render his powers of thought more accurate than those of other men; and while, for others, all knowledge is often little more than a means of amusement, there is no form of science which a soldier may not at some time or other find bearing on business of life and death. A young mathematician may be excused for languor in studying curves to be described only with a pencil; but not in tracing those which are to be described with a rocket. Your knowledge of a whole-

some herb may involve the feeding of an army; and acquaintance with an obscure point of geography, the success of a campaign. Never waste an instant's time, therefore; the sin of idleness is a thousand-fold greater in you than in other youths; for the fates of those who will one day be under your command hang upon your knowledge; lost moments now will be lost lives then, and every instant which you carelessly take for play, you buy with blood.

127. But there is one way of wasting time, of all the vilest, because it wastes, not time only, but the interest and energy of your minds. Of all the ungentlemanly habits into which you can fall, the vilest is betting, or interesting yourselves in the issues of betting. It unites nearly every condition of folly and vice; you concentrate your interest upon a matter of chance, instead of upon a subject of true knowledge; and you back opinions which you have no grounds for forming, merely because they are your own. All the insolence of egotism is in this; and so far as the love of excitement is complicated with the hope of winning money, you turn yourselves into the basest sort of tradesmen — those who live by speculation. Were there no other ground for industry, this would be a sufficient one; that it protected you from the temptation to so scandalous a vice. Work faithfully, and you will put yourselves in possession of a glorious and enlarging happiness; not such as can be won by the speed of a horse, or marred by the obliquity of a ball.

128. First, then, by industry you must fulfil your vow to your country; but all industry and earnestness will be useless unless they are consecrated by your resolution to be in all things men of honor; not honor in the common sense only, but in the highest. Rest on the force of the

two main words in the great verse, *integer vitæ, scelerisque purus.*° You have vowed your life to England; give it her wholly — a bright, stainless, perfect life — a knightly life.° Because you have to fight with machines instead
5 of lances, there may be a necessity for more ghastly danger, but there is none for less worthiness of character, than in olden time. You may be true knights yet, though perhaps not *equites*, you may have to call yourselves
“cannonry” instead of “chivalry,”° but that is no reason
10 why you should not call yourselves true men. So the first thing you have to see to in becoming soldiers is that you make yourselves wholly true. Courage is a mere matter of course among any ordinarily well-born youths; but neither truth nor gentleness is matter of course. You
15 must bind them like shields about your necks; you must write them on the tables of your hearts.° Though it be not exacted of you, yet exact it of yourselves, this vow of stainless truth.° Your hearts are, if you leave them un- stirred, as tombs in which a god lies buried. Vow your-
20 selves crusaders to redeem that sacred sepulchre. And remember, before all things — for no other memory will be so protective of you — that the highest law of this knightly truth is that under which it is vowed to women. Whomsoever else you deceive, whomsoever you injure,
25 whomsoever you leave unaided, you must not deceive, nor injure, nor leave unaided, according to your power, any woman of whatever rank. Believe me, every virtue of the higher phases of manly character begins in this; — in truth and modesty before the face of all maidens; in
30 truth and pity, or truth and reverence, to all womanhood.
129.° And now let me turn for a moment to you, — wives and maidens, who are the souls of soldiers; to you, — mothers, who have devoted your children to the great

hierarchy of war. Let me ask you to consider what part you have to take for the aid of those who love you; for if you fail in your part they cannot fulfil theirs; such absolute helpmates you are that no man can stand without that help, nor labor in his own strength. 5

I know your hearts, and that the truth of them never fails when an hour of trial comes which you recognize for such. But you know not when the hour of trial first finds you, nor when it verily finds you. You imagine that you are only called upon to wait and to suffer; to surrender 10 and to mourn. You know that you must not weaken the hearts of your husbands and lovers, even by the one fear of which those hearts are capable, — the fear of parting from you, or of causing you grief. Through weary years of separation; through fearful expectancies of unknown fate; 15 through the tenfold bitterness of the sorrow which might so easily have been joy, and the tenfold yearning for glorious life struck down in its prime — through all these agonies you fail not, and never will fail. But your trial is not in these. To be heroic in danger is little; — you 20 are Englishwomen. To be heroic in change and sway of fortune is little; — for do you not love? To be patient through the great chasm and pause of loss is little; — for do you not still love in heaven? But to be heroic in happiness; to bear yourselves gravely and righteously in 25 the dazzling of the sunshine of morning; not to forget the God in whom you trust, when He gives you most; not to fail those who trust you, when they seem to need you least; this is the difficult fortitude. It is not in the pining of absence, not in the peril of battle, not in the wasting of 30 sickness, that your prayer should be most passionate, or your guardianship most tender. Pray, mothers and maidens, for your young souldiers in the bloom of their pride;

pray for them, while the only dangers round them are in their own wayward wills; watch you, and pray, when they have to face, not death, but temptation.^o But it is this fortitude also for which there is the crowning reward.

5 Believe me, the whole course and character of your lovers' lives is in your hands; what you would have them be, they shall be, if you not only desire to have them so, but deserve to have them so; for they are but mirrors in which you will see yourselves imaged. If you are frivolous, they

10 will be so also; if you have no understanding of the scope of their duty, they also will forget it; they will listen,— they *can* listen, — to no other interpretation of it than that uttered from your lips. Bid them be brave; — they will be brave for you; bid them be cowards; and how

15 noble soever they be; — they will quail for you. Bid them be wise, and they will be wise for you; mock at their counsel, they will be fools for you: such and so absolute is your rule over them. You fancy, perhaps, as you have been told so often, that a wife's rule should only be over

20 her husband's house, not over his mind. Ah, no! the true rule is just the reverse of that; a true wife, in her husband's house, is his servant; it is in his heart that she is queen. Whatever of best^o he can conceive, it is her part to be; whatever of highest he can hope, it is hers to promise; all that is dark in him she must purge into purity; all that is failing in him she must strengthen into truth: from

25 her, through all the world's clamor, he must win his praise; in her, through all the world's warfare, he must find his peace.

30 130. And, now, but one word more. You may wonder, perhaps, that I have spoken all this night in praise of war. Yet, truly, if it might be, I, for one, would fain join in the cadence of hammer-strokes that should beat swords into

ploughshares^o: and that this cannot be, is not the fault of us men. It is *your* fault. Wholly yours. Only by your command, or by your permission, can any contest take place among us. And the real, final, reason for all the poverty, misery, and rage of battle, throughout Europe, 5 is simply that you women, however good, however religious, however self-sacrificing for those whom you love, are too selfish and too thoughtless to take pains for any creature out of your own immediate circles. You fancy that you are sorry for the pain of others. Now I just tell 10 you this, that if the usual course of war, instead of unroofing peasants' houses, and ravaging peasants' fields, merely broke the china upon your own drawing-room tables, no war in civilized countries would last a week. I tell you more, that at whatever moment you chose to put a period 15 to war,^o you could do it with less trouble than you take any day to go out to dinner. You know, or at least you might know if you would think, that every battle you hear of has made many widows and orphans. We have, none of us, heart enough truly to mourn with these. But at least 20 we might put on the outer symbols of mourning with them. Let but every Christian lady who has conscience toward God, vow that she will mourn, at least outwardly, for His killed creatures. Your praying is useless, and your churchgoing mere mockery of God, if you have not plain 25 obedience^o in you enough for this. Let every lady in the upper classes of civilized Europe simply vow that, while any cruel war proceeds, she will wear *black*; — a mute's black, — with no jewel, no ornament, no excuse for, or evasion into prettiness. — I tell you again, no war would 30 last a week.

131. And lastly. You women of England are all now shrieking with one voice, — you and your clergymen

together, — because you hear of your Bibles being attacked.^o If you choose to obey your Bibles, you will never care who attacks them. It is just because you never fulfil a single downright precept of the Book, that you are
5 so careful for its credit: and just because you don't care to obey its whole words, that you are so particular about the letters of them. The Bible tells you to dress plainly,^o — and you are mad for finery; the Bible tells you to have pity on the poor,^o — and you crush them under your
10 carriage-wheels; the Bible tells you to do judgment and justice, — and you do not know, nor care to know, so much as what the Bible word "justice" means. Do but learn so much of God's truth as that comes to; know what He means when He tells you to be just: and teach your
15 sons, that their bravery is but a fool's boast, and their deeds but a firebrand's tossing, unless they are indeed Just men, and Perfect in the Fear of God; — and you will soon have no more war, unless it be indeed such as is willed by Him, of whom, though Prince of Peace,^o it is also written,
20 "In Righteousness He doth judge, and make war."^o

THE QUEEN OF THE AIR

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PREFACE

i. My days and strength have lately been much broken ; and I never more felt the insufficiency of both than in preparing for the press the following desultory memoranda on a most noble subject. But I leave them now as they stand, for no time nor labor would be enough to complete 5 them to my contentment ; and I believe that they contain suggestions which may be followed with safety, by persons who are beginning to take interest in the aspects of mythology, which only recent investigation has removed from the region of conjecture into that of rational inquiry. 10 I have some advantage, also, from my field work, in the interpretation of myths relating to natural phenomena ; and I have had always near me, since we were at college together, a sure, and unweariedly kind, guide, in my friend Charles Newton,^o to whom we owe the finding of more 15 treasure in mines of marble than, were it rightly estimated, all California could buy. I must not, however, permit the chance of his name being in any wise associated with my errors. Much of my work has been done obstinately in my own way ; and he is never responsible for 20 me, though he has often kept me right, or at least enabled me to advance in a right direction. Absolutely right no one can be in such matters ; nor does a day pass without convincing every honest student of antiquity of some partial error, and showing him better how to think, and where 25 to look. But I knew that there was no hope of my being able to enter with advantage on the fields of history

opened by the splendid investigation of recent philologists, though I could qualify myself, by attention and sympathy, to understand, here and there, a verse of Homer's or Hesiod's, as the simple people did for whom they sang.

5 ii. Even while I correct these sheets for press, a lecture by Professor Tyndall^o has been put into my hands, which I ought to have heard last 16th of January, but was hindered by mischance; and which, I now find, completes, in two important particulars, the evidence of an instinctive
10 truth in ancient symbolism; showing, first, that the Greek conception of an ætherial element pervading space is justified by the closest reasoning of modern physicists; and, secondly, that the blue of the sky, hitherto thought to be caused by watery vapor, is, indeed, reflected from the
15 divided air itself; so that the bright blue of the eyes of Athena,^o and the deep blue of her ægis, prove to be accurate mythic expressions of natural phenomena which it is an uttermost triumph of recent science to have revealed.

iii. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine triumph
20 more complete. To form, "within an experimental tube, a bit of more perfect sky than the sky itself!" here is magic of the finest sort! singularly reversed from that of old time, which only asserted its competency to enclose in bottles elemental forces that were — not of the sky.

25 iv. Let me, in thanking Professor Tyndall for the true wonder of this piece of work, ask his pardon, and that of all masters in physical science, for any words of mine, either in the following pages or elsewhere, that may ever seem to fail in the respect due to their great powers of thought, or
30 in the admiration due to the far scope of their discovery. But I will be judged by themselves, if I have not bitter reason to ask them to teach us more than yet they have taught.

v. This first day of May, 1869, I am writing where my work was begun thirty-five years ago, within sight of the snows of the higher Alps. In that half of the permitted life of man, I have seen strange evil brought upon every scene that I best loved, or tried to make beloved by others. 5 The light which once flushed those pale summits with its rose at dawn, and purple at sunset, is now umbered and faint; the air which once inlaid the clefts of all their golden crags with azure is now defiled with languid coils of smoke, belched from worse than volcanic fires^o; their 10 very glacier waves are ebbing, and their snows fading, as if Hell had breathed on them; the waters that once sank at their feet into crystalline rest are now dimmed and foul, from deep to deep, and shore to shore. These are no careless words — they are accurately, horribly, true. I know 15 what the Swiss lakes were; no pool of Alpine fountain at its source was clearer. This morning, on the Lake of Geneva, at half a mile from the beach, I could scarcely see my oar-blade a fathom deep.

vi. The light, the air, the waters, all defiled! How of the 20 earth itself? Take this one fact for type of honor done by the modern Swiss to the earth of his native land. There used to be a little rock at the end of the avenue by the port of Neuchâtel^o; there, the last marble of the foot of Jura,^o sloping to the blue water, and (at this time of year) cov- 25 ered with bright pink tufts of *Saponaria*.^o I went, three days since, to gather a blossom at the place. The goodly native rock and its flowers were covered with the dust and refuse of the town; but, in the middle of the avenue, was a newly constructed artificial rockery, with a fountain 30 twisted through a spinning spout, and an inscription on one of its loose-tumbled stones, —

“Aux Botanistes,
Le club Jurassique,”^o

Ah, masters of modern science; give me back my Athena out of your vials, and seal, if it may be, once more, Asmodeus^o therein. You have divided the elements, and united them; enslaved them upon the earth, and discerned them in the stars. Teach us, now, but this of them, which is all that man need know, — that the Air is given to him for his life; and the Rain to his thirst, and for his baptism; and the Fire for warmth; and the Sun for sight; and the Earth for his meat — and his Rest.

VEVAY, May 1, 1869.

THE QUEEN OF THE AIR

I

ATHENA CHALINITIS¹

(Athena in the Heavens)

LECTURE ON THE GREEK MYTHS OF STORM, GIVEN
(PARTLY) IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
LONDON, MARCH 9, 1869

1. I WILL not ask your pardon for endeavoring to interest you in the subject of Greek Mythology^o; but I must ask your permission to approach it in a temper differing from that in which it is frequently treated. We cannot justly interpret the religion of any people, unless ⁵ we are prepared to admit that we ourselves, as well as they, are liable to error in matters of faith; and that the convictions of others, however singular, may in some points have been well founded, while our own, however reasonable, may in some particulars be mis- ¹⁰ taken. You must forgive me, therefore, for not always distinctively calling the creeds of the past "superstition," and the creeds of the present day "religion"; as well as for assuming that a faith now confessed may sometimes be superficial, and that a faith long forgotten may once ¹⁵ have been sincere. It is the task of the Divine to condemn

¹ "Athena the Restrainer." The name is given to her as having helped Bellerophon^o to bridle Pegasus,^o the flying cloud.

the errors of antiquity, and of the philologists to account for them; I will only pray you to read, with patience, and human sympathy, the thoughts of men who lived without blame in a darkness they could not dispel; and to remember that, whatever charge of folly may justly attach to the saying, "There is no God,"^o the folly is prouder, deeper, and less pardonable, in saying, "There is no God but for me."

2. A myth, in its simplest definition, is a story with a meaning attached to it other than it seems to have at first; and the fact that it has such a meaning is generally marked by some of its circumstances being extraordinary, or, in the common use of the word, unnatural. Thus, if I tell you that Hercules killed a water-serpent in the lake of Lerna,^o and if I mean, and you understand, nothing more than that fact, the story, whether true or false, is not a myth. But if by telling you this, I mean that Hercules purified the stagnation of many streams from deadly miasmata,^o my story, however simple, is a true myth; only, as, if I left it in that simplicity, you would probably look for nothing beyond, it will be wise in me to surprise your attention by adding some singular circumstance; for instance, that the water-snake had several heads, which revived as fast as they were killed, and which poisoned even the foot that trod upon them as they slept. And in proportion to the fulness of intended meaning I shall probably multiply and refine upon these improbabilities; as, suppose, if, instead of desiring only to tell you that Hercules purified a marsh, I wished you to understand that he contended with the venom and vapor of envy and evil ambition, whether in other men's souls or in his own, and choked *that* malaria only by supreme toil, — I might tell you that this serpent was formed by the goddess whose

pride was in the trial of Hercules; and that its place of abode was by a palm-tree; and that for every head of it that was cut off, two rose up with renewed life; and that the hero found at last he could not kill the creature at all by cutting its heads off or crushing them, but only by 5 burning them down; and that the midmost of them could not be killed even that way, but had to be buried alive. Only in proportion as I mean more, I shall certainly appear more absurd in my statement; and at last, when I get unendurably significant, all practical persons will 10 agree that I was talking mere nonsense from the beginning, and never meant anything at all.

3. It is just possible, however, also, that the storyteller may all along have meant nothing but what he said; and that, incredible as the events may appear, he himself 15 literally believed — and expected you also to believe — all this about Hercules, without any latent moral or history whatever. And it is very necessary, in reading traditions of this kind, to determine, first of all, whether you are listening to a simple person, who is relating what, at all 20 events, he believes to be true (and may, therefore, possibly have been so to some extent), or to a reserved philosopher, who is veiling a theory of the universe under the grotesque of a fairy tale. It is, in general, more likely that the first supposition should be the right one: simple and credulous 25 persons are, perhaps fortunately, more common than philosophers; and it is of the highest importance that you should take their innocent testimony as it was meant, and not efface, under the graceful explanation which your cultivated ingenuity may suggest, either the evidence 30 their story may contain (such as it is worth) of an extraordinary event having really taken place, or the unquestionable light which it will cast upon the character of the

person by whom it was frankly believed. And to deal with Greek religion honestly, you must at once understand that this literal belief was, in the mind of the general people, as deeply rooted as ours in the legends of our own sacred book; and that a basis of unmiraculous event was as little suspected, and an explanatory symbolism as rarely traced, by them, as by us.

You must, therefore, observe that I deeply degrade the position which such a myth as that just referred to occupied in the Greek mind, by comparing it (for fear of offending you) to our story of St. George and the Dragon.^o Still, the analogy is perfect in minor respects; and though it fails to give you any notion of the vitally religious earnestness of the Greek faith, it will exactly illustrate the manner in which faith laid hold of its objects.

4. This story of Hercules and the Hydra,^o then, was to the general Greek mind, in its best days, a tale about a real hero and a real monster. Not one in a thousand knew anything of the way in which the story had arisen, any more than the English peasant generally is aware of the plebeian original^o of St. George; or supposes that there were once alive in the world, with sharp teeth and claws, real, and very ugly, flying dragons. On the other hand, few persons traced any moral or symbolical meaning in the story, and the average Greek was as far from imagining any interpretation like that I have just given you, as an average Englishman is from seeing in St. George the Red Cross Knight of Spenser,^o or in the Dragon the Spirit of Infidelity. But, for all that, there was a certain under-current of consciousness in all minds that the figures meant more than they at first showed; and, according to each man's own faculties of sentiment, he judged and read them; just as a Knight of the Garter^o reads more in the jewel on

his collar than the George and Dragon of a public-house^o expresses to the host or to his customers. Thus, to the mean person^o the myth always meant little; to the noble person, much; and the greater their familiarity with it, the more contemptible it became to one, and the more 5 sacred to the other; until vulgar commentators explained it entirely away, while Virgil made it the crowning glory of his choral hymn to Hercules.^o

“Around thee, powerless to infect thy soul,
Rose, in his crested crowd, the Lerna worm.” 10

“Non te rationis egentem
Lernæus turbâ capitum circumstetit anguis.”

And although, in any special toil of the hero's life, the moral interpretation was rarely with definiteness attached to its event, yet in the whole course of the life, not only a 15 symbolical meaning, but the warrant for the existence of a real spiritual power, was apprehended of all men. Hercules was no dead hero, to be remembered only as a victor over monsters of the past — harmless now, as slain. He was the perpetual type and mirror of heroism, and its 20 present and living aid against every ravenous form of human trial and pain.

5. But, if we seek to know more than this, and to ascertain the manner in which the story first crystallized into its shape, we shall find ourselves led back generally 25 to one or other of two sources — either to actual historical events, represented by the fancy under figures personifying them; or else to natural phenomena similarly endowed with life by the imaginative power, usually more or less under the influence of terror. The historical myths we 30 must leave the masters of history to follow; they, and the

events they record, being yet involved in great, though attractive and penetrable, mystery. But the stars, and hills, and storms are with us now, as they were with others of old; and it only needs that we look at them with
5 the earnestness of those childish eyes to understand the first words spoken of them by the children of men. And then, in all the most beautiful and enduring myths, we shall find, not only a literal story of a real person, not only a parallel imagery of moral principle, but an underlying
10 worship of natural phenomena, out of which both have sprung, and in which both forever remain rooted. Thus, from the real sun, rising and setting, — from the real atmosphere, calm in its dominion of unfading blue, and fierce in its descent of tempest, — the Greek forms first
15 the idea of two entirely personal and corporeal gods, whose limbs are clothed in divine flesh, and whose brows are crowned with divine beauty; yet so real that the quiver rattles at their shoulder, and the chariot bends beneath their weight. And, on the other hand, collaterally with
20 these corporeal images, and never for one instant separated from them, he conceives also two omnipresent spiritual influences, of which one illuminates, as the sun, with a constant fire, whatever in humanity is skilful and wise; and the other, like the living air, breathes the calm of
25 heavenly fortitude, and strength of righteous anger, into every human breast that is pure and brave.

6. Now, therefore, in nearly every myth of importance, and certainly in every one of those of which I shall speak
30 — the root and the two branches: the root, in physical existence, sun, or sky, or cloud, or sea; then the personal incarnation of that, becoming a trusted and companionable deity, with whom you may walk hand in hand, as a child

with its brother or its sister ; and, lastly, the moral significance of the image, which is in all the great myths eternally and beneficently true.

7. The great myths ; that is to say, myths made by great people. For the first plain fact about myth-making ⁵ is one which has been most strangely lost sight of, — that you cannot make a myth unless you have something to make it of. You cannot tell a secret which you don't^o know. If the myth is about the sky, it must have been made by somebody who had looked at the sky. If the ¹⁰ myth is about justice and fortitude, it must have been made by some one who knew what it was to be just or patient. According to the quantity of understanding in the person will be the quantity of significance in his fable ; and the myth of a simple and ignorant race must neces- ¹⁵ sarily mean little, because a simple and ignorant race have little to mean. So the great question in reading a story is always, not what wild hunter dreamed, or what childish race first dreaded it ; but what wise man first perfectly told, and what strong people first perfectly lived by it. ²⁰ And the real meaning of any myth is that which it has at the noblest age of the nation among whom it is current. The farther back you pierce, the less significance you will find, until you come to the first narrow thought, which, indeed, contains the germ of the accomplished tradition ; ²⁵ but only as the seed contains the flower. As the intelligence and passion of the race develop, they cling to and nourish their beloved and sacred legend^o ; leaf by leaf it expands under the touch of more pure affections, and more delicate imagination, until at last the perfect fable bur- ³⁰ geons out^o into symmetry of milky stem and honied bell.^o

8. But through whatever changes it may pass, remem-

ber that our right reading of it is wholly dependent on the materials we have in our own minds for an intelligent answering sympathy. If it first arose among a people who dwelt under stainless skies, and measured their journeys by ascending and declining stars, we certainly cannot read their story, if we have never seen anything above us in the day but smoke, nor anything around us in the night but candles. If the tale goes on to change clouds or planets into living creatures, — to invest them with fair forms and inflame them with mighty passions, — we can only understand the story of the human-hearted things, in so far as we ourselves take pleasure in the perfectness of visible form, or can sympathize, by an effort of imagination, with the strange people who had other loves than that of wealth, and other interests than those of commerce. And, lastly, if the myth complete itself to the fulfilled thoughts of the nation, by attributing to the gods, whom they have carved out of their fantasy, continual presence with their own souls; and their every effort for good is finally guided by the sense of the companionship, the praise, and the pure will of immortals, we shall be able to follow them into this last circle of their faith only in the degree in which the better parts of our own beings have been also stirred by the aspects of nature, or strengthened by her laws. It may be easy to prove that the ascent of Apollo in his chariot signifies nothing but the rising of the sun. But what does the sunrise itself signify to us? If only languid return to frivolous amusement, or fruitless labor, it will, indeed, not be easy for us to conceive the power, over a Greek, of the name of Apollo. But if, for us also, as for the Greek, the sunrise means daily restoration to the sense of passionate gladness and of perfect life — if it means the thrilling of new strength through every

nerve, — the shedding over us of a better peace than the peace of night, in the power of the dawn, — and the purging of evil vision and fear by the baptism of its dew; — if the sun itself is an influence, to us also, of spiritual good — and becomes thus in reality, not in imagination, to us 5 also, a spiritual power, — we may then soon over-pass the narrow limit of conception which kept that power impersonal, and rise with the Greek to the thought of an angel who rejoiced as a strong man to run his course, whose voice calling to life and to labor rang round the earth, and 10 whose going forth was to the ends of heaven.°

9. The time, then, at which I shall take up for you, as well as I can decipher it, the traditions of the gods of Greece, shall be near the beginning of its central and formed faith, — about 500 B.C., — a faith of which the 15 character is perfectly represented by Pindar° and Æschylus,° who are both of them outspokenly religious, and entirely sincere men; while we may always look back to find the less developed thought of the preceding epoch given by Homer, in a more occult, subtle, half-instinctive, and in- 20 voluntary way.

10. Now, at that culminating period of the Greek religion, we find, under one governing Lord of all things, four subordinate elemental forces, and four spiritual powers living in them and commanding them. The elements are 25 of course the well-known four of the ancient world, — the earth, the waters, the fire, and the air°; and the living powers of them are Demeter, the Latin Ceres°; Poseidon, the Latin Neptune°; Apollo, who has retained always his Greek name; and Athena, the Latin Minerva. Each 30 of these are descended from, or changed from, more ancient, and therefore more mystic, deities of the earth and heaven, and of a finer element of æther supposed to be

beyond the heavens ;¹ but at this time we find the four quite definite, both in their kingdoms and in their personalities. They are the rulers of the earth that we tread upon, and the air that we breathe; and are with us as closely, in
 5 their vivid humanity, as the dust that they animate, and the winds that they bridle. I shall briefly define for you the range of their separate dominions, and then follow, as far as we have time, the most interesting of the legends which relate to the queen of the air.

10 11. The rule of the first spirit, Demeter, the earth mother, is over the earth, first, as the origin of all life — the dust from whence we were taken; secondly, as the receiver of all things back at last into silence — “Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.”^o And, there-
 15 fore, as the most tender image of this appearing and fading life, in the birth and fall of flowers, her daughter Proserpine plays in the fields of Sicily, and thence is torn away into darkness, and becomes the Queen of Fate^o — not merely of death, but of the gloom which closes over and
 20 ends, not beauty only, but sin, and chiefly of sins the sin against the life she gave; so that she is, in her highest power, Persephone, the avenger and purifier of blood — “The voice of thy brother’s blood cries to me *out of the ground.*”^o Then, side by side with this queen of the earth,
 25 we find a demigod of agriculture by the plough — the lord of grain,^o or of the thing ground by the mill. And it is a singular proof of the simplicity of Greek character at this noble time, that of all representations left to us of their deities by their art, few are so frequent, and none perhaps
 30 so beautiful, as the symbol of this spirit of agriculture.

12. Then the dominant spirit of the element water is

¹ And by modern science now also asserted, and with probability argued, to exist.

Neptune,° but subordinate to him are myriads of other water spirits, of whom Nereus° is the chief, with Palæmon,° and Leucothea,° the “white lady” of the sea; and Thetis,° and nymphs innumerable who, like her, could “suffer a sea change,”° while the river deities had each independent power, according to the preciousness of their streams to the cities fed by them, — the “fountain Arethuse, and thou, honored flood, smooth sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds.”° And, spiritually, this king of the waters is lord of the strength and daily flow of human life — he gives it material force and victory; which is the meaning of the dedication of the hair, as the sign of the strength of life,° to the river or the native land.

13. Demeter, then, over the earth, and its giving and receiving of life. Neptune over the waters, and the flow and force of life, — always among the Greeks typified by the horse, which was to them as a crested sea-wave, animated and bridled.° Then the third element, fire, has set over it two powers: over earthly fire, the assistant of human labor, is set Hephæstus,° lord of all labor in which is the flush and the sweat of the brow; and over heavenly fire, the source of day, is set Apollo, the spirit of all kindling, purifying, and illuminating intellectual wisdom, each of these gods having also their subordinate or associated powers, — servant, or sister, or companion muse.

14. Then, lastly, we come to the myth which is to be our subject of closer inquiry, — the story of Athena and of the deities subordinate to her. This great goddess, the Neith of the Egyptians, the Athena or Athenaia of the Greeks, and, with broken power, half usurped by Mars,° the Minerva of the Latins, is, physically, the queen of the air; having supreme power both over its blessing of calm, and wrath of storm; and, spiritually, she is the queen of the

breath of man,^o first of the bodily breathing which is life to his blood, and strength to his arm in battle; and then of the mental breathing, or inspiration, which is his moral health and habitual wisdom; wisdom of conduct and of
5 the heart, as opposed to the wisdom of imagination and the brain; moral, as distinct from intellectual; inspired, as distinct from illuminated.

15. By a singular and fortunate, though I believe wholly accidental, coincidence, the heart-virtue, of which she is
10 the spirit, was separated by the ancients into four divisions, which have since obtained acceptance from all men as rightly discerned, and have received, as if from the quarters of the four winds of which Athena is the natural queen, the name of "Cardinal" virtues: namely, Pru-
15 dence (the right seeing, and foreseeing, of events through darkness); Justice (the righteous bestowal of favor and of indignation); Fortitude (patience under trial by pain); and Temperance (patience under trial by pleasure).
20 With respect to these four virtues, the attributes of Athena are all distinct. In her prudence, or sight in darkness, she is "Glaukopis," "owl-eyed."¹ In her justice, which is the dominant virtue, she wears two robes, one of light and one of darkness; the robe of light, saffron color, or the color of the daybreak, falls to her feet, covering her
25 wholly with favor and love, — the calm of the sky in blessing; it is embroidered along its edge with her victory over the giants (the troublous powers of the earth), and the likeness of it was woven yearly by the Athenian maidens and carried to the temple of their own Athena, not to the
30 Parthenon, that was the temple of all the world's Athena, — but this they carried to the temple of their own only

¹ There are many other meanings in the epithet; see, farther on, § 91, pp. 229-231.

one who loved them, and stayed with them always. Then her robe of indignation is worn on her breast and left arm only, fringed with fatal serpents, and fastened with Gorgonian cold,^o turning men to stone; physically, the lightning and the hail of chastisement by storm. Then ⁵ in her fortitude she wears the crested and unstooping helmet;¹ and lastly, in her temperance, she is the queen of maidenhood — stainless as the air of heaven.^o

16. But all these virtues mass themselves in the Greek mind into the two main ones, — of Justice, or noble pas- ¹⁰ sion, and Fortitude, or noble patience; and of these, the chief powers of Athena, the Greeks had divinely written for them, and for all men after them, two mighty songs, — one, of the Menis,² Mens, passion, or zeal, of Athena, breathed into a mortal whose name is “Ache of heart,” and ¹⁵ whose short life is only the incarnate brooding and burst of storm; and the other is of the foresight and fortitude of Athena, maintained by her in the heart of a mortal whose name is given to him from a longer grief, Odysseus,^o the full of sorrow, the much enduring, and the long-suffering. ²⁰

17. The minor expressions by the Greeks in word, in symbol, and in religious service, of this faith, are so many and so beautiful, that I hope some day to gather at least a few of them into a separate body of evidence respecting the power of Athena, and its relations to the ethical con- ²⁵ ception of the Homeric poems,^o or, rather, to their ethical nature; for they are not conceived didactically, but are

¹ I am compelled, for clearness' sake, to mark only one meaning at a time. Athena's helmet is sometimes a mask, sometimes a sign of anger, sometimes of the highest light of æther; but I cannot speak of all this at once.

² This first word of the Iliad, Menis, afterwards passes into the Latin Mens; is the root of the Latin name for Athena, “Minerva,” and so of the English “mind.”

didactic in their essence, as all good art is.^o There is an increasing insensibility to this character, and even an open denial of it, among us now which is one of the most curious errors of modernism, — the peculiar and judicial blindness
5 of an age which, having long practised art and poetry for the sake of pleasure only, has become incapable of reading their language when they were both didactic; and also, having been itself accustomed to a professedly didactic teaching, which yet, for private interests, studiously
10 avoids collision with every prevalent vice of its day (and especially with avarice), has become equally dead to the intensely ethical conceptions of a race which habitually divided all men into two broad classes of worthy or worthless, — good, and good for nothing. And even the cele-
15 brated passage of Horace about the Iliad is now misread or disbelieved, as if it was impossible that the Iliad could be instructive because it is not like a sermon. Horace does not say that it is like a sermon, and would have been still less likely to say so if he ever had had the advantage of
20 hearing a sermon. "I have been reading that story of Troy again" (thus he writes to a noble youth of Rome whom he cared for), "quietly at Præneste, while you have been busy at Rome; and truly I think that what is base and what is noble, and what useful and useless, may be
25 better learned from that, than from all Chrysippus'^o and Crantor's^o talk put together."¹ Which is profoundly true, not of the Iliad only, but of all other great art whatsoever; for all pieces of such art are didactic in the purest way, indirectly and occultly, so that, first, you shall only be
30 bettered by them if you are already hard at work in better-

¹ Note, once for all, that unless when there is question about some particular expression, I never translate literally, but give the real force of what is said, as I best can, freely.

ing yourself; and when you *are* bettered by them, it shall be partly with a general acceptance of their influence, so constant and subtle that you shall be no more conscious of it than of the healthy digestion of food; and partly by a gift of unexpected truth, which you shall only find by slow 5 mining for it, — which is withheld on purpose, and close-locked, that you may not get it till you have forged the key of it in a furnace of your own heating. And this withholding of their meaning is continual, and confessed, in the great poets. Thus Pindar says of himself: “There is 10 many an arrow in my quiver, full of speech to the wise, but, for the many, they need interpreters.” And neither Pindar, nor Æschylus, nor Hesiod,^o nor Homer, nor any of the greater poets or teachers of any nation or time, ever spoke but with intentional reservation; nay, beyond this, 15 there is often a meaning which they themselves cannot interpret, — which it may be for ages long after them to interpret, — in what they said, so far as it recorded true imaginative vision. For all the greatest myths have been seen by the men who tell them, involuntarily and passively, 20 — seen by them with as great distinctness (and in some respects, though not in all, under conditions as far beyond the control of their will) as a dream sent to any of us by night when we dream clearest; and it is this veracity of vision that could not be refused, and of moral that could 25 not be foreseen, which in modern historical inquiry has been left wholly out of account; being indeed the thing which no merely historical investigator can understand, or even believe; for it belongs exclusively to the creative or artistic group of men, and can only be interpreted by those 30 of their race, who themselves in some measure also see visions and dream dreams.^o

So that you may obtain a more truthful idea of the

nature of Greek religion and legend from the poems of Keats,^o and the nearly as beautiful, and, in general grasp of subject, far more powerful, recent work of Morris,^o than from frigid scholarship, however extensive. Not
5 that the poet's impressions or renderings of things are wholly true, but their truth is vital, not formal. They are like sketches from the life by Reynolds^o or Gainsborough,^o which may be demonstrably inaccurate or imaginary in many traits, and indistinct in others, yet will be in the
10 deepest sense like, and true; while the work of historical analysis is too often weak with loss, through the very labor of its miniature touches, or useless in clumsy and vapid veracity of externals, and complacent security of
15 having done all that is required for the portrait, when it has measured the breadth of the forehead and the length of the nose.

18. The first of requirements, then, for the right reading of myths, is the understanding of the nature of all true vision by noble persons; namely, that it is founded on con-
20 stant laws common to all human nature; that it perceives, however darkly, things which are for all ages true; that we can only understand it so far as we have some perception of the same truth; and that its fulness is developed and manifested more and more by the reverberation of it from
25 minds of the same mirror-temper, in succeeding ages. You will understand Homer better by seeing his reflection in Dante, as you may trace new forms and softer colors in a hill-side, redoubled by a lake.

I shall be able partly to show you, even to-night, how
30 much, in the Homeric vision of Athena, has been made clearer by the advance of time, being thus essentially and eternally true; but I must in the outset indicate the relation to that central thought of the imagery of the inferior deities of storm.

19. And first I will take the myth of Æolus^o (the "sage Hippotades" of Milton),^o as it is delivered pure by Homer from the early times.

Why do you suppose Milton calls him "sage"? One does not usually think of the winds as very thoughtful or 5 deliberate powers. But hear Homer^o: "Then we came to the Æolian island, and there dwelt Æolus Hippotades, dear to the deathless gods; there he dwelt in a floating island, and round it was a wall of brass that could not be broken; and the smooth rock of it ran up sheer. To 10 whom twelve children were born in the sacred chambers, — six daughters and six strong sons; and they dwell forever with their beloved father and their mother, strict in duty; and with them are laid up a thousand benefits; and the misty house around them rings with fluting all the day 15 long." Now, you are to note first, in this description, the wall of brass and the sheer rock. You will find, throughout the fables of the tempest-group, that the brazen wall and precipice (occurring in another myth as the brazen tower of Danaë)^o are always connected with the idea of the 20 towering cloud lighted by the sun, here truly described as a floating island. Secondly, you hear that all treasures were laid up in them; therefore, you know this Æolus is lord of the beneficent winds ("he bringeth the wind out of his treasuries"); and presently afterwards Homer calls 25 him the "steward" of the winds, the master of the storehouse of them. And this idea of gifts and preciousness in the winds of heaven is carried out in the well-known sequel of the fable: Æolus gives them to Ulysses, all but one, bound in leathern bags,^o with a glittering cord of silver; 30 and so like bags of treasure that the sailors think they are so, and open them to see. And when Ulysses is thus driven back to Æolus, and prays him again to help him,

note the deliberate words of the king's refusal, — "Did I not," he says, "send thee on thy way heartily, that thou mightest reach thy country, thy home, and whatever is dear to thee? It is not lawful for me again to send forth
5 favorably on his journey a man hated by the happy gods."

This idea of the beneficence of Æolus remains to the latest times, though Virgil, by adopting the vulgar change of the cloud island into Lipari,^o has lost it a little; but even when it is finally explained away by Diodorus,^o Æolus is still a
10 kind-hearted monarch, who lived on the coast of Sorrento,^o invented the use of sails, and established a system of storm signals.

20. Another beneficent storm-power, Boreas,^o occupies an important place in early legend, and a singularly principal one in art; and I wish I could read to you a passage of
15 Plato about the legend of Boreas and Oreithyia,^o¹ and the breeze and shade of the Ilissus^o — notwithstanding its severe reflection upon persons who waste their time on mythological studies; but I must go on at once to the
20 fable with which you are all generally familiar, that of the Harpies.^o

This is always connected with that of Boreas or the north wind, because the two sons of Boreas are enemies of the Harpies, and drive them away into frantic flight. The
25 myth in its first literal form means only the battle between the fair north wind and the foul south one: the two Harpies, "Stormswift" and "Swiftfoot," are the sisters of the rainbow; that is to say, they are the broken drifts of the showery south wind, and the clear north wind drives
30 them back; but they quickly take a deeper and more ma-

¹ Translated by Max Müller^o in the opening of his essay on "Comparative Mythology." — *Chips from a German Workshap* vol. ii.

lignant significance. You know the short, violent, spiral gusts that lift the dust before coming rain: the Harpies get identified first with these, and then with more violent whirlwinds, and so they are called "Harpies," "the Snatchers," and are thought of as entirely destructive; their manner of destroying being twofold, — by snatching away, and by defiling and polluting. This is a month^o in which you may really see a small Harpy at her work almost whenever you choose. The first time that there is threatening of rain after two or three days of fine weather, leave your window well open to the street, and some books or papers on the table; and if you do not, in a little while, know what the Harpies mean, and how they snatch, and how they defile, I'll give up my Greek myths.^o

21. That is the physical meaning. It is now easy to find the mental one. You must all have felt the expression of ignoble anger in those fitful gusts of sudden storm. There is a sense of provocation and apparent bitterness of purpose in their thin and senseless fury, wholly different from the nobler anger of the greater tempests. Also, they seem useless and unnatural, and the Greek thinks of them always as vile in malice, and opposed, therefore, to the Sons of Boreas, who are kindly winds, that fill sails, and wave harvests, — full of bracing health and happy impulses. From this lower and merely malicious temper, the Harpies rise into a greater terror, always associated with their whirling motion, which is indeed indicative of the most destructive winds; and they are thus related to the nobler tempests, as Charybdis^o to the sea; they are devouring and desolating, merciless, making all things appear that come in their grasp; and so, spiritually, they are the gusts of vexatious, fretful, lawless passion, vain and overshadowing, discontented and lamenting, meagre

and insane, — spirits of wasted energy, and wandering disease, and unappeased famine, and unsatisfied hope. So you have, on the one side, the winds of prosperity and health, on the other, of ruin and sickness. Understand that, once, 5 deeply, — any who have ever known the weariness of vain desires, the pitiful, unconquerable, coiling and recoiling and self-involved returns of some sickening famine and thirst of heart, — and you will know what was in the sound of the Harpy Celæno's^o shriek from her rock; and 10 why, in the seventh circle of the "Inferno,"^o the Harpies make their nests in the warped branches of the trees that are the souls of suicides.

22. Now you must always be prepared to read Greek legends as you trace threads through figures on a silken 15 damask: the same thread runs through the web, but it makes part of different figures. Joined with other colors you hardly recognize it, and in different lights it is dark or light. Thus the Greek fables blend and cross curiously in different directions, till they knit themselves into an ara- 20 besque^o where sometimes you cannot tell black from purple, nor blue from emerald — they being all the truer for this, because the truths of emotion they represent are interwoven in the same way, but all the more difficult to read, and to explain in any order. Thus the Harpies, as they 25 represent vain desire, are connected with the Sirens,^o who are the spirits of constant desire; so that it is difficult sometimes in early art to know which are meant, both being represented alike as birds with women's heads; only the Sirens are the great constant desires — the infinite 30 sicknesses of heart — which, rightly placed, give life, and wrongly placed, waste it away; so that there are two groups of Sirens, one noble and saving, as the other is fatal. But there are no animating or saving Harpies;

their nature is always vexing and full of weariness, and thus they are curiously connected with the whole group of legends about Tantalus.°

23. We all know what it is to be tantalized; but we do not often think of asking what Tantalus was tanta- 5 lized for — what he had done, to be forever kept hungry in sight of food.° Well; he had not been condemned to this merely for being a glutton. By Dante the same punishment is assigned to simple gluttony, to purge it away; but the sins of Tantalus were of a much wider and more 10 mysterious kind. There are four great sins attributed to him: one, stealing the food of the gods to give it to men; another, sacrificing his son to feed the gods themselves (it may remind you for a moment of what I was telling you of the earthly character of Demeter, that, while the 15 other gods all refuse, she, dreaming about her lost daughter, eats part of the shoulder of Pelops° before she knows what she is doing); another sin is, telling the secrets of the gods; and only the fourth — stealing the golden dog of Pandareos° — is connected with gluttony. The special sense of 20 this myth is marked by Pandareos receiving the happy privilege of never being troubled with indigestion; the dog, in general, however, mythically represents all utterly senseless and carnal desires; mainly that of gluttony; and in the mythic sense of Hades — that is to say, so far as it 25 represents spiritual ruin in this life, and not a literal hell — the dog Cerberus° as its gate-keeper — with this special marking of his character of sensual passion, that he fawns on all those who descend, but rages against all who would return (the Virgilian “*facilis descensus*”° being a later recog- 30 nition of this mythic character of Hades); the last labor of Hercules is the dragging him up to the light; and in some sort he represents the voracity or devouring of Hades

itself; and the mediæval representation of the mouth of hell perpetuates the same thought. Then, also, the power of evil passion is partly associated with the red and scorching light of Sirius, as opposed to the pure light of the sun: he is the dog-star of ruin^o; and hence the continual Homeric dwelling upon him, and comparison of the flame of anger to his swarthy light; only, in his scorching, it is thirst, not hunger, over which he rules physically; so that the fable of Icarus,^o his first master, corresponds, among
 5 the Greeks, to the legend of the drunkenness of Noah.^o

The story of Actæon,^o the raging death of Hecuba,^o and the tradition of the white dog which ate part of Hercules' first sacrifice, and so gave name to the Cynosarges,^o are all various phases of the same thought, — the Greek
 15 notion of the dog being throughout confused between its serviceable fidelity, its watchfulness, its foul voracity, shamelessness, and deadly madness,^o while with the curious reversal or recoil of the meaning which attaches itself to nearly every great myth, — and which we shall presently see notably exemplified in the relations of the serpent to Athena, — the dog becomes in philosophy a type
 20 of severity and abstinence.

24. It would carry us too far aside were I to tell you the story of Pandareos' dog^o — or rather of Jupiter's dog, for
 25 Pandareos was its guardian only; all that bears on our present purpose is that the guardian of this golden dog had three daughters, one of whom was subject to the power of the Sirens, and is turned into the nightingale; and the other two were subject to the power of the Harpies, and
 30 this was what happened to them: They were very beautiful, and they were beloved by the gods in their youth, and all the great goddesses were anxious to bring them up rightly. Of all types of young ladies' education, there is

nothing so splendid as that of the younger daughters of Pandareos. They have literally the four greatest goddesses for their governesses. Athena teaches them domestic accomplishments, how to weave, and sew, and the like; Artemis^o teaches them to hold themselves up 5 straight; Hera,^o how to behave proudly and oppressively to company; and Aphrodite,^o delightful governess, feeds them with cakes and honey all day long. All goes well, until just the time when they are going to be brought out; then there is a great dispute whom they are to marry, and 10 in the midst of it they are carried off by the Harpies, given by them to be slaves to the Furies,^o and never seen more. But of course there is nothing in Greek myths; and one never heard of such things as vain desires, and empty hopes, and clouded passions, defiling and snatching away 15 the souls of maidens, in a London season.^o

I have no time to trace for you any more harpy legends, though they are full of the most curious interest; but I may confirm for you my interpretation of this one, and prove its importance in the Greek mind, by noting that 20 Polygnotus^o painted these maidens, in his great religious series of paintings at Delphi,^o crowned with flowers, and playing at dice^o; and that Penelope^o remembers them in her last fit of despair, just before the return of Ulysses, and prays bitterly that she may be snatched away at once 25 into nothingness by the Harpies, like Pandareos' daughters, rather than be tormented longer by her deferred hope, and anguish of disappointed love.

25. I have hitherto spoken only of deities of the winds. We pass now to a far more important group, the deities of 30 cloud. Both of these are subordinate to the ruling power of the air, as the demigods of the fountains and minor seas are to the great deep; but, as the cloud-firmament

detaches itself more from the air, and has a wider range of ministry than the minor streams and seas, the highest cloud deity, Hermes,^o has a rank more equal with Athena than Nereus or Proteus^o with Neptune; and there is
5 greater difficulty in tracing his character, because his physical dominion over the clouds can, of course, be asserted only where clouds are; and, therefore, scarcely at all in Egypt;¹ so that the changes which Hermes undergoes in becoming a Greek from an Egyptian and Phœnician
10 god, are greater than in any other case of adopted tradition. In Egypt Hermes is a deity of historical record, and a conductor of the dead to judgment; the Greeks take away much of this historical function, assigning it to the Muses; but, in investing him with the physical power over
15 clouds, they give him that which the Muses disdain, — the power of concealment and of theft. The snatching away by the Harpies is with brute force; but the snatching away by the clouds is connected with the thought of hiding, and of making things seem to be what they are not;
20 so that Hermes is the god of lying, as he is of mist; and yet with this ignoble function of making things vanish and disappear is connected the remnant of his grand Egyptian authority of leading away souls in the cloud of death (the actual dimness of sight caused by mortal wounds physi-
25 cally suggesting the darkness and descent of clouds, and continually being so described in the Iliad); while the

¹ I believe that the conclusions of recent scholarship are generally opposed to the Herodotean ideas of any direct acceptance by the Greeks of Egyptian myths; and very certainly, Greek art is
30 developed by giving the veracity and simplicity of real life to Eastern savage grotesque;^o and not by softening the severity of pure Egyptian design. But it is of no consequence whether one conception was, or was not, in this case, derived from the other; my object is only to mark the essential differences between them:

sense of the need of guidance on the untrodden road follows necessarily. You cannot but remember how this thought of cloud guidance, and cloud receiving of souls at death, has been elsewhere ratified.

26. Without following that higher clue, I will pass to 5 the lovely group of myths connected with the birth of Hermes on the Greek mountains. You know that the valley of Sparta is one of the noblest mountain ravines in the world, and that the western flank of it is formed by an unbroken chain of crags, forty miles long, rising, opposite 10 Sparta, to a height of 8,000 feet, and known as the chain of Taygetus. Now, the nymph from whom that mountain ridge is named was the mother of Lacedæmon, therefore the mythic ancestress of the Spartan race. She is the nymph Taygeta,^o and one of the seven stars of spring; 15 one of those Pleiades^o of whom is the question to Job, — “Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?”^o “The sweet influences of Pleiades,” of the stars of spring, — nowhere sweeter than among the pine-clad slopes of the hills of Sparta and Arcadia,^o when 20 the snows of their higher summits, beneath the sunshine of April, fell into fountains, and rose into clouds; and in every ravine was a newly awakened voice of waters,^o — soft increase of whisper among its sacred stones; and on every crag its forming and fading veil of radiant cloud; 25 temple above temple, of the divine marble that no tool can pollute, nor ruin undermine. And, therefore, beyond this central valley, this great Greek vase of Arcadia, on the “hollow” mountain, Cyllene, or “pregnant” mountain, called also “cold,” because there the vapors rest,¹ and born 30

¹ On the altar of Hermes on its summit, as on that of the Lacinian Hera,^o no wind ever stirred the ashes. By those altars, the Gods of Heaven were appeased, and all their storms at rest.

of the eldest of those stars of spring, that Maia, from whom your own month of May has its name, bringing to you, in the green of her garlands, and the white of her hawthorn, the unrecognized symbols of the pastures and the wreathed
 5 snows of Arcadia, where long ago she was queen of stars: there, first cradled and wrapt in swaddling-clothes; then raised, in a moment of surprise, into his wandering power, — is born the shepherd of the clouds,^o wing-footed and deceiving, — blinding the eyes of Argus,^o — escaping from
 10 the grasp of Apollo — restless messenger between the highest sky and topmost earth — “the herald Mercury, new lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.”

27.^o Now, it will be wholly impossible, at present, to trace for you any of the minor Greek expressions of this
 15 thought, except only that Mercury, as the cloud shepherd, is especially called Eriophoros, the wool-bearer. You will recollect the name from the common woolly rush “*eriphorum*” which has a cloud of silky seed; and note also that he wears distinctively the flat cap, *petasos*, named
 20 from a word meaning “to expand”; which shaded from the sun, and is worn on journeys. You have the epithet of mountains “cloud-capped” as an established form with every poet, and the Mont Pilate of Lucerne is named from a Latin word signifying specially a *woollen*
 25 cap; but Mercury has, besides, a general Homeric epithet, curiously and intensely concentrated in meaning, “the profitable or serviceable by wool,¹ that is to say, by shepherd wealth; hence, “pecuniarily,”^o rich, or serviceable, and so he passes at last into a general mercantile

30 ¹ I am convinced that the *ἐρι* in *ἐριούνιος* is not intensitive, but retained from *ἔριον*; but even if I am wrong in thinking this, the mistake is of no consequence with respect to the general force of the term as meaning the *profitableness* of Hermes. Athena's epithet of *ἀγέλαια* has a parallel significance.

deity; while yet the cloud sense of the wool is retained by Homer always, so that he gives him this epithet when it would otherwise have been quite meaningless (in *Iliad*, xxiv. 440), when he drives Priam's^o chariot, and breathes force into his horses, precisely as we shall find Athena drive Diomed^o; and yet the serviceable and profitable sense — and something also of gentle and soothing character in the mere wool-softness, as used for dress, and religious rites — is retained also in the epithet, and thus the gentle and serviceable Hermes is opposed to the deceitful one. 10

28. In connection with this driving of Priam's chariot, remember that as Autolykus^o is the son of Hermes the Deceiver, Myrtilus^o (the Auriga of the Stars) is the son of Hermes the Guide. The name Hermes itself means impulse; and he is especially the shepherd of the flocks of 15 the sky,^o in driving, or guiding, or stealing them; and yet his great name, Argeiphontes, not only — as in different passages of the olden poets — means "Shining White," which is said of him as being himself the silver cloud lighted by the sun; but "Argus-Killer," the killer of bright- 20 ness, which is said of him as he veils the sky, and especially the stars, which are the eyes of Argus; or, literally, eyes of brightness, which Juno, who is, with Jupiter,^o part of the type of highest heaven, keeps in her peacock's train. We know that this interpretation is right, from a passage 25 in which Euripides^o describes the shield of Hippomedon,^o which bore for its sign, "Argus the all-seeing, covered with eyes; open towards the rising of the stars, and closed towards their setting."

And thus Hermes becomes the spirit of the movement 30 of the sky or firmament; not merely the fast flying of the transitory cloud, but the great motion of the heavens and stars themselves. Thus, in his highest

power, he corresponds to the "primo mobile"° of the later Italian philosophy, and, in his simplest, is the guide of all mysterious and cloudy movement, and of all successful subtleties. Perhaps the prettiest minor recognition of his
5 character is when, on the night foray° of Ulysses and Diomed, Ulysses wears the helmet stolen by Autolyclus, the son of Hermes.

29. The position in the Greek mind of Hermes as the lord of cloud is, however, more mystic and ideal than that of
10 any other deity, just on account of the constant and real presence of the cloud itself under different forms, giving rise to all kinds of minor fables. The play of the Greek imagination in this direction is so wide and complex, that I cannot even give you an outline of its range in my present
15 limits. There is first a great series of storm-legends connected with the family of the historic Æolus, centralized by the story of Athamas,° with his two wives, "the Cloud" and the "White Goddess," ending in that of Phrixus° and Helle,° and of the golden fleece (which is only the cloud-
20 burden of Hermes Eriophoros). With this, there is the fate of Salmoneus,° and the destruction of Glaucus° by his own horses; all these minor myths of storm concentrating themselves darkly into the legend of Bellerophon and the Chimæra,° in which there is an under story about the
25 vain subduing of passion and treachery, and the end of life in fading melancholy, — which, I hope, not many of you could understand even were I to show it you (the merely physical meaning of the Chimæra is the cloud of volcanic lightning, connected wholly with earth-fire, but resembling
30 the heavenly cloud in its height and its thunder). Finally, in the Æolic group, there is the legend of Sisyphus,° which I mean to work out thoroughly by itself; its root is in the position of Corinth as ruling the isthmus and the

two seas — the Corinthian Acropolis, two thousand feet high, being the centre of the crossing currents of the winds, and of the commerce of Greece. Therefore, Athena, and the fountain-cloud Pegasus, are more closely connected with Corinth than even with Athens in their material, 5 though not in their moral, power; and Sisyphus finds the Isthmian games^o in connection with a melancholy story about the sea gods; but he himself is κέρδιστος ἀνδρῶν,^o the most “gaining” and subtle of men; who, having the key of the Isthmus, becomes the type of transit, 10 transfer, or trade, as such; and of the apparent gain from it, which is not gain; and this is the real meaning of his punishment in hell — eternal toil and recoil (the modern idol of capital being, indeed, the stone of Sisyphus with a vengeance, *crushing* in its recoil). But, throughout, the 15 old ideas of the cloud power and cloud feebleness, — the deceit of its hiding, — and the emptiness of its vanishing, — the Autolycus enchantment of making black seem white, — and the disappointed fury of Ixion^o (taking shadow for power), mingle in the moral meaning of this 20 and its collateral legends; and give an aspect, at last, not only of foolish cunning, but of impiety or literal “idolatry,” “imagination worship,” to the dreams of avarice and injustice, until this notion of atheism and insolent blindness becomes principal; and the “Clouds” of Aristophanes,^o 25 with the personified “just” and “unjust” sayings in the latter part of the play, foreshadow, almost feature by feature, in all that they were written to mock and to chastise, the worst elements of the impious “δῖνος”^o and tumult in men’s thoughts, which have followed on their avarice in 30 the present day, making them alike forsake the laws of their ancient gods, and misapprehend or reject the true words of their existing teachers.

30. All this we have from the legends of the historic Æolus only; but, besides these, there is the beautiful story of Semele, the mother of Bacchus.^o She is the cloud with the strength of the vine in its bosom, consumed by the
 5 light which matures the fruit; the melting away of the cloud into the clear air at the fringe of its edges being exquisitely rendered by Pindar's epithet for her, Semele, "with the stretched-out hair" (*ταυροθώρα*).^o Then there is the entire tradition of the Danaides,^o and of the tower of
 10 Danaë^o and golden shower; the birth of Perseus^o connecting this legend with that of the Gorgons^o and Grair,^o who are the true clouds of thunderous and ruinous tempest. I must, in passing, mark for you that the form of the sword or sickle of Perseus, with which he kills Medusa,^o is an-
 15 other image of the whirling harpy vortex, and belongs especially to the sword of destruction or annihilation; whence it is given to the two angels who gather for destruction the evil harvest and evil viintage of the earth (Rev. xiv. 15). I will collect afterwards and complete
 20 what I have already written respecting the Pegasean and Gorgonian legends, noting here only what is necessary to explain the central myth of Athena herself, who represents the ambient air, which included all cloud, and rain, and dew, and darkness, and peace, and wrath of heaven.
 25 Let me now try to give you, however briefly, some distinct idea of the several agencies of this great goddess.

31.^o I. She is the air giving life and health to all animals.

II. She is the air giving vegetative power to the
 30 earth.

III. She is the air giving motion to the sea, and rendering navigation possible.

IV. She is the air nourishing artificial light, torch

or lamplight; as opposed to that of the sun, on one hand, and of *consuming*¹ fire on the other.

V. She is the air conveying vibration of sound.

I will give you instances of her agency in all these functions.

32. First, and chiefly, she is air as the spirit of life, giving vitality to the blood. Her psychic relation to the vital force in matter lies deeper, and we will examine it afterwards; but a great number of the most interesting passages in Homer regard her as flying over the earth in local and transitory strength, simply and merely the goddess of fresh air.

It is curious that the British city which has somewhat saucily styled itself the Modern Athens is indeed more under her especial tutelage and favor in this respect than perhaps any other town in the island. Athena is first simply what in the Modern Athens you so practically find her, the breeze of the mountain and the sea; and wherever she comes, there is purification, and health, and power. The sea-beach round this isle of ours is the frieze of our Parthenon; every wave that breaks on it thunders with Athena's voice; nay, whenever you throw your window wide open in the morning, you let in Athena, as wisdom and fresh air at the same instant; and whenever you draw a pure, long, full breath of right heaven, you take Athena into your heart, through your blood; and, with the blood, into the thoughts of your brain.

Now, this giving of strength by the air, observe, is mechanical as well as chemical. You cannot strike a good blow but with your chest full; and, in hand to hand fight-

¹ Not a scientific, but a very practical and expressive distinction.

ing, it is not the muscle that fails first, it is the breath; the longest-breathed will, on the average, be the victor, — not the strongest. Note how Shakspeare^o always leans on this. Of Mortimer,^o in “changing hardiment with great
5 Glendower”:

“Three times they breathed, and three times did they drink,
Upon agreement, of swift Severn’s flood.”

And again, Hotspur,^o sending challenge to Prince Harry:

10 “That none might draw short breath to-day
 But I and Harry Monmouth.”

Again, of Hamlet,^o before he receives his wound:

 “He’s fat, and scant of breath.”

Again, Orlando^o in the wrestling:

15 “Yes; I beseech your grace
 I am not yet well breathed.”

Now, of all people that ever lived, the Greeks knew best what breath meant, both in exercise and in battle, and therefore the queen of the air becomes to them at once the queen of bodily strength in war; not mere brutal muscular
20 strength, — that belongs to Ares,^o — but the strength of young lives passed in pure air and swift exercise, — Camilla’s^o virginal force, that “flies o’er the unbending corn, and skims along the main.”

33. Now I will rapidly give you two or three instances of
25 her direct agency in this function. First, when she wants to make Penelope^o bright and beautiful; and to do away with the signs of her waiting and her grief. “Then Athena thought of another thing: she laid her into deep sleep, and loosed all her limbs, and made her taller, and made her

smoother, and fatter, and whiter than sawn ivory; and breathed ambrosial brightness over her face; and so she left her and went up to heaven." Fresh air and sound sleep at night, young ladies°! You see you may have Athena for lady's maid whenever you choose. Next, hark how she 5 gives strength to Achilles° when he is broken with fasting and grief. Jupiter pities him and says to her, "Daughter mine, are you forsaking your own soldier, and don't you care for Achilles any more? See how hungry and weak he is, — go and feed him with ambrosia."° So he urged 10 the eager Athena; and she leaped down out of heaven like a harpy falcon,° shrill-voiced; and she poured nectar and ambrosia, full of delight, into the breast of Achilles, that his limbs might not fail with famine; then she returned to the solid dome of her strong father." And then comes the 15 great passage about Achilles arming — for which we have no time. But here is again Athena giving strength to the whole Greek army. She came as a falcon to Achilles, straight at him,° a sudden drift of breeze; but to the army she must come widely, she sweeps around them all. "As 20 when Jupiter spreads the purple rainbow over heaven, portending battle or cold storm, so Athena, wrapping herself round with a purple cloud, stooped to the Greek soldiers, and raised up each of them." Note that purple, in Homer's use of it, nearly always means "fiery," "full of 25 light." It is the light of the rainbow, not the color of it, which Homer means you to think of.

34. But the most curious passage of all, and fullest of meaning, is when she gives strength to Menelaus,° that he may stand unwearied against Hector.° He prays to her: 30 "And blue-eyed Athena was glad that he prayed to her, first; and she gave him strength in his shoulders, and in his limbs, and she gave him the courage" — of what ani-

mal, do you suppose? Had it been Neptune or Mars, they would have given him the courage of a bull, or a lion; but Athena gives him the courage of the most fearless in attack of all creatures, small or great, and very small it is, but
5 wholly incapable of terror, — she gives him the courage of a fly.

35. Now, this simile of Homer's is one of the best instances I can give you of the way in which great writers seize truths unconsciously which are for all time. It is
10 only recent science which has completely shown the perfectness of this minute symbol of the power of Athena; proving that the insect's flight and breath are coördinated; that its wings are actually forcing-pumps, of which the stroke compels the thoracic respiration; and that it thus
15 breathes and flies simultaneously by the action of the same muscles, so that respiration is carried on most vigorously during flight, "while the air-vessels, supplied by many pairs of lungs instead of one, traverse the organs of flight in far greater numbers than the capillary blood-vessels of our
20 own system, and give enormous and untiring muscular power, a rapidity of action measured by thousands of strokes in the minute, and an endurance, by miles and hours of flight."¹

Homer could not have known this; neither that the
25 buzzing of the fly was produced, as in a wind instrument, by a constant current of air through the trachea. But he had seen, and, doubtless, meant us to remember, the marvellous strength and swiftness of the insect's flight (the glance of the swallow itself is clumsy and slow compared
30 to the darting of common house-flies at play); he probably attributed its murmur to the wings, but in this also there was a type of what we shall presently find recog-

¹ Ormerod. "Natural History of Wasps."

nized in the name of Pallas, — the vibratory power of the air to convey sound, while, as a purifying creature, the fly holds its place beside the old symbol of Athena in Egypt, the vulture; and as a venomous and tormenting creature has more than the strength of the serpent in proportion to its size, being thus entirely representative of the influence of the air both in purification and pestilence; and its courage is so notable that, strangely enough, forgetting Homer's simile, I happened to take the fly for an expression of the audacity of freedom in speaking of quite another subject.¹ Whether it should be called courage, or mere mechanical instinct, may be questioned, but assuredly no other animal, exposed to continual danger, is so absolutely without sign of fear.

36. You will, perhaps, have still patience to hear two instances, not of the communication as strength, but of the personal agency of Athena as the air. When she comes down to help Diomed against Ares, she does not come to fight instead of him, but she takes his charioteer's place.

“She snatched the reins, she lashed with all her force,
And full on Mars impelled the foaming horse.”

Ares is the first to cast his spear; then — note this — Pope^o says:

“Pallas opposed her hand, and caused to glance,
Far from the car, the strong immortal lance.”

She does not oppose her hand in the Greek — the wind could not meet the lance straight — she catches it in her hand, and throws it off. There is no instance in which a lance is so parried by a mortal hand in all the Iliad, and it is exactly the way the wind would parry it, catching it,

¹ See farther on, § 148.

and turning it aside. If there are any good rifleshots here, they know something about Athena's parrying; and in old times the English masters of feathered artillery knew more yet. Compare also the turning of Hector's lance 5 from Achilles: *Iliad* xx. 439.

37. The last instance I will give you is as lovely as it is subtle. Throughout the *Iliad*, Athena is herself the will or Menis of Achilles. If he is to be calmed, it is she who calms him; if angered, it is she who inflames him. In 10 the first quarrel with Atreides,^o when he stands at pause, with the great sword half drawn, "Athena came from heaven, and stood behind him and caught him by the yellow hair." Another god would have stayed his hand upon the hilt, but Athena only lifts his hair. "And he 15 turned and knew her, and her dreadful eyes shone upon him." There is an exquisite tenderness in this laying her hand upon his hair, for it is the talisman of his life, vowed to his own Thessalian river if he ever returned to its shore, and cast upon Patroclus'^o pile, so ordaining that there 20 should be no return.

38. Secondly, Athena is the air giving vegetative impulse to the earth. She is the wind and the rain, and yet more the pure air itself, getting at the earth fresh turned^o by spade or plough, and, above all, feeding the fresh 25 leaves; for though the Greeks knew nothing about carbonic acid, they did know that trees fed on the air.

Now, note first in this, the myth of the air getting at ploughed ground. You know I told you the Lord of all labor by which man lived was Hephæstus^o; therefore 30 Athena adopts a child of his, and of the Earth, — Erichthonius,^o — literally, "the tearer up of the ground," who is the head (though not in direct line) of the kings of Attica^o; and, having adopted him, she gives him to be

brought up by the three nymphs of the dew. Of these, Aglauros,^o the dweller in the fields, is the envy or malice of the earth; she answers nearly to the envy of Cain,^o the tiller of the ground, against his shepherd brother, in her own envy against her two sisters; Herse,^o the cloud 5 dew, who is the beloved of the shepherd Mercury^o; and Pandrosos,^o the diffused dew, or dew of heaven. Literally, you have in this myth the words of the blessing of Esau: "Thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."^o Aglauros is for her envy 10 turned into a black stone; and hers is one of the voices — the other being that of Cain — which haunts the circle of envy in the Purgatory:

"Io sono Aglauro, chi divenne sasso."^o

But to her two sisters, with Erichthonius (or the hero 15 Erechtheus), is built the most sacred temple of Athena in Athens; the temple to their own dearest Athena — to her, and to the dew together; so that it was divided into two parts: one, the temple of Athena of the city, and the other that of the dew. And this expression of her power, 20 as the air bringing the dew to the hill pastures, in the central temple of the central city of the heathen, dominant over the future intellectual world, is, of all the facts connected with her worship as the spirit of life, perhaps the most important. I have no time now to trace for you the 25 hundredth part of the different ways in which it bears both upon natural beauty, and on the best order and happiness of men's lives. I hope to follow out some of these trains of thought in gathering together what I have to say about field herbage; but I must say briefly here that the 30 great sign, to the Greeks, of the coming of spring in the pastures, was not, as with us, in the primrose,^o but in

the various flowers of the asphodel^o tribe (of which I will give you some separate account presently); therefore it is that the earth answers with crocus flame^o to the cloud on Ida^o; and the power of Athena in eternal life is written 5 by the light of the asphodel on the Elysian fields.^o

But further, Athena is the air, not only to the lilies of the field, but to the leaves of the forest. We saw before the reason why Hermes is said to be the son of Maia,^o the eldest of the sister stars of spring. Those stars are called 10 not only Pleiades, but Vergiliæ, from a word mingling the ideas of the turning or returning of springtime with the outpouring of rain. The mother of Vergil bearing the name of Maia, Vergil^o himself received his name from the seven stars; and he, in forming first the mind of Dante, 15 and through him that of Chaucer^o (besides whatever special minor influence came from the Pastorals and Georgics)^o became the fountain-head of all the best literary power connected with the love of vegetative nature among 20 civilized races of men. Take the fact for what it is worth; still it is a strange seal of coincidence, in word and in reality, upon the Greek dream of the power over human life, and its purest thoughts, in the stars of spring. But the first syllable of the name of Vergil has relation also to another group of words, of which the English ones, virtue 25 and virgin, bring down the force to modern days. It is a group containing mainly the idea of "spring," or increase of life in vegetation — the rising of the new branch of the tree out of the bud, and of the new leaf out of the ground. It involves, secondarily, the idea of greenness 30 and of strength, but primarily, that of living increase of a new rod from a stock, stem, or root ("There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse")^o; and chiefly the stem of certain plants — either of the rose tribe, as in the

budding of the almond rod of Aaron^o; or of the olive tribe, which has triple significance in this symbolism, from the use of its oil for sacred anointing, for strength in the gymnasium, and for light. Hence, in numberless divided and reflected ways, it is connected with the power of Hercules 5 and Athena: Hercules plants the wild olive, for its shade, on the course of Olympia,^o and it thenceforward gives the Olympic crown of consummate honor and rest; while the prize at the Panathenaic games^o is a vase of its oil (meaning encouragement to continuance of effort); and from the 10 paintings on these Panathenaic vases we get the most precious clue to the entire character of Athena. Then to express its propagation by slips, the trees from which the oil was to be taken were called "Moriai,"^o trees of division (being all descendants of the sacred one in the Erechtheum).^o 15 And thus, in one direction, we get to the "children like olive plants round about thy table"^o and the olive grafting of St. Paul; while the use of the oil for anointing gives chief name to the rod itself of the stem of Jesse,^o and to all those who were by that name signed for his disciples first in 20 Antioch.^o Remember, further, since that name was first given the influence of the symbol, both in extreme unction^o and in consecration of priests and kings to their "divine right"; and think, if you can reach with any grasp of thought, what the influence on the earth has been, of those 25 twisted branches whose leaves give gray bloom to the hill-sides under every breeze that blows from the midland sea. But, above and beyond all, think how strange it is that the chief Agonia^o of humanity, and the chief giving of strength from heaven for its fulfilment, should have been under its 30 night shadow in Palestine.^o

39. Thirdly, Athena is the air in its power over the sea.

On the earliest Panathenaic vase known — the "Burgon"

vase in the British Museum^o — Athena has a dolphin^o on her shield. The dolphin has two principal meanings in Greek symbolism. It means, first, the sea; secondarily, the ascending and descending course of any of the heavenly

5 bodies from one sea horizon to another — the dolphins' arching rise and replunge (in a summer evening, out of calm sea, their black backs roll round with exactly the slow motion of a water-wheel; but I do not know how far Aristotle's exaggerated account of their leaping or their

10 swiftness has any foundation) being taken as a type of the emergence of the sun or stars from the sea in the east, and plunging beneath in the west. Hence, Apollo, when in his personal power he crosses the sea, leading his Cretan^o colonists to Pytho,^o takes the form of a dolphin, becomes

15 Apollo Delphinus, and names the founded colony "Delphi." The lovely drawing of the Delphic Apollo on the hydria^o of the Vatican (Le Normand and De Witte, vol. ii. p. 6) gives the entire conception of this myth. Again, the beautiful coins of Tarentum represent Taras^o coming

20 to found the city, riding on a dolphin, whose leaps and plunges have partly the rage of the sea in them, and partly the spring of the horse, because the splendid riding of the Tarentines had made their name proverbial in Magna Græcia.^o The story of Arion^o is a collateral fragment of

25 the same thought; and, again, the plunge, before their transformation, of the ships of Æneas.^o Then, this idea of career upon, or conquest of, the sea, either by the creatures themselves, or by dolphin-like ships (compare the Merlin prophecy,^o

30

"They shall ride
Over ocean wide

With hempen bridle, and horse of tree,")

connects itself with the thought of undulation, and

of the wave-power in the sea itself, which is always expressed by the serpentine bodies either of the sea-gods or of the sea-horse; and when Athena carries, as she does often in later work, a serpent for her shield-sign, it is not so much the repetition of her own ægis-snakes as the 5 further expression of her power over the sea-wave; which, finally, Vergil gives in its perfect unity with her own anger, in the approach of the serpents against Laocoön^o from the sea; and then, finally, when her own storm-power is fully put forth on the ocean also, and the madness of the ægis- 10 snake is given to the wave-snake, the sea-wave becomes the devouring hound at the waist of Scylla,^o and Athena takes Scylla for her helmet-crest; while yet her beneficent and essential power on the ocean, in making navigation possible, is commemorated in the Panathenaic festival by 15 her peplus^o being carried to the Erechtheum suspended from the mast of a ship.

In Plate cxv. of vol. ii., *Le Normand*, are given two sides of a vase, which, in rude and childish way, assembles most of the principal thoughts regarding Athena in this relation. 20 In the first, the sunrise is represented by the ascending chariot of Apollo, foreshortened; the light is supposed to blind the eyes, and no face of the god is seen (Turner,^o in the *Ulysses* and *Polyphemus*^o sunrise, loses the form of the god in light, giving the chariot-horses only; rendering 25 in his own manner, after 2,200 years of various fall and revival of the arts, precisely the same thought as the old Greek potter). He ascends out of the sea; but the sea itself has not yet caught the light. In the second design, Athena as the morning breeze, and Hermes as the morn- 30 ing cloud, fly over the sea before the sun. Hermes turns back his head; his face is unseen in the cloud, as Apollo's in the light; the grotesque appearance of an animal's

face is only the cloud-phantasm^o modifying a frequent form of the hair of Hermes beneath the back of his cap. Under the morning breeze, the dolphins leap from the rippled sea, and their sides catch the light.

5 The coins of the Lucanian Heracleia give a fair representation of the helmed Athena, as imagined in later Greek art, with the embossed Scylla.

40. Fourthly, Athena is the air nourishing artificial light — unconsuming fire. Therefore, a lamp was always
 10 kept burning in the Erechtheum; and the torch-race belongs chiefly to her festival, of which the meaning is to show the danger of the perishing of the light even by excess of the air that nourishes it; and so that the race is not to the swift,^o but to the wise. The household use of her
 15 constant light is symbolized in the lovely passage in the Odyssey, where Ulysses and his son move the armor while the servants are shut in their chambers, and there is no one to hold torches for them; but Athena herself, “having a golden lamp,” fills all the rooms with light. Her presence
 20 in war-strength with her favorite heroes is always shown by the “unwearied” fire hovering on their helmets and shields; and the image gradually becomes constant and accepted, both for the maintenance of household watchfulness, as in the parable of the ten virgins,^c or as the symbol
 25 of direct inspiration, in the rushing wind and divided flames of Pentecost^o; but together with this thought of unconsuming and constant fire, there is always mingled in the Greek mind the sense of the consuming by excess, as of the flame by the air, so also of the inspired creature by
 30 its own fire (thus, again, “the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up”^o — “my zeal hath consumed me, because of thine enemies,”^o and the like); and especially Athena has this aspect towards the truly sensual and bodily

strength ; so that to Ares,° who is himself insane and consuming, the opposite wisdom seems to be insane and consuming : “ All we the other gods have thee against us, O Jove ! when we would give grace to men ; for thou hast begotten the maid without a mind — the mischievous 5 creature, the doer of unseemly evil. All we obey thee, and are ruled by thee. Her only thou wilt not resist in anything she says or does, because thou didst bear her — consuming child as she is.”

41. Lastly, Athena is the air conveying vibration of 10 sound.

In all the loveliest representations in central Greek art of the birth of Athena, Apollo stands close to the sitting Jupiter, singing, with a deep, quiet joyfulness, to his lyre. The sun is always thought of as the master of time and 15 rhythm, and as the origin of the composing-and inventive discovery of melody° ; but the air, as the actual element and substance of the voice, the prolonging and sustaining power of it, and the symbol of its moral passion. Whatever in music is measured and designed belongs therefore to 20 Apollo and the Muses ; whatever is impulsive and passionate,° to Athena ; hence her constant strength of voice or cry (as when she aids the shout of Achilles)° curiously opposed to the dumbness of Demeter.° The Apolline lyre, therefore, is not so much the instrument producing sound, 25 as its measurer and divider by length or tension of string into given notes ; and I believe it is, in a double connection with its office as a measurer of time or motion, and its relation to the transit of the sun in the sky, that Hermes forms it from the tortoise-shell, which is the image of the 30 dappled concave of the cloudy sky. Thenceforward all the limiting or restraining modes of music belong to the Muses ; but the passionate music is wind music, as in the

Doric flute.° Then, when this inspired music becomes degraded in its passion, it sinks into the pipe of Pan,° and the double pipe of Marsyas,° and is then rejected by Athena. The myth which represents her doing so is that she in-
5 vented the double pipe from hearing the hiss of the Gorgonian serpents°; but when she played upon it, chancing to see her face reflected in water, she saw that it was distorted, whereupon she threw down the flute, which Marsyas found. Then, the strife of Apollo and Marsyas repre-
10 sents the enduring contest between music in which the words and thought lead, and the lyre measures or melodizes them (which Pindar means when he calls his hymns “kings over the lyre”), and music in which the words are lost and the wind or impulse leads, — generally, there-
15 fore, between intellectual, and brutal, or meaningless, music. Therefore, when Apollo prevails, he flays Marsyas, taking the limit and external bond of his shape from him, which is death, without touching the mere muscular strength, yet shameful and dreadful in dissolution.

20 42. And the opposition of these two kinds of sound is continually dwelt upon by the Greek philosophers, the real fact at the root of all their teaching being this, that true music is the natural expression of a lofty passion for a right cause; that in proportion to the kingliness and force
25 of any personality, the expression either of its joy or suffering becomes measured, chastened, calm, and capable of interpretation only by the majesty of ordered, beautiful, and worded sound. Exactly in proportion to the degree
30 in which we become narrow in the cause and conception of our passions, incontinent in the utterance of them, feeble of perseverance in them, sullied or shameful in the indulgence of them, their expression by musical sound becomes broken, mean, fatuitous, and at last impossible; the

measured waves of the air of heaven will not lend themselves to expression of ultimate vice, it must be forever sunk into discordance or silence. And since, as before stated, every work of right art has a tendency to reproduce the ethical state which first developed it, this, which of all the arts is 5 most directly ethical in origin, is also the most direct in power of discipline; the first, the simplest, the most effective of all instruments of moral instruction; while in the failure and betrayal of its functions, it becomes the subtlest aid of moral degradation. Music is thus, in her health, 10 the teacher of perfect order,° and is the voice of the obedience of angels, and the companion of the course of the spheres of heaven; and in her depravity she is also the teacher of perfect disorder and disobedience, and the Gloria in Excelsis° becomes the Marseillaise.° In the 15 third section of this volume, I reprint two chapters from another essay of mine ("The Cestus of Aglaia"), on modesty or measure, and on liberty, containing further reference to music in her two powers; and I do this now, because, among the many monstrous and misbegotten fan- 20 tasies which are the spawn of modern license, perhaps the most impishly opposite to the truth is the conception of music which has rendered possible the writing, by educated persons, and, more strangely yet, the tolerant criticism, of such words as these: "*This so persuasive 25 art is the only one that has no didactic efficacy, that engenders no emotions save such as are without issue on the side of moral truth, that expresses nothing of God, nothing of reason, nothing of human liberty.*" I will not give the author's name; the passage is quoted in the "Westminster 30 Review" for last January [1869].°

43. I must also anticipate something of what I have to say respecting the relation of the power of Athena to

organic life, so far as to note that her name, Pallas, probably refers to the quivering or vibration of the air; and to its power, whether as vital force, or communicated wave, over every kind of matter, in giving it vibratory
5 movement; first, and most intense, in the voice and throat of the bird, which is the air incarnate; and so descending through the various orders of animal life to the vibrating and semi-voluntary murmur of the insect; and, lower still, to the hiss or quiver of the tail of the half-
10 lunged snake and deaf adder; all these, nevertheless, being wholly under the rule of Athena as representing either breath or vital nervous power; and, therefore, also, in their simplicity, the "oaten pipe and pastoral song," which belong to her dominion over the asphodel meadows,
15 and breathe on their banks of violets.

Finally, is it not strange to think of the influence of this one power of Pallas in vibration (we shall see a singular mechanical energy of it presently in the serpent's motion), in the voices of war and peace? How much of the repose,
20 how much of the wrath, folly, and misery of men, has literally depended on this one power of the air; on the sound of the trumpet and of the bell, on the lark's song, and the bee's murmur!

44. Such is the general conception in the Greek mind
25 of the physical power of Athena. The spiritual power associated with it is of two kinds: first, she is the Spirit of Life in material organism; not strength in the blood only, but formative energy in the clay; and, secondly, she is inspired and impulsive wisdom in human conduct and
30 human art, giving the instinct of infallible decision, and of faultless invention.

It is quite beyond the scope of my present purpose — and, indeed, will only be possible for me at all after mark-

ing the relative intention of the Apolline myths — to trace for you the Greek conception of Athena as the guide of moral passion. But I will at least endeavor, on some near occasion,¹ to define some of the actual truths respecting the vital force in created organism, and inventive fancy 5 in the works of man, which are more or less expressed by the Greeks, under the personality of Athena. You would, perhaps, hardly bear with me if I endeavored further to show you — what is nevertheless perfectly true — the analogy between the spiritual power of Athena in her 10 gentle ministry, yet irresistible anger, with the ministry of another Spirit whom we also, holding for the universal power of life, are forbidden, at our worst peril, to quench or to grieve.^o

45. But, I think, to-night, you should not let me close 15 without requiring of me an answer on one vital point, namely, how far these imaginations of gods — which are vain to us — were vain to those who had no better trust? and what real belief the Greek had in these creations of his own spirit, practical and helpful to him in the sorrow of 20 earth? I am able to answer you explicitly in this. The origin of his thoughts is often obscure, and we may err in endeavoring to account for their form of realization; but the effect of that realization on his life is not obscure at all. The Greek creed was, of course, different in its character, as 25 our own creed is, according to the class of persons who held it. The common people's was quite literal, simple, and happy; their idea of Athena was as clear as a good Roman Catholic peasant's idea of the Madonna. In Athens itself, the centre of thought and refinement, Pisistratus^o ob- 30 tained the reins of government through the ready belief of

¹ I have tried to do this in mere outline in the two following sections of this volume.

the populace that a beautiful woman, armed like Athena,^o was the goddess herself. Even at the close of the last century some of this simplicity remained among the inhabitants of the Greek islands; and when a pretty English
5 lady first made her way into the grotto of Antiparos,^o she was surrounded, on her return, by all the women of the neighboring village, believing her to be divine, and praying her to heal them of their sicknesses.

46. Then, secondly, the creed of the upper classes was
10 more refined and spiritual, but quite as honest, and even more forcible in its effect on the life. You might imagine that the employment of the artifice just referred to implied utter unbelief in the persons contriving it; but it really meant only that the more worldly of them would
15 play with a popular faith for their own purposes, as doubly-minded persons have often done since, all the while sincerely holding the same ideas themselves in a more abstract form; while the good and unworldly men, the true Greek heroes, lived by their faith as firmly as St. Louis,^o
20 or the Cid,^o or the Chevalier Bayard.^o

47. Then, thirdly, the faith of the poets and artists was, necessarily, less definite, being continually modified by the involuntary action of their own fancies; and by the necessity of presenting, in clear verbal or material form, things
25 of which they had no authoritative knowledge. Their faith was, in some respects, like Dante's or Milton's: firm in general conception, but not able to vouch for every detail in the forms they gave it; but they went considerably farther, even in that minor sincerity, than subsequent
30 poets; and strove with all their might to be as near the truth as they could. Pindar says, quite simply, "I cannot think so-and-so of the gods. It must have been this way — it cannot have been that way — that the thing

was done." And as late among the Latins as the days of Horace, this sincerity remains. Horace^o is just as true and simple in his religion as Wordsworth^o; but all power of understanding any of the honest classic poets has been taken away from most English gentlemen by the mechanical drill in verse-writing^o at school. Throughout the whole of their lives afterwards, they never can get themselves quit of the notion that all verses were written as an exercise, and that Minerva was only a convenient word for the last of a hexameter,^o and Jupiter for the last but one. 10

48. It is impossible that any notion can be more fallacious or more misleading in its consequences. All great song, from the first day when human lips contrived syllables, has been sincere song. With deliberate didactic purpose the tragedians — with pure and native passion the 15 lyricists — fitted their perfect words to their dearest faiths. "Operosa parvus carmina fingo." "I, little thing that I am, weave my laborious songs" as earnestly as the bee among the bells of thyme^o on the *Matin*^o mountains. Yes, and he dedicates his favorite pine to Diana, and he chants 20 his autumnal hymn to the *Faun*^o that guards his fields, and he guides the noble youth and maids of Rome^o in their choir to Apollo, and he tells the farmer's little girl that the gods will love her, though she has only a handful of salt and meal to give them — just as earnestly as ever 25 English gentleman taught Christian faith to English youth in England's truest days.

49. Then, lastly, the creed of the philosophers or sages varied according to the character and knowledge of each; their relative acquaintance with the secrets of natural 30 science, their intellectual and sectarian egotism, and their mystic or monastic tendencies, for there is a classic as well as a mediæval monasticism. They end in losing the life of

Greece in play upon words; but we owe to their early thought some of the soundest ethics, and the foundation of the best practical laws, yet known to mankind.

50. Such was the general vitality of the heathen creed
5 in its strength. Of its direct influence on conduct, it is, as I said, impossible for me to speak now; only, remember always, in endeavoring to form a judgment of it, that what of good or right the heathens did, they did looking for no reward. The purest forms of our own religion have
10 ways consisted in sacrificing less things to win greater, time to win eternity, the world to win the skies. The order, "sell that thou hast," is not given without the promise, "thou shalt have treasure in heaven^o;" and well for the modern Christian if he accepts the alternative as his
15 Master left it, and does not practically read the command and promise thus: "Sell that thou hast in the best market, and thou shalt have treasure in eternity also." But the poor Greeks of the great ages expected no reward from heaven but honor, and no reward from earth but rest;
20 though, when, on those conditions, they patiently, and proudly, fulfilled their task of the granted day, an unreasoning instinct of an immortal benediction broke from their lips in song; and they, even they, had sometimes a prophet to tell them of a land "where there is sun alike
25 by day and alike by night, where they shall need no more to trouble the earth by strength of hands for daily bread; but the ocean breezes blow around the blessed islands, and golden flowers burn on their bright trees for evermore."

II

ATHENA KERAMITIS ¹

(*Athena in the Earth*)

STUDY, SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE PRECEDING LECTURE, OF
THE SUPPOSED AND ACTUAL RELATIONS OF ATHENA TO
THE VITAL FORCE IN MATERIAL ORGANISM

51. It has been easy to decipher approximately the Greek conception of the physical power of Athena in cloud and sky, because we know ourselves what clouds and skies are, and what the force of the wind is in forming them. But it is not at all easy to trace the Greek thoughts about 5 the power of Athena in giving life, because we do not ourselves know clearly what life is, or in what way the air is necessary to it, or what there is, besides the air, shaping the forms that it is put into. And it is comparatively of small consequence to find out what the Greeks thought or ¹⁰ meant, until we have determined what we ourselves think, or mean, when we translate the Greek word for "breathing" ^o into the Latin-English word "spirit."

52. But it is of great consequence that you should fix in your minds — and hold, against the baseness of mere ¹⁵ materialism on the one hand, and against the fallacies of controversial speculation on the other — the certain and

¹ "Athena, fit for being made into pottery." I coin the expression as a counterpart of *γῆ παρθένια*, "Clay intact."

practical sense of this word "spirit"; the sense in which you all know that its reality exists, as the power which shaped you into your shape, and by which you love and hate when you have received that shape. You need not
5 fear, on the one hand, that either the sculpturing or the loving power can ever be beaten down by the philosophers into a metal, or evolved by them into a gas, but on the other hand, take care that you yourselves, in trying to elevate your conception of it, do not lose its truth in a
10 dream, or even in a word. Beware always of contending for words: you will find them not easy to grasp, if you know them in several languages. This very word, which is so solemn in your mouths, is one of the most doubtful. In Latin it means little more than breathing, and may
15 mean merely accent; in French it is not breath, but wit, and our neighbors are therefore obliged, even in their most solemn expressions, to say "wit" when we say "ghost." In Greek, "pneuma," the word we translate "ghost," means either wind or breath, and the relative word
20 "psyche" has, perhaps, a more subtle power; yet St. Paul's^o words "pneumatic body" and "psychic body" involve a difference in his mind which no words will explain. But in Greek and in English, and in Saxon and in Hebrew, and in every articulate tongue of humanity the
25 "spirit of man" truly means his passion and virtue, and is stately according to the height of his conception, and stable according to the measure of his endurance.

53. Endurance, or patience, that is the central sign of spirit; a constancy against the cold and agony of death;
30 and as, physically, it is by the burning power of the air that the heat of the flesh is sustained, so this Athena, spiritually, is the queen of all glowing virtue, the unconsuming fire and inner lamp of life. And thus, as Hephæ-

tus is lord of the fire of the hand, and Apollo of the fire of the brain, so Athena of the fire of the heart; and as Hercules wears for his chief armor the skin of the Nemean lion,^o his chief enemy, whom he slew; and Apollo has for his highest name "the Pythian," from his chief enemy, the 5 Python,^o slain; so Athena bears always on her breast the deadly face of her chief enemy slain, the Gorgonian cold, and venomous agony, that turns living men to stone.

54. And so long as you have that fire of the heart within you, and know the reality of it, you need be under no alarm 10 as to the possibility of its chemical or mechanical analysis. The philosophers are very humorous in their ecstasy of hope about it; but the real interest of their discoveries in this direction is very small to humankind. It is quite true that the tympanum of the ear vibrates under sound, 15 and that the surface of the water in a ditch vibrates too; but the ditch hears nothing for all that; and my hearing is still to me as blessed a mystery as ever, and the interval between the ditch and me quite as great. If the trembling sound in my ears was once of the marriage-bell which be- 20 gan my happiness, and is now of the passing-bell which ends it, the difference between those two sounds to me cannot be counted by the number of concussions. There have been some curious speculations lately as to the conveyance of mental consciousness by "brain-waves." 25 What does it matter how it is conveyed? The consciousness itself is not a wave. It may be accompanied here or there by any quantity of quivers and shakes, up or down, of anything you can find in the universe that is shakable — what is that to me? My friend is dead, and 30 my — according to modern views — vibratory sorrow is not one whit less, or less mysterious, to me, than my old quiet one.

55. Beyond, and entirely unaffected by, any questionings of this kind, there are, therefore, two plain facts which we should all know: first, that there is a power which gives their several shapes to things, or capacities
5 of shape; and, secondly, a power which gives them their several feelings, or capacities of feeling; and that we can increase or destroy both of these at our will. By care and tenderness, we can extend the range of lovely life in plants
and animals; by our neglect and cruelty, we can arrest it,
10 and bring pestilence in its stead. Again, by right discipline we can increase our strength of noble will and passion or destroy both. And whether these two forces are local conditions of the elements in which they appear, or
are part of a great force in the universe, out of which they
15 are taken, and to which they must be restored, is not of the slightest importance to us in dealing with them; neither is the manner of their connection with light and
air. What precise meaning we ought to attach to expressions such as that of the prophecy to the four winds that
20 the dry bones might be breathed upon, and might live,^o or why the presence of the vital power should be dependent on the chemical action of the air, and its awful passing away materially signified by the rendering up of that
breath or ghost, we cannot at present know, and need not
25 at any time dispute. What we assuredly know is that the states of life and death are different, and the first more desirable than the other, and by effort attainable, whether we understand being "born of the spirit"^o to signify having
the breath of heaven in our flesh, or its power in our hearts.

30 56. As to its power on the body, I will endeavor to tell you, having been myself much led into studies involving necessary reference both to natural science and mental phenomena, what, at least, remains to us after science

has done its worst; what the myth of Athena, as a formative and decisive power, a spirit of creation and volition, must eternally mean for all of us.

57. It is now (I believe I may use the strong word) "ascertained"^o that heat and motion are fixed in quantity, and measurable in the portions that we deal with. We can measure our portions of power, as we can measure portions of space; while yet, as far as we know, space may be infinite, and force infinite. There may be heat as much greater than the sun's, as the sun's heat is greater than a candle's; and force as much greater than the force by which the world swings, as that is greater than the force by which a cobweb trembles. Now, on heat and force, life is inseparably dependent; and I believe, also, on a form of substance, which the philosophers call "protoplasm."¹⁵ I wish they would use English instead of Greek words. When I want to know why a leaf is green, they tell me it is colored by "chlorophyll," which at first sounds very instructive; but if they would only say plainly that a leaf is colored green by a thing which is called "green leaf," we should see more precisely how far we had got. However, it is a curious fact that life is connected with a cellular structure called protoplasm, or in English, "first stuck together"; whence, conceivably through deuteroplasms, or second stickings, and tritoplasms, or third stickings,¹ 25

¹ Or, perhaps, we may be indulged with one consummating gleam of "glycasm," visible "Sweetness," — according to the good old monk, "Full moon," or "All moonshine." I cannot get at his original Greek, but am content with M. Durand's clear French (*Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*.^o Paris, 1845): 30 "Lorsque vous aurez fait le proplasma, et esquissé un visage, vous ferez les chairs avec le glycisme dont nous avons donné la recette. Chez les vieillards, vous indiquerez les rides, et chez les jeunes gens, les angles dez yeux. C'est ainsi que l'on fait les chairs, suivant Panselinus."^o

we reach the highest plastic phase in the human pottery, which differs from common chinaware, primarily, by a measurable degree of heat, developed in breathing, which it borrows from the rest of the universe while it lives, and 5 which it as certainly returns to the rest of the universe, when it dies.

58. Again, with this heat certain assimilative powers are connected, which the tendency of recent discovery is to simplify more and more into modes of one force; or finally 10 into mere motion, communicable in various states, but not destructible. We will assume that science has done its utmost; and that every chemical or animal force is demonstrably resolvable into heat or motion, reciprocally changing into each other. I would myself like better, in order 15 of thought, to consider motion as a mode of heat than heat as a mode of motion; still, granting that we have got thus far, we have yet to ask, What is heat? or what motion? What is this "primo mobile," this transitional power, in which all things live, and move, and have their being^o? 20 It is by definition something different from matter, and we may call it as we choose, "first cause," or "first light," or "first heat"; but we can show no scientific proof of its not being personal, and coinciding with the ordinary conception of a supporting spirit in all things.

59. Still, it is not advisable to apply the word "spirit" 25 or "breathing" to it, while it is only enforcing chemical affinities; but, when the chemical affinities are brought under the influence of the air, and of the sun's heat, the formative force enters an entirely different phase. It does 30 not now merely crystallize indefinite masses, but it gives to limited portions of matter the power of gathering, selectively, other elements proper to them, and binding these elements into their own peculiar and adopted form.

This force, now properly called life, or breathing, or spirit, is continually creating its own shell of definite shape out of the wreck round it; and this is what I meant by saying, in the "Ethics of the Dust,"^o "you may always stand by form against force." For the mere force of junction is not spirit; but the power that catches out of chaos charcoal, water, lime, or what not, and fastens them down into a given form, is properly called "spirit"; and we shall not diminish, but strengthen our conception of this creative energy by recognizing its presence in lower states ¹⁰ of matter than our own; such recognition being enforced upon us by delight we instinctively receive from all the forms of matter which manifest it; and yet more, by the glorifying of those forms, in the parts of them that are most animated, with the colors that are pleasantest to our ¹⁵ senses. The most familiar instance of this is the best, and also the most wonderful: the blossoming of plants.

60. The spirit in the plant — that is to say, its power of gathering dead matter out of the wreck round it, and shaping it into its own chosen shape — is of course strongest ²⁰ at the moment of its flowering, for it then not only gathers, but forms, with the greatest energy.

And where this life is in it at full power, its form becomes invested with aspects that are chiefly delightful to our own human passions; namely, first, with the loveliest ²⁵ outlines of shape; and, secondly, with the most brilliant phases of the primary colors, blue, yellow, and red or white, the unison of all; and, to make it all more strange, this time of peculiar and perfect glory is associated with relations of the plants or blossoms to each other, corre- ³⁰ spondent to the joy of love in human creatures, and having the same object in the continuance of the race. Only, with respect to plants, as animals, we are wrong in speak-

ing as if the object of this strong life were only the bequeathing of itself. The flower is the end or proper object of the seed, not the seed of the flower. The reason for seeds is that flowers may be; not the reason of flowers that seeds
5 may be. The flower itself is the creature which the spirit makes; only, in connection with its perfectness is placed the giving birth to its successor.

61. The main fact, then, about a flower is that it is the part of the plant's form developed at the moment of its
10 intensest life; and this inner rapture is usually marked externally for us by the flush of one or more of the primary colors. What the character of the flower shall be, depends entirely upon the portion of the plant into which this rapture of spirit has been put. Sometimes the life is put into
15 its outer sheath, and then the outer sheath becomes white and pure, and full of strength and grace; sometimes the life is put into the common leaves, just under the blossom, and they become scarlet or purple; sometimes the life is
20 put into the stalks of the flower and they flush blue; sometimes into its outer enclosure or calyx; mostly into its inner cup; but, in all cases, the presence of the strongest life is asserted by characters in which the human sight takes pleasure, and which seem prepared with distinct
25 evidence of having been produced by the power of the same spirit as our own.

62. And we are led to feel this still more strongly because all the distinctions of species,¹ both in plants and

¹ The facts on which I am about to dwell are in nowise antagonistic to the theories which Mr. Darwin's^o unwearied and unerring investigations are every day rendering more probable. The æsthetic relations of species are independent of their origin. Nevertheless, it has always seemed to me, in what little work I have done upon organic forms, as if the species mocked us by

animals, appear to have similar connection with human character. Whatever the origin of species may be, or however those species, once formed, may be influenced by external accident, the groups into which birth or accident reduce them have distinct relation to the spirit of man. It is perfectly possible, and ultimately conceivable, that the crocodile and the lamb may have descended from the same ancestral atom of protoplasm; and that the physical laws of the operation of calcareous slime^o and of meadow grass, on that protoplasm, may in time have developed the opposite natures and aspects of the living frames; but the practically important fact for us is the existence of a power which creates that calcareous earth itself, — which creates, that separately — and quartz, separately; and gold, separately; and charcoal, separately; and then so directs the relation of these elements as that the gold shall destroy the souls of men by being yellow; and the charcoal destroy their souls by being hard and bright; and the quartz represent to them an ideal purity; and the calcareous earth, soft, shall beget crocodiles, and, dry and hard, sheep; and that the aspects and qualities of these two products, crocodiles and lambs, shall be, the one repellent to the spirit of man, the other attractive to it, in a quite inevitable way; representing to him states of moral evil and good; and becoming myths to him of destruction or redemption, and, in the most literal sense, “words” of God.

63. And the force of these facts cannot be escaped from by the thought that there are species innumerable, passing into each other by regular gradations, out of which we choose what we most love or dread, and say they were their deliberate imitation of each other when they met; yet did not pass one into another.

indeed prepared for us. Species are not innumerable; neither are they now connected by consistent gradation. They touch at certain points only; and even then are connected, when we examine them deeply, in a kind of reticulated way, not in chains, but in chequers; also, however
5 connected, it is but by a touch of the extremities, as it were, and the characteristic form of the species is entirely individual. The rose nearly sinks into a grass in the sanguisorba; but the formative spirit does not the less clearly
10 separate the ear of wheat from the dog-rose, and oscillate with tremulous constancy round the central forms of both, having each their due relation to the mind of man. The great animal kingdoms are connected in the same way. The bird through the penguin drops towards the fish, and
15 the fish in the cetacean reascends to the mammal, yet there is no confusion of thought possible between the perfect forms of an eagle, a trout, and a war-horse, in their relations to the elements, and to man.

64. Now we have two orders of animals to take some
20 note of in connection with Athena, and one vast order of plants, which will illustrate this matter very sufficiently for us.

The orders of animals are the serpent and the bird: the serpent, in which the breath or spirit is less than in any
25 other creature, and the earth-power greatest; the bird, in which the breath or spirit is more full than in any other creature, and the earth-power least.

65. We will take the bird first. It is little more than a drift of the air brought into form by plumes; the air is in
30 all its quills, it breathes through its whole frame and flesh, and glows with air in its flying, like blown flame; it rests upon the air, subdues it, surpasses it, outraces it, — *is* the air, conscious of itself, conquering itself, ruling itself.

Also, in the throat of the bird is given the voice of the air. All that in the wind itself is weak, wild, useless in sweetness, is knit together in its song. As we may imagine the wild form of the cloud closed into the perfect form of the bird's wings, so the wild voice of the cloud into its 5 ordered and commanded voice; unwearied, rippling through the clear heaven in its gladness, interpreting all intense passion through the soft spring nights, bursting into acclaim and rapture of choir at daybreak, or lispings and twittering among the boughs and hedges through heat 10 of day, like little winds that only make the cowslip bells shake, and ruffle the petals of the wild rose.

66. Also, upon the plumes of the bird are put the colors of the air; on these the gold of the cloud, that cannot be gathered by any covetousness; the rubies of the clouds, 15 that are not the price of Athena, but *are* Athena; the vermilion of the cloud-bar, and the flame of the cloud-crest, and the snow of the cloud, and its shadow, and the melted blue of the deep wells of the sky, — all these, seized by the creating spirit, and woven by Athena herself into films 20 and threads of plume; with wave on wave following and fading along breast, and throat, and opened wings, infinite as the dividing of the foam and the sifting of the sea-sand; even the white down of the cloud seeming to flutter up between the stronger plumes, — seen, but too soft for 25 touch.

And so the Spirit of the Air is put into, and upon, this created form; and it becomes, through twenty centuries, the symbol of divine help, descending, as the Fire, to speak,° but as the Dove, to bless.° 30

67. Next, in the serpent we approach the source of a group of myths, world-wide, founded on great and common human instincts, respecting which I must note one or

two points which bear intimately on all our subject. For it seems to me that the scholars who are at present occupied in interpretation of human myths have most of them forgotten that there are any such thing as natural
5 myths, and that the dark sayings of men may be both difficult to read, and not always worth reading, but the dark sayings of nature will probably become clearer for the looking into, and will very certainly be worth reading. And, indeed, all guidance to the right sense of the human
10 and variable myths will probably depend on our first getting at the sense of the natural and invariable ones. The dead hieroglyph^o may have meant this or that; the living hieroglyph means always the same; but remember, it is just as much a hieroglyph as the other; nay, more, — a
15 “sacred or reserved sculpture,” a thing with an inner language. The serpent crest of the king’s crown, or of the god’s, on the pillars of Egypt, is a mystery, but the serpent itself, gliding past the pillar’s foot, is it less a mystery? Is there, indeed, no tongue, except the mute forked flash
20 from its lips, in that running brook of horror on the ground?

68. Why that horror? We all feel it, yet how imaginative it is, how disproportioned to the real strength of the creature! There is more poison in an ill-kept drain, in a
25 pool of dish-washings at a cottage door, than in the deadliest asp of Nile. Every back yard which you look down into from the railway, as it carries you out by Vauxhall or Deptford, holds its coiled serpent; all the walls of those ghastly suburbs are enclosures of tank temples for serpent-
30 worship; yet you feel no horror in looking down into them, as you would if you saw the livid scales and lifted head. There is more venom, mortal, inevitable, in a single word, sometimes, or in the gliding entrance of a wordless thought,

than ever "vanti Libia con sua rena."^o But that horror is of the myth, not of the creature. There are myriads lower than this, and more loathsome, in the scale of being; the links between dead matter and animation drift everywhere unseen. But it is the strength of the base element 5 that is so dreadful in the serpent; it is the very omnipotence of the earth. That rivulet of smooth silver, how does it flow, think you? It literally rows on the earth, with every scale for an oar; it bites the dust with the ridges of its body. Watch it, when it moves slowly. A 10 wave, but without wind! a current, but with no fall! all the body moving at the same instant, yet some of it to one side, some to another, or some forward, and the rest of the coil backwards, but all with the same calm will and equal way, no contraction, no extension; one sound- 15 less, causeless, march of sequent rings, and spectral processions of spotted dust, with dissolution in its fangs, dislocation in its coils. Startle it, the winding stream will become a twisted arrow; the wave of poisoned life will lash through the grass like a cast lance.¹ It scarcely 20

¹ I cannot understand this swift forward motion of serpents. The seizure of prey by the constrictor, though invisibly swift, is quite simple in mechanism; it is simply the return to its coil of an opened watch-spring, and is just as instantaneous. But the steady and continuous motion, without a visible fulcrum (for the 25 whole body moves at the same instant, and I have often seen even small snakes glide as fast as I could walk), seems to involve a vibration of the scales quite too rapid to be conceived. The motion of the crest and dorsal fin of the hippocampus,^o which is one of the intermediate types between serpent and fish, perhaps 30 gives some resemblance of it, dimly visible, for the quivering turns the fin into a mere mist. The entrance of the two barbs of a bee's sting by alternate motion, "the teeth of one barb acting as a fulcrum for the other," must be something like the serpent motion on a small scale.

- breathes with its one lung (the other shrivelled and abortive); it is passive to the sun and shade, and is cold or hot like a stone; yet "it can outclimb the monkey, outswim the fish, outleap the zebra, outwrestle the athlete, and crush the tiger."¹ It is a divine hieroglyph of the demoniac power of the earth, of the entire earthly nature. As the bird is the clothed power of the air, so this is the clothed power of the dust; as the bird the symbol of the spirit of life, so this of the grasp and sting of death.
- 5 69. Hence the continual change in the interpretation put upon it in various religions. As the worm of corruption, it is the mightiest of all adversaries of the gods — the special adversary of their light and creative power — Python against Apollo. As the power of the earth against
15 the air, the giants are serpent-bodied in the Gigantomachia^o; but as the power of the earth upon the seed — consuming it into new life ("that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die")^o — serpents sustain the chariot of the spirit of agriculture.
- 20 70. Yet, on the other hand, there is a power in the earth to take away corruption, and to purify (hence the very fact of burial, and many uses of earth, only lately known); and in this sense the serpent is a healing spirit, — the representative^o of *Æsculapius*,^o and of *Hygieia*^o; and is a
25 sacred earth-type in the temple of the Dew, being there especially a symbol of the native earth of Athens; so that its departure from the temple was a sign to the Athenians that they were to leave their homes. And then, lastly, as there is a strength and healing in the earth, no less than
30 the strength of air, so there is conceived to be a wisdom of earth no less than a wisdom of the spirit; and when its deadly power is killed, its guiding power becomes true; so

¹ Richard Owen.

that the Python serpent is killed at Delphi,^o where yet the oracle is from the breath of the earth.

71. You must remember, however, that in this, as in every other instance, I take the myth at its central time. This is only the meaning of the serpent to the Greek mind 5 which could conceive an Athena. Its first meaning to the nascent eyes^o of men, and its continued influence over degraded races, are subjects of the most fearful mystery. Mr. Fergusson has just collected the principal evidence bearing on the matter in a work of very great value, 10 and if you read his opening chapters, they will put you in possession of the circumstances needing chiefly to be considered. I cannot touch upon any of them here, except only to point out that, though the doctrine of the so-called "corruption of human nature," asserting that there is 15 nothing but evil in humanity, is just as blasphemous and false as a doctrine of the corruption of physical nature would be, asserting there was nothing but evil in the earth, — there is yet the clearest evidence of a disease, plague, or cretinous imperfection of development, hitherto allowed 20 to prevail against the greater part of the races of men; and this in monstrous ways, more full of mystery than the serpent-being itself. I have gathered for you to-night only instances of what is beautiful in Greek religion; but even in its best time there were deep corruptions in other 25 phases of it, and degraded forms of many of its deities, all originating in a misunderstood worship of the principle of life; while in the religions of lower races, little less than these corrupted forms of devotion can be found, all having a strange and dreadful consistency with each other, and 30 infecting Christianity, even at its strongest periods, with fatal terror of doctrine, and ghastliness of symbolic conception, passing through fear into frenzied grotesque,^o and thence into sensuality.

In the Psalter of St. Louis^o itself, half of its letters are twisted snakes; there is scarcely a wreathed ornament, employed in Christian dress, or architecture, which cannot be traced back to the serpent's coil; and there is rarely
5 a piece of monkish decorated writing in the world that is not tainted with some ill-meant vileness of grotesque, — nay, the very leaves of the twisted ivy-pattern of the fourteenth century can be followed back to wreaths for the foreheads of bacchanalian gods. And truly, it seems
10 to me, as I gather in my mind the evidences of insane religion, degraded art, merciless war, sullen toil, detestable pleasure, and vain or vile hope, in which the nations of the world have lived since first they could bear record of themselves — it seems to me, I say, as if the race itself
15 were still half-serpent, not extricated yet from its clay; a lacertine^o breed of bitterness — the glory of it emaciate with cruel hunger, and blotted with venomous stain, and the track of it, on the leaf a glittering slime, and in the sand a useless furrow.

20 72. There are no myths, therefore, by which the moral state and fineness of intelligence of different races can be so deeply tried or measured, as by those of the serpent and the bird; both of them having an especial relation to the kind of remorse for sin, or for grief in fate, of which the
25 national minds that spoke by them had been capable. The serpent and vulture are alike emblems of immortality and purification among races which desired to be immortal and pure; and as they recognize their own misery, the serpent becomes to them the scourge of the Furies, and
30 the vulture finds its eternal prey in their breast. The bird long contests among the Egyptians with the still received serpent symbol of power. But the Draconian image of evil is established in the serpent Apap; while

the bird's wings, with the globe, become part of a better symbol of deity, and the entire form of the vulture, as an emblem of purification, is associated with the earliest conception of Athena. In the type of the dove with the olive branch,^o the conception of the spirit of Athena in renewed 5 life prevailing over ruin is embodied for the whole of futurity; while the Greeks, to whom, in a happier climate and higher life than that of Egypt, the vulture symbol of cleansing became unintelligible, took the eagle instead for their hieroglyph of supreme spiritual energy, and it thence- 10 forward retains its hold on the human imagination, till it is established among Christian myths as the expression of the most exalted form of evangelistic teaching. The special relation of Athena to her favorite bird we will trace presently; the peacock of Hera,^o and dove of Aphro- 15 dite,^o are comparatively unimportant myths; but the bird power is soon made entirely human by the Greeks in their flying angel of victory (partially human, with modified meaning of evil, in the Harpy and Siren); and thenceforward it associates itself with the Hebrew cherubim,^o 20 and has had the most singular influence on the Christian religion by giving its wings to render the conception of angels mysterious and untenable, and check rational endeavor to determine the nature of subordinate spiritual agency; while yet it has given to that agency a vague poet- 25 ical influence of the highest value in its own imaginative way.

73. But with the early serpent-worship there was associated another, that of the groves, of which you will also find the evidence exhaustively collected in Mr. Fergus- 30 son's^o work. This tree-worship may have taken a dark form when associated with the Draconian one^o; or opposed, as in Judea,^o to a purer faith; but in itself, I believe, it

was always healthy, and though it retains little definite hieroglyphic power in subsequent religion, it becomes, instead of symbolic, real; the flowers and trees are themselves beheld and beloved with a half-worshipping delight
 5 which is always noble and healthful.

And it is among the most notable indications of the volition of the animating power that we find the ethical signs of good and evil set on these also, as well as upon animals; the venom of the serpent, and in some respects its image
 10 also, being associated even with the passionless growth of the leaf out of the ground; while the distinctions of species seem appointed with more definite ethical address to the intelligence of man as their material products become more useful to him.

15 74. I can easily show this, and, at the same time, make clear the relation to other plants of the flowers which especially belong to Athena, by examining the natural myths in the groups of the plants which would be used at any country dinner, over which Athena would, in her simplest
 20 household authority, cheerfully rule here in England. Suppose Horace's favorite dish of beans, with the bacon; potatoes; some savory stuffing of onions and herbs, with the meat; celery, and a radish or two, with the cheese; nuts and apples for dessert, and brown bread.

25 75. The beans are, from earliest time, the most important and interesting of the seeds of the great tribe of plants from which came the Latin and French name for all kitchen vegetables, — things that are gathered with the hand — podded seeds that cannot be reaped, or beaten,
 30 or shaken down, but must be gathered green. "Leguminous" plants,^o all of them having flowers like butterflies, seeds in (frequently pendent) pods, — "*lætum siliqua quassante legumen*"^o — smooth and tender leaves,

divided into many minor ones ; strange adjuncts of tendril, for climbing (and sometimes of thorn) ; exquisitely sweet, yet pure, scents of blossom, and almost always harmless, if not serviceable, seeds. It is of all tribes of plants the most definite, its blossoms being entirely limited in their 5 parts, and not passing into other forms. It is also the most usefully extended in range and scale ; familiar in the height of the forest — acacia, laburnum, Judas-tree ; familiar in the sown field — bean and vetch^o and pea ; familiar in the pasture — in every form of clustered clover 10 and sweet trefoil tracery^o ; the most entirely serviceable and human of all orders of plants.

76. Next, in the potato, we have the scarcely innocent underground stem of one of a tribe set aside for evil ; having the deadly nightshade for its queen, and including the 15 henbane, the witch's mandrake, and the worst natural curse of modern civilization — tobacco.¹ And the strange thing about this tribe is, that though thus set aside for evil, they are not a group distinctly separate from those that are happier in function. There is nothing in other tribes of 20 plants like the form of the bean blossom ; but there is another family with forms and structure closely connected with this venomous one. Examine the purple and yellow bloom of the common hedge nightshade ; you will find it constructed exactly like some of the forms of the 25 cyclamen, and, getting this clue, you will find at last the whole poisonous and terrible group to be — sisters of the primulas !

The nightshades are, in fact, primroses with a curse upon them ; and a sign set in their petals, by which the 30

¹ It is not easy to estimate the demoralizing effect on the youth of Europe of the cigar, in enabling them to pass their time happily in idleness.

deadly and condemned flowers may always be known from the innocent ones, — that the stamens of the nightshades are between the lobes, and of the primulas, opposite the lobes, of the corolla.°

5 77. Next, side by side, in the celery and radish, you have the two great groups of umbelled and cruciferous plants°; alike in conditions of rank among herbs: both flowering in clusters; but the umbelled group, flat, the crucifers, in spires; both of them mean and poor in the blossom, and
10 losing what beauty they have by too close crowding; both of them having the most curious influence on human character in the temperate zones of the earth, from the days of the parsley crown, and hemlock drink,° and mocked Euripidean chervil,° until now; but chiefly
15 among the northern nations, being especially plants that are of some humble beauty, and (the crucifers) of endless use, when they are chosen and cultivated; but that run to wild waste, and are the signs of neglected ground, in their rank or ragged leaves and meagre stalks, and pursed
20 or podded seed clusters. Capable, even under cultivation, of no perfect beauty, though reaching some subdued delightfulness in the lady's smock and the wallflower; for the most part they have every floral quality meanly, and in vain, — they are white, without purity; golden, with-
25 out preciousness; redundant, without richness; divided, without fineness; massive, without strength; and slender, without grace. Yet think over that useful vulgarity of theirs; and of the relations of German and English peasant character to its food of kraut and cabbage (as of Arab
30 character to its food of palm-fruit), and you will begin to feel what purposes of the forming spirit are in these distinctions of species.

78. Next we take the nuts and apples, — the nuts

representing one of the groups of catkined trees,^o whose blossoms are only tufts and dust; and the other, the rose tribe, in which fruit and flower alike have been the types, to the highest races of men, of all passionate temptation, or pure delight, from the coveting of Eve^o 5 to the crowning of the Madonna, above the

“Rosa sempiterna,
Che si dilata, rigrada, e ridole
Odor di lode al Sol.”^o

We have no time now for these, we must go on to the hum- 10 blest group of all, yet the most wonderful, that of the grass which has given us our bread; and from that we will go back to the herbs.

79. The vast family of plants which, under rain, make the earth green for man, and, under sunshine, give him 15 bread, and, in their springing in the early year, mixed with their native flowers, have given us (far more than the new leaves of trees) the thought and word of “spring,” divide themselves broadly into three great groups — the grasses, sedges, and rushes. The grasses are essentially a clothing 20 for healthy and pure ground, watered by occasional rain but in itself dry, and fit for all cultivated pasture and corn. They are distinctively plants with round and jointed stems, which have long green flexible leaves, and heads of seed, independently emerging from them. The 25 sedges are essentially the clothing of waste and more or less poor or uncultivated soils, coarse in their structure, frequently triangular in stem — hence called “acute” by Virgil — and with their heads of seed not extricated from their leaves. Now, in both the sedges and grasses, the 30 blossom has a common structure, though undeveloped in the sedges, but composed always of groups of double husks,

which have mostly a spinous process^o in the centre, sometimes projecting into a long awn or beard^o; this central process being characteristic also of the ordinary leaves of mosses, as if a moss were a kind of ear of corn made permanently green on the ground, and with a new and distinct fructification. But the rushes differ wholly from the sedge and grass in their blossom structure. It is not a dual cluster, but a twice threefold one, so far separate from the grasses, and so closely connected with a higher order of plants, that I think you will find it convenient to group the rushes at once with that higher order, to which, if you will for the present let me give the general name of Drosidæ, or dew-plants, it will enable me to say what I have to say of them much more shortly and clearly.

80. These Drosidæ, then, are plants delighting in interrupted moisture — moisture which comes either partially or at certain seasons — into dry ground. They are not water-plants, but the signs of water resting among dry places. Many of the true water-plants have triple blossoms, with a small triple calyx holding them; in the Drosidæ the floral spirit passes into the calyx also, and the entire flower becomes a six-rayed star, bursting out of the stem laterally, as if it were the first of flowers and had made its way to the light by force through the unwilling green. They are often required to retain moisture or nourishment for the future blossom through long times of drought; and this they do in bulbs under ground, of which some become a rude and simple, but most wholesome, food for man.

81. So, now, observe, you are to divide the whole family of the herbs of the field into three great groups, — Drosidæ, Carices,¹ Gramineæ, — dew-plants, sedges, and grasses.

¹ I think *Carex* will be found ultimately better than *Cyperus* for

Then the Drosidæ are divided into five great orders: lilies, asphodels, amaryllids, irids, and rushes.^o No tribes of flowers have had so great, so varied, or so healthy an influence on man as this great group of Drosidæ, depending, not so much on the whiteness of some of their blossoms, or the radiance of others, as on the strength and delicacy of the substance of their petals; enabling them to take forms of faultless elastic curvature, either in cups, as the crocus, or expanding bells, as the true lily, or heath-like bells, as the hyacinth, or bright and perfect stars, like the star of Bethlehem, or, when they are affected by the strange reflex of the serpent nature which forms the labiate group of all flowers, closing into forms of exquisitely fantastic symmetry in the gladiolus. Put by their side their Nereid sisters, the water-lilies,^o and you have in them the origin of the loveliest forms of ornamental design, and the most powerful floral myths yet recognized among human spirits, born by the streams of Ganges, Nile, Arno, and Avon.^o

82. For consider a little what each of those five tribes² has been to the spirit of man. First, in their nobleness, the lilies gave the lily of the Annunciation^o; the asphodels, the flower of the Elysian fields; the irids, the fleur-de-lys^o of chivalry; and the amaryllids, Christ's lily of the field^o; while the rush, trodden always under foot, became the emblem of humility. Then take each of the tribes, and

the generic name, being the Vergilian word, and representing a larger sub-species.

² Take this rough distinction of the four tribes: lilies, superior ovary, white seeds; asphodels, superior ovary, black seeds; irids, inferior ovary, style (typically) rising into central crest; amaryllids, inferior ovary, stamens (typically) joined in central cup. Then the rushes are a dark group, through which they stoop to the grasses.

consider the extent of their lower influence. Perdita's^o "The crown imperial, lilies of all kinds," are the first tribe, which, giving the type of perfect purity in the Madonna's lily, have, by their lovely form, influenced the entire decorative design of Italian sacred art; while ornament of war was continually enriched by the curves of the triple petals of the Florentine "giglio,"^o and French fleur-de-lys; so that it is impossible to count their influence for good in the middle ages, partly as a symbol of womanly character, and partly of the utmost brightness and refinement of chivalry in the city which was the flower of cities.

Afterwards, the group of the turban-lilies, or tulips, did some mischief (their splendid stains having made them the favorite caprice of florists); but they may be pardoned all such guilt for the pleasure they have given in cottage gardens, and are yet to give, when lowly life may again be possible among us; and the crimson bars of the tulips in their trim beds, with their likeness in crimson bars of morning above them, and its dew glittering heavy, globed in their glossy cups, may be loved better than the gray nettles of the ash heap, under gray sky, unveined by vermilion or by gold.^o

83. The next great group, of the asphodels, divides itself also into two principal families: one, in which the flowers are like stars, and clustered characteristically in balls, though opening sometimes into looser heads; and the other, in which the flowers are in long bells, opening suddenly at the lips, and clustered in spires on a long stem, or drooping from it, when bent by their weight.

The star-group, of the squills, garlics, and onions, has always caused me great wonder. I cannot understand why its beauty, and serviceableness, should have been as-

sociated with the rank scent which has been really among the most powerful means of degrading peasant life, and separating it from that of the higher classes.

The belled group, of the hyacinth and convallaria,^o is as delicate as the other is coarse; the unspeakable azure 5 light along the ground of the wood hyacinth in English spring; the grape hyacinth, which is in south France, as if a cluster of grapes and a hive of honey had been distilled and compressed together into one small boss of celled and beaded blue; the lilies of the valley everywhere, in each 10 sweet and wild recess of rocky lands, — count the influences of these on childish and innocent life; then measure the mythic power of the hyacinth and asphodel as connected with Greek thoughts of immortality; finally take their useful and nourishing power in ancient and 15 modern peasant life, and it will be strange if you do not feel what fixed relation exists between the agency of the creating spirit in these, and in us who live by them.

84. It is impossible to bring into any tenable compass for our present purpose, even hints of the human influence 20 of the two remaining orders of Amaryllids and Irids; only note this generally, that while these in northern countries share with the Primulas the fields of spring, it seems that in Greece, the primulaceæ are not an extended tribe, while the crocus, narcissus,^o and Amaryllis lutea, the “lily of 25 the field” (I suspect also that the flower whose name we translate “violet” was in truth an iris) represented to the Greek the first coming of the breath of life on the renewed herbage; and became in his thoughts the true embroidery of the saffron robe of Athena. Later in the year, the dian- 30 thus (which, though belonging to an entirely different race of plants, has yet a strange look of having been made out of the grasses by turning the sheath-membrane at the

root of their leaves into a flower) seems to scatter, in multitudinous families, its crimson stars far and wide. But the golden lily and crocus, together with the asphodel, retain always the old Greek's fondest thoughts, — they
5 are only "golden" flowers that are to burn on the trees, and float on the streams of paradise.

85. I have but one tribe of plants more to note at our country feast — the savory herbs; but must go a little out of my way to come at them rightly. All flowers whose
10 petals are fastened together, and most of those whose petals are loose, are best thought of first as a kind of cup or tube opening at the mouth. Sometimes the opening is gradual, as in the convolvulus or campanula; oftener there is a distinct change of direction between the tube and ex-
15 panding lip, as in the primrose; or even a contraction under the lip, making the tube into a narrow-necked phial or vase, as in the heaths; but the general idea of a tube expanding into a quatrefoil, cinquefoil, or sixfoil,^o will embrace most of the forms.

20 86. Now, it is easy to conceive that flowers of this kind, growing in close clusters, may, in process of time, have extended their outside petals rather than the interior ones (as the outer flowers of the clusters of many umbellifers actually do), and thus elongated and variously distorted
25 forms have established themselves; then if the stalk is attached to the side instead of the base of the tube, its base becomes a spur, and thus all the grotesque forms of the mints, violets, and larkspurs, gradually might be composed. But, however this may be, there is one great tribe
30 of plants separate from the rest, and of which the influence seems shed upon the rest in different degrees; and these would give the impression, not so much of having been developed by change, as of being stamped with a character

of their own, more or less serpentine or dragon-like. And I think you will find it convenient to call these generally, *Draconidæ*; disregarding their present ugly botanical name which I do not care even to write once — you may take for their principal types the foxglove, snapdragon, 5 and calceolaria^o; and you will find they all agree in a tendency to decorate themselves by spots, and with bosses or swollen places in their leaves, as if they had been touched by poison. The spot of the foxglove is especially strange, because it draws the color out of the tissue all around it, 10 as if it had been stung, and as if the central color was really an inflamed spot, with paleness round.^o Then also they carry to its extreme the decoration by bulging or pouting the petal, — often beautifully used by other flowers in a minor degree, like the beating out of bosses in hollow silver, 15 as in the kalmia, beaten out apparently in each petal by the stamens instead of a hammer; or the borage,^o pouting inwards; but the snapdragons and calceolarias carry it to its extreme.

87. Then the spirit of these *Draconidæ* seems to pass 20 more or less into other flowers, whose forms are properly pure vases; but it affects some of them slightly, others not at all. It never strongly affects the heaths; never once the roses; but it enters like an evil spirit into the buttercup, and turns it into a larkspur, with a black, spotted, gro- 25 tesque centre, and a strange, broken blue, gorgeous and intense, yet impure, glittering on the surface as if it were strewn with broken glass, and stained or darkening irregularly into red. And then at last the serpent charm changes the ranunculus into monkshood, and makes it poisonous. 30 It enters into the forget-me-not, and the star of heavenly turquoise is corrupted into the viper's bugloss, darkened with the same strange red as the larkspur, and fretted into

a fringe of thorn ; it enters, together with a strange insect-spirit, into the asphodels, and (though with a greater interval between the groups) they change into spotted orchideæ ; it touches the poppy, it becomes a fumaria ; the iris, 5 and it pouts into a gladiolus ; the lily, and it chequers itself into a snake's-head, and secretes in the deep of its bell, drops, not of venom indeed, but honey-dew, as if it were a healing serpent. For there is an Æsculapian^o as well as an evil serpentry among the Draconidæ, and the fairest of 10 them, the "erba della Madonna"^o of Venice (*Linaria Cymbalaria*), descends from the ruins it delights in to the herbage at their feet, and touches it ; and behold, instantly, a vast group of herbs for healing, — all draconid in form, — spotted and crested, and from their lip-like corollas 15 named "labiate"^o ; full of various balm, and warm strength for healing,^o yet all of them without splendid honor or perfect beauty, "ground ivies," richest when crushed under the foot ; the best sweetness and gentle brightness of the robes of the field, — thyme, and mar- 20 joram, and Euphrasy.

88. And observe, again and again, with respect to all these divisions and powers of plants: it does not matter in the least by what concurrences of circumstance or necessity they may gradually have been developed ; the 25 concurrence of circumstance is itself the supreme and inexplicable fact. We always come at last to a formative cause, which directs the circumstance, and mode of meeting it. If you ask an ordinary botanist^o the reason of the form of a leaf, he will tell you it is a "developed tubercle," and that its ultimate form "is owing to the directions 30 of its vascular threads." But what directs its vascular threads? "They are seeking for something they want," he will probably answer. What made them want that?

What made them seek for it thus? Seek for it, in five fibres or in three? Seek for it, in serration, or in sweeping curves? Seek for it, in servile tendrils, or impetuous spray? Seek for it, in woollen wrinkles rough with stings, or in glossy surfaces, green with pure strength, and winter-⁵ less delight?

89. There is no answer. But the sum of all is, that over the entire surface of the earth, and its waters, as influenced by the power of the air under solar light, there is developed a series of changing forms, in clouds, plants, and animals, ¹⁰ all of which have reference in their action, or nature, to the human intelligence that perceives them; and on which, in their aspects of horror and beauty, and their qualities of good and evil, there is engraved a series of myths, or words of the forming power, which, according to the true passion ¹⁵ and energy of the human race, they have been enabled to read into religion. And this forming power has been by all nations partly confused with the breath or air through which it acts, and partly understood as a creative wisdom, proceeding from the Supreme Deity; but entering into ²⁰ and inspiring all intelligences that work in harmony with Him. And whatever intellectual results may be in modern days obtained by regarding this effluence only as a motion of vibration, every formative human art hitherto, and the best states of human happiness and order, have ²⁵ depended on the apprehension of its mystery (which is certain), and of its personality, which is probable.

90. Of its influence on the formative arts, I have a few words to say separately: my present business is only to interpret, as we are now sufficiently enabled to do, the ex-³⁰ ternal symbols of the myth under which it was represented by the Greeks as a goddess of counsel, taken first into the breast of their supreme Deity, then created out of his

thoughts, and abiding closely beside him; always sharing and consummating his power.

91. And in doing this we have first to note the meaning of the principal epithet applied to Athena, "Glaukopis,"^o
 5 "with eyes full of light," the first syllable being connected, by its root, with words signifying sight, not with words signifying color. As far as I can trace the color perception of the Greeks, I find it all founded primarily on the degree of connection between color and light; the most
 10 important fact to them in the color of red being its connection with fire and sunshine; so that "purple" is, in its original sense, "fire-color," and the scarlet, or orange, of dawn, more than any other fire-color. I was long puzzled by Homer's calling the sea purple; and misled into think-
 15 ing he meant the color of cloud shadows on green sea; whereas he really means the gleaming blaze of the waves under wide light. Aristotle's^o idea (partly true) is that light, subdued by blackness, becomes red; and blackness, heated or lighted, also becomes red. Thus, a color may
 20 be called purple because it is light subdued (and so death is called "purple" or "shadowy" death); or else it may be called purple as being shade kindled with fire, and thus said of the lighted sea; or even of the sun itself, when it is thought of as a red luminary opposed to the whiteness
 25 of the moon: "purpureos inter soles, et candida lunæ sidera^o;" or of golden hair: "pro purpureo pœnam solvens scelerata capillo^o;" while both ideas are modified by the influence of an earlier form of the word, which has nothing to do with fire at all, but only with mixing or staining; and
 30 then, to make the whole group of thoughts inextricably complex, yet rich and subtle in proportion to their intricacy, the various rose and crimson colors of the murex-dye,^o — the crimson and purple of the poppy, and fruit

of the palm, — and the association of all these with the hue of blood, — partly direct, partly through a confusion between the word signifying “slaughter” and “palm-fruit color,” mingle themselves in, and renew the whole nature of the old word; so that, in later literature, it means a different color, or emotion of color, in almost every place where it occurs; and casts forever around the reflection of all that has been dipped in its dyes.

92. So that the word is really a liquid prism, and stream of opal. And then, last of all, to keep the whole history of it in the fantastic course of a dream, warped here and there into wild grotesque, we moderns, who have preferred to rule over coal-mines instead of the sea (and so have turned the everlasting lamp of Athena into a Davy’s safety-lamp^o in the hand of Britannia, and Athenian heavenly lightning into British subterranean “damp”),^o have actually got our purple out of coal instead of the sea! And thus, grotesquely, we have had enforced on us the doubt that held the old word between blackness and fire, and have completed the shadow, and the fear of it, by giving it a name from battle, “Magenta.”

93. There is precisely a similar confusion between light and color in the word used for the blue of the eyes of Athena — a noble confusion, however, brought about by the intensity of the Greek sense that the heaven is light, more than it is blue. I was not thinking of this when I wrote, in speaking of pictorial chiaroscuro,^o “The sky is not blue color merely: it is blue fire and cannot be painted” (Mod. P. iv. p. 36); but it was this that the Greeks chiefly felt of it, and so “Glaukopis” chiefly means gray-eyed; gray standing for a pale or luminous blue; but it only means “owl-eyed” in thought of the roundness and expansion, not from the color; this breadth and

brightness being, again, in their moral sense typical of the breadth, intensity, and singleness of the sight in prudence ("if thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light").^o Then the actual power of the bird to see in twilight enters into the type, and perhaps its general fineness of sense. "Before the human form was adopted, her (Athena's) proper symbol was the owl, a bird which seems to surpass all other creatures in acuteness of organic perception, its eye being calculated to observe objects which to all others are enveloped in darkness, its ear to hear sounds distinctly, and its nostrils to discriminate effluvia with such nicety that it has been deemed prophetic, from discovering the putridity of death even in the first stages of disease."¹

15 I cannot find anywhere an account of the first known occurrence of the type; but, in the early ones on Attic coins,^o the wide round eyes are clearly the principal things to be made manifest.

94. There is yet, however, another color of great importance in the conception of Athena — the dark blue of her ægis. Just as the blue or gray of her eyes was conceived as more light than color, so her ægis was dark blue, because the Greeks thought of this tint more as shade than color, and, while they used various materials in ornamentation, lapislazuli,^o carbonate of copper, or, perhaps, smalt,^o with real enjoyment of the blue tint, it was yet in their minds as distinctly representative of darkness as scarlet was of light, and, therefore, anything dark,² but especially

¹ Payne Knight^o in his "Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art," not trustworthy, being little more than a mass of conjectural memoranda, but the heap is suggestive, if well sifted.

² In the breastplate and shield of Atrides^o the serpents and bosses are all of this dark color, yet the serpents are said to be

the color of heavy thunder-cloud, was described by the same term. The physical power of this darkness of the

like rainbows; but through all this splendor and opposition of hue, I feel distinctly that the literal "splendor," with its relative shade, are prevalent in the conception; and that there is always a tendency to look through the hue to its cause. And in this feeling about color the Greeks are separated from the eastern nations, and from the best designers of Christian times. I cannot find that they take pleasure in color for its own sake; it may be in something more than color, or better; but it is not in the hue itself. When Homer describes cloud breaking from a mountain summit, the crags become visible in light, not in color; he feels only their flashing out in bright edges and trenchant shadows; above, the "infinite," "unspeakable" æther is torn open — but not the *blue* of it. He has scarcely any abstract pleasure in blue, 15 or green, or gold; but only in their shade or flame.

I have yet to trace the causes of this (which will be a long task, belonging to art questions, not to mythological ones); but it is, I believe, much connected with the brooding of the shadow of death over the Greeks without any clear hope of immortality. 20 The restriction of the color on their vases to dim red (or yellow) with black and white, is greatly connected with their sepulchral use, and with all the melancholy of Greek tragic thought; and in this gloom the failure of color-perception is partly noble, partly base: noble, in its earnestness, which raises the design of Greek 25 vases as far above the designing of mere colorist nations like the Chinese, as men's thoughts are above children's; and yet it is partly base and earthly, and inherently defective in one human faculty; and I believe it was one cause of the perishing of their art so swiftly, for indeed there is no decline so sudden, or down 30 to such utter loss and ludicrous depravity, as the fall of Greek design on its vases from the fifth to the third century B.C. On the other hand, the pure colored-gift, when employed for pleasure only, degrades in another direction; so that among the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese all intellectual progress in art has been 35 for ages rendered impossible by the prevalence of that faculty; and yet it is, as I have said again and again, the spiritual power of art; and its true brightness is the essential characteristic of all healthy schools.

ægis, fringed with lightning, is given quite simply when Jupiter himself uses it to overshadow Ida and the Plain of Troy,^o and withdraws it at the prayer of Ajax^o for light; and again when he grants it to be worn for a
 5 time by Apollo, who is hidden by its cloud when he strikes down Patroclus; but its spiritual power is chiefly expressed by a word signifying deeper shadow, — the gloom of Erebus,^o or of our evening, which when spoken of the ægis, signifies, not merely the indignation of Athena, but
 10 the entire hiding or withdrawal of her help, and beyond even this, her deadliest of all hostility, — the darkness by which she herself deceives and beguiles to final ruin those to whom she is wholly adverse; this contradiction of her own glory being the uttermost judgment upon human
 15 falsehood. Thus it is she who provokes Pandarus^o to the treachery which purposed to fulfil the rape of Helen^o by the murder of her husband in time of truce; and *then* the Greek king, holding his wounded brother's hand, prophesies against Troy the darkness of the ægis which
 20 shall be over all and forever.¹

95. This, then, finally, was the perfect color-conception of Athena: the flesh, snow-white (the hands, feet, and face of marble, even when the statue was hewn roughly in wood); the eyes of keen pale blue, often in statues represented by jewels; the long robe to the feet, crocus-colored;
 25 and the ægis thrown over it of thunderous purple; the helmet golden (Il. v. 744), and I suppose its crest also, as that of Achilles.

If you think carefully of the meaning and character
 30 which is now enough illustrated for you in each of these colors, and remember that the crocus-color and the purple

¹ ἔρεμνῆν Ἀίγλιδα πᾶσι. — Il. iv. 166.

were both of them developments, in opposite directions, of the great central idea of fire-color, or scarlet, you will see that this form of the creative spirit of the earth is conceived as robed in the blue, and purple, and scarlet, the white, and the gold, which have been recognized for the 5 sacred chords of colors, from the day when the cloud descended on a Rock more mighty than Ida.

96. I have spoken throughout, hitherto, of the conception of Athena, as it is traceable in the Greek mind; not as it was rendered by Greek art. It is matter of extreme 10 difficulty, requiring a sympathy at once affectionate and cautious, and a knowledge reaching the earliest springs of the religion of many lands, to discern through the imperfection, and, alas! more dimly yet, through the triumphs, of formative art, what kind of thoughts they were that ap- 15 pointed for it the tasks of its childhood, and watched by the awakening of its strength.

The religious passion is nearly always vividest when the art is weakest; and the technical skill only reaches its deliberate splendor when the ecstasy which gave it birth 20 has passed away forever.° It is as vain an attempt to reason out the visionary power or guiding influence of Athena in the Greek heart, from anything we now read, or possess, of the work of Phidias,° as it would be for the disciples of some new religion to infer the spirit of Chris- 25 tianity from Titian's "Assumption." The effective vitality of the religious conception can be traced only through the efforts of trembling hands, and strange pleasures of untaught eyes; and the beauty of the dream can no more be found in the first symbols by which it is expressed, than 30 a child's idea of fairyland can be gathered from its pencil scrawl, or a girl's love for her broken doll explained by the defaced features. On the other hand, the Athena of

Phidias was, in very fact, not so much the deity, as the darling, of the Athenian people. Her magnificence represented their pride and fondness, more than their piety; and the great artist, in lavishing upon her dignities which might be ended abruptly by the pillage they provoked, resigned, apparently without regret, the awe of her ancient memory; and (with only the careless remonstrance of a workman too strong to be proud) even the perfectness of his own art. Rejoicing in the protection of their goddess, and in their own hour of glory, the people of Athena robbed her, at their will, with the preciousness of ivory and gems; forgot or denied the darkness of the breastplate of judgment, and vainly bade its unappeasable serpents relax their coils in gold.

97. It will take me many a day yet — if days, many or few, are given me — to disentangle in anywise the proud and practised disguises of religious creeds from the instinctive arts which, grotesquely and indecorously, yet with sincerity, strove to embody them, or to relate. But I think the reader, by help even of the imperfect indications already given to him, will be able to follow, with a continually increasing security, the vestiges of the Myth of Athena; and to reanimate its almost evanescent shade, by connecting it with the now recognized facts of existent nature which it, more or less dimly, reflected and foretold. I gather these facts together in brief sum.

98. The deep of air that surrounds the earth enters into union with the earth at its surface, and with its waters, so as to be the apparent cause of their ascending into life. First, it warms them, and shades, at once, staying the heat of the sun's rays in its own body, but warding their force with its clouds. It warms and cools at once, with traffic of balm and frost; so that the white wreaths are with-

drawn from the field of the Swiss peasant by the glow of Libyan^o rock. It gives its own strength to the sea; forms and fills every cell of its foam; sustains the precipices, and designs the valleys of its waves; gives the gleam to their moving under the night, and the white fire to their plains under sunrise; lifts their voices along the rocks, bears above them the spray of birds, pencils through them the dimpling of unfooted sands. It gathers out of them a portion in the hollow of its hand: dyes, with that, the hills into dark blue, and their glaciers with dying rose; 10 inlays with that, for sapphire, the dome in which it has to set the cloud; shapes out of that the heavenly flocks: divides them, numbers, cherishes, bears them on its bosom, calls them to their journeys, waits by their rest; feeds from them the brooks that cease not, and strews with them 15 the dews that cease. It spins and weaves their fleece into wild tapestry, rends it, and renews; and flits and flames, and whispers, among the golden threads, thrilling them with a plectrum^o of strange fire that traverses them to and fro, and is enclosed in them like life. 20

It enters into the surface of the earth, subdues it, and falls together with it into fruitful dust, from which can be moulded flesh; it joins itself, in dew, to the substance of adamant, and becomes the green leaf out of the dry ground; it enters into the separated shapes of the earth 25 it has tempered, commands the ebb and flow of the current of their life, fills their limbs with its own lightness, measures their existence by its indwelling pulse, moulds upon their lips the words by which one soul can be known to another; is to them the hearing of the ear, and the beating 30 of the heart; and, passing away, leaves them to the peace that hears and moves no more.

99. This was the Athena of the greatest people of the

days of old. And opposite to the temple of this Spirit of the breath, and life-blood, of man and of beast, stood, on the Mount of Justice, and near the chasm which was haunted by the goddess-Avengers, an altar to a God unknown,^o — proclaimed at last to them, as one who, indeed, gave to all men, life, and breath, and all things; and rain from heaven, filling their hearts with food and gladness; a God who had made of one blood all nations of men who dwell on the face of all the earth,^o and had determined the times of their fate, and the bounds of their habitation.

100. We ourselves, fretted here in our narrow days, know less, perhaps, in very deed, than they, what manner of spirit we are of, or what manner of spirit we ignorantly
15 worship. Have we, indeed, desired the Desire of all nations? and will the Master whom we meant to seek, and the Messenger in whom we thought we delighted, confirm, when He comes to His temple, — or not find in its midst, — the tables heavy with gold for bread, and the seats that
20 are bought with the price of the dove^o? Or is our own land also to be left by its angered Spirit, — left among those, where sunshine vainly sweet, and passionate folly of storm, waste themselves in the silent places of knowledge that has passed away, and of tongues that have ceased?
25 This only we may discern assuredly: this, every true light of science, every mercifully-granted power, every wisely-restricted thought, teach us more clearly day by day, that in the heavens above, and the earth beneath, there is one continual and omnipotent presence of help, and of peace,
30 for all men who know that they live, and remember that they die.

III

ATHENA ERGANE¹

(Athena in the Heart)

VARIOUS NOTES RELATING TO THE CONCEPTION OF ATHENA AS THE DIRECTRESS OF THE IMAGINATION AND WILL

101. I HAVE now only a few words to say, bearing on what seems to me present need, respecting the third function of Athena, conceived as the directress of human passion, resolution, and labor.

Few words, for I am not yet prepared to give accurate 5 distinction between the intellectual rule of Athena and that of the Muses; but, broadly, the Muses, with their king, preside over meditative, historical, and poetic arts, whose end is the discovery of light or truth, and the creation of beauty; but Athena rules over moral passion, and 10 practically useful art. She does not make men learned, but prudent and subtle; she does not teach them to make their work beautiful, but to make it right.

In different places of my writings, and through many years of endeavor to define the laws of art, I have insisted 15 on this rightness in work, and on its connection with virtue of character, in so many partial ways, that the

¹ "Athena the worker, or having rule over work." The name was first given to her by the Athenians.

impression left on the reader's mind — if, indeed, it was ever impressed at all — has been confused and uncertain. In beginning the series of my corrected works, I wish this principle (in my own mind the foundation of every other) to
 5 be made plain, if nothing else is; and will try, therefore, to make it so, as far as, by any effort, I can put it into unmistakable words. And, first, here is a very simple statement of it, given lately in a lecture on the Architecture of the Valley of the Somme,^o which will be better read in
 10 this place than in its incidental connection with my account of the porches of Abbeville.

102. I had used, in a preceding part of the lecture, the expression, “by what faults” this Gothic architecture fell. We continually speak thus of works of art. We talk of
 15 their faults and merits, as of virtues and vices. What do we mean by talking of the faults of a picture, or the merits of a piece of stone?

The faults of a work of art are the faults of its workman, and its virtues his virtues.^o
 20 Great art is the expression of the mind of a great man, and mean art, that of the want of mind of a weak man. A foolish person builds foolishly, and a wise one, sensibly^o; a virtuous one, beautifully; and a vicious one, basely. If stone work is well put together, it means that a thought-
 25 ful man planned it, and a careful man cut it, and an honest man cemented it. If it has too much ornament, it means that its carver was too greedy of pleasure; if too little, that he was rude, or insensitive, or stupid, and the like. So that when once you have learned how to spell these
 30 most precious of all legends, — pictures and buildings, — you may read the characters of men, and of nations, in their art, as in a mirror; nay, as in a microscope, and magnified a hundredfold; for the character becomes pas-

sionate in the art, and intensifies itself in all its noblest or meanest delights. Nay, not only as in a microscope, but as under a scalpel, and in dissection; for a man may hide himself from you, or misrepresent himself to you, every other way; but he cannot in his work: there, be sure, you have him to the inmost. All that he likes, all that he sees, — all that he can do, — his imagination, his affections, his perseverance, his impatience, his clumsiness, cleverness, everything is there. If the work is a cobweb, you know it was made by a spider; if a honey-comb, by a bee; a wormcast is thrown up by a worm, and a nest wreathed by a bird; and a house built by a man, worthily, if he is worthy, and ignobly, if he is ignoble.

And always, from the least to the greatest, as the made thing is good or bad, so is the maker of it. 15

103. You all use this faculty of judgment more or less, whether you theoretically admit the principle or not. Take that floral gable;¹ you don't suppose the man who built Stonehenge^o could have built that, or that the man who built that, *would* have built Stonehenge? Do you think an old Roman would have liked such a piece of filigree work? or that Michael Angelo^o would have spent his time in twisting these stems of roses in and out? Or, of modern handicraftsmen, do you think a burglar, or a brute, or a pickpocket could have carved it? Could Bill Sykes^o have done it? or the Dodger, dexterous with finger and tool? You will find in the end, that *no man could have done it but exactly the man who did it*; and by looking close at it, you may, if you know your letters, read precisely the manner of man he was. 20 25 30

¹ The elaborate pediment above the central porch at the west end of Rouen Cathedral,^o pierced into a transparent web of tracery, and enriched with a border of "twisted eglantine."

104. Now I must insist on this matter, for a grave reason. Of all facts concerning art, this is the one most necessary to be known, that, while manufacture is the work of hands only, art is the work of the whole spirit of 5 man; and as that spirit is, so is the deed of it; and by whatever power of vice or virtue any art is produced, the same vice or virtue it reproduces and teaches. That which is born of evil begets evil^o; and that which is born of valor and honor, teaches valor and honor. All art is 10 either infection or education. It *must* be one or other of these.

105. This, I repeat, of all truths respecting art, is the one of which understanding is the most precious, and denial the most deadly. And I assert it the more, because it has 15 of late been repeatedly, expressly, and with contumely, denied, and that by high authority; and I hold it one of the most sorrowful facts connected with the decline of the arts among us, that English gentlemen, of high standing as scholars and artists, should have been blinded into the 20 acceptance, and betrayed into the assertion, of a fallacy which only authority such as theirs could have rendered for an instant credible. For the contrary of it is written in the history of all great nations; it is the one sentence always inscribed on the steps of their thrones; the one con- 25 cordant voice in which they speak to us out of their dust.

All such nations first manifest themselves as a pure and beautiful animal race, with intense energy and imagination. They live lives of hardship by choice, and by grand instinct of manly discipline; they become fierce and ir- 30 resistible soldiers; the nation is always its own army, and their king, or chief head of government, is always their first soldier. Pharaoh, or David, or Leonidas, or Valerius, or Barbarossa, or Cœur de Lion, or St. Louis, or Dandolo,

or Frederick the Great, — Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Roman, German, English, French, Venetian,^o — that is inviolable law for them all; their king must be their first soldier, or they cannot be in progressive power. Then, after their great military period, comes the domestic period; in ⁵ which, without betraying the discipline of war, they add to their great soldiership the delights and possessions of a delicate and tender home-life; and then, for all nations, is the time of their perfect art, which is the fruit, the evidence, the reward of their national ideal of character, ¹⁰ developed by the finished care of the occupations of peace. That is the history of all true art that ever was, or can be; palpably the history of it, — unmistakably, — written on the forehead of it in letters of light, in tongues of fire, by which the seal of virtue is branded as deep as ever ¹⁵ iron burnt into a convict's flesh the seal of crime. But always, hitherto, after the great period, has followed the day of luxury, and pursuit of the arts for pleasure only. And all has so ended.

106.^o Thus far of Abbeville building. Now I have ²⁰ here asserted two things, — first, the foundation of art in moral character; next, the foundation of moral character in war. I must make both these assertions clearer, and prove them.

First, of the foundation of art in moral character. Of ²⁵ course art-gift and amiability of disposition are two different things; for a good man is not necessarily a painter, nor does an eye for color necessarily imply an honest mind. But great art implies the union of both powers; it is the expression, by an art-gift, of a pure soul. If the gift is not ³⁰ there, we can have no art at all; and if the soul — and a right soul too — is not there, the art is bad, however dexterous.

107. But also, remember, that the art-gift itself is only the result of the moral character of generations. A bad woman may have a sweet voice; but that sweetness of voice comes of the past morality of her race. That she
5 can sing with it at all, she owes to the determination of laws of music by the morality of the past. Every act, every impulse, of virtue and vice, affects in any creature, face, voice, nervous power, and vigor and harmony of invention, at once. Perseverance in rightness of human conduct
10 renders, after a certain number of generations, human art possible; every sin clouds it, be it ever so little a one; and persistent vicious living and following of pleasure render, after a certain number of generations, all art impossible. Men are deceived by the long-suffering of the
15 laws of nature, and mistake, in a nation, the reward of the virtue of its sires, for the issue of its own sins. The time of their visitation will come, and that inevitably; for it is always true, that if the fathers have eaten sour grapes, the children's teeth are set on edge.^o And for the indi-
20 vidual, as soon as you have learned to read, you may, as I said, know him to the heart's core, through his art. Let his art-gift be never so great, and cultivated to the height by the schools of a great race of men, and it is still but a tapestry thrown over his own being and inner soul; and
25 the bearing of it will show, infallibly, whether it hangs on a man or on a skeleton. If you are dim-eyed, you may not see the difference in the fall of the folds at first, but learn how to look, and the folds themselves will become transparent, and you shall see through them the death's shape,
30 or the divine one, making the tissue above it as a cloud of light, or as a winding-sheet.

108. Then further, observe, I have said (and you will find it true, and that to the uttermost) that, as all lovely art is

rooted in virtue, so it bears fruit of virtue, and is didactic in its own nature. It is often didactic also in actually expressed thought, as Giotto's,^o Michael Angelo's, Dürer's,^o and hundreds more; but that is not its special function; it is didactic chiefly by being beautiful; but beautiful with 5 haunting thought, no less than with form, and full of myths that can be read only with the heart.

For instance, at this moment there is open beside me as I write, a page of Persian manuscript, wrought with wreathed azure and gold, and soft green, and violet, and 10 ruby and scarlet, into one field of pure resplendence. It is wrought to delight the eyes only; and does delight them; and the man who did it assuredly had eyes in his head; but not much more. It is not didactic art, but its author was happy; and it will do the good, and the harm, that 15 mere pleasure can do. But, opposite me, is an early Turner drawing of the lake of Geneva, taken about two miles from Geneva, on the Lausanne road, with Mont Blanc^o in the distance. The old city is seen lying beyond the waveless waters, veiled with a sweet misty veil of 20 Athena's weaving; a faint light of morning, peaceful exceedingly, and almost colorless, shed from behind the Voirons,^o increases into soft amber along the slope of the Salève, and is just seen, and no more, on the fair warm fields of its summit, between the folds of a white cloud 25 that rests upon the grass, but rises, high and tower-like, into the zenith of dawn above.

109. There is not as much color in that low amber light upon the hill-side as there is in the palest dead leaf. The lake is not blue, but gray in mist, passing into deep shadow 30 beneath the Voirons'^o pines; a few dark clusters of leaves, a single white flower, — scarcely seen, — are all the gladness given to the rocks of the shore. One of the ruby

spots of the eastern manuscript would give color enough for all the red that is in Turner's entire drawing. For the mere pleasure of the eye, there is not so much in all those lines of his, throughout the entire landscape, as in
 5 half an inch square of the Persian's page. What made him take pleasure in the low color that is only like the brown of a dead leaf? in the cold gray of dawn — in the one white flower among the rocks — in these — and no more than these?

10 110. He took pleasure in them because he had been bred among English fields and hills; because the gentleness of a great race was in his heart, and its powers of thought in his brain; because he knew the stories of the Alps, and of the cities at their feet; because he had read the Homeric
 15 legends of the clouds, and beheld the gods of dawn, and the givers of dew to the fields; because he knew the faces of the crags, and the imagery of the passionate mountains, as a man knows the face of his friend; because he had in him the wonder and sorrow concerning life and death,
 20 which are the inheritance of the Gothic soul from the days of its first sea kings^o; and also the compassion and the joy that are woven into the innermost fabric of every great imaginative spirit, born now in countries that have lived by the Christian faith with any courage or truth.
 25 And the picture contains also, for us, just this which its maker had in him to give; and can convey it to us, just so far as we are of the temper in which it must be received. It is didactic if we are worthy to be taught, not otherwise. The pure heart it will make more pure^o; the thoughtful,
 30 more thoughtful. It has in it no words for the reckless or the base.

111. As I myself look at it, there is no fault nor folly of my life — and both have been many and great — that

does not rise up against me, and take away my joy, and shorten my power of possession of sight, of understanding. And every past effort of my life, every gleam of rightness or good in it, is with me now, to help me in my grasp of this art, and its vision. So far as I can rejoice in, or interpret 5 either, my power is owing to what of right there is in me. I dare to say it, that, because through all my life I have desired good, and not evil; because I have been kind to many; have wished to be kind to all; have wilfully injured none; and because I have loved much, and 10 not selfishly; therefore, the morning light is yet visible to me on those hills, and you, who read, may trust my thought and word in such work as I have to do for you; and you will be glad afterwards that you have trusted them. 15

112. Yet, remember, — I repeat it again and yet again, — that I may for once, if possible, make this thing assuredly clear: the inherited art-gift must be there, as well as the life in some poor measure, or rescued fragment, right. This art-gift of mine could not have been won by 20 any work or by any conduct: it belongs to me by birthright, and came by Athena's will, from the air of English country villages, and Scottish hills. I will risk whatever charge of folly may come on me, for printing one of my many childish rhymes, written on a frosty day in Glen Farg, just 25 north of Loch Leven. It bears date 1st January, 1828. I was born on the 8th of February, 1819; and all that I ever could be, and all that I cannot be, the weak little rhyme already shows.

“Papa, how pretty those icicles are,
That are seen so near, — that are seen so far;
— Those dropping waters that come from the rocks
And many a hole, like the haunt of a fox. 30

That silvery stream that runs babbling along,
 Making a murmuring, dancing song.
 Those trees that stand waving upon the rock's side,
 And men, that, like spectres, among them glide.
 5 And waterfalls that are heard from far,
 And come in sight when very near.
 And the water-wheel that turns slowly round,
 Grinding the corn that — requires to be ground, —

(Political Economy of the future !)

10 ——— And mountains at a distance seen,
 And rivers winding through the plain.
 And quarries with their craggy stones,
 And the wind among them moans."

So foretelling Stones of Venice,^o and this essay on Athena.
 15 Enough now concerning myself.

113. Of Turner's life, and of its good and evil, both great, but the good immeasurably the greater, his work is in all things a perfect and transparent evidence. His biography is simply, "He did this, nor will ever another do
 20 its like again." Yet read what I have said of him, as compared with the great Italians, in the passages taken from the "Cestus of Aglaia," farther on, § 158, pp. 297, 298.

114. This, then, is the nature of the connection between
 25 morals with art. Now, secondly, I have asserted the foundation of both these, at least hitherto, in war. The reason of this too manifest fact is, that, until now, it has been impossible' for any nation, except a warrior one, to fix its mind wholly on its men, instead of on their posses-
 30 sions. Every great soldier nation thinks, necessarily, first of multiplying its bodies and souls of men, in good temper and strict discipline. As long as this is its political aim, it does not matter what it temporarily suffers, or loses,

either in numbers or in wealth; its morality and its arts (if it have national art-gift) advance together; but so soon as it ceases to be a warrior nation, it thinks of its possessions instead of its men; and then the moral and poetic powers vanish together. 5

115. It is thus, however, absolutely necessary to the virtue of war that it should be waged by personal strength, not by money or machinery. A nation that fights with a mercenary force, or with torpedoes instead of its own arms, is dying. Not but that there is more true courage in 10 modern than even in ancient war; but this is, first, because all the remaining life of European nations is with a morbid intensity thrown into their soldiers; and, secondly, because their present heroism is the culmination of centuries of inbred and traditional valor, which Athena taught 15 them by forcing them to govern the foam of the sea-wave and of the horse, — not the steam of kettles.

116. And further, note this, which is vital to us in the present crisis: If war is to be made by money and machinery, the nation which is the largest and most covetous 20 multitude will win. You may be as scientific as you choose; the mob that can pay more for sulphuric acid and gunpowder will at last poison its bullets, throw acid in your faces, and make an end of you; of itself, also, in good time, but of you first. And to the English people the choice of 25 its fate is very near now. It may spasmodically defend its property with iron walls a fathom thick, a few years longer — a very few. No walls will defend either it, or its havings, against the multitude that is breeding and spreading, faster than the clouds, over the habitable earth. We 30 shall be allowed to live by small pedler's business, and iron-mongery — since we have chosen those for our line of life — as long as we are found useful black servants to the

Americans,^o and are content to dig coals and sit in the cinders; and have still coals to dig, — they once exhausted, or got cheaper elsewhere, we shall be abolished. But if we think more wisely, while there is yet time, and set
5 our minds again on multiplying Englishmen, and not on cheapening English wares; if we resolve to submit to wholesome laws of labor and economy, and, setting our political squabbles aside, try how many strong creatures, friendly and faithful to each other, we can crowd into every
10 spot of English dominion, neither poison nor iron will prevail against us; nor traffic, nor hatred; the noble nation will yet, by the grace of Heaven, rule over the ignoble,^o and force of heart hold its own against fire-balls.^o

117. But there is yet a further reason for the dependence
15 of the arts on war. The vice and injustice of the world are constantly springing anew, and are only to be subdued by battle; the keepers of order and law must always be soldiers. And now, going back to the myth of Athena, we see that though she is first a warrior maid, she detests
20 war for its own sake; she arms Achilles and Ulysses in just quarrels, but she *disarms* Ares. She contends, herself, continually against disorder and convulsion, in the earth giants; she stands by Hercules' side in victory over all monstrous evil; in justice only she judges and makes war.^o
25 But in this war of hers she is wholly implacable. She has little notion of converting criminals. There is no faculty of mercy in her when she has been resisted. Her word is only, "I will mock when your fear cometh." Note the words that follow: "when your fear cometh as
30 desolation, and your destruction as a whirlwind^o;" for her wrath is of irresistible tempest: once roused, it is blind and deaf — rabies — madness of anger — darkness of the Dies Iræ.^o

And that is, indeed, the sorrowfullest fact we have to know about our own several lives. Wisdom never forgives. Whatever resistance we have offered to her law, she avenges forever; the lost hour can never be redeemed, and the accomplished wrong never atoned for. The best 5 that can be done afterwards, but for that, had been better; the falsest of all the cries of peace, where there is no peace,^o is that of the pardon of sin, as the mob expect it. Wisdom can "put away" sin, but she cannot pardon it; and she is apt, in her haste, to put away the sinner as well, when 10 the black ægis is on her breast.

118. And this is also a fact we have to know about our national life, that it is ended as soon as it has lost the power of noble Anger. When it paints over, and apologizes for its pitiful criminalities; and endures its false weights, and 15 its adulterated food; dares not to decide practically between good and evil, and can neither honor the one, nor smite the other, but sneers at the good, as if it were hidden evil, and consoles the evil with pious sympathy, and conserves it in the sugar of its leaden heart, — the end is 20 come.

119. The first sign, then, of Athena's presence with any people is that they become warriors, and that the chief thought of every man of them is to stand rightly in his rank, and not fail from his brother's side in battle. 25 Wealth, and pleasure, and even love, are all, under Athena's orders, sacrificed to this duty of standing fast in the rank of war.

But further: Athena presides over industry, as well as battle; typically, over women's industry; that brings 30 comfort with pleasantness. Her word to us all is: "Be well exercised, and rightly clothed. Clothed, and in your right minds^o; not insane and in rags, nor in soiled fine

clothes clutched from each other's shoulders. Fight and weave. Then I myself will answer for the course of the lance and the colors of the loom."

And now I will ask the reader to look with some care 5 through these following passages respecting modern multitudes and their occupations, written long ago, but left in fragmentary form, in which they must now stay, and be of what use they can.

120. It is not political economy to put a number of strong 10 men down on an acre of ground, with no lodging, and nothing to eat. Nor is it political economy to build a city on good ground, and fill it with store of corn and treasure, and put a score of lepers to live in it. Political economy creates together the means of life, and the living persons 15 who are to use them; and of both, the best and the most that it can, but imperatively the best, not the most. A few good and healthy men, rather than a multitude of diseased rogues; and a little real milk and wine rather than much chalk and petroleum; but the gist of the whole busi- 20 ness is that the men and their property must both be produced together — not one to the loss of the other. Property must not be created in lands desolate by exile of their people, nor multiplied and depraved humanity in lands barren of bread.

25 121. Nevertheless, though the men and their possessions are to be increased at the same time, the first object of thought is always to be the multiplication of a worthy people. The strength of the nation is in its multitude, not in its territory; but only in its sound multitude. It is one 30 thing, both in a man and a nation, to gain flesh, and another to be swollen with putrid humors. Not that multitude ever ought to be inconsistent with virtue. Two men should be wiser than one, and two thousand than two;

nor do I know another so gross fallacy in the records of human stupidity as that excuse for neglect of crime by greatness of cities. As if the first purpose of congregation were not to devise laws and repress crimes! As if bees and wasps could live honestly in flocks, — men, only in 5 separate dens! As if it were easy to help one another on the opposite sides of a mountain, and impossible on the opposite sides of a street! But when the men are true and good, and stand shoulder to shoulder, the strength of any nation is in its quantity of life, not in its land nor 10 gold. The more good men a state has, in proportion to its territory, the stronger the state. And as it has been the madness of economists to seek for gold instead of life, so it has been the madness of kings to seek for land instead of life. They want the town on the other side of the river, 15 and seek it at the spear point; it never enters their stupid heads that to double the honest souls in the town on *this* side of the river would make them stronger kings^o; and that this doubling might be done by the ploughshare instead of the spear, and through happiness instead of 20 misery.

Therefore, in brief, this is the object of all true policy and true economy: “utmost multitude of good men on every given space of ground” — imperatively always good, sound, honest men, — not a mob of white-faced 25 thieves. So that, on the one hand all aristocracy is wrong which is inconsistent with numbers; and on the other all numbers are wrong which are inconsistent with breeding.

122. Then, touching the accumulation of wealth for the maintenance of such men, observe, that you must never 30 use the terms “money” and “wealth” as synonymous. Wealth consists of the good, and therefore useful, things in the possession of the nation; money is only the written

or coined sign of the relative quantities of wealth in each person's possession. All money is a divisible title-deed, of immense importance as an expression of right to property, but absolutely valueless as property itself. Thus, supposing
5 a nation isolated from all others, the money in its possession is, at its maximum value, worth all the property of the nation, and no more, because no more can be got for it. And the money of all nations is worth, at its maximum, the property of all nations, and no more, for no more can
10 be got for it. Thus, every article of property produced increases, by its value, the value of all the money in the world, and every article of property destroyed, diminishes the value of all the money in the world. If ten men are
15 cast away on a rock, with a thousand pounds in their pockets, and there is on the rock neither food nor shelter, their money is worth simply nothing, for nothing is to be had for it. If they build ten huts, and recover a cask of biscuit from the wreck, then their thousand pounds, at its maximum value, is worth ten huts and a cask of
20 biscuit. If they make their thousand pounds into two thousand by writing new notes, their two thousand pounds are still worth ten huts and a cask of biscuit. And the law of relative value is the same for all the world, and all the people in it, and all their property, as for ten men on a
25 rock. Therefore, money is truly and finally lost in the degree in which its value is taken from it (ceasing in that degree to be money at all); and it is truly gained in the degree in which value is added to it. Thus, suppose the money coined by the nation be a fixed sum, divided very
30 minutely (say into francs and cents), and neither to be added to nor diminished. Then every grain of food and inch of lodging added to its possessions makes every cent in its pockets worth proportionally more, and every grain

of food it consumes, and inch of roof it allows to fall to ruin, makes every cent in its pockets worth less; and this with mathematical precision. The immediate value of the money at particular times and places depends, indeed, on the humors of the possessors of property; but the nation is in the one case gradually getting richer, and will feel the pressure of poverty steadily everywhere relaxing, whatever the humors of individuals may be; and, in the other case, is gradually growing poorer, and the pressure of its poverty will every day tell more and more, in ways that it cannot explain, but will most bitterly feel.

123. The actual quantity of money which it coins, in relation to its real property, is therefore only of consequence for convenience of exchange; but the proportion in which this quantity of money is divided among individuals expresses their various rights to greater or less proportions of the national property, and must not, therefore, be tampered with. The government may at any time, with perfect justice, double its issue of coinage, if it gives every man who had ten pounds in his pocket another ten pounds, and every man who had ten pence another ten pence; for it thus does not make any of them richer; it merely divides their counters for them into twice the number. But if it gives the newly-issued coins to other people, or keeps them itself, it simply robs the former holders to precisely that extent. This most important function of money, as a title-deed, on the non-violation of which all national soundness of commerce and peace of life depend, has been never rightly distinguished by economists from the quite unimportant function of money as a means of exchange. You can exchange goods—at some inconvenience, indeed, but still you can contrive to do it—without money at all; but you cannot maintain your claim

to the savings of your past life without a document declaring the amount of them, which the nation and its government will respect.

124. And as economists have lost sight of this great
5 function of money in relation to individual rights, so they
have equally lost sight of its function as a representative
of good things. That, for every good thing produced, so
much money is put into everybody's pocket, is the one
simple and primal truth for the public to know, and for
10 economists to teach. How many of them have taught it?
Some have; but only incidentally; and others will say
it is a truism.^o If it be, do the public know it? Does
your ordinary English householder know that every costly
dinner he gives has destroyed forever as much money as it
15 is worth? Does every well-educated girl — do even the
women in high political position — know that every fine
dress they wear themselves, or cause to be worn, destroys
precisely so much of the national money as the labor and
material of it are worth? If this be a truism, it is one that
20 needs proclaiming somewhat louder.

125. That, then, is the relation of money and goods.
So much goods, so much money; so little goods, so little
money. But, as there is this true relation between money
and "goods," or good things, so there is a false relation
25 between money and "bads," or bad things. Many bad
things will fetch a price in exchange; but they do not in-
crease the wealth of the country. Good wine is wealth,
drugged wine is not; good meat is wealth, putrid meat is
not; good pictures are wealth, bad pictures are not.
30 A thing is worth precisely what it can do for you; not
what you choose to pay for it. You may pay a thousand
pounds for a cracked pipkin, if you please; but you do
not by that transaction make the cracked pipkin worth

one that will hold water, nor that, nor any pipkin whatsoever, worth more than it was before you paid such sum for it. You may, perhaps, induce many potters to manufacture fissured pots, and many amateurs of clay to buy them; but the nation is, through the whole business so 5 encouraged, rich by the addition to its wealth of so many potsherds — and there an end. The thing is worth what it CAN do for you, not what you think it can; and most national luxuries, now-a-days, are a form of potsherd, provided for the solace of a self-complacent Job, voluntary 10 sedent on his ash-heap.°

126. And, also, so far as good things already exist, and have become media of exchange, the variations in their prices are absolutely indifferent to the nation. Whether Mr. A. buys a Titian from Mr. B. for twenty, or for two 15 thousand, pounds, matters not sixpence to the national revenue; that is to say, it matters in nowise to the revenue whether Mr. A. has the picture, and Mr. B. the money, or Mr. B. the picture, and Mr. A. the money. Which of them will spend the money most wisely, and which of them will 20 keep the picture most carefully, is, indeed, a matter of some importance; but this cannot be known by the mere fact of exchange.

127. The wealth of a nation then, first, and its peace and well-being besides, depend on the number of persons it 25 can employ in making good and useful things. I say its well-being also, for the character of men depends more on their occupations than on any teaching we can give them, or principles with which we can imbue them. The employment forms the habits of body and mind, and these 30 are the constitution of the man, — the greater part of his moral or persistent nature, whatever effort, under special excitement, he may make to change or overcome them.

Employment is the half, and the primal half, of education — it is the warp of it ; and the fineness or the endurance of all subsequently woven pattern depends wholly on its straightness and strength. And, whatever difficulty there
5 may be in tracing through past history the remoter connections of event and cause, one chain of sequence is always clear: the formation, namely, of the character of nations by their employments, and the determination of their final fate by their character. The moment, and the first direc-
10 tion of decisive revolutions, often depend on accident ; but their persistent course, and their consequences, depend wholly on the nature of the people. The passing of the Reform Bill by the late English Parliament may have been more or less accidental ; the results of the measure now
15 rest on the character of the English people, as it has been developed by their recent interests, occupations, and habits of life. Whether, as a body, they employ their new powers for good or evil will depend, not on their facilities of knowledge, nor even on the general intelligence they may possess,
20 but on the number of persons among them whom wholesome employments have rendered familiar with the duties, and modest in their estimate of the promises, of life.

128. But especially in framing laws respecting the treatment or employment of improvident and more or less
25 vicious persons, it is to be remembered that as men are not made heroes by the performance of an act of heroism, but must be brave before they can perform it, so they are not made villains by the commission of a crime, but were vil-
lains before they committed it ; and the right of public
30 interference with their conduct begins when they begin to corrupt themselves, — not merely at the moment when they have proved themselves hopelessly corrupt.

All measures of reformation are effective in exact pro-

portion to their timeliness: partial decay may be cut away and cleansed; incipient error corrected; but there is a point at which corruption can no more be stayed, nor wandering recalled. It has been the manner of modern philanthropy to remain passive until that precise period, 5 and to leave the sick to perish, and the foolish to stray, while it spent itself in frantic exertions to raise the dead and reform the dust.

The recent direction of a great weight of public opinion against capital punishment is, I trust, the sign of an 10 awakening perception that punishment is the last and worst instrument in the hands of the legislator for the prevention of crime. The true instruments of reformation are employment and reward; not punishment. Aid the willing, honor the virtuous, and compel the idle into occu- 15 pation, and there will be no need for the compelling of any into the great and last indolence of death.

129. The beginning of all true reformation among the criminal classes depends on the establishment of institutions for their active employment, while their criminality 20 is still unripe, and their feelings of self-respect, capacities of affection, and sense of justice, not altogether quenched. That those who are desirous of employment should always be able to find it, will hardly, at the present day, be disputed; but that those who are *undesirous* of employment 25 should of all persons be the most strictly compelled to it, the public are hardly yet convinced; and they must be convinced. If the danger of the principal thoroughfares in their capital city, and the multiplication of crimes more ghastly than ever yet disgraced a nominal civilization, are 30 not enough, they will not have to wait long before they receive sterner lessons. For our neglect of the lower orders has reached a point at which it begins to bear its necessary

fruit, and every day makes the fields, not whiter, but more sable, to harvest.

130. The general principles by which employment should be regulated may be briefly stated as follows :

- 5 1. There being three great classes of mechanical powers at our disposal, namely, (a) vital or muscular power ; (b) natural mechanical power of wind, water, and electricity ; and (c) artificially produced mechanical power ; it is the first principle of economy to use all available vital power
- 10 first, then the inexpensive natural forces, and only at last to have recourse to artificial power. And this because it is always better for a man to work with his own hands to feed and clothe himself, than to stand idle while a machine works for him ; and if he cannot by all the labor healthily
- 15 possible to him feed and clothe himself, then it is better to use an inexpensive machine — as a windmill or water-mill — than a costly one like a steam-engine, so long as we have natural force enough at our disposal. Whereas at present we continually hear economists regret that the
- 20 water-power of the cascades or streams of a country should be lost, but hardly ever that the muscular power of its idle inhabitants should be lost ; and, again, we see vast districts, as the south of Provence,^o where a strong wind¹ blows steadily all day long for six days out of seven
- 25 throughout the year, without a windmill, while men are continually employed a hundred miles to the north, in digging fuel to obtain artificial power. But the principal point of all to be kept in view is, that in every idle arm and shoulder throughout the country there is a certain quantity of force, equivalent to the force of so much fuel ; and
- 30

¹ In order fully to utilize this natural power, we only require machinery to turn the variable into a constant velocity — no insurmountable difficulty.

that it is mere insane waste to dig for coal for our force, while the vital force is unused, and not only unused, but in being so, corrupting and polluting itself. We waste our coal, and spoil our humanity at one and the same instant. Therefore, wherever there is an idle arm, always save coal 5 with it, and the stores of England will last all the longer. And precisely the same argument answers the common one about "taking employment out of the hands of the industrious laborer." Why, what is "employment" but the putting out of vital force instead of mechanical force? 10 We are continually in search of means of strength to pull, to hammer, to fetch, to carry. We waste our future resources to get this strength, while we leave all the living fuel to burn itself out in mere pestiferous breath, and production of its variously noisome forms of ashes! Clearly, if we 15 want fire for force, we want men for force first. The industrious hands must already have so much to do that they can do no more, or else we need not use machines to help them. Then use the idle hands first. Instead of dragging petroleum with a steam-engine, put it on a canal, and 20 drag it with human arms and shoulders. Petroleum cannot possibly be in a hurry to arrive anywhere.° We can always order that, and many other things, time enough before we want it. So, the carriage of everything which does not spoil by keeping may most wholesomely and 25 safely be done by water-traction and sailing-vessels; and no healthier work can men be put to, no better discipline, than such active portorage.

131. (2d.) In employing all the muscular power at our disposal we are to make the employments we choose as 30 educational as possible; for a wholesome human employment is the first and best method of education, mental as well as bodily.° A man taught to plough, row, or steer

well, and a woman taught to cook properly, and make a dress neatly, are already educated in many essential moral habits. Labor considered as a discipline has hitherto been thought of only for criminals; but the real
5 and noblest function of labor is to prevent crime, and not to be *Reformatory*, but *Formatory*.

132. The third great principle of employment is, that whenever there is pressure of poverty to be met, all enforced occupation should be directed to the production
10 of useful articles only; that is to say, of food, of simple clothing, of lodging, or of the means of conveying, distributing, and preserving these. It is yet little understood by economists, and not at all by the public, that the employment of persons in a useless business cannot relieve
15 ultimate distress. The money given to employ riband-makers^o at Coventry is merely so much money withdrawn from what would have employed lace-makers at Honiton; or makers of something else, as useless, elsewhere. We
must spend our money in some way, at some time, and it
20 cannot at any time be spent without employing somebody. If we gamble it away, the person who wins it must spend it; if we lose it in a railroad speculation, it has gone into some one else's pockets, or merely gone to pay
navvies^o for making a useless embankment, instead of to
25 pay riband or button makers for making useless ribands or buttons; we cannot lose it (unless by actually destroying it) without giving employment of some kind; and, therefore, whatever quantity of money exists, the relative
quantity of employment must some day come out of it;
30 but the distress of the nation signifies that the employments given have produced nothing that will support its existence. Men cannot live on ribands, or buttons, or velvet, or by going quickly from place to place; and every

coin spent in useless ornament, or useless motion, is so much withdrawn from the national means of life. One of the most beautiful uses of railroads is to enable A to travel from the town of X to take away the business of B in the town of Y; while, in the meantime, B travels from the town of Y to take away A's business in the town of X. But the national wealth is not increased by these operations. Whereas every coin spent in cultivating ground, in repairing lodging, in making necessary and good roads, in preventing danger by sea or land, and in carriage of food or fuel where they are required, is so much absolute and direct gain to the whole nation. To cultivate land round Coventry makes living easier at Honiton, and every acre of sand gained from the sea in Lincolnshire makes life easier all over England.

4th, and lastly. Since for every idle person some one else must be working somewhere to provide him with clothes and food, and doing, therefore, double the quantity of work that would be enough for his own needs, it is only a matter of pure justice to compel the idle person to work for his maintenance himself. The conscription has been used in many countries to take away laborers who supported their families, from their useful work, and maintain them for purposes chiefly of military display at the public expense. Since this has been long endured by the most civilized nations, let it not be thought they would not much more gladly endure a conscription which should seize only the vicious and idle, already living by criminal procedures at the public expense; and which should discipline and educate them to labor which would not only maintain themselves, but be serviceable to the commonwealth. The question is simply this: we *must* feed the drunkard, vagabond, and thief; but shall we do so by letting them steal

their food, and do no work for it? or shall we give them their food in appointed quantity, and enforce their doing work which shall be worth it, and which, in process of time, will redeem their own characters and make them happy and serviceable members of society?

I find by me a violent little fragment of undelivered lecture, which puts this, perhaps, still more clearly. Your idle people (it says), as they are now, are not merely waste coal-beds. They are explosive coal-beds, which you pay a high annual rent for. You are keeping all these idle persons, remember, at far greater cost than if they were busy. Do you think a vicious person eats less than an honest one? or that it is cheaper to keep a bad man drunk, than a good man sober? There is, I suppose, a dim idea in the mind of the public, that they don't pay for the maintenance of people they don't employ. Those staggering rascals at the street corner, grouped around its splendid angle of public-house, we fancy that they are no servants of ours! that we pay them no wages! that no cash out of our pockets is spent over that beer-stained counter!

Whose cash is it then they are spending? It is not got honestly by work. You know that much. Where do they get it from? Who has paid for their dinner and their pot? Those fellows can only live in one of two ways — by pillage or beggary. Their annual income by thieving comes out of the public pocket, you will admit. They are not cheaply fed, so far as they are fed by theft. But the rest of their living — all that they don't steal — they must beg. Not with success from you, you think. Wise, as benevolent, you never gave a penny in "indiscriminate charity." Well, I congratulate you on the freedom of your conscience from that sin, mine being bitterly burdened

with the memory of many a sixpence given to beggars of whom I knew nothing but that they had pale faces and thin waists. But it is not that kind of street beggary that the vagabonds of our people chiefly practise. It is home beggary that is the worst beggars' trade. Home alms 5 which it is their worst degradation to receive. Those scamps know well enough that you and your wisdom are worth nothing to them. They won't beg of you. They will beg of their sisters, and mothers, and wives, and children, and of any one else who is enough ashamed of 10 being of the same blood with them to pay to keep them out of sight. Every one of those blackguards is the bane of a family. *That* is the deadly "indiscriminate charity" — the charity which each household pays to maintain its own private curse. 15

133. And you think that is no affair of yours? and that every family ought to watch over and subdue its own living plague? Put it to yourselves this way, then: suppose you knew every one of those families kept an idol in an inner room — a big-bellied bronze 20 figure, to which daily sacrifice and oblation was made; at whose feet so much beer and brandy was poured out every morning on the ground; and before which, every night, good meat, enough for two men's keep, was set, and left, till it was putrid, and then carried out and thrown 25 on the dunghill; you would put an end to that form of idolatry with your best diligence, I suppose. You would understand then that the beer, and brandy, and meat, were wasted; and that the burden imposed by each household on itself lay heavily through them on the whole 30 community? But, suppose further, that this idol were not of silent and quiet bronze only, but an ingenious mechanism, wound up every morning, to run itself down in auto-

matic blasphemies; that it struck and tore with its hands the people who set food before it; that it was anointed with poisonous unguents,^o and infected the air for miles round. You would interfere with the idolatry then, 5 straightway? Will you not interfere with it now, when the infection that the venomous idol spreads is not merely death, but sin?

134. So far the old lecture. Returning to cool English,^o the end of the matter is, that, sooner or later, we shall have 10 to register our people; and to know how they live; and to make sure, if they are capable of work, that right work is given them to do.

The different classes of work for which bodies of men could be consistently organized, might ultimately become 15 numerous; these following divisions of occupation may at once be suggested:—

1. *Road-making.* — Good roads to be made, wherever needed, and kept in repair; and the annual loss on unfrequented roads, in spoiled horses, strained wheels, and time, 20 done away with.

2. *Bringing in of waste land.* — All waste lands not necessary for public health, to be made accessible and gradually reclaimed; chiefly our wide and waste seashores. Not our mountains nor moorland. Our life depends on them, 25 more than on the best arable we have.

3. *Harbor-making.* — The deficiencies of safe or convenient harborage in our smaller ports to be remedied; other harbors built at dangerous points of coast, and a disciplined body of men always kept in connection with 30 the pilot and life-boat services. There is room for every order of intelligence in this work, and for a large body of superior officers.

4. *Porterage.* — All heavy goods, not requiring speed in

transit, to be carried (under preventive duty on transit by railroad) by canal-boats, employing men for draught; and the merchant-shipping service extended by sea; so that no ships may be wrecked for want of hands, while there are idle ones in mischief on shore. 5

5. *Repair of buildings.* — A body of men in various trades to be kept at the disposal of the authorities in every large town, for repair of buildings, especially the houses of the poorer orders, who, if no such provisions were made, could not employ workmen on their own houses, but would 10
simply live with rent walls and roofs.

6. *Dressmaking.* — Substantial dress, of standard material and kind, strong shoes, and stout bedding, to be manufactured for the poor, so as to render it unnecessary for them, unless by extremity of improvidence, to wear 15
cast clothes, or be without sufficiency of clothing.

7. *Works of art.* — Schools to be established on thoroughly sound principles of manufacture, and use of materials, and with sample and, for given periods, unalterable modes of work; first, in pottery, and embracing gradually metal 20
work, sculpture, and decorative painting; the two points insisted upon, in distinction from ordinary commercial establishments, being perfectness of materials to the utmost attainable degree; and the production of everything by hand-work, for the special purpose of developing per- 25
sonal power and skill in the workman.

The last two departments, and some subordinate branches of others, would include the service of women and children.

I give now, for such further illustration as they contain 30
of the points I desire most to insist upon with respect both to education and employment, a portion of the series of notes published some time ago in the "Art

Journal," on the opposition of Modesty and Liberty, and the unescapable law of wise restraint. I am sorry that they are written obscurely — and it may be thought affectedly; but the fact is, I have always had three different ways of writing^o: one, with the single view of making myself understood, in which I necessarily omit a great deal of what comes into my head; another, in which I say what I think ought to be said, in what I suppose to be the best words I can find for it (which is in reality an affected style — be it good or bad); and my third way of writing is to say all that comes into my head for my own pleasure, in the first words that come, retouching them afterwards into (approximate) grammar. These notes for the "Art Journal" were so written; and I like them myself, of course; but ask the reader's pardon for their confusedness.

135. "Sir, it cannot be better done."

We will insist, with the reader's permission, on this comfortable saying of Albert Dürer's^o in order to find out, if we may, what Modesty is; which it will be well for painters, readers, and especially critics, to know, before going farther. What it is; or, rather, who she is, her fingers being among the deftest in laying the ground-threads of Aglaia's cestus.^o

For this same opinion of Albert's is entertained by many other people respecting their own doings^o — a very prevalent opinion, indeed, I find it; and the answer itself, though rarely made with the Nuremberger's crushing decision, is nevertheless often enough intimated, with delicacy, by artists of all countries, in their various dialects. Neither can it always be held an entirely modest one, as it assuredly was in the man who would sometimes estimate a piece of his unconquerable work at only the worth of a plate of fruit, or a flask of wine — would have taken even

one "fig for it," kindly offered; or given it royally for nothing, to show his hand to a fellow-king of his own, or any other craft — as Gainsborough^o gave the "Boy at the Stile" for a solo on the violin. An entirely modest saying, I repeat, in him — not always in us. For Modesty⁵ is "the measuring virtue," the virtue of *modes* or limits. She is, indeed, said to be only the third or youngest of the children of the cardinal virtue, Temperance; and apt to be despised, being more given to arithmetic, and other vulgar studies (Cinderella^o-like), than her elder sisters; but she is¹⁰ useful in the household, and arrives at great results with her yard-measure and slate-pencil — a pretty little Marchande des Modes,^o cutting her dress always according to the silk (if this be the proper feminine reading of "coat according to the cloth"), so that, consulting with her carefully of a¹⁵ morning, men get to know not only their income, but their inbeing — to know *themselves*, that is, in a gauger's manner, round, and up and down — surface and contents; what is in them, and what may be got out of them and, in fine, their entire canon of weight and capacity. That²⁰ yard-measure of Modesty's, lent to those who will use it, is a curious musical reed, and will go round and round waists that are slender enough, with latent melody in every joint of it, the dark root only being soundless, moist from the wave wherein

25

"Null' altra pianta che facesse fronda
O che 'n durasse, vi puote aver vita."^{o1}

But when the little sister herself takes it in hand, to measure things outside of us with, the joints shoot out in an amazing manner: the four-square walls even of celestial³⁰ cities being measurable enough by that reed^o; and the

¹ "Purgatorio," i. 108, 109. .

way pointed to them, though only to be followed, or even seen, in the dim starlight shed down from worlds amidst which there is no name of Measure any more, though the reality of it always. For, indeed, to all true modesty the necessary business is not inlook, but outlook, and especially *uplook*: it is only her sister Shamefacedness, who is known by the drooping lashes — Modesty, quite otherwise, by her large eyes full of wonder; for she never contemns herself, nor is ashamed of herself, but forgets herself — at least until she has done something worth memory. It is easy to peep and potter about one's own deficiencies in a quiet immodest discontent; but Modesty is so pleased with other people's doings, that she has no leisure to lament her own: and thus, knowing the fresh feeling of contentment, unstained with thought of self, she does not fear being pleased, when there is cause, with her own rightness, as with another's, saying calmly, "Be it mine, or yours, or whose else's it may, it is no matter; this also is well." But the right to say such a thing depends on continual reverence, and manifold sense of failure. If you have known yourself to have failed, you may trust, when it comes, the strange consciousness of success; if you have faithfully loved the noble work of others, you need not fear to speak with respect of things duly done, of your own.

136. But the principal good that comes of art being followed in this reverent feeling is vitally manifest in the associative conditions of it. Men who know their place can take it and keep it, be it low or high, contentedly and firmly, neither yielding nor grasping; and the harmony of hand and thought follows, rendering all great deeds of art possible — deeds in which the souls of men meet like the jewels in the windows of Aladdin's palace,° the little gems

and the large all equally pure, needing no cement but the fitting of facets; while the associative work of immodest men is all jointless, and astir with wormy ambition; putridly dissolute, and forever on the crawl: so that if it come together for a time, it can only be by metamorphosis through flash of volcanic fire out of the vale of Siddim,^o vitrifying the clay of it, and fastening the slime, only to end in wilder scattering; according to the fate of those oldest, mightiest, immodestest of builders, of whom it is told in scorn, "They had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar."^o

137. The first function of Modesty, then, being this recognition of place, her second is the recognition of law, and delight in it, for the sake of law itself, whether her part be to assert it, or obey. For as it belongs to all immodesty to defy or deny law, and assert privilege and license, according to its own pleasure (it being therefore rightly called "*insolent*," that is, "*custom-breaking*," violating some usual and appointed order to attain for itself greater forwardness or power), so it is the habit of all modesty to love the constancy and "*solemnity*,"^o or, literally, "*accustomedness*," of law, seeking first what are the solemn, appointed, inviolable customs and general orders of nature, and of the Master of nature, touching the matter in hand; and striving to put itself, as habitually and inviolably, in compliance with them. Out of which habit, once established, arises what is rightly called "*conscience*," not "*science*" merely, but "*with-science*," a science "*with us*," such as only modest creatures can have — with or within them — and within all creation besides, every member of it, strong or weak, witnessing together, and joining in the happy consciousness that each one's work is good; the bee also being profoundly of that

opinion; and the lark; and the swallow, in that noisy, but modestly upside-down, Babel^o of hers, under the eaves, with its unvolcanic slime for mortar; and the two ants who are asking of each other at the turn of that little ant's-foot-worn path through the moss "lor via é lor fortuna^o;" and the builders also, who built yonder pile of cloud-marble in the west, and the gilder who gilded it, and is gone down behind it.

10 138. But I think we shall better understand what we ought of the nature of Modesty, and of her opposite, by taking a simple instance of both, in the practice of that art of music which the wisest have agreed in thinking the first element of education; only I must ask the reader's patience with me through a parenthesis.

15 Among the foremost men whose power has had to assert itself, though with conquest, yet with countless loss, through peculiarly English disadvantages of circumstance, are assuredly to be ranked together, both for honor, and for mourning, Thomas Bewick^o and George Cruikshank.^o
 20 There is, however, less cause for regret in the instance of Bewick. We may understand that it was well for us once to see what an entirely powerful painter's genius, and an entirely keen and true man's temper, could achieve, together, unhelped, but also unharmed, among the black
 25 banks and wolds of Tyne.^o But the genius of Cruikshank has been cast away in an utterly ghastly and lamentable manner: his superb line-work, worthy of any class of subject, and his powers of conception and composition, of which I cannot venture to estimate the range in their
 30 degraded application, having been condemned, by his fate, to be spent either in rude jesting, or in vain war with conditions of vice too low alike for record or rebuke, among the dregs of the British populace. Yet perhaps I am

wrong in regretting even this: it may be an appointed lesson for futurity, that the art of the best English etcher in the nineteenth century, spent on illustrations of the lives of burglars and drunkards, should one day be seen in museums beneath Greek vases fretted with drawings of the wars of Troy, or side by side with Dürer's "Knight and Death."

139. Be that as it may, I am at present glad to be able to refer to one of these perpetuations, by his strong hand, of such human character as our faultless British constitution occasionally produces in out-of-the-way corners. It is among his illustrations of the Irish Rebellion, and represents the pillage and destruction of a gentleman's house by the mob. They have made a heap in the drawing-room of the furniture and books, to set first fire to; and are tearing up the floor for its more easily kindled planks, the less busily-disposed meanwhile hacking round in rage, with axes, and smashing what they can with butt-ends of guns. I do not care to follow with words the ghastly truth of the picture into its detail; but the most expressive incident of the whole, and the one immediately to my purpose, is this, that one fellow has sat himself at the piano, on which, hitting down fiercely with his clenched fists, he plays, grinning, such tune as may be so producible, to which melody two of his companions, flourishing knotted sticks, dance after their manner, on the top of the instrument.

140. I think we have in this conception as perfect an instance as we require of the lowest supposable phase of immodest or licentious art in music; the "inner consciousness of good" being dim, even in the musician and his audience, and wholly unsympathized with, and unacknowledged by the Delphian, Vestal, and all other prophetic and cosmic powers.° This represented scene came into my mind sud-

denly one evening, a few weeks ago, in contrast with another which I was watching in its reality; namely, a group of gentle school-girls, leaning over Mr. Charles Hallé, as he was playing a variation on "Home, Sweet Home."° They had sustained with unwonted courage the glance of subdued indignation with which, having just closed a rippling melody of Sebastian Bach's° (much like what one might fancy the singing of nightingales would be if they fed on honey instead of flies), he turned to the slight, popular
10 air. But they had their own associations with it, and besought for, and obtained it, and pressed close, at first, in vain, to see what no glance could follow, the traversing of the fingers. They soon thought no more of seeing. The wet eyes, round-open, and the little scarlet upper lips,
15 lifted, and drawn slightly together, in passionate glow of utter wonder, became picture-like, porcelain-like, in motionless joy, as the sweet multitude of low notes fell, in their timely infinities, like summer rain. Only La Robbia° himself (nor even he, unless with tenderer use of color than
20 is usual in his work) could have rendered some image of that listening.

141. But if the reader can give due vitality in his fancy to these two scenes, he will have in them representative types, clear enough for all future purpose, of the several
25 agencies of debased and perfect art. And the interval may easily and continuously be filled by mediate gradations. Between the entirely immodest, unmeasured, and (in evil sense) unmannered, execution with the fist; and the entirely modest, measured, and (in the noblest sense)
30 mannered, or moral'd execution with the finger; between the impatient and unpractised doing, containing in itself the witness of lasting impatience and idleness through all previous life, and the patient and practised doing, con-

taining in itself the witness of self-restraint and unwearied toil through all previous life; between the expressed subject and sentiment of home violation, and the expressed subject and sentiment of home love; between the sympathy of audience, given in irreverent and contemptuous rage, joyless as the rabidness of a dog, and the sympathy of audience given in an almost appalled humility of intense, rapturous, and yet entirely reasoning and reasonable pleasure; between these two limits of octave, the reader will find he can class, according to its modesty, usefulness, and grace, or becomingness, all other musical art. For although purity of purpose and fineness of execution by no means go together, degree to degree (since fine, and indeed all but the finest, work is often spent in the most wanton purpose — as in all our modern opera — and the rudest execution is again often joined with purest purpose, as in a mother's song to her child), still the entire accomplishment of music is only in the union of both. For the difference between that "all but" finest and "finest" is an infinite one; and besides this, however the power of the performer, once attained, may be afterwards misdirected, in slavery to popular passion or childishness, and spend itself, at its sweetest, in idle melodies, cold and ephemeral (like Michael Angelo's snow statue in the other art), or else in vicious difficulty and miserable noise — crackling of thorns under the pot^o of public sensuality — still, the attainment of this power, and the maintenance of it, involve always in the executant some virtue or courage of high kind; the understanding of which, and of the difference between the discipline which develops it and the disorderly efforts of the amateur, it will be one of our first businesses to estimate rightly. And though not indeed by degree to degree, yet in essential relation

(as of winds to waves, the one being always the true cause of the other, though they are not necessarily of equal force at the same time), we shall find vice in its varieties, with art-failure, — and virtue in its varieties, with art-success, 5 — fall and rise together; the peasant-girl's song at her spinning-wheel, the peasant laborer's "to the oaks and rills," — domestic music, feebly yet sensitively skilful, — music for the multitude, of beneficent or of traitorous power, — dance-melodies, pure and orderly, or foul and 10 frantic, — march-music, blatant in mere fever of animal pugnacity, or majestic with force of national duty and memory, — song-music, reckless, sensual, sickly, slovenly, forgetful even of the foolish words it effaces with foolish noise, — or thoughtful, sacred, healthful, artful, for- 15 ever sanctifying noble thought with separately distinguished loveliness of belonging sound, — all these families and gradations of good or evil, however mingled, follow, in so far as they are good, one constant law of virtue (or "life-strength," which is the literal meaning of the word, 20 and its intended one, in wise men's mouths), and in so far as they are evil, are evil by outlawry and unvirtue, or death-weakness. Then, passing wholly beyond the domain of death, we may still imagine the ascendant nobleness of the art, through all the concordant life of incorrupt crea- 25 tures, and a continually deeper harmony of "*puissant* words and murmurs made to bless,"^o until we reach

"The undisturbed song of pure consent,
Aye sung before the sapphire-colored throne."

142. And so far as the sister arts can be conceived to have 30 place or office, their virtues are subject to a law absolutely the same as that of music, only extending its authority into more various conditions, owing to the introduction of a

distinctly representative and historical power, which acts under logical as well as mathematical restrictions, and is capable of endlessly changeable fault, fallacy, and defeat, as well as of endlessly manifold victory.

143. Next to Modesty, and her delight in measures, let us reflect a little on the character of her adversary, the Goddess of Liberty, and her delight in absence of measures, or in false ones. It is true that there are liberties and liberties. Yonder torrent, crystal-clear, and arrow-swift, with its spray leaping into the air like white troops of fawns, is free enough. Lost, presently, amidst bankless, boundless marsh — soaking in slow shallowness, as it will, hither and thither, listless, among the poisonous reeds and unresisting slime — it is free also. We may choose which liberty we like, — the restraint of voiceful rock, or the dumb and edgeless shore of darkened sand. Of that evil liberty which men are now glorifying, and proclaiming as essence of gospel to all the earth, and will presently, I suppose, proclaim also to the stars, with invitation to them *out* of their courses, — and of its opposite contenance, which is the clasp and χρυσέη περόνη^ο of Aglaia's cestus, we must try to find out something true. For no quality of Art has been more powerful in its influence on public mind; none is more frequently the subject of popular praise, or the end of vulgar effort, than what we call "Freedom." It is necessary to determine the justice or injustice of this popular praise.

144. I said, a little while ago, that the practical teaching of the masters of Art was summed by the O of Giotto. "You may judge my masterhood of craft," Giotto tells us, "by seeing that I can draw a circle unerringly." And we may safely believe him, understanding him to mean that, though more may be necessary to an artist than such a

power, at least *this* power is necessary. The qualities of hand and eye needful to do this are the first conditions of artistic craft.

145. Try to draw a circle yourself with the "free" hand, 5 and with a single line. You cannot do it if your hand trembles, nor if it hesitates, nor if it is unmanageable, nor if it is in the common sense of the word "free." So far from being free, it must be under a control as absolute and accurate as if it were fastened to an inflexible bar of steel. 10 And yet it must move, under this necessary control, with perfect, untormented serenity of ease.

146. That is the condition of all good work whatsoever. All freedom is error. Every line you lay down is either right or wrong; it may be timidly and awkwardly wrong, 15 or fearlessly and impudently wrong. The aspect of the impudent wrongness is pleasurable to vulgar persons, and is what they commonly call "free" execution; the timid, tottering, hesitating wrongness is rarely so attractive; yet, sometimes, if accompanied with good qualities, and right 20 aims in other directions, it becomes in a manner charming, like the inarticulateness of a child; but, whatever the charm or manner of the error, there is but one question ultimately to be asked respecting every line you draw, Is it right or wrong? If right, it most assuredly is not a 25 "free" line, but an intensely continent, restrained, and considered line; and the action of the hand in laying it is just as decisive, and just as "free," as the hand of a first-rate surgeon in a critical incision. A great operator told me that his hand could check itself within about the two- 30 hundredth of an inch, in penetrating a membrane; and this, of course, without the help of sight, by sensation only. With help of sight, and in action on a substance which does not quiver nor yield, a fine artist's line is meas-

urable in its proposed direction to considerably less than the thousandth of an inch.

A wide freedom, truly!

147. The conditions of popular art which most foster the common ideas about freedom, are merely results of 5 irregularly energetic effort by men imperfectly educated; these conditions being variously mingled with cruder mannerisms resulting from timidity, or actual imperfection of body. Northern hands and eyes are, of course, never so subtle as Southern^o; and in very cold countries, 10 artistic execution is palsied. The effort to break through this timidity, or to refine the bluntness, may lead to a licentious impetuosity, or an ostentatious minuteness. Every man's manner has this kind of relation to some defect in his physical powers or modes of thought; so 15 that in the greatest work there is no manner visible. It is at first uninteresting from its quietness; the majesty of restrained power only dawns gradually upon us, as we walk towards its horizon.

There is, indeed, often great delightfulness in the inno- 20 cent manners of artists who have real power and honesty, and draw, in this way or that, as best they can, under such and such untoward circumstances of life. But the greater part of the looseness, flimsiness, or audacity of modern work is the expression of an inner spirit of license 25 in mind and heart, connected, as I said, with the peculiar folly of this age, its hope of, and trust in, "liberty," of which we must reason a little in more general terms.

148. I believe we can nowhere find a better type of a perfectly free creature than in the common house-fly. 30

Nor free only, but brave; and irreverent to a degree which I think no human republican could by any philosophy exalt himself to. There is no courtesy in him; he

does not care whether it is king or clown whom he teases ; and in every step of his swift mechanical march, and in every pause of his resolute observation, there is one and the same expression of perfect egotism, perfect independence and self-confidence, and conviction of the world's having been made for flies. Strike at him with your hand, and to him, the mechanical fact and external aspect of the matter is, what to you it would be if an acre of red clay, ten feet thick, tore itself up from the ground in one massive field, hovered over you in the air for a second, and came crashing down with an aim. That is the external aspect of it ; the inner aspect, to his fly's mind, is of a quite natural and unimportant occurrence — one of the momentary conditions of his active life. He steps out of the way of your hand, and alights on the back of it. You cannot terrify him, nor govern him, nor persuade him, nor convince him. He has his own positive opinion on all matters ; not an unwise one, usually, for his own ends ; and will ask no advice of yours. He has no work to do — no tyrannical instinct to obey. The earthworm has his digging ; the bee her gathering and building ; the spider her cunning network ; the ant her treasury and accounts. All these are comparatively slaves, or people of vulgar business. But your fly, free in the air, free in the chamber — a black incarnation of caprice, wandering, investigating, flitting, flirting, feasting at his will, with rich variety of choice in feast, from the heaped sweets in the grocer's window to those of the butcher's back yard, and from the galled place on your cab-horse's back, to the brown spot in the road, from which, as the hoof disturbs him, he rises with angry republican buzz — what freedom is like his ?

149. For captivity, again, perhaps your poor watch-dog is as sorrowful a type as you will easily find. Mine

certainly is. The day is lovely, but I must write this, and cannot go out with him. He is chained in the yard because I do not like dogs in rooms, and the gardener does not like dogs in gardens. He has no books, — nothing but his own weary thoughts for company, and a group of 5 those free flies, whom he snaps at, with sullen ill success. Such dim hope as he may have that I may take him out with me, will be, hour by hour, wearily disappointed; or, worse, darkened at once into a leaden despair by an authoritative “No” — too well understood. His fidelity only 10 seals his fate; if he would not watch for me, he would be sent away, and go hunting with some happier master: but he watches, and is wise, and faithful, and miserable; and his high animal intellect only gives him the wistful powers of wonder, and sorrow, and desire, and affection, 15 which embitter his captivity. Yet of the two, would we rather be watch-dog or fly?

150. Indeed, the first point we have all to determine is not how free we are, but what kind of creatures we are. It is of small importance to any of us whether we get 20 liberty; but of the greatest that we deserve it. Whether we can win it, fate must determine; but that we will be worthy of it we may ourselves determine; and the sorrowfullest fate of all that we can suffer is to have it *without* deserving it. 25

151. I have hardly patience to hold my pen and go on writing, as I remember (I would that it were possible for a few consecutive instants to forget) the infinite follies of modern thought in this matter, centred in the notion that liberty is good for a man, irrespectively of the use he is 30 likely to make of it. Folly unfathomable! unspeakable! unendurable to look in the full face of, as the laugh of a cretin.° You will send your child, will you, into a room

where the table is loaded with sweet wine and fruit — some poisoned, some not? — you will say to him, “Choose freely, my little child! It is so good for you to have freedom of choice; it forms your character — your individuality! If you take the wrong cup or the wrong berry, you will die before the day is over, but you will have acquired the dignity of a Free child?”

152. You think that puts the case too sharply? I tell you, lover of liberty, there is no choice offered to you, but it is similarly between life and death. There is no act, nor option of act, possible, but the wrong deed or option has poison in it which will stay in your veins thereafter forever. Never more to all eternity can you be as you might have been had you not done that — chosen that. You have “formed your character,” forsooth! No; if you have chosen ill, you have De-formed it, and that forever! In some choices it had been better for you that a red-hot iron bar struck you aside, scarred and helpless, than that you had so chosen. “You will know better next time!” No. Next time will never come. Next time the choice will be in quite another aspect — between quite different things, — you, weaker than you were by the evil into which you have fallen; it, more doubtful than it was, by the increased dimness of your sight. No one ever gets wiser by doing wrong, nor stronger. You will get wiser and stronger only by doing right, whether forced or not; the prime, the one need is to do *that*, under whatever compulsion, until you can do it without compulsion. And then you are a Man.°

153. “What!” a wayward youth might perhaps answer, incredulously, “no one ever gets wiser by doing wrong? Shall I not know the world best by trying the wrong of it, and repenting? Have I not, even as it is, learned much by

many of my errors?" Indeed, the effort by which partially you recovered yourself was precious; that part of your thought by which you discerned the error was precious. What wisdom and strength you kept, and rightly used, are rewarded; and in the pain and the repentance, 5 and in the acquaintance with the aspects of folly and sin, you have learned *something*; how much less than you would have learned in right paths can never be told, but that it *is* less is certain. Your liberty of choice has simply destroyed for you so much life and strength, never regain- 10 able. It is true, you now know the habits of swine, and the taste of husks; do you think your father could not have taught you to know better habits and pleasanter tastes, if you had stayed in his house^o; and that the knowledge you have lost would not have been more, as well 15 as sweeter, than that you have gained? But "it so forms my individuality to be free!" Your individuality was given you by God, and in your race, and if you have any to speak of, you will want no liberty. You will want a den to work in, and peace, and light — no more, — in absolute 20 need; if more, in anywise, it will still not be liberty, but direction, instruction, reproof, and sympathy. But if you have no individuality, if there is no true character nor true desire in you, then you will indeed want to be free. You will begin early, and, as a boy, desire to be a man; 25 and, as a man, think yourself as good as every other. You will choose freely to eat, freely to drink, freely to stagger and fall, freely, at last, to curse yourself and die. Death is the only real freedom possible to us; and that is consummate freedom, permission for every particle in the 30 rotting body to leave its neighbor particle, and shift for itself. You call it "corruption" in the flesh; but before it comes to that, a'l liberty is an equal corruption in mind.

You ask for freedom of thought ; but if you have not sufficient grounds for thought, you have no business to think ; and if you have sufficient grounds, you have no business to think wrong. Only one thought is possible to you if
5 you are wise — your liberty is geometrically proportionate to your folly.

154. “But all this glory and activity of our age ; what are they owing to, but to our freedom of thought ?” In a measure, they are owing — what good is in them — to the
10 discovery of many lies, and the escape from the power of evil. Not to liberty, but to the deliverance from evil or cruel masters. Brave men have dared to examine lies which had long been taught, not because they were *free-*
15 thinkers, but because they were such stern and close thinkers that the lie could no longer escape them. Of course the restriction of thought, or of its expression, by persecution, is merely a form of violence, justifiable or not, as other violence is, according to the character of the persons against whom it is exercised, and the divine and
20 eternal laws which it vindicates or violates. We must not burn a man alive for saying that the Athanasian creed^o is ungrammatical, nor stop a bishop’s salary because we are getting the worst of an argument with him ; neither must we let drunken men howl in the public streets at night.
25 There is much that is true in the part of Mr. Mill’s^o essay on Liberty which treats of freedom of thought ; some important truths are there beautifully expressed, but many, quite vital, are omitted ; and the balance, therefore, is wrongly struck. The liberty of expression, with a great
30 nation, would become like that in a well-educated company, in which there is indeed freedom of speech, but not of clamor ; or like that in an orderly senate, in which men who deserve to be heard, are heard in due time, and under

determined restrictions. The degree of liberty you can rightly grant to a number of men is in the inverse ratio of their desire for it; and a general hush, or call to order, would be often very desirable in this England of ours. For the rest, of any good or evil extant, it is impossible to say what measure is owing to restraint, and what to license where the right is balanced between them. I was not a little provoked one day, a summer or two since, in Scotland, because the Duke of Athol hindered me from examining the gneiss and slate junctions in Glen Tilt,^o at the hour convenient to me; but I saw them at last, and in quietness; and to the very restriction that annoyed me, owed, probably, the fact of their being in existence, instead of being blasted away by a mob-company; while the "free" paths and inlets of Loch Katrine^o and the Lake of Geneva are forever trampled down and destroyed, not by one duke, but by tens of thousands of ignorant tyrants.

155. So, a Dean and Chapter^o may, perhaps, unjustifiably charge me twopence for seeing a cathedral; but your free mob pulls spire and all down about my ears, and I can see it no more forever. And even if I cannot get up to the granite junctions in the glen, the stream comes down from them pure to the Garry; but in Beddington Park I am stopped by the newly-erected fence of a building speculator; and the bright Wandel, divine of waters as Castaly,^o is filled by the free public with old shoes, obscene crockery, and ashes.

156. In fine, the arguments for liberty may in general be summed in a few very simple forms, as follows:—

Misguiding is mischievous: therefore guiding is.

If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch^o: therefore, nobody should lead anybody.

Lambs and fawns should be left free in the fields; much more bears and wolves.

If a man's gun and shot are his own, he may fire in any direction he pleases.

5 A fence across a road is inconvenient; much more one at the side of it.

Babes should not be swaddled with their hands bound down to their sides: therefore they should be thrown out to roll in the kennels naked.

10 None of these arguments are good, and the practical issues of them are worse. For there are certain eternal laws for human conduct which are quite clearly discernible by human reason. So far as these are discovered and obeyed, by whatever machinery or authority the obedience is procured, there follow life and strength. So far
15 as they are disobeyed, by whatever good intention the disobedience is brought about, there follow ruin and sorrow. And the first duty of every man in the world is to find his true master, and, for his own good, submit to him;
20 and to find his true inferior, and, for that inferior's good, conquer him. The punishment is sure, if we either refuse the reverence, or are too cowardly and indolent to enforce the compulsion. A base nation crucifies or poisons its wise men, and lets its fools rave and rot in its streets. A
25 wise nation obeys the one, restrains the other, and cherishes all.

157. The best examples of the results of wise normal discipline in Art will be found in whatever evidence remains respecting the lives of great Italian painters, though,
30 unhappily, in eras of progress, but just in proportion to the admirableness and efficiency of the life, will be usually the scantiness of its history. The individualities and liberties which are causes of destruction may be recorded;

but the loyal conditions of daily breath are never told. Because Leonardo made models of machines, dug canals, built fortifications, and dissipated half his art-power in capricious ingenuities, we have many anecdotes of him ; — but no picture of importance on canvas, and only a few 5
withered stains of one upon a wall. But because his pupil, or reputed pupil, Luini,^o labored in constant and successful simplicity, we have no anecdotes of him ; — only hundreds of noble works. Luini is, perhaps, the best central type of the highly-trained Italian painter. He is the only man 10
who entirely united the religious temper which was the spirit-life of art, with the physical power which was its bodily life. He joins the purity and passion of Angelico^o to the strength of Veronese^o: the two elements, poised in perfect balance, are so calmed and restrained, each by the 15
other, that most of us lose the sense of both. The artist does not see the strength, by reason of the chastened spirit in which it is used: and the religious visionary does not recognize the passion, by reason of the frank human truth with which it is rendered. He is a man ten times greater 20
than Leonardo ; — a mighty colorist, while Leonardo was only a fine draughtsman in black, staining the chiaroscuro drawing, like a colored print: he perceived and rendered the delicatest types of human beauty that have been painted since the days of the Greeks, while Leonardo de- 25
praved his finer instincts by caricature, and remained to the end of his days the slave of an archaic smile: and he is a designer as frank, instinctive, and exhaustless as Tintoret, while Leonardo's design is only an agony of science, admired chiefly because it is painful, and capable of 30
analysis in its best accomplishment. Luini has left nothing behind him that is not lovely; but of his life I believe hardly anything is known beyond remnants of tradition

which murmur about Lugano° and Saronno,° and which remain ungleaned. This only is certain, that he was born in the loveliest district of North Italy, where hills, and streams, and air meet in softest harmonies. Child of
5 the Alps, and of their divinest lake, he is taught, without doubt or dismay, a lofty religious creed, and a sufficient law of life and of its mechanical arts. Whether less-
10 oned by Leonardo himself, or merely one of many disciplined in the system of the Milanese school,° he learns unerringly to draw, unerringly and enduringly to paint. His tasks are set him without question day by day, by men who are justly satisfied with his work, and who accept it without any harmful praise, or senseless blame. Place, scale, and subject are determined for him on the
15 cloister wall or the church dome; as he is required, and for sufficient daily bread, and little more, he paints what he has been taught to design wisely, and has passion to realize gloriously: every touch he lays is eternal, every thought he conceives is beautiful and pure: his hand
20 moves always in radiance of blessing; from day to day his life enlarges in power and peace; it passes away cloudlessly, the starry twilight remaining arched far against the night.

158. Oppose to such a life as this that of a great painter
25 amidst the elements of modern English liberty. Take the life of Turner, in whom the artistic energy and inherent love of beauty were at least as strong as in Luini: but, amidst the disorder and ghastliness of the lower streets of London, his instincts in early infancy were warped into
30 toleration of evil, or even into delight in it.° He gathers what he can of instruction by questioning and prying among half-informed masters; spells out some knowledge of classical fable; educates himself, by an admirable force,

to the production of wildly majestic or pathetically tender and pure pictures, by which he cannot live. There is no one to judge them, or to command him: only some of the English upper classes hire him to paint their houses and parks, and destroy the drawings afterwards by the most wanton neglect. Tired of laboring carefully, without either reward or praise, he dashes out into various experimental and popular works — makes himself the servant of the lower public, and is dragged hither and thither at their will; while yet, helpless and guideless, he indulges his idiosyncrasies till they change into insanities; the strength of his soul increasing its sufferings, and giving force to its errors; all the purpose of life degenerating into instinct; and the web of his work wrought, at last, of beauties too subtle to be understood, his liberty, with vices too singular to be forgiven — all useless, because magnificent idiosyncrasy had become solitude, or contention, in the midst of a reckless populace, instead of submitting itself in loyal harmony to the Art-laws of an understanding nation. And the life passed away in darkness; and its final work, in all the best beauty of it, has already perished, only enough remaining to teach us what we have lost.

159. These are the opposite effects of Law and of Liberty on men of the highest powers. In the case of inferiors the contrast is still more fatal: under strict law, they become the subordinate workers in great schools, healthily aiding, echoing, or supplying, with multitudinous force of hand, the mind of the leading masters: they are the nameless carvers of great architecture — stainers of glass — hammerers of iron — helpful scholars, whose work ranks round, if not with, their master's, and never disgraces it. But the inferiors under a system of license for the most

part perish in miserable effort ;¹ a few struggle into pernicious eminence — harmful alike to themselves and to all who admire them ; many die of starvation ; many insane, either in weakness of insolent egotism, like Haydon,^o or in
 5 a conscientious agony of beautiful purpose and warped power, like Blake.^o There is no probability of the persistence of a licentious school in any good accidentally

¹ As I correct this sheet for press, my "Pall Mall Gazette" of last Saturday, April 17, is lying on the table by me. I print a
 10 few lines out of it: —

"AN ARTIST'S DEATH. — A sad story was told at an inquest held in St. Pancras last night by Dr. Lankester on the body of . . . , aged fifty-nine, a French artist, who was found dead in his bed at his rooms in . . . Street. M. . . . , also an artist, said he
 15 had known the deceased for fifteen years. He once held a high position, and being anxious to make a name in the world, he five years ago commenced a large picture, which he hoped, when completed, to have in the gallery at Versailles; and with that view he sent a photograph of it to the French Emperor.^o He also had an
 20 idea of sending it to the English Royal Academy. He labored on this picture, neglecting other work which would have paid him well, and gradually sank lower and lower into poverty. His friends assisted him, but being absorbed in his great work, he did not heed their advice, and they left him. He was, however,
 25 assisted by the French Ambassador, and last Saturday, he (the witness) saw deceased, who was much depressed in spirits, as he expected the brokers to be put in possession for rent. He said his troubles were so great that he feared his brain would give way. The witness gave him a shilling, for which he appeared
 30 very thankful. On Monday the witness called upon him, but received no answer to his knock. He went again on Tuesday, and entered the deceased's bedroom, and found him dead. Dr. George Ross said that when called in to the deceased he had been dead at least two days. The room was in a filthy, dirty condition,
 35 and the picture referred to — certainly a very fine one — was in that room. The post-mortem examination showed that the cause of death was fatty degeneration of the heart, the latter probably having ceased its action through the mental excitement of the deceased."

discovered by them; there is an approximate certainty of their gathering, with acclaim, round any shadow of evil, and following *it* to whatever quarter of destruction it may lead.

160. Thus far the notes on Freedom. Now, lastly, here ⁵ is some talk which I tried at the time to make intelligible; and with which I close this volume, because it will serve sufficiently to express the practical relation in which I think the art and imagination of the Greeks stand to our own; and will show the reader that my view of that re- ¹⁰ lation is unchanged, from the first day on which I began to write, until now.

THE HERCULES OF CAMARINA

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF THE ART SCHOOL OF
SOUTH LAMBERT, MARCH 15, 1869

15

161. AMONG the photographs of Greek coins which present so many admirable subjects for your study, I must speak for the present of one only: the Hercules of Camarina.^o You have, represented by a Greek workman, in that coin, the face of a man, and the skin of a lion's head. And ²⁰ the man's face is like a man's face, but the lion's skin is not like a lion's skin.

162. Now there are some people who will tell you that Greek art is fine, because it is true; and because it carves men's faces as like men's as it can. 25

And there are other people who will tell you that Greek art is fine, because it is not true; and carves a lion's skin so as to look not at all like a lion's skin.

And you fancy that one or other of these sets of people must be wrong, and are perhaps much puzzled to find out which you should believe.

But neither of them are¹ wrong, and you will have 5 eventually to believe, or rather to understand and know, in reconciliation, the truths taught by each; but for the present, the teachers of the first group are those you must follow.

It is they who tell you the deepest and usefulest truth, 10 which involves all others in time. *Greek art, and all other art, is fine when it makes a man's face as like a man's face as it can.* Hold to that. All kinds of nonsense are talked to you, now-a-days, ingeniously and irrelevantly about art. Therefore, for the most part of the day, shut your ears, and 15 keep your eyes open: and understand primarily, what you may, I fancy, understand easily, that the greatest masters of all greatest schools — Phidias, Donatello, Titian, Velasquez, or Sir Joshua Reynolds^o — all tried to make human creatures as like human creatures as they could; and that 20 anything less like humanity than their work, is not so good as theirs.

Get that well driven into your heads; and don't let it out again, at your peril.

163. Having got it well in, you may then further under- 25 stand, safely, that there is a great deal of secondary work in pots, and pans, and floors, and carpets, and shawls, and architectural ornament, which ought, essentially, to be *unlike* reality, and to depend for its charm on quite other qualities than imitative ones. But all such art is 30 inferior and secondary — much of it more or less instinctive and animal, and a civilized human creature can only learn its principles rightly, by knowing those of great civilized art first — which is always the representation, to the

¹ [is]

utmost of its power, of whatever it has got to show — made to look as like the thing as possible. Go into the National Gallery, and look at the foot of Correggio's Venus there. Correggio made it as like a foot as he could, and you won't easily find anything liker.° Now, you will find on any Greek vase something meant for a foot, or a hand, which is not at all like one. The Greek vase is a good thing in its way, but Correggio's picture is the best work.

164. So, again, go into the Turner room of the National Gallery, and look at Turner's drawing of "Ivy Bridge." You will find the water in it is like real water, and the ducks in it are like real ducks. Then go into the British Museum, and look for an Egyptian landscape, and you will find the water in that constituted of blue zigzags, not at all like water; and ducks in the middle of it made of red lines, looking not in the least as if they could stand stuffing with sage and onions. They are very good in their way, but Turner's are better.

165. I will not pause to fence my general principle against what you perfectly well know of the due contradiction, — that a thing may be painted very like, yet painted ill. Rest content with knowing that it *must* be like, if it is painted well; and take this further general law: Imitation is like charity. When it is done for love it is lovely; when it is done for show, hateful.

166. Well, then, this Greek coin is fine, first because the face is like a face. Perhaps you think there is something particularly handsome in the face, which you can't see in the photograph, or can't at present appreciate. But there is nothing of the kind. It is a very regular, quiet, commonplace sort of face; and any average English gentleman's, of good descent, would be far handsomer.

167. Fix that in your heads also, therefore, that Greek faces are not particularly beautiful. Of the much nonsense against which you are to keep your ears shut, that which is talked to you of the Greek ideal of beauty is among the absolutest. There is not a single instance of a very beautiful head left by the highest school of Greek art. On coins, there is even no approximately beautiful one. The Juno of Argos^o is a virago; the Athena of Athens grotesque, the Athena of Corinth^o is insipid; and of Thurium,^o sensual. The Siren Ligeia,^o and fountain of Arethusa,^o on the coins of Terina and Syracuse,^o are prettier, but totally without expression, and chiefly set off by their well-curved hair. You might have expected something subtle in Mercuries; but the Mercury of Ænus^o is a very stupid-looking fellow, in a cap like a bowl, with a knob on the top of it. The Bacchus of Thasos^o is a drayman with his hair pomatum'd.^o The Jupiter of Syracuse is, however, calm and refined; and the Apollo of Clazomenæ^o would have been impressive, if he had not come down to us much flattened by friction. But on the whole, the merit of Greek coins does not primarily depend on beauty of features, nor even, in the period of highest art, that of the statues. You may take the Venus of Melos^o as a standard of beauty of the central Greek type. She has tranquil, regular, and lofty features; but could not hold her own for a moment against the beauty of a simple English girl, of pure race and kind heart.

168. And the reason that Greek art, on the whole, bores you (and you know it does), is that you are always forced to look in it for something that is not there; but which may be seen every day, in real life, all round you; and which you are naturally disposed to delight in, and ought to delight in. For the Greek race was not at all one of

exalted beauty, but only of general and healthy completeness of form. They were only, and could be only, beautiful in body to the degree that they were beautiful in soul (for you will find, when you read deeply into the matter, that the body is only the soul made visible). And the 5 Greeks were indeed very good people, much better people than most of us think, or than many of us are; but there are better people alive now than the best of them, and lovelier people to be seen now than the loveliest of them.

169. Then what *are* the merits of this Greek art, which 10 make it so exemplary for you? Well, not that it is beautiful, but that it is Right.¹ All that it desires to do, it does, and all that it does, does well. You will find, as you advance in the knowledge of art, that its laws of self-restraint are very marvellous; that its peace of heart, and content- 15 ment in doing a simple thing, with only one or two qualities, restrictedly desired, and sufficiently attained, are a most wholesome element of education for you, as opposed to the wild writhing, and wrestling, and longing for the moon, and tilting at windmills, and agony of eyes, and 20 torturing of fingers, and general spinning out of one's soul into fiddle-strings,^o which constitute the ideal life of a modern artist.

Also observe, there is entire masterhood of its business up to the required point. A Greek does not reach after 25 other people's strength, nor outreach his own. He never tries to paint before he can draw; he never tries to lay on flesh where there are no bones; and he never expects to find the bones of anything in his inner consciousness. Those are his first merits — sincere and innocent purpose, 30 strong common sense and principle, and all the strength

¹ Compare above, § 101.

that comes of these, and all the grace that follows on that strength.

170. But, secondly, Greek art is always exemplary in disposition of masses, which is a thing that in modern days students rarely look for, artists not enough, and the public never. But, whatever else Greek work may fail of, you may be always sure its masses are well placed, and their placing has been the object of the most subtle care. Look, for instance, at the inscription in front of this Hercules of the name of the town — Camarina. You can't read it, even though you may know Greek, without some pains; for the sculptor knew well enough that it mattered very little whether you read it or not, for the Camarina Hercules could tell his own story; but what did above all things matter was, that no K or A or M should come in a wrong place with respect to the outline of the head, and divert the eye from it, or spoil any of its lines. So the whole inscription is thrown into a sweeping curve of gradually diminishing size, continuing from the lion's paws, round the neck, up to the forehead, and answering a decorative purpose as completely as the curls of the mane opposite. Of these, again, you cannot change or displace one without mischief; they are almost as even in reticulation as a piece of basket-work; but each has a different form and a due relation to the rest, and if you set to work to draw that mane rightly, you will find that, whatever time you give to it, you can't get the tresses quite into their places, and that every tress out of its place does an injury. If you want to test your powers of accurate drawing, you may make that lion's mane your *pons asinorum*.^o I have never yet met with a student who didn't make an ass in a lion's skin of himself, when he tried it.

171. Granted, however, that these tresses may be

finely placed, still they are not like a lion's mane. So we come back to the question, — if the face is to be like a man's face, why is not the lion's mane to be like a lion's mane? Well, because it can't be like a lion's mane without too much trouble, — and inconvenience after that, 5 and poor success after all. Too much trouble, in cutting the die into fine fringes and jags; inconvenience after that, — because fringes and jags would spoil the surface of a coin; poor success after all, — because, though you can easily stamp cheeks and foreheads smooth at a blow, 10 you can't stamp projecting tresses fine at a blow, whatever pains you take with your die.

So your Greek uses his common sense, wastes no time, uses no skill, and says to you, "Here are beautifully set tresses, which I have carefully designed and easily stamped. 15 Enjoy them, and if you cannot understand that they mean lion's mane, heaven mend your wits."

172. See, then, you have in this work well-founded knowledge, simple and right aims, thorough mastery of handicraft, splendid invention in arrangement, unerring 20 common sense in treatment, — merits, these, I think, exemplary enough to justify our tormenting you a little with Greek art. But it has one merit more than these, the greatest of all. It always means something worth saying. Not merely worth saying for that time only, but for all 25 time. What do you think this helmet of lion's hide is always given to Hercules for? You can't suppose it means only that he once killed a lion, and always carried its skin afterwards to show that he had, as Indian sportsmen send home stuffed rugs, with claws at the corners, and a 30 lump in the middle which one tumbles over every time one stirs the fire. What *was* this Nemean Lion, whose spoils were evermore to cover Hercules from the cold? Not

merely a large specimen of *Felis Leo*,^o ranging the fields of Nemea, be sure of that. This Nemean cub was one of a bad litter. Born of Typhon and Echidna,^o — of the whirlwind and the snake, — Cerberus his brother, the Hydra of Lerna^o his sister, — it must have been difficult to get his hide off him. He had to be found in darkness, too, and dealt upon without weapons, by grip at the throat — arrows and club of no avail against him. What does all that mean?

10 173. It means that the Nemean Lion is the first great adversary of life, whatever that may be — to Hercules, or to any of us, then or now. The first monster we have to strangle, or be destroyed by, fighting in the dark, and with none to help us, only Athena standing by to encourage
 15 with her smile. Every man's Nemean Lion lies in wait for him somewhere. The slothful man says, there is a lion in the path.^o He says well. The quiet *unslothful* man says the same, and knows it too. But they differ in their further reading of the text. The slothful man says, I shall
 20 be slain, and the *unslothful*, IT shall be. It is the first ugly and strong enemy that rises against us, all future victory depending on victory over that. Kill it; and through all the rest of life, what was once dreadful is your armor, and you are clothed with that conquest for every
 25 other, and helmed with its crest of fortitude for evermore.

Alas, we have most of us to walk bare-headed; but that is the meaning of the story of Nemea, — worth laying to heart and thinking of sometimes, when you see a dish garnished with parsley, which was the crown at the Ne-
 30 mean games.

174. How far, then, have we got in our list of the merits of Greek art now?

Sound knowledge.

Simple aims.

Mastered craft.

Vivid invention.

Strong common sense.

And eternally true and wise meaning.

5

Are these not enough? Here is one more, then, which will find favor, I should think, with the British Lion. Greek art is never frightened at anything; it is always cool.

175. It differs essentially from all other art, past or present, in this incapability of being frightened. Half ¹⁰ the power and imagination of every other school depend on a certain feverish terror mingling with their sense of beauty, — the feeling that a child has in a dark room, or a sick person in seeing ugly dreams. But the Greeks never have ugly dreams. They cannot draw anything ugly ¹⁵ when they try. Sometimes they put themselves to their wits' end to draw an ugly thing, — the Medusa's head, for instance, — but they can't do it, not they, because nothing frightens them. They widen the mouth, and grind the teeth, and puff the cheeks, and set the ²⁰ eyes a goggling; and the thing is only ridiculous after all, not the least dreadful, for there is no dread in their hearts. Pensiveness; amazement; often deepest grief and desolateness. All these; but terror never. Ever-
lasting calm in the presence of all fate; and joy such as ²⁵ they could win, not indeed in a perfect beauty, but in beauty at perfect rest! A kind of art this, surely, to be looked at, and thought upon sometimes with profit, even in these latter days.

176. To be looked at sometimes. Not continually, and ³⁰ never as a model for imitation. For you are not Greeks; but, for better or worse, English creatures; and cannot do, even if it were a thousand times better worth doing,

anything well, except what your English hearts shall prompt, and your English skies teach you. For all good art is the natural utterance of its own people in its own day.

But also, your own art is a better and brighter one than
5 ever this Greek art was. Many motives, powers, and insights have been added to those elder ones. The very corruptions into which we have fallen are signs of a subtle life, higher than theirs was, and therefore more fearful in its faults and death. Christianity has neither superseded,
10 nor, by itself, excelled heathenism; but it has added its own good, won also by many a Nemean contest in dark valleys, to all that was good and noble in heathenism; and our present thoughts and work, when they are right, are nobler than the heathen's. And we are not reverent
15 enough to them, because we possess too much of them. That sketch of four cherub heads from an English girl, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, at Kensington, is an incomparably finer thing than ever the Greeks did. Ineffably tender in the touch, yet Herculean in power; innocent,
20 yet exalted in feeling; pure in color as a pearl; reserved and decisive in design, as this Lion crest, — if *it* alone existed of such, — if it were a picture by Zeuxis,^o the only one left in the world, and you build a shrine for it, and were allowed to see it only seven days in a year, it alone
25 would teach you all of art that you ever needed to know. But you do not learn from this or any other such work, because you have not reverence enough for them, and are trying to learn from all at once, and from a hundred other masters besides.

30 177. Here, then, is the practical advice which I would venture to deduce from what I have tried to show you. Use Greek art as a first, not a final, teacher. Learn to draw carefully from Greek work; above all, to place forms

correctly, and to use light and shade tenderly. Never allow yourselves black shadows. It is easy to make things look round and projecting; but the things to exercise yourselves in are the placing of the masses, and the modeling of the lights. It is an admirable exercise to take a pale wash of color for all the shadows, never reinforcing it everywhere, but drawing the statue as if it were in far distance, making all the darks one flat pale tint. Then model from those into the lights, rounding as well as you can, on those subtle conditions. In your chalk drawings, separate the lights from the darks at once all over; then reinforce the darks slightly where absolutely necessary, and put your whole strength on the lights and their limits. Then, when you have learned to draw thoroughly, take one master for your painting, as you would have done necessarily in old times by being put into his school (were I to choose for you, it should be among six men only — Titian, Correggio, Paul Veronese, Velasquez, Reynolds, or Holbein).° If you are a landscapist, Turner must be your only guide (for no other great landscape painter has yet lived); and having chosen, do your best to understand your own chosen master, and obey *him*, and no one else, till you have strength to deal with the nature itself round you, and then, be your own master, and see with your own eyes. If you have got masterhood or sight in you, that is the way to make the most of them; and if you have neither, you will at least be sound in your work, prevented from immodest and useless effort, and protected from vulgar and fantastic error.

And so I wish you all, good speed, and the favor of Hercules and of the Muses; and to those who shall best deserve them, the crown of Parsley first and then of the Laurel.°

NOTES

THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE

INTRODUCTION

RUSKIN took "extreme pains" (see footnote, § 1) with this revised Introduction. For this reason it seems worth while to give, in the following notes, the more important variants.

1 : 5. **Wandel.** "The Springs of Wandel" is the title of the first chapter of Ruskin's *Præterita*.

1 : 9. "Giveth rain from heaven." A combination of *Job* v, 10: ". . . who giveth rain upon the earth," and *Is.* lv, 10: ". . . as the rain cometh down from heaven." See also *Acts* xiv, 17.

1 : 12. **Confessed.** "*No sweeter* homes ever hallowed the heart of the passer-by with their pride of peaceful gladness — fain-hidden — yet fully confessed." Note the alliteration, and observe the extent to which Ruskin uses this embellishment in these lectures.

1 : 13. **1870.** Instead of this date, the first edition, 1866, had: "or, until a few months ago, remained."

1 : 16. **Pisan Maremma.** Pisa, city and province of Italy, part of the former grand duchy of Tuscany. *Marémma*, Italian, corrupted from *marittima*, country by the seashore, from *mare*, the sea. Also known as Tuscan Maremma. — **Campagna.** Town in Salerno, Italy.

1 : 17. **Torcellan.** Torcella, a small island near Venice.

2 : 8. **Chalcedony.** A variety of quartz, the name of which is derived from Chalcedon, a town in Asia Minor.

2 : 9. **Grenouillette.** See French Dictionary.

2 : 13. **Shreds of old metal.** Compare *potsherd*, *shard*, and *sheard*.

2 : 14. **Which, having . . . they.** Originally: "they having . . . thus."

2 : 15. **Dig into the ground.** Bury.

2 : 21. **Gentler hands.** People of more refinement.

2 : 23. **Scoria.** Slag, dross.

2 : 28. **The accumulation of indolent years.** What figure of speech?

2 : 33. **Porch of Bethesda.** *John* v, 2-4. Bethesda (House of Mercy) had five porches. "In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season in the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had."

3 : 1. **I suppose.** Not in the original. Does this indicate a change in Ruskin's attitude towards the villagers?

3 : 8. **In so wise manner.** In such a way, or manner.

3 : 15. **Freehold.** A legal term. See Dictionary.

3 : 21. **Dead ground.** Unproductive, idle.

3 : 24. **Open-handed.** Is this meant for a pun?

3 : 25. **Habitually scatters.** Originally: "habitually scatters from its presence."

3 : 30. **Perilous.** Originally: "deadly."

3 : 31. **Partly grievous and horrible.** Originally: "partly fierce and exhaustive."

4 : 3. This paragraph was the last sentence of the original paragraph 2.

5 : 1. **Percentage.** Three years before Ruskin invariably wrote "per-centage."

5 : 3. **By-ways.** Originally: "bye-ways."

5 : 10. Filchings. Things, commonly of small value, stolen or taken privately.

5 : 12. The original § 4 embraced the present §§ 5, 6, and 7. — **Croydon publican.** This adaptation is not from *Luke* (v, 27), whose publican, Levi, was a tax-collector; but from *Matthew* (xi, 19) and *Luke* (vii, 34), who speak of “the Son of Man” as being called “a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.”

5 : 15. Out-rail. Note the pun.

5 : 17. Both are, as to their *relative* attractiveness, just where they were before. Ruskin improves this by omitting an ironical pun that appeared between “attractiveness” and “just,” in the original: “to customers of taste.”

5 : 19. The amateurs of railings. Originally: “customers of taste.” Has Ruskin simply substituted one pun for another?

5 : 22. Precisely what the capitalist has gained. Originally not italicized. What does the change indicate?

5 : 29. Blackmail. Compare *Unto this Last*, § 45. (*Unto this Last* was written in 1860, ten years before the revision of this Introduction, and six years before the writing of *Crown of Wild Olive*.)

5 : 30. Cozening. Deceiving, or cheating, by claiming relationship — cousining. — **Reiver.** Compare *reave*, *be-reave*, *rob*. — **Quartered.** Lodged, sheltered.

5 : 33. Robber. What is the difference between a robber and a burglar?

6 : 8. The proceeding. Originally: “it.” — **Political economy.** Ruskin defines true political economy (*Unto this Last*, § 28) as follows: “Political economy (the economy of a State, or of a citizen) consists simply in production, preservation, and distribution, at fittest time and place, of useful or pleasurable things.”

6 : 20. **No excuse for the theft.** Compare *Unto this Last*, §§ 43, 54.

6 : 21. **Turnpike.** Ruskin means a turnstile, or a toll-gate. In America the turnpike is the roadway.

6 : 26. **Out-facing.** Is this intended for a pun of the "out-rail" type (§ 5)?

7 : 7. **Which.** Would "that" be better? "Ruskin, at this time [*Modern Painters*, Part I, Section 1] and ever after, used 'which' where 'that' would be both more correct and less inelegant. He probably had the habit from him who did more than any other to disorganize the English language — that is, Gibbon." — MRS. MYNELL, *John Ruskin*, New York, 1890, p. 16.

7 : 11. **Destroy.** Originally not italicized.

7 : 14. **Final inconvenience.** In addition to what we have here, this paragraph originally closed with the sentence, "So that, conclusively, in political as in household economy the great question is, not so much what you have in your pocket, as what you buy with it, and do with it." Compare *Unto this Last*, § 72.

7 : 15. The original § 5 embraced the present §§ 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

7 : 17. **Statements laughed at** for years before they are examined or believed. Compare Joseph Salyards, *Idothea*, I, 776:—

"We burn the martyr, then adopt the creed."

7 : 24. **Intrinsic.** Not in the original.

7 : 26. **"Practical."** Originally used, but not quoted.

7 : 28. **Modern school of economists.** Reference to J. Stuart Mill, his forebears and followers in economics. David Ricardo (1772-1823) was not in sympathy with the working classes. Mill (1806-1873), in his doctrines concerning the experiences of the soul of man, did not please Ruskin.

It is interesting to trace the influence of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1766) in the works of Ricardo, Mill, and Ruskin. Read Ruskin's "Ad Valorem," the fourth and last essay in *Unto this Last*. See also Mrs. Mynell, *John Ruskin*, New York, 1900, p. 150 ff.

7 : 33. Labor. Originally : "labors."

8 : 2. Heads of the following lectures. Note in this paragraph the terms :—

Operatives	Merchants	Soldiers
Manufacture	Selling	Killing
Craftsmen	Salesmen	Swordsmen

out of which he evolves his simple titles :—

Work	Traffic	War
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8 : 10. Chiefly desired. Originally followed by : "(as I have just said)."

8 : 22. Face the difficulty. Originally followed by : "just spoken of."

8 : 27. Then. Not in original.

8 : 30. "What you say," etc. Not originally included with quotation marks.

8 : 31. Unbelievers. *Un-* not originally italicized.

8 : 34. Shake off the dust. *Matt.* x, 14; *Mark* vi, 11; but Ruskin probably has in mind *Luke* ix, 5; *Acts* xiii, 51.

9 : 1. I had got to say. Improve this expression.

9 : 3. Intractable question. Originally : "Intractable part of the subject."

9 : 14. Property . . . invisible. *Luke* xvii, 20 : "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation."

9 : 21. More blessed, etc. Allusion to *Acts* xx, 35.

9 : 28. Of first forward youth. Originally : "of my first forward youth."

9 : 29. To believe anything. Originally : "of what, in such matters I thought myself."

9 : 31. I take for the time his creed. Possibly suggested by *1 Cor.* ix, 22.

10 : 4. Forty years. See *Præterita*, pp. 1, 2, 52-58. When this lecture was written (1866), Ruskin was only about forty-five; but his statement is not very wide of the mark.

10 : 8. Fetish. Also fetich. A material substance used as a charm by certain African tribes, as the rabbit's foot among uneducated American negroes. — Talisman. A magical image, usually engraved on stone or metal. See Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Canto I, stanza 2, line 5.

10 : 17. Life . . . meat . . . body . . . raiment. *Matt.* vi, 25; *Luke* xii, 23.

10 : 18. Without being accused of fanaticism. Originally : "without accusation or fanaticism."

10 : 21. After all these things. *Matt.* vi, 52.

Section 13. § 6 of the original.

11 : 7. All things ended in order for his sleep, or left in order for his awakening. Originally : "all things in order for his sleep, or in readiness for his awakening." When Hezekiah was "sick unto death . . . Isaiah, the prophet, . . . said unto him . . . Set thine house in order." — *Is.* xxxviii, 1; *2 Kings* xx, 1.

Section 14. § 7 of the original.

11 : 10. End. Originally : "put."

11 : 14. Rooms in their Father's house . . . mansions. *John* xiv, 2 : "In my Father's house are many mansions."

11 : 16. Live at court. Originally : "Live at Court."

11 : 18. "Desire to depart, and be with Christ." *Phil.* i 23 : ". . . desire to depart, and to be with Christ."

11 : 27. Drunkard. *Is. xxii, 13* : “. . . eating flesh and drinking wine : let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.”

11 : 29. Device in the grave. *Eccl. ix, 10* : “. . . there is no . . . device, . . . in the grave, whither thou goest.”

12 : 6. “What a man soweth that shall he also reap.”
Gal. vi, 7 : “Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.”

12 : 8. Pestilence . . . darkness. *Ps. xci, 6* : “. . . the pestilence that walketh in darkness.”

Section 15. The eighth and final paragraph of the original Preface embraced the fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs of this Introduction.

12 : 10. Offence. Possibly an allusion to *Rom. xiv, 20, 21*.

12 : 13. Which. Or “that”?

12 : 16. Hill of Mars. *Acts xvii, 22* : “Paul stood in the midst of Mars’ hill” and addressed the men of Athens.—**Eumenides.** The Furies (Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megara), who punished with stinging remorse those who had escaped or defied public justice.

12 : 17. Might not a preacher . . . say to them. In place of this, Ruskin said, originally : “I would fain, if I might offencelessly, have spoken to them as if none others heard; and have said thus:” Does the change strengthen the appeal?

12 : 29. Fruit of righteousness. Compare *2 Cor. ix, 10*.

12 : 31. Iniquity . . . remembered no more. *Heb. viii, 12* : “Their iniquities will I remember no more.”

13 : 1. You. Originally not italicized.

13 : 4. Before the moth. Easier than you can crush the moth.

13 : 6. Fails for lack of food. See *Ps.* xxxiv, 10; *Lam.* ii, 11, 12.

“Sucking children in the street do die.

When they had cried unto their mothers, ‘Where shall we find bread and drink?’ they fainted there.”

— *DONNE, The Lamentations, etc., 132-134.*

13 : 7. Whisper . . . dust. Possibly suggested by *Is.* xxix, 4.

13 : 9. Lie down . . . in the dust. See *Job* xx, 11. — Worms cover you. *Job* vii, 5.

13 : 17. More prompt . . . more niggardly. Originally : “readier . . . and niggardly.”

13 : 21. Well understanding your act. Originally: “well understood.”

13 : 23. When brought into these curt limits. Originally: “in these curt limits.” — Curt. Latin *curtus*, short, very brief. What additional meaning has this word?

13 : 24. Fever fit. “After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well.” — *Macbeth*, III, ii, 23.

13 : 30. Are health and heaven to come? Then. Not in the original.

13 : 32. Crowns. First suggestion of the title of the three essays, or lectures.

13 : 33. Though. Not in the original.

14 : 2. No. Not italicized in the original.

14 : 3. But your Palace-inheritance. Not in original.

14 : 7. Rest which remaineth. *Heb.* iv, 9: “There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God.”

14 : 12. The heathen, in their saddest hours, thought not so. Originally: “The heathen, to whose creed you have returned, thought not so.” Suggest reasons for the change.

14 : 13. Crown. Second suggestion of title.

14 : 16. [Crown of] Wild Olive. Title complete, but not fully explained.

14 : 18. It should have been of gold. See title-page.

14 : 23. [Crown of] Wild Olive, mark you . . . gray leaf and thornset stem; . . . sharp embroidery. Title complete and explained. See *The Queen of the Air*, § 38: "Hercules plants the wild olive, for its shade, on the course of Olympia, and it thenceforward gives the Olympic crown of consummate honor and rest."

14 : Note. μελιτόβεσσα, ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν. Pindar, *Olymp.*, I, 157-159 :—

“ὁ νικῶν δέ λοιπὸν βίοτον
ἔχει μελιτόβεσσαν
ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν.”

“The victor for the rest of his life has delicious (honey sweet) tranquillity (fair, sunny weather) on account of the games.”

15 : 3. May yet be your riches. Originally preceded by “these.”

15 : 5. Life that now is . . . that which is to come. *1 Tim.* iv, 8: “Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.”

LECTURE I

WORK

The Crown of Wild Olive was written: “Traffic,” 1864; “Work and Play,”—being the present “Work,”—and “War,” 1865; first published in 1866. The Introduction (Preface) was revised in 1870. (See p. 1, § 1.) This lecture seems to have been revised, or the revision retouched, after 1873. (See footnote, p. 30, § 26.) The revised text is here

used because it is better. The more important variants are given.

17 : 4. **Plain questions.** 1866 : "plain but necessary questions."

18 : 25. **Are there necessarily upper classes? necessarily lower?** 1866 : "Are there really upper classes, — are there lower?"

18 : 28. **I pray . . . to forgive.** 1866 : "I pray those of you who are here to forgive." Note the narrowing and the strengthening of the appeal.

19 : 8. **Ask them what they think.** 1866 : "Ask them, also as representing a great multitude, what they think."

19 : 12. **Your employers.** 1866 : "those classes."

19 : 13. **Idle classes.** Read Robert Louis Stevenson's essay, "An Apology for Idlers."

Section 20. The original has no footnote. "Original," here and hereafter, means 1866.

19 : 27. **Play marbles.** An appeal to the interest of all men who have been boys.

20 : 6. [**How little wise in this!**] Not in the original.

20 : 8. **Among them.** Not in the original.

20 : 10. **Looks.** 1866 : "has a tendency to look."

20 : 22. **No worldly distinction.** 1866 : "no class distinction."

21 : 22. **Definition.** Note carefully, in this paragraph, the definitions of *play* and *work*, and the illustrations.

21 : 28. **As you call it.** Judging from this expression, and from the reference to football, in the next paragraph, was Ruskin "gamesome"?

Section 24. Is Ruskin wholly serious in the first half of this paragraph, and wholly sensible in the second?

22 : 17. **"Well, I'll get more."** It was said of some of our cotton-planters, before the Civil War, "They buy

negroes, to make cotton, to get money, to buy more negroes, to make more cotton, to get more money, to buy still more negroes, etc."

23 : 3. Or filling both. This was originally followed by: "Collecting money is by no means the same thing as making it; the tax-gatherer's house is not the Mint; and much of the apparent gain (so called), in commerce, is only a form of taxation on carriage and exchange." Does not Ruskin here confuse money-manufacturing and money-earning?

23 : 8. And the resultant demoralization of ourselves, our children, and our retainers. Not in the original.

23 : 9. Beautiful. Is Ruskin sincere?

23 : 15. Gambling. Originally followed by: "By no means a beneficial or recreative game."

23 : 19. Brace. A pair, a couple. Now rarely applied to persons except with contempt.

23 : 21. Many mansions. Reference to *John* xiv, 2.

23 : 23. Four-square city . . . measuring reeds. *Rev.* xxi, 16: "And the city lieth four-square . . . and he measured the city with the golden reed."

23 : 25. By this nation. Originally followed by: "which has set itself as it seems, literally to accomplish, word for word, or rather fact for word, in the persons of those poor whom its Master left to represent him, what that Master said of himself — that the foxes and birds had homes but he had none [*Matt.* viii, 20]. Notice *those* poor whom *its* Master." . . . The footnote has been added.

23 : 28. Not the cheapest of games. Originally followed by: "I saw a brooch at a jeweller's in Bond Street a fortnight ago, not an inch wide, and without any singular jewel in it, yet worth 3000 £."

24 : 9. Fashions you have set. How have these fashions been set?

24 : 11. Or as Chaucer calls it "all toslittered," though not for "queintise." Not in the original. The reference is to *The Romaunt of the Rose*, line 840.

24 : 21. **Imagination.** Originally followed by : "the facts of it not always so pleasant."

24 : 27. **Bats and balls.** Guns and bullets.

25 : 10. **Philologists.** Ruskin here means one who comprehends the origin and meaning of words. Ruskin himself is somewhat of a philologist: see "Traffic," paragraphs 63, 69.

25 : 12. **Birmingham.** The chief manufacturing city of England. Spelled *Bermingeham* in *Doomsday Book*. Ruskin implies that *play* in Birmingham means work.

25 : 13. **Baden-Baden.** A place of fashionable resort in Germany, in a valley near the Black Forest. *Baden*, in German, means bathing, balneation. Ruskin implies that *play* in Baden-Baden means play.

25 : 20. **We have piped unto you, etc.** *Matt.* xi, 16, 17; *Luke* vii, 32. How can one know that Ruskin refers to Luke?

25 : 28. **Jelly-fish.** 1866 : "sucking-fish."

26 : 1. **And cease to translate.** 1866 : "and enough respect for what we regard as inspiration, as not to think, 'Son . . . means Fool. . . .'"

26 : 2. **Vineyard.** *Matt.* xxi, 28. An exact quotation.

26 : 7. **Dives and Lazarus.** *Luke* xvi, 19, 20 : ". . . a certain rich man . . . a certain beggar named Lazarus." Latin *dives*, rich. The name "Dives" does not appear in the English Bible. Vulgate, *Luke* xvi, 19 : "Homo quidam erat dives. . . ." Chaucer gets his name for a leper, "lazar," from Lazarus. See *The Prologue*, line 242.

26 : 12. **This chance extract.** In this lecture, as delivered, and as first printed, Ruskin gave two "chance extracts,"

which he cut from two papers that lay on his breakfast table on the same morning, the 25th of November, 1864. The first of these extracts, which Ruskin calls "common-place," he omits from the revised essay. It is about a rich Russian, "Count Teufelskine." Ruskin manufactured the name, presumably from the German *Teufel*, devil, and the English *skin*. Count Devilskin, or a Count who would skin the devil. This Count, breakfasting in Paris, was charged fifteen francs for two peaches (out of season). "Peaches scarce, I presume?" queried the Count. "No, sir," replied the waiter, "but Teufelskines are."

26 : 23. Bone-picker. Such as the men who sing, in the back alleys of American cities,

"Any rags, any bones, any bottles to-day?
Same ol' rag-man comin' this way."

The bones are sold to a junk-dealer, who, in turn, sells them to fertilizer factories, or to sugar refineries.

27 : 8. Poor Law Act. A law pertaining to the support or relief of the poor. See article on "Poor Laws," in any good cyclopædia.

27 : 10. Gnawing flesh . . . sucking bones. *Præterita*, p. 98 : "Mause [the kitchen servant of Rose Terrace, the home of Ruskin's childhood] had been nearly starved to death when she was a girl, and had literally picked the bones out of cast-out dust-heaps to gnaw."

27 : 15. Jewish Lazarus . . . rich man's table.—*Luke* xvi, 20.

28 : 3. Rapine. Plundering; seizing and carrying away by force.

28 : 9. Are earning. 1866 : "earn."—By those who already possess it, and only use it to gain more. 1866 : "by those who levy or extract it."

28 : 25. Ten years without it. See "Traffic," paragraph 75.

28 : 31. Clergyman's object. Compare Chaucer's "povre Persoun," *The Prologue*, lines 477-529.

28 : 33. Doctors . . . like fees. Compare Chaucer's "Doctour of Phisik," *The Prologue*, 411-444.

29 : 14. You cannot serve two masters. *Matt.* vi, 24; *Luke* xvi, 13.

29 : 20. "Least erected fiend that fell." Evidently Ruskin quotes from memory.

"Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heaven."

— MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, I, 679-680.

29 : 24. King of Kings. *Rev.* xix, 16 : "And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS."

29 : 33. Judas bargain. *Matt.* xxvi, 14, 15; *Mark* xiv, 10, 11; *Luke* xxii, 3, 4, 5; *John* xviii, 2. Only Matthew mentions the thirty pieces of silver.

30 : 1. Judas . . . Iscariot. Judas, Græcized form of Judah, means *praise*. Iscariot, a man of Kerioth (*Josh.* xv, 25). Judas Iscariot is mentioned in *Matt.* x, 4; xxvi, 14; *Mark* iii, 19; xiv, 10; *Luke* vi, 16; xxii, 3; *John* vi, 71; xiii, 26.

30 : 5. He never thought He would be killed. 1866 : "He didn't want Him to be killed."

30 : 13. Helpless to understand Christ. 1866 : "He didn't understand Christ."

30 : 17. Christ would come out of it well enough. See W. W. Story, *A Roman Lawyer in Jerusalem*, pp. 112-114.

30 : 31. Carrying the bag. *John* xii, 6.

31 : 5. Cunningest. Ruskin often forms such superlatives by adding *-est*, instead of using *most*. See § 39 : “advisablest,” “profitablest.”

31 : 15. Bags and crags have just the same result on rags. Note the epigrammatic nature of this sentence. Would “effect on” be better than “result on”?

31 : 18. One great principle. Originally followed by : “I have to assert.” — **You will find it unfailing.** 1866 : “You will find it quite undisputably true.” Is the change for the better? Why?

32 : 4. Value and use. Originally followed by : “This is the true law of life.”

32 : 29. Bishop Colenso. John William Colenso (1814–1883), Bishop of Natal, South Africa. Ruskin refers to Colenso’s *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*.

32 : 31. Primary orders. This paragraph formerly ended as follows : “. . . primary orders; and as if, for most of the rich men of England at this moment, it were indeed to be desired, as the best thing at least for *them*, that the Bible should *not* be true, since against them these words are written in it : ‘The rust of your gold and silver shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire’ [*Jas. v, 3*].”

32 : 34. Hand . . . head. A modified designation of “lower class,” and “upper class.”

33 : 11. Dignity of humanity. Originally there followed this sentence : “That is a grand old proverb of Sancho Panza’s, ‘Fine words butter no parsnips,’ and I can tell you that, all over England just now, you workmen are buying a great deal too much butter at that dairy.” By “dairy,” Ruskin means the English Parliament. See paragraphs 41, 42. Sancho Panza is the counterpart of the

hero in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. *Sancho* means spindle-shanks, and *Panza* means paunch.

33 : 15. Collier's helm. The helm of a vessel engaged in the coal trade. — Lee-shore. The shore on the lee side of a vessel. See *lee* and *windward*.

33 : 20. Reading books, classing butterflies, painting pictures. Is there nothing else a gentleman can do?

33 : 28. The hand's the ignoble? Do you agree with this?

33 : 31. "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." *Gen.* iii. 19 : "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Note the difference in the order of the words. Is there a difference in the meaning?

34 : 9. "Blessed are the dead . . . they rest from their labors." *Rev.* xiv, 13 : "They rest," should be, "they may rest." May not the *head-laborer* hope for a holiday, be "blessed," and rest from his labors?

34 : 15. Laborious friends. 1866 : "working friends." See § 42.

34 : 16. Must. Originally not italicized.

34 : 18. Doing. Being done. Compare : The house is building.

34 : 23. Soft work. Would not "easy work" sound better? "Soft work" is at least suggestive of the slang phrase, "A soft snap."

34 : 25. Because we cannot help ourselves. Compare Johnson's *Rasselas*, Chapter XVI, next to the last paragraph.

34 : 31. Disorderly — ordered. Scrambling — soldierly; doggish — human. Note the contrasts.

34 : 32. A lawful or "loyal" way. 1866 : "a lawful way."

34 : 33. The labor that kills — the labor of war. The sword.

35 : 2. The labor that feeds. The plough.

35 : 10. Gentleman . . . justice. Is Ruskin consistent? Does he not here admit that the rough hand-worker, who does justice to the gentle head-worker, is a "gentleman"; and that the gentle head-worker, who is unjust to the rough hand-worker, is a "rough man"?

35 : 14. But they never . . . ever ask. Is this "ever" a slip, or does it give emphasis? "But they never ever ask," is suggestive of Riley's Hoosier verse.

35 : 19. "Do justice and judgment." *Gen.* xviii, 19. Also mentioned in *2 Sam.* viii, 15; *1 Chron.* xviii, 14; *Jer.* xxiii, 5; *Ps.* lxxxix, 14. "Judgment and justice": *Is.* ix, 7. "Do justice": *Ps.* lxxxii, 3; *Is.* lvi, 1. "Execute justice": *Jer.* xxiii, 5.

35 : 21. Sing psalms. *Ps.* xlvii, 1; lxvi, 1; lxxxii, 1; xcii, 1; xcv, 1; xevi, 1; xcvii, 1; xcviii, 1; c, 1; cv, 2, etc.

35 : 22. Pray when you need. *Matt.* vi, 8, 32; *Luke* xii, 30; *Phil.* iv, 19; *Heb.* iv, 16.

35 : 29. He likes to hear. Compare *Matt.* vii, 11; *Luke* xi, 13.

36 : 2. It doesn't call that serving its father. But what does the father call it?

36 : 4. Most probably it is nothing. Fie, Fie, Ruskin! Cæsar had some fear of Cassius, because "he loves no plays . . . he hears no music." (*Julius Cæsar*, I, ii, 203-204.) Even the conspirator, Brutus, loved "a strain or two" of a "sleepy tune," and was gentle to the boy. (IV, iii, 255-274.)

36 : 8. Performed. Note the punning explanation.—at so-and-so o'clock. 1866: "at eleven o'clock." Suggest a reason for the change.

36 : 13. Charity. Does Ruskin mean almsgiving, or love? Note the word "love" in the paragraph below.

36 : 23. Don't love him. Would "do not love him," be stronger?

36 : 27. Got. If the sense of "got" may not be spared, suggest a better word. — **Begins at home.** Compare the saying : "Charity begins at home."

36 : 32. Little children . . . little boots . . . little feathers. Why the repetition of "little"?

37 : 5. Crossing-sweeper. One who sweeps the foot-paths, at the intersection of streets, for small pay, and the privilege of begging at that place.

37 : 7. You will give . . . good you are. 1866 : "we . . . we are."

37 : 11. God . . . for them. This sentence is not in the original.

37 : 13. Justice . . . blind. How is Justice usually pictured? Why?

37 : 25. How can she, etc. . . . You don't, because, etc. . . . Position in which, etc. Should Ruskin have used quotation marks?

38 : 4. That's modern Christianity. Is it? Is Ruskin pessimistic?

38 : 6. We shall never know . . . undone. 1866 : "How do you know what you have done, or are doing?" There are some unimportant changes in the next sentence.

38 : 23. People . . . pay . . . for being amused or cheated. Southey tells the story, in his *Letters of Espriella*, that English people paid an admission fee to see a shaved monkey, exhibited as a fairy.

38 : 24. Talker. Member of Parliament. See § 42.

38 : 28. Homer . . . Iliad. Homer, the greatest epic poet the world has known. It is believed that he was an Asiatic Greek, native of Smyrna. He is accredited with the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in celebration

of the Trojan War. Homer is supposed to have lived about 850 B.C., 400 years before the time of Herodotus the historian. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are thought to be of ballad origin. — **Dante . . . Paradise.** Alighieri Dante (Durante), 1265–1321, the greatest of Italian poets, author of *Divina Commedia*: “Inferno”; “Purgatorio”; “Paradiso.” Among the later translations, in English, are those by Longfellow (1867, blank verse) and Charles Eliot Norton (Revised edition, 1902, prose).

38 : 30. Telescope. The telescope was probably invented by Hans Leppershey; but Ruskin refers to Galileo Galilei, 1564–1642. Galileo was born the day Michelangelo died, and died the day Isaac Newton was born.

38 : 32. Microscope. The question as to who invented the microscope seems to be unanswered. Ruskin possibly refers to Zacharias Jansen. He cannot mean the Isle of Wight man, Robert Hooke, who had plenty of money when he died.

39 : 2. Done for nothing. Is this true of our day? — **Baruch.** *Jer.* xxxvi, 32. Baruch wrote also Jeremiah's first roll for him. See same chapter, verse 4.

39 : 4. St. Stephen. *Acts* vii, 58.

39 : 6. World-father. What is meant by this? For what two reasons can it not mean God?

39 : 11. Not bread; a stone. *Matt.* vii, 10; *Luke* xi, 11.

39 : 12. To keep you quiet. Surely Ruskin offers this pun to please his “lower class.” Compare the puns and the punners in the opening scene of *Julius Cæsar*.

39 : 13. And tell to future ages, etc. Not in the original. Should not “tell” have “to” before it?

39 : 17. Better payment. Between this and “we shall pay,” there was (1866), “some day, assuredly, more pence will be paid to Peter the Fisherman, and less to Peter the Pope.”

40 : 1. Children playing in the [streets]. *Zech.* viii, 5 : "And the streets of the city [Jerusalem] shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."

40 : 6. Laborious friends. 1866 : "working friends." See § 37.

40 : 9. Wise . . . and foolish work. It is evident that "wise" and "foolish" were suggested by the wise and foolish builders (*Matt.* vii, 24, 26), since all the Biblical references in the following paragraph (1866, but here omitted), except the one on "wages," are to this book and chapter.

The omitted paragraph :—

"Well, wise work is, briefly, work *with* God. Foolish work is work *against* God. And work done with God, which he will help, may be briefly described as 'Putting in Order'—that is, enforcing God's law of order, spiritual and material, over men and things. The first thing you have to do, essentially; the real 'good work' is, with respect to men, to enforce justice, and with respect to things, to enforce tidiness, and fruitfulness. And against these two great human deeds [needs?], justice and order, there are perpetually two great demons contending, — the devil of iniquity, or inequity, and the devil of disorder, or of death; for death is only consummation of disorder. You have to fight these two fiends daily. So far as you don't fight against the fiend of iniquity, you work for him. You 'work iniquity' [*Matt.* vii, 23], and judgment upon you, for all your 'Lord, Lord's' [*Matt.* vii, 21, 22] will be 'Depart from me, ye that work iniquity, [*Matt.* vii, 23]. And so far as you do not resist the fiend of disorder, you work disorder, and you yourself do the work of Death, which is sin, and has for its wages, Death himself. [*Rom.* vi, 23]."

40 : 18. Fair-play . . . foul-play. No italics in the original.

40 : 19. Never. 1866 : "ever." What is the difference?

40 : 20. And bitterer. Not in the original.

40 : 21. Fair-work . . . foul-work. No italics in the original.

40 : 26. Loads dice. Secretly inserts lead to make the dice turn in a desired way.

40 : 27. Loads scales. Would putting lead (usually shot) in the weight-holder of scales be loading or unloading?

40 : 29. What difference does it make? 1866 : "What does it matter?"

40 : 31. Unless that flaw . . . of the two. 1866 : "The fault in the fabric is incomparably the worst of the two."

41 : 2. To us who help you. Ruskin had a way of talking down to his audience.

41 : 9. Right hand . . . wrong hand. Is this two puns, or one?

41 : 22. Exert. 1866 : "use."

41 : 25. And found. 1866 : "and you found." Why the change?

41 : 29. Cream. 1866 : "milk."

42 : 2. Golden bowl at the fountain. *Eccl.* xii, 6. See also Poe's *Lenore* :—

"Ah, broken is the golden bowl! the spirit flown forever!"

42 : 3. Life. 1866 : "blood."

42 : 10. The whistling bullets. 1866 : "the little whistling bullets."

42 : 12. Messages to many a man. 1866 : "messages from us to many a man."

42 : 15. Shorten his life. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, III, i, 101, 102.

42 : 19. Strength. Not in the original.

42 : 24. Hold closer. What does Ruskin mean?

42 : 31. Thy kingdom come. *Matt.* vi, 10. "The Lord's Prayer."

42 : 33. God's name in vain. *Ex.* xx, 7. The reference is to the third of the Ten Commandments.

43 : 5. Insult. 1866 : "mock."

43 : 6. With the reed. *Matt.* xxvii, 30.

43 : 16. The kingdom of God, etc. *Luke* xvii, 20, 21.

43 : 21. Joy in the Holy Ghost. *Rom.* xiv, 17.

43 : 24. There's one curious condition. 1866 : "there's just one condition."

43 : 26. Whosoever will not . . . shall not enter therein. *Mark* x, 15 : "Whosoever shall not, etc."

43 : 28. Of such is the kingdom of heaven. *Matt.* xix, 14; *Mark* x, 14; *Luke* xviii, 16. Ruskin does not quote exactly either passage. There are no italics, and no footnote, in the original. On the statement made in the footnote, see the some twenty-five Biblical references and allusions in the last two paragraphs of this lecture — eighteen of them in the last.

44 : 3. Or the earth — when it gets to be like heaven. Not in the original.

44 : 4. But that's not so. 1866, followed by the sentence : "There will be children there, but the hoary head is the crown ["if it be found in the way of righteousness," *Prov.* xvi, 31]."

44 : 5. Length of days, etc. *Prov.* iii, 2. — Still less to live. Not in the original. — **Babyhood.** Between this, and the closing sentence of the present paragraph, the original had : "Children die but for their parents' sins [Does this agree with *John* ix, 1-3?]; God means them to live, but he can't let them always [always let them?]; then they have their earlier place in heaven: and the little child of David, vainly prayed for [*2 Sam.* xii, 15-23. First-born and unnamed child of David and Bath-sheba. The next child

of this union was Solomon.]; the little child of Jeroboam, killed by its mother's step on its own threshold [*1 Kings* xiv, 1, 17. This child was Abijah, brother of King Nadab.]; — they will be there. But weary old David [Seventh son of Jesse (*1 Chron.* ii, 15); seven years King over Judah, in Hebron; thirty-three years King of Israel, in Jerusalem (*1 Kings* ii, 11)], and weary old Barzillai [The Gileadite of Rogelim (*2 Sam.* xvii, 27; xix, 31-39; *1 Kings* ii, 7)], having learned children's lessons at last, will be there too: and the one question for us all, young or old, is, how we have learned our child's lesson?" Should this sentence be followed by an interrogation point?

44 : 20. Plato. A Greek philosopher. 427-347 B.C. Ruskin seems to be referring to the *Republic* of Plato, Book I, Chapters XVIII, XIX ff. He seems, furthermore, to have misunderstood Plato.

45 : 4. Possible to man. In the original there follows, in this paragraph: "Among all the nations it is only when this faith is attained by them that they become great: the Jew, the Greek, and the Mohametan, agree at least in testifying to this. It was a deed of this absolute trust which made Abraham the father of the faithful [*Gen.* xv, 6; xvii, 3]; it was the declaration of the power of God as captain over all men, and the acceptance of a leader appointed by Him as commander of the faithful, which laid the foundation of whatever national power yet exists in the East; and the deed of the Greeks, which has become the type of unselfish and noble soldiership to all lands, and to all times, was commemorated, on the tomb of those who gave their lives to do it, in the most pathetic, so far as I know, or can feel, of all human utterances: 'Oh, stranger, go and tell our people [the Lacedæmonians] that we are lying here, having obeyed their words.'" See Hiller's *Anthologia Lyrica*, Simonides (of Ceos), No. 78. Also Myers's *Ancient History*, p. 196.

45 : 6. Loving. 1866 : "Loving and Generous."

45 : 12. Humble. 1866 : "little."

45 : 15. Careful for nothing. Compare *Phil.* iv. 6.

45 : 18. No thought for the morrow. Reference to *Matt.* vi, 34.

45 : 25. Rejoiceth as a strong man. *Psa.* xix, 5.

"With a ray here and a flash there,
And a shower of jewels everywhere."

Note the rhythm and the rime.

46 : 1. Except ye be converted. *Matt.* xviii, 3.

46 : 7. Conventicle. A small and, formerly, secret, assembly for religious worship. Does Ruskin use the word opprobriously, or merely to indicate that the worshippers were Nonconformists or Dissenters?

46 : 8. Backsliding. "Falling from grace," — sliding back into sinful life. *Backsliding* is a term used among the Wesleyan Methodists, and their followers ("Ranters," Wordsworth quotes them as being called; see the Fenwick note on "Peter Bell," Dowden's *Wordsworth*, Vol. II, p. 334) who do not believe in the doctrine : "Once in grace, always in grace."

46 : 14. Medicine for your healing. See *Mal.* iv, 2; *Rev.* xxii, 2.

46 : 15. True wisdom for your teaching. Compare *Jas.* iii, 17.

46 : 18. The poison of asps. *Rom.* iii, 13. — The sucking child shall play by the hole of the asp. *Is.* xi, 8 : "The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp."

46 : 19. Their eyes are privily set. *Psa.* x, 8.

46 : 22. The weaned child shall lay his hand, etc. *Is.* xi, 8 : "The weaned child shall put his hand, etc."

46 : 25. Their feet are swift to shed blood, etc. This is a combination of *Rom.* iii, 15 and *Psa.* xvii, 11, 12.

46 : 28. The wolf shall lie down with the lamb. A garbled paraphrase, and a quotation from *Is.* xi, 6.

46 : 31. Lord of heaven and earth. *Matt.* xi, 25; *Luke* x, 21.

46 : 33. He has hidden these things. *Matt.* xi, 25; *Luke* x, 21. Why should Ruskin have left off the quotation marks?

47 : 2. Principalities and powers. See *Rom.* viii, 38; *Eph.* vi, 12. — As far as the east, etc. *Ps.* ciii, 12. "Transgressions removed," not "sins set from" (King James's version).

47 : 4. The Sun . . . rejoices. *Ps.* xix, 5.

47 : 6. Sun . . . red . . . with blood. Suggested by the moon being turned to blood, *Acts* ii, 20; or by the moon becoming as blood, *Rev.* vi, 12. See also *Rev.* viii, 8.

47 : 8. Early and latter rain. "Former and latter rain," *Jer.* v, 24; *Joel* iii, 23. "Latter and former," *Hos.* vi, 3. "First and latter," *Deut.* xi, 14. "Latter," *Job* xxix, 23; *Zech.* x, 1. "The former rain in Judea was at the beginning of the civil year, about September or October; the latter rain was in Abib, or March." (Cruden.) — Red rain. Compare *Ps.* xi, 6; *Rev.* viii, 7. Ruskin's thought is more probably suggested by the latter.

47 : 14. Out of the mouths, etc. *Ps.* viii, 2.

LECTURE II

TRAFFIC

This lecture was delivered 1864; published 1866.

The reference, *R. to N.*, in these notes, is to *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, Boston, 1905, 2 vols.

48 : Title. **Traffic.** See Introduction, § 9.

48 : 3. **Exchange.** A place where mercantile or professional men meet at stated times to transact business.

49 : 1. **Conditions.** 1866 : "circumstances."

49 : 11. **Architectural man-milliner, etc.** This playfulness comes in well, as a relief to the tension that must have been caused by his blunt beginning.

49 : 18. **All good architecture.** Note this partial definition, and the comment.

49 : 26. **But we need no sermons, etc.** 1866 : "but preach no sermons to us."

49 : 32. **Tell me what you like, and I'll tell you what you are.** A commonplace thought so briefly and beautifully expressed as to be worthy of memorizing. Compare the aphorism : "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." *Prov.* xxiii, 7.

50 : 3. **Quartern.** The fourth of a pint; a gill.

50 : 11. **A shy at the sparrows.** Shy, to fling or throw stones sidewise with a jerk. See next paragraph.

50 : 12. **Pitch farthing.** A game played by pitching farthings to see who can put the coin nearer, or nearest, to a line. A farthing, a copper coin the fourth of a penny in value; equal to half a cent in United States currency.

50 : 29. **Thinking of the bottle.** 1866 : "thirsting for the bottle."

51 : 4. **Hunger and thirst after justice.** *Matt.* v, 6 : "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, etc."

51 : 8. **Rightly set liking.** Fixed, adjusted, established appreciation.

51 : 12. **Teniers.** David Teniers, the Elder (1582-1649), and his son David Teniers, the Younger (1610-1690), were both Flemish artists, of Antwerp. There was a third David Teniers, an artist of some note, but he died

before attaining the rank of either his father, or his grandfather. Ruskin's reference may be to Teniers, the Elder, as the subjects of his pencil are generally public-houses, smoking-rooms, rustic games, and the like, done in vividly realistic manner. Teniers, the Younger, was a more prolific painter than his father, and England is said to be specially rich in specimens of his work; but his attention was more upon outdoor scenes, skies, trees, etc. See *Modern Painters*, Part I, Section I.

51 : 20. **Titian.** Tiziano Vecellio, or Vecelli, 1477-1576, was head of the Venetian school of painters, and was himself so great as to be classed with Raphael, Michelangelo, and Leonardo da Vinci. He was personally acquainted with the poet Ariosto, and painted his portrait. At, or about, the age of ninety-nine, Aug. 27, 1576, Titian died of the plague in Venice. *Modern Painters*, Vol. V (1860) is largely a matter of praise of the leaf-drawing of Titian and Holbein. Titian also receives high praise in *The Two Paths* (1859).—**Turner.** Joseph Mallard William Turner, 1775-1851, the greatest of British landscape painters. Ruskin was his intimate friend for ten years, wrote *Defence of Turner*, 1836, and planned *Modern Painters* with a view to teaching appreciation of Turner's work.

51 : 24. **Delight in fine art.** 1866 : "delight in art."

52 : 11. **Costermonger.** An apple-seller; a huckster. See *costard*, in any good dictionary.—**Newgate Calendar.** A local, current almanac, containing weather forecasts, jokes, and receipts.

52 : 12. **Pop goes the Weasel.** The refrain of a foolish song, far removed from the classical in style or treatment.

52 : 13. **Dante.** See note on "Work," § 41. Also *R. to N.*, Vol. II, p. 130.—**Beethoven.** Ludwig van Bee-

thoven, a world-famous composer of music; born in Bonn, 1770; died in Vienna, 1827.

52 : 14. I wish you joy. Compare § 77. What does Ruskin mean by this?

52 : 28. Cast and hammer iron. To cast iron — also called “puddling” — means to run the melted ore into sand moulds; to hammer iron, to hammer or roll it into sheets.

52 : 30. Infernos. The openings at the base of the furnace, from which the white-hot iron pours into the sand-trench leading to the moulds. *Inferno* is the Italian for *hell*.

53 : 2. Worlds that roll or shine. Compare Addison’s Hymn, beginning :—

“The spacious firmament on high,”

and containing the lines :—

“What though in solemn silence all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball?

* * * * *

Forever singing as they shine,

‘The hand that made us is divine.’”

53 : 7. Next neighboring nation. France.

53 : 8. Mail. See *chain mail*; *coat of mail*.

53 : 17.

“They carved at the meal

With gloves of steel,

And they drank the red wine through the helmet barr’d.”

— SCOTT, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto I, stanza 4.

Compare Scott, *On the Massacre of Glencoe*, lines 25–26 :—

“The hand that mingled in the meal,

At midnight drew the felon steel.”

53 : 20. Iron armor. Armor plates; plates of metal for covering ships. These plates are now made of steel. The first armor-plated steam frigate in Great Britain was launched, 1860, four years before this lecture was delivered. See *London Times*, Dec. 29, 1860.

53 : 23. Ludicrous. Producing laughter without scorn or contempt. From *ludus*, play. Compare *pre-lude*, *inter-lude*, *post-lude*. — **Melancholy.** Gloomy; literally: *melan* = black, *cholly* = bile. Compare *Melancthon* = black earth.

53 : 31. Fresco. Painting on plaster; originally, fresh painting on plaster. Italian *fresco*, fresh; *pan fresco*, fresh bread. What is the origin of our word *frisky*?

54 : 1. Damask curtains. Curtains with flowers and rich designs, originally from Damascus.

54 : 11. Spring guns. A spring gun is a gun so arranged that when an intruder comes in contact with a string or wire attached to the trigger, the gun fires in the direction of the disturbance.

54 : 14. Fifteen millions a year. What would Ruskin think now? France, 1907, spent \$253,000,000 in her "traps," — Army and Navy; the United States of America, 1908, \$207,000,000. England, 1909, is spending \$308,800,000.

54 : 18. Bedlam. A place for the insane; a madhouse. Compare *Bethlehem*. Ruskin, who was not in sympathy with either side in the Civil War, wrote to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, 6th August, 1864, ". . . you are living peaceably in Bedlam." *R. to N.*, Vol. II, p. 146.

54 : 19. Pantomime. Representing in mute actions; imitating without words.

54 : 22. Vermilion. A brilliant scarlet pigment composed of the sulphide of mercury, HgS. The best ver-

million comes from China. See Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*, lines 669-678.

54 : 26. Cricketing. Cricket, an English game, played with balls, bats, and wickets. See "Work," § 23.

54 : 29. Armstrongs. Wrought iron, breech-loading cannon, named for the inventor, an Englishman, Sir William Armstrong.

54 : 33. Not . . . neither. One of Ruskin's peculiarities of idiom, suggestive of Shakespeare influence. See the *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 162, and elsewhere. — **Black eagles.** The flag of Austria.

55 : 2. Farther. Ruskin is careless in using "farther" for "further." What is the difference?

55 : 4. Soldiership of early Greece. Ruskin does not refer to "vice" of the early times of Ancient Greece, but to the period approximating 404-352 B.C. He may have reference to the "virtue" of the Heroic Age.

55 : 5. Sensuality of late Italy. The period of its Renaissance architecture. See § 65. — **The visionary religion of Tuscany.** See article on "Florence," in an encyclopædia.

55 : 6. Venice. A famous city of Italy, "The bride of the Adriatic," built on a cluster of marshy islands on the north-west border of the Adriatic Sea.

55 : 8. I have done it elsewhere before now. "Elsewhere" refers to other writings (see § 65), and to other places : he had been delivering lectures and addresses more than ten years.

55 : 14. Gothic. A style of architecture with pointed arches, steep roofs, large windows, and high walls; the prevailing type of architecture in western Europe, 1200-1475.

55 : 17. Phenomenon. A strange, unusual occurrence.

55 : 19. Italian style. Read the articles on Grecian, Roman, and Italian Architecture, in any good encyclopædia.

55 : 21. Cathedral of Antwerp. Antwerp is one of the chief commercial cities of Belgium. Her Cathedral is one of the noblest structures in the world. It is 500 feet long and 240 feet wide; the lofty spire is in keeping with its Gothic style of architecture.

55 : 22. Hôtel de Ville at Brussels. Brussels is the capital of Belgium. The Hôtel de Ville, located in the Grand Place, is a Gothic structure erected in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its pyramid tower, 364 feet high, is surmounted by a statue of St. Michael, the patron saint of Belgium. — **Inigo Jones . . . Italian Whitehall.** Inigo Jones (about 1572–1651) studied architecture in France, Germany, and Italy, introducing the style of Palladio into England. Whitehall is considered his masterpiece. He was employed by James I. in arranging the scenery for Ben Jonson's *Masques*. Jonson afterwards satirized Jones in his *Bartholomew Fair*.

55 : 23. Sir Christopher Wren . . . St. Paul's. Sir Christopher Wren, 1632–1723, was England's most renowned architect. He designed many of the most notable buildings of London : the Royal Exchange, Custom House, Temple Bar, etc. The restored St. Paul's he designed on the model of St. Peter's, at Rome.

55 : 32. Frankincense. A precious gum. See *Ex.* xxx, 34; *Lev.* ii, 1, 15; v, 11; *Num.* v, 15; 1 *Chron.* ix, 29; *Neh.* xiii, 5, 9.

56 : 11. "This is the house of God, etc." *Gen.* xxviii, 17 : "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." The quotation is given more accurately later in this paragraph; but there Ruskin puts in "surely."

56 : 14. A boy leaves his father's house, etc. This is a paraphrase of Jacob's journey to the home of his uncle, Laban. See *Gen.* xxviii.

56 : 16. Wolds. Forests; woods; the word is now little used except in poetry. Compare the German, *Wald*. — **To cross the wolds.** 1866 : “to cross the wolds of Westmoreland.” — **Carlisle.** On a map trace this imaginary English boy’s trip from Bradford to Carlisle, *via* Hawes and Brough.

56 : 18. Moors. Wild, waste land. See also *morass* and *heath*. The combination “wild moors” is much used by English poets.

56 : 19. Boggy. Wet, spongy, mirey. Compare *Peat Bogs* of Ireland.

56 : 26. Angels of God are seen ascending. 1866 : “angels of God are ascending.”

56 : 33. Torrent-bitten. Poetic expression, meaning furrowed by the waters of many rains. Compare *hunger-bitten*, *Job*. xviii, 12.

57 : 4. Ready for it always. Reference to *Matt*. xxv, 13; *Mark* xiii, 33; *Luke* xii, 40.

57 : 6. You can guide the lightning. Reference to the lightning-rod, contrived by Benjamin Franklin as a result of his kite-flying experiment, 1752. George III. hated Franklin, but his faith in the discovery was such that he had lightning-rods put on Buckingham Palace and on the Royal Powder Magazines.

57 : 7. The going forth of the Spirit. Compare *Matt*. xxv, 13; *Luke* xii, 40; *Ps*. civ, 30; cxxxix, 7.

57 : 8. Lightning when it shines, etc. Reference to *Matt*. xxiv, 27.

57 : 12. Judaism. “The religious doctrines and rites of the Jews as enjoined in the laws of Moses.” — J. S. MILL.

57 : 13. Temples. Ruskin is holding to the original meaning of the word : a piece of land marked off; land

dedicated to a god. It is a fact, however, that the Jews in early times built a temple at Jerusalem for the worship of Jehovah. See the use of the word *temple*, 1 *Cor.* iii, 16.

57 : 14. Now, you know perfectly well they are not temples. 1866 : "Now, you know, or ought to know, they are not temples." Which declaration is more polite?

57 : 15. Synagogues. Primarily *synagogue* does not mean gathering place, but to lead with; to bring together; furthermore, whether applied to assembly, or building, the word is, and was in Ruskin's day, inseparably connected with the name of the Jews.

57 : 20. Churches. Why should we translate it "churches"? The Vulgate has *synagogis*. Ruskin is insisting on the KURIAKÓN, of the Greek.

57 : 24. Thou, when thou prayest, etc. Paraphrase of *Matt.* vi, 5, 6.

57 : 28. And your hills. Originally followed by : "I am trying to show you."

58 : 4. Lares . . . Lar. Mythological household gods; deceased ancestors supposed to protect the family. Compare Milton, *Od. Nat.*, line 191.

58 : 12. The Seven Lamps. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1848 or 1849. "These seven 'lamps' are Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, Obedience. The book . . . deals with the spirit in which the architect should work, and the national spirit which makes great national architecture possible." — HERBERT BATES.

58 : 16. The Stones of Venice. Vol. I, 1851; Vols. II, III, 1853. Read first *The Seven Lamps*.

58 : 20. Renaissance architecture. The style of architecture accompanying the revival of classical learning and art in Italy in the fifteenth century.

58 : 27. Honest Infidels. What is an honest infidel?

58 : 30. **Exchange business.** "Business" appears twice in this sentence. Does the same spirit prompt both uses?

58 : 32. **Farther.** See note on § 61.

59 : 6. **Ecclesiastical.** Pertaining to the clergy. An ecclesiastic is one *called out* to the service of the church.

59 : 15. **Laity.** Compare *laymen*.

59 : 16. **Good architecture.** No footnote in the original.

59 : 21. **Baron's castle.** The home of the possessor of a fief who had feudal tenants under him. — **Burgher's street.** The homes along the streets of a borough.

59 : 23. **Warrior kings.** 1866 : "soldier kings."

59 : 26. **Cloister.** An *enclosed* place; a place of retirement for religious duties. See *monastery, nunnery, convent, abbey, and priory*.

59 : 27. **Crusade.** A military expedition undertaken for the purpose of recovering the Holy Land from the Mohammedans. What is the origin of the word *crusade*?

60 : 2. **The gist.** The main point.

60 : 9. **Hieroglyphic.** Emblematic, or of mysterious significance.

60 : 18. **Egypt.** That large area of country, in north-eastern Africa, watered by the Nile. — **Syria.** A division of Asiatic Turkey, extending about 380 miles along the Mediterranean coast. — **India.** A part of the British Empire is the region south of the Himalaya Mountains, including Baluchistan on the west and part of Indo-China on the east.

60 : 20. **Bosphorus.** The Bosphorus connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, and forms part of the boundary between Europe and Asia.

60 : 22. **Mediæval.** The Middle Ages.

60 : 24. **Rennaisance.** See note on § 65.

60 : 32. Stumbling block . . . Foolishness. Reference to *1 Cor.* i, 23.

61 : 3. Athena. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, war, and all the liberal arts.

61 : 8. Ægis. A shield or protective armor; literally, a goatskin. The shield of Jupiter which he gave to Minerva.

61 : 10. Gorgon. Gorgon, or Medusa, one of the three fabled sisters, Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa, with snaky hair and frightful aspect, the sight of whom turned the beholder to stone.

61 : 19. Crowned with the olive spray. See the notes on § 16, Introduction.

61 : Note. Dorian Apollo-worship. The worship of Apollo, the god of the fine arts. — **Athenian Virgin-worship.** The worship of Minerva, in whose honor the Parthenon was erected. Read Lord Byron's seathing satire, *The Curse of Minerva*, which bears on the removal of sculpture from the Parthenon to the British Museum some eighty years ago. — **Dionysus.** A name for Bacchus, the god of wine. — **Ceres.** Daughter of Saturn; the goddess of agriculture and fruit-culture. Ceres was the mother of Proserpine. — **Hercules.** The son of Jupiter and Alemena. Consult an encyclopædia for the "Twelve Labors of Hercules." — **Venus-worship.** The worship of beauty. If a vietim was offered on her altar, it was a white goat; usually incense alone was offered. — **Muses.** The nine daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne: Calliope, Clio, Erato, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Euterpe, Polyhymnia, and Urania. — **Aratra Pentelici.** To the original note Ruskin adds: "Compare Aratra Penteliei, § 200." The six lectures included under this title were delivered at the University of Oxford in 1870-1872, six to eight years later than the date of "Traffic."

62 : 8. Remission of sins. See *Matt.* xxvi, 28; *Mark* i, 4; *Luke* i, 77; iii, 3; xxiv, 47; *Acts* ii, 38; x, 43. See also *Heb.* ix, 22; x, 18.

62 : 15. Melancholy. See note on § 59.

62 : 16. Aspiration. The act of ardently hoping or desiring.

62 : 28. Selling of absolution. This refers to the "*Ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen,*" of the priest, who received pay for the forgiving of sins.

63 : 3. Compounding. Mixing simples, or ingredients, for a remedy.

63 : 6. Low Church or high. The High Church holds to apostolic succession, the divine right of episcopacy; the Low Church does not regard episcopacy as essential to the life of the church. In doctrine the Low Church is generally Calvinistic. There is also a Broad Church, the church to which Charles Kingsley belonged. The members of this church are sometimes called "Liberals."

63 : 7. Tetzels trading. Johann Tetzel, the Dominican monk whose frivolous traffic in indulgences caused Martin Luther to take the first, and many subsequent, steps towards the Reformation.

63 : 10. Bals masqués. Mask-balls.

63 : 11. Guillotines. A machine formerly used in France for beheading people. The name comes from Dr. Guillotin, a French physician, who, in the Constitutional Assembly, 1789, proposed to abolish decapitation with the axe or sword. The machine was originally called "Louison," or "Louisette," for the inventor, Dr. Antoine Louis. Read Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, Book III, Chapter V.

63 : 13. Parthenon. Marble temple of the Greek goddess Athene, or Pallas, on the Acropolis at Athens.

63 : 16. **Lady of Salvation.** The Virgin Mary. — **Revivalist.** People of the Renaissance period.

63 : 17. **Versailles.** A city in France some ten miles from Paris. Ruskin has reference to the palace, the chief attraction of the place, which has a long and interesting history. — **Vatican.** The Pope's palace and other buildings, — museum, library, chapel, etc., — on the western banks of the Tiber, in Rome.

63 : 23. **Tithes of property.** The Old English *tithe*, tenth. Tenths of income. — **Sevenths of time.** Sunday, or Sabbath.

63 : 31. **Athena Agoraia.** *Αγορα*, the forum, market-place, public square. *Agoræan*, an epithet of Jupiter and Mercury, as having statues or altars in the market-place. See § 77. — **Athena.** 1866 : "Minerva."

64 : 2. **Built to her.** Built in her honor. See also the end of this paragraph.

64 : 5. **To make it an Acropolis.** 1866 : "taking it for an Acropolis." *Acropolis*, the citadel of Athens.

64 : 6. **Vaster than the walls of Babylon.** 1866 : "prolonged masses of Acropolis."

64 : 7. **The temple of Ephesus.** 1866 : "Parthenon."

64 : 9. **Harbor piers.** 1866 : "harbor-piers."

64 : 25. **Apollo.** Son of Jupiter and Latona. His favorite residence was Mount Parnassus, where he presided over the Muses.

64 : 26. **Bacchus.** The god of wine, son of Jupiter and Semele. See *Dionysus*, § 70, note.

64 : 32. **Direction.** 1866 : "manners."

65 : 3. **Strong evidence of his dislike, etc.** *Matt.* xxi, 12; *Mark* xi, 15; *John* ii, 14, 16. Is not Ruskin overzealous here? Surely the "Master of Christians" was not evidencing his dislike for proper mercantile transactions, conducted in the right place; but for buying and selling in the temple

of God, and especially for selling doves, intended for sacrifice, at an exorbitant price, — such a price that the dove-pedlers were “thieves.”

65 : 9. **Quartering.** See note, Introduction, § 6.

65 : 13. **Magnanimity.** Here means dignity, elevation. From *magnus* = great; *animus* = mind.

65 : 14. **Feeding the hungry, etc.** Compare *Matt.* xxv, 36, 38, 43, 44.

65 : 17. **Anyhow!** 1866 : “anyhow?”

65 : 19. **Compulsory comfort.** Originally followed by a semicolon, and with no footnote.

65 : 20. **Occupying.** Originally unitalicized.

65 : 24. **“Carry” them!** Originally followed by a period.

65 : 28. **Witty.** Wise; requiring knowledge.

65 : 30. **The elements.** Clouds, winds, etc.

66 : 3. **Paid little . . . regularly.** See § 32.

66 : 7. **Knight-errant.** Ruskin refers to the knight who travels for the purpose of exhibiting generosity.

66 : 8. **Pedler.** Pedlar, or peddler.

66 : 9. **Ribands.** Ribbons.

66 : 10. **Crusades.** See note on § 66.

66 : 16. **Loaves and fishes.** See *Matt.* xiv, 17, 19; xv, 36; *Mark* vi, 38, 41, 43; *Luke* ix, 13, 16. The footnote was not in the original; note it carefully.

66 : 21. **Best gunpowder.** Note the grim humor.

66 : 24. **Frieze.** A sculptured or ornamented band of a building.

“Nor did there want

Cornice or frieze with bossy sculptures graven.”

— *Paradise Lost*, I, 715–716.

66 : 25. **For the sticking of bills.** Bill-boards, for advertising purposes.

67 : Note. *Jerem. xvii, 11, etc.* The Vulgate: *Perdix fovit quæ peperit: fecit divitias, et non in judicio: in dimidio dierum suorum derelinquet eas, et in novissimo suo erit insipiens.*

67 : 3. **St. George's Cross.** 1866: "her Cross." The banner of the patron saint of England. The "Union Jack" of the British Navy is a combination of the banners of St. George and St. Andrew. For the story of the legendary St. George, see Percy's *Reliques*, Vol. II, pp. 160, 187-189. See Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*, § 4.

67 : 4. **Milanese boar . . . Gennesaret proper.** Compare *Gennesaret pigs, R. to N.*, Vol. I, p. 84. Ruskin's allusion is to the herd of swine into which the devils were cast, *Matt. viii, 32; Mark v, 13; Luke viii, 33.* See also the *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 30-35. — **Field.** The whole surface of a shield, or as much of it as is not covered by the figures upon it.

67 : 5. **In the best market.** The original has no footnote.

67 : 7. **Thirty slits.** Since the number of days in the months varies from twenty-eight to thirty-one, this may be a sly hint that the members of the Exchange are not averse to the "Judas bargain."

67 : 17. **Greek Goddess of Wisdom.** Minerva; Pallas Athene. Section 78.

67 : 21. **Agora Goddess.** See note on § 72.

68 : 7. **Gather gold.** See Hawthorne's "Old Gather-gold," in *The Great Stone Face*.

68 : 8. **House-roofs [of gold].** Are not the domes of some important buildings now finished in pure gold? For example, the Congressional Library, Washington; and the Cathedral, Baltimore.

68 : 15. **Olympus.** A mountain 9000 feet high, on the coast of Thessaly, where the gods were supposed to reside.

— **Pelion.** A wooded mountain where the wars between the giants and the gods took place.

68 : 16. Ossa. A mountain of Thessaly which the giants piled on top of Pelion to enable them to attack the gods. Olympus upon Pelion would be so much taller than Ossa upon Pelion, as to make Ossa appear insignificant, — “like a wart.” (*Hamlet*, V, i, 306.) The phraseology of this question is suggestive of Biblical influence. Compare *Job* xxxviii, 31 : “Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?”

68 : 20. Whinstone. A provincial name, in England, for basaltic rock. Consult the dictionary for *whin-dikes* and *whin-sills*.

68 : 21. Not . . . neither. See note on § 60.

68 : 27. Plutus. The blind, lame god of riches, son of Jason and Ceres. Why blind and lame? Is Ruskin taking the name of Plutus in vain?

69 : 2. Pallas. When Minerva destroyed the giant, Pallas, she was given his name. Pallas Athene is the Grecian goddess of wisdom. See § 77. — **The Madonna.** The mother of Christ.

69 : 8. Vital . . . deathful. What is the origin of the word “vital”?

69 : 11. Last here. Original note : “‘Two Paths,’ p. 98.”

69 : 14. Undulating world. Highlands and lowlands.

69 : 20. Votaries. Those consecrated to the worship of the goddess.

69 : 22. Boudoir. An elegantly furnished private room. Literally, a place where one may be alone to pout.

69 : 28. The mill, etc. Ruskin, like Wordsworth, hated steam-engines and coal smoke. In letters to Professor Norton, Ruskin speaks of “that infernal invention of steam”

(Vol. I, p. 77); "Dickens . . . a pure modernist — a leader of the steam-whistle party" (Vol. II, p. 5).

70 : 5. **Seen from above.** Seen by the employer, Ruskin means; but such conditions as he suggests would be "very pretty indeed," seen from Higher Above.

70 : 6. **Seen from below.** Seen by the laborer, Ruskin means; but why "not as all so pretty" to from eight hundred to a thousand workers, who never suffer the temptations or the evils of drink; who are well paid, for they "never strike"; who have respectable clothes, and are in good health, for they "always go to church on Sunday"; whose children are properly trained, and probably educated, for they, parents and children, "always express themselves in respectful language" to each other and to their employers. "Not at all so pretty, seen from below." If from *very far* below, — granted.

70 : 11. **Lottery . . . blanks.** Lottery, casting or drawing lots; a gambling scheme in which some tickets have numbers drawing prizes; others are blank.

70 : 14. "They should take who have the power, and they should keep who can."

— WORDSWORTH, *Rob Roy's Grave*, lines 39, 40.

70 : 25. **Government . . . liberty.** What is liberty? Does not the best government afford the largest liberty? Compare Russia and the United States of America.

71 : 5. **Delicates.** Delicacies. Compare the German, *Delikatessen*.

71 : 6. **Solomon, etc.** See *1 Kings* vi.

71 : 25. **Even good things have no abiding power — and shall these evil things persist in victorious evil?** 1866 : "Do you think these phenomena are to stay always in their present power or aspect?"

71 : 29. **Parthenon.** See notes on §§ 70, 72.

71 : 30. **Priory.** See note on *Cloister*, § 66.

71 : 33. **Men may come, and men may go, etc.** An adaptation from the refrain of Tennyson's *The Brook*.

72 : 7. **Such benevolence.** 1866 : "it."—I know that even all this wrong. 1866 : "I know that many of you have done, and are every day doing, whatsoever you feel to be in your power; and that even all this wrong, etc." Why this change?

72 : 12. **To do his best . . . modern economist.** 1866 : "to do his best, not noticing that this best is essentially and centrally the best for himself, not for others. And all this has come of the spreading of that thrice accursed, thrice impious doctrine of the modern economist." Consider this carefully, for the change from "thrice accursed, thrice impious doctrine," to "plausible iniquity," is no small step. See Introduction, note, § 8. See also *R. to N.*, Vol. I, pp. 230-233.

72 : 13. **Do the best for yourself, etc.** What is the "Golden Rule"? What was David Harum's golden rule, in a horse trade?

72 : 14. **Our great Master said not so.** Reference to *Matt.* xxiii, 11; *Mark* x, 44.

72 : 17. **Pagans.** Worshippers of false gods.

72 : 20. **Plato.** A celebrated philosopher and teacher of Athens, who died on his eighty-first birthday, about 348 B.C. He was a pupil of Socrates. See note on § 47.

72 : 28. **They are at the close, etc.** 1866 : "It is at the close, etc." Why the change?—**Athens.** Athenæ, the capital of Attica, reached its greatest splendor in the time of Pericles, 460-429 B.C.

72 : 30. **Genesis.** Formation, or origination.

72 : 31. **Atlantis.** See Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis, the Ante-Deluvian World*.

73 : 1. Sons of God . . . daughters of men. See *Gen.* vi, 2.

73 : 11. All meekness of wisdom, etc. Originally unitalicized.

73 : 16. Only their common love, etc. Originally unitalicized.

73 : 23. Prevalent mortality. The prevailing characteristics of the "daughters of men."

73 : 27. Blind hearts. Compare Milton's "Blind mouths," *Lycidas*, 119, and Ruskin's comment, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 22.

74 : 5. Last words, etc. 1866 : "So ended are the last words." Note the improvement : the present form refers to the whole quotation from Plato; the original referred to the dash at the end. — **The rest is silence.** *Hamlet*, V, ii, 368.

74 : 7. Cubits. A cubit is a measure of length, — the distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger : Roman, 17.47 inches; Greek, 18.20; English, 18.

74 : 9. Plain of Dura. Dura Den, between Cupar and St. Andrews, in Fifeshire, Scotland.

74 : 10. Forbidden . . . by our Master. The reference is to the second commandment, *Ex.* xx, 4. See also *Mark* x, 23, 24; *Luke* xviii, 24.

74 : 17. Hades. The nether world; the abode of evil spirits, ruled over by Pluto (Latin), Hades (Greek). A synonym for hell (English), Hülle (German), sheol (Hebrew).

74 : 19. Life good for all men. 1866 : "life for all men."

74 : 23. Ways of . . . pleasantness . . . paths of peace. *Prov.* iii, 17. The note is not in the original.

74 : 24. Wealth into commonwealth. Is he still punning?

74 : 30. Temples not made with hands . . . eternal. *2 Cor.* v, 1.

LECTURE III

WAR

In Ruskin's *Notes on the Political Economy of Prussia*, he says: "I am often accused of inconsistency; but believe myself defensible against the charge with respect to what I have said on nearly every subject except that of war. It is impossible for me to write consistently of war, for the group of facts I have gathered about it lead me to two precisely opposite conclusions.

"When I find this the case, in other matters, I am silent, till I can choose my conclusion: but, with respect to war, I am forced to speak, by the necessities of time; and forced to act, one way or another. The conviction on which I act is, that it causes an incalculable amount of avoidable human suffering, and that it ought to cease among Christian nations; and if therefore any of my boy-friends desire to be soldiers, I try my utmost to bring them into what I conceive to be a better mind. But, on the other hand, I know certainly that the most beautiful characters yet developed among men have been formed in war; — that all great nations have been warrior nations, and that the only kinds of peace which we are likely to get in the present age are ruinous alike to the intellect and the heart.

"The third lecture . . . [in *Crown of Wild Olive*] addressed to young soldiers, had for its object to strengthen their trust in the virtue of their profession. It is inconsistent with itself, in its closing appeal to women, praying them to use their influence to bring wars to an end. . . .

"How far, in the future, it may be possible for men to gain the kingship without either fronting death, or inflicting it, seems to me not at present determinable. The historical

facts are that, broadly speaking, none but soldiers, or persons with a soldierly faculty, have ever yet shown themselves fit to be kings; and that no other men are so gentle, so just, and so clear-sighted. Wordsworth's character of the happy warrior [see Wordsworth's poem entitled *Character of the Happy Warrior*] cannot be reached in the height of it *but by* a warrior; nay so much is it beyond common strength that I had supposed the entire meaning of it to be metaphorical, until one of the best soliders in England himself read me the poem [Footnote : The late Sir Herbert Edwardes.], and taught me, what I might have known, had I enough watched his own life, that it was entirely literal. . . ."

That Ruskin thought deeply and seriously on the subject of war is clear to those familiar with his works. In *Sesame and Lilies* (Lecture I, § 47) he says : "Have patience with me, while I read you a single sentence out of the only book [*Unto this Last*] properly to be called a book, that I have yet written myself, the one that will stand (if anything stand) surest and longest of all work of mine." (Here follows two long sentences — footnote to § 76 — on the subject of unjust wars supported by the wealth of capitalists.)

In connection with this lecture on war, one should read also §§ 11, 17, 21, and 57 of *Unto this Last*. It would be well to reread, from the text in hand, §§ 9, 28, 32, 38, 45, 48, and 75; and to read, in advance, §§ 105, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, and 119.

Note the felicitous opening of this lecture as compared with the first paragraph on "Traffic."

75 : 17. Knightly example. The example of protecting the distressed, maintaining the right, and living a stainless life.

75 : 18. Few words. Men of great deeds are usually men of few words. We have this idea in some plain sayings :

“Barking dogs never bite”; “The emptier the wagon the louder it sounds.”

76 : 28. Tintoret. Jacopo Robusti (Il Tintoretto or Tintoret) (1518–1594) was one of the greatest painters of the Venetian school, or of the world. His father was a dyer (Italian, *Tintore*); hence the son’s nickname, which means little dyer.

77 : 19. Samuel. As a religious judge, see *1 Sam.* vii; viii, 1.

78 : 1. Lyre. A musical instrument from which we get the word *lyric*.

78 : 17. Modern. No footnote in the original.

78 : 23. A gift for fighting. Keats was a pugnacious schoolboy; but all boys who love a fight are not poets.

78 : 28. Paradoxical. Seemingly contradictory.

78 : 30. Born of Mars, etc. Romulus, twin brother of Remus.

79 : 4. Pacis imponere morem. To enforce the habit or custom of peace.

79 : 12. Lombardy. The name is supposed to be from the *Longobardi* or *Langobardi*, a people of northern Germany, west of the Elbe, and afterwards in northern Italy. Lombardy was at one time the name of Italy.

79 : 14. Alps. Some sixteen groups of mountains, among which are the Swiss Alps, the Lombard Alps, the Tyrol and Venetian Alps. — **Apennines.** A range of mountains forming the backbone of the peninsula of Italy. A southern branch of the Alpine system.

79 : 19. Their king. No footnote in the original.

79 : 29. Philanthropist. From *philos* + *anthropos*: *phil* + *anthropia*: loving + man.

80 : 20. Muse of History. Clio, daughter of Jupiter and Mnemosyne.

80 : 28. Expired in peace. In time of peace.

80 : 31. Dragon's teeth . . . men. These men sprang, armed, from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. They were called Sparti (The Sown-Men). — **Genseric** or Genserich (*cir.* 406–477), king of the Vandals. Though a small, lame, mean man, he was a renowned warrior. — **Suwarrow.** Count Alexander Suwaroff (or Suwarrow), born in Finland, Nov. 25, 1729; died in St. Petersburg, May 18, 1800. A celebrated Russian field-marshal, of Swedish descent. He was specially noted for his cruelty.

81 : 1. Borders of Scotland. Between Scotland and England; the section of country that furnishes Scott, and other balladists and novelists, with many thrilling scenes and events.

81 : 3. Swiss with Austria. See articles on Austria and Switzerland, in history or cyclopædia.

81 : 5. France under Napoleon. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). First consul of the Republic, 1799–1804; Emperor, 1804–1814.

81 : 6. War in America. The Civil War, 1861–1865.

81 : 17. Out of such war. Originally : “forth from such war.”

81 : 27. Conscript . . . pressed sailor. A sailor enrolled, by compulsion, for naval service.

82 : 8. Calamity. The footnote is not in the original.

82 : 20. Laborious orders. Laborers.

82 : 21. Puppets, etc. Things to shoot at.

82 : 22. The footnote is not in the original.

82 : 25. Multitude of human pawns. Originally : “multitude of small human pawns.”

83 : 3. Checker of forest and field. Originally : “green fielded board.”

83 : 5. Olympic dust. Dust in the arena of the Olympic

games. See notes, *Olympic games*, § 38; *Isthmian games*, § 29.

83 : 6. **Be with you in.** Can this construction be improved?

83 : 8. **Amphitheatre . . . arena . . . peasant . . . gladiatorial war.** The text seems to be sufficiently explanatory. If it is not, any school dictionary will give the meanings of these words.

83 : 14. **Jousting.** Engaging in mock combat on horseback, as knights in the lists. The word is also spelled *just*, and seems to be akin to *jostle*. See note on § 100.

84 : 1. **Speaking with them.** Originally : "speaking for them."

84 : 22. **Battersea.** A suburb of London, in Surrey, on the Thames.

84 : 25. **Arbitrament.** Here the word means decision.

84 : 30. **Laws of honor.** This means here : Certain rules regulating duelling, and making it a social crime to decline a challenge to a duel.

85 : 9. **Greatest of English thinkers.** Thomas Carlyle.

85 : 21. **Thirty stone avoirdupois.** The *stone* is legally fourteen pounds. $30 \times 14 = 420$ pounds, a pretty heavy weight for the *weakest* to stand under. The stone, however, varies, from five to thirty-two pounds, according to the article weighed.

86 : 3. **Busy as the devil is.** The reference seems to be to *1 Peter*, v, 8 : "The devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

86 : 9. **Sartor Resartus.** The title of one of Carlyle's books. The title means : The tailor retailored.

86 : 18. **Fine race of them.** Is this irony?

86 : 20. **Tournament . . . steeple chase.** *Tournament*, a mock fight in which a number of combatants were en-

gaged. The joust was a trial of the skill of two, one against the other. See note on § 97. *Steeple chase*, a cross-country ride, over ditches, walls, or natural barriers, towards some visible object — as a church steeple.

86 : 22. Hurdle-races . . . cricketing. *Hurdle-race*, a race in which artificial barriers, hurdles, fences, etc., must be leaped. *Cricketing*. See note on § 60.

86 : 27. Westminster Abbey. The coronation church of the sovereigns of England, containing monuments to kings, poets, warriors, statesmen, scientists, and others.

87 : 10. Rather slay him . . . than cheat him. Is not Ruskin extreme? A cheated man may be a "brisk, useful craftsman," whereas a slain man would be but a "dead carcass."

87 : 31. Power both in the making, etc. Originally : "a tendency both to the making, etc."

88 : 3. Got. Suggest a better word, or a better construction.

88 : 12. Rightly. The footnote is not in the original.

88 : 20. Mr. Helps. Sir Arthur Helps (1813–1857). Ruskin calls attention to his "beautiful quiet English," and the sincerity of his thinking, in *Modern Painters*, 1856, III, 268.

88 : 29. Destructive machines. Implements of warfare, as machine guns.

89 : 3. Leave the living creatures. Originally : "leave the fragments of living creatures."

89 : 10. Poisoned arrows. The Indians are said to have poisoned the points of their arrows, so that an otherwise slight wound meant death.

89 : 21. Müller's "Dorians." Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840). A noted archæologist; author of *Die Dorier* (The Dorians), and many other works. There is no footnote in the original.

89 : 23. Sparta. The original name of this country, Laconia, was changed to Lacedæmon, for the king, and then by him to Sparta, for his wife.

89 : 25. λύσσα. Madness, frenzy. In the *Iliad*, ix, 305, *λύσσα* means rage, fury. — **Aristodemus.** Son of Aristomachus; brother of Temenus and Chrespontes; husband of Argia; father of the twins, Procles and Eurysthenes. He and his brothers conquered Peloponnesus, and divided it among themselves, 1104 B.C. — **Isadas.** A Spartan, who, upon seeing the Thebans entering the city, stripped himself naked and, with a sword and a spear, engaged the enemy. For his valor he was rewarded with a crown.

89 : 28. Barbarians. In the time of Homer, those who could not speak the Greek language. Plato divided the human race into *Hellenes* and *Barbaroi*.

89 : 32. Crete. A large island in the Mediterranean, in ancient times called *Idæa*, and later, *Crete*, or *Creta*.

90 : 14. Interdicted. *Inter*, between, + *dicere*, to say. Here the word means prohibited.

90 : 22. Musical language. Ruskin is, in this sentence, bitterly sarcastic. The musical language he refers to is martial, such as “Dixie” and “Yankee Doodle.”

90 : 25. Battle of Corinth. A battle fought at the ancient city of Corinth, which is located on the isthmus connecting Hellas with the Peloponnesus.

90 : 26. Gettysburg. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where one of the great battles of the Civil War was fought.

91 : 24. Mother . . . gives her two-year-old child, etc. Probably an actual occurrence, the account of which was preserved by Ruskin in the form of a newspaper clipping.

91 : 29. Creed. A summary of what one believes.

92 : 14. Made you upright, etc. See *Eccl.* vii, 29. There should be no quotation marks here.

92 : 19. **My righteousness, etc.** An exact quotation of *Job* xxvii, 6.

93 : 27. Sections 109 and 110 were, originally, one section. Why did Ruskin make the change?

93 : 30. **Plebeian.** Latin *plebs, plebis*, the common people.

94 : 5. **Captain by divine right.** The king.

94 : 6. **Hues.** Colors.

94 : 32. This was, originally, included in the preceding section. Why the change?

95 : 26. **Farther.** Why should this be "further"? (This mistake is made so frequently, by Ruskin, that no further reference to it is necessary.)

96 : 15. **The strength is in the men.** One of Sidney Lanier's dialect poems has for title: "Thar's More in the Man than thar is in the Land."

96 : 17. **A little group of wise hearts is better than a wilderness full of fools.** This could pass for one of Solomon's proverbs. What does Shylock say about a wilderness of monkeys?

96 : 24. **We have not yet strengthened, etc.** If not, why not? Did not Burke prophesy this in his speech on the Conciliation?

96 : 31. **Austria.** The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the body of whose territory lies in the interior of Europe, with some 500 miles of sea-coast on the Adriatic.

97 : 1. **India.** Those parts of India under the administration of a British Viceroy.

97 : 5. This section and the preceding section were, originally, one. Is there a reason for the change?

97 : 26. Sections 117, 118, 119, and 120 were, originally, one. Why the change?

98 : 21. **Peacocky motives.** The peacock is proud of his brilliant plumage. Is he proud of his feet?

99 : 12. Stay scabbarded. Keep swords, or daggers, in the scabbard.

99 : 15. Britomart. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Books III and IV, Britomart represents armed Chastity overcoming all who battle with her. Ruskin mentions her in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 62.

99 : 17. Sheathed in darkness. Scabbarded in the grave; dead.

100 : 25. Exeter Hall. A large building, in London, on the north side of the Strand, used for religious, dramatic, and musical purposes.

100 : 30. Beadles of her little Bethels. Hebrew *Beth-el*, house of God. *Beadle* here means an inferior parish officer who preserves order in church service, and chastises petty offenders.

100 : 31. Originally, sections 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, were one. Why the breaking up?

101 : 29. Only. Is this word in the right place?

102 : 3. Aristocracy of England. Superiors in rank or fortune.

102 : 9. A bit of paper in my hand. Ruskin clipped freely from current newspapers, and often carried clippings with him and read them to his audience, — possibly for the effect the presentation of the original would have.

102 : Note. Left the number, etc. How would this “enable the audience to verify the quoted sentence”? — **Baron Liebig.** Justus, Baron von Liebig (1803–1873). A celebrated chemist; professor of chemistry at Giessen, and later, at Munich. — **Alembics.** An apparatus formerly used in distillation.

103 : 4. “Ashes to ashes.” “Ashes to ashes, dust to dust.” This sentence is used in the burial service.

103 : 6. Gentlemen of England. In the original (1866) Ruskin said, "I tell you, gentlemen of England." Which is better?

103 : 13. Field . . . faces. What is the connection between *green* fields and *ruddy* faces?

103 : 16. Nor the sky black over their heads. Originally, this was followed by : "and that, when the day comes for their country to lay her honours in the dust, her crest will not rise from it more loftily because of its dust of coal. Gentlemen, I tell you, solemnly, that the day is coming when the soldiers of England must be her tutors and the captains of her army, captains also of her mind." Ruskin's omitting this does not indicate a change in his opinion, but rather, an unwillingness to prophesy what he was opposed to.

103 : 17. And bear with me, etc. Originally : "And now, remember, etc."

103 : 21. If I urge you, etc. Originally : "Remember that your fitness for all future trust depends upon what you are now."

104 : 7. When his every act, etc. Originally : "When his every act is a foundation of future conduct." Which is better?

104 : 12. There. Unitalicized in the original.

104 : 13. This and the succeeding sections were, originally, one.

106 : 2. Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus. The man pure in life and free from guilt. Horace, *Ode*, xxii, 1.

106 : 4. A knightly life. See note below on "Vow of stainless truth."

106 : 9. Equites . . . chivalry. See the Latin and the French for *horse*, and note the difference between the English words *equestrian* and *chivalrous*.

106 : 16. You must bind them, etc. The allusion is to *Prov.* iii, 3.

106 : 18. Vow of stainless truth.

“The King

Will bind thee by such vows as is a shame
A man should not be bound by, yet the which
No man can keep.”

— TENNYSON, *Gareth and Lynette*, lines 265–268.

106 : 31. This number (129) covers practically two sections of the same paragraph, since the first is merely introductory to the second.

108 : 3. Watch . . . and pray . . . temptation. Probably suggested by *Matt.* xxvi, 41 : “Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.”

108 : 23. Whatever of best. Originally : “Whatever of the best.” The change was doubtless made in conformity to “whatever of highest,” which follows, and which is the same in both original and revision.

109 : 1. Beat swords into ploughshares. *Is.* ii, 4 ; *Micah* iv, 3.

109 : 16. Put a period to war. End it.

109 : 26. Obedience. Compare *1 Sam.* xv, 22.

110 : 2. Bibles being attacked. See note on Bishop Colenso, § 34.

110 : 7. Dress plainly. See *2 Tim.* ii, 9.

110 : 9. Have pity on the poor. See *Matt.* xix, 21 ; *Prov.* xiv, 21 ; xvii, 5, and elsewhere.

110 : 19. Prince of Peace. The name given to Christ. See *Is.* ix, 6.

110 : 20. In righteousness, etc. Exact quotation of *Rev.* xix, 11, except that the comma is inserted.

THE QUEEN OF THE AIR

I. ATHENA CHALINITIS

(Athena in the Heavens)

"DENMARK HILL, April 12, 1869.

"DEAREST CHARLES, —

"I must stay six days longer ['He was about setting out for Italy, with intent to make a long stay at Verona.' — Professor Norton.] — till Monday fortnight, this work has grown under my hands so. It is to be called 'Queen of the Air,' and [is to be] divided into three sections : —

1

Athena in the Heavens

2

Athena in the Earth

3

Athena in the Heart

"That is to say, of course, the spirit in the winds, the spirit in the potter's clay, and in the Invention of Arts; and I'm going to get what I mainly mean about '*didactic* Art' said unmistakably in the last section, against the rascally 'immoral Gift' set of people on the one side. . . . Ever Yours, J. R." (*R. to N.*, Vol. I, pp. 199, 200.)

A few days later (April 28, 1869), Ruskin wrote to Professor Norton (Vol. I, p. 204), ". . . Write me a title-page . . . to go with all the series, and with 'Queen of the Air' subordinate." The fact that "The Queen of the Air" is the title, rather than the sub-title, of the series, is probably due to a suggestion by Professor Norton.

For the meaning and derivation of *Athene*, see Gayley's *Classic Myths*, Boston, 1900, p. 416, § 35. Read, at once, also, §§ 10 and 14 of this Lecture ("Athena in the Heavens") and the footnote, p. 153.

Ruskin did not revise the *Queen of the Air*.

PREFACE

113 : 15. Charles Newton. Charles Thomas Newton (1816–1866), classical archaeologist, author, and diplomat. He married the daughter of Joseph Severn, Keats's friend, who inspired the latter with such themes as the *Ode to a Grecian Urn*.

114 : 6. Professor Tyndall. John Tyndall (1820–1893), a noted English scientist; professor of natural philosophy in the Royal Institution.

114 : 16. Athena. *Sesame and Lilies*, §§ 45 and 62; Gayley's *Classic Myths*, pp. 7, 16–18.

115 : 10. Smoke . . . volcanic fires. Compare note, § 79.

115 : 24. Neuchâtel. Port, town, canton, and lake in the valley of the Aar, Switzerland. — **Jura.** An extensive range of mountains in Switzerland and France.

115 : 26. Saponaria. *Saponaria officinalis*, or soapwort, a plant containing saponin, which, like soap, is soluble, in all proportions, in water.

115 : 34.

"Aux Botanistes,
Le club Jurassique."

To the botanists,
Of the club of Jura.

116 : 3. Asmodeus. In latter Jewish demonology, a destructive devil. See *Paradise Lost*, iv, 168. Read the interesting story of how Asmodeus became a "lame devil."

LECTURE I

117 : 2. Greek Mythology. Myths, or fables, of the gods of the Greeks.

117 : Note. Bellerophon. The hero who destroyed Chimæra. — **Pegasus.** The winged horse which was said to have sprung from the blood of Medusa, when Perseus cut off her head.

118 : 6. "There is no God." "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." *Ps.* liii, 1.

118 : 15. Lerna. The lake, or swamp, near Argos. The water-serpent slain by Hercules was the Lernaean Hydra.

118 : 19. Miasmata. The plural of *miasma*, which means infectious germs floating in the air.

120 : 11. St. George and the Dragon. The *Faerie Queene*, Canto XI, describes the dragon, tells of the three days' fight, and of the knight's victory on the third day.

120 : 16. Hercules and the Hydra. See notes on the preceding section, and on § 70.

120 : 21. Original. Some of the texts have "origin" here.

120 : 28. St. George, the Red Cross Knight of Spenser. See note, § 3, p. 142. Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), one of the greatest of English poets. Pancoast (*Introduction to English Literature*, New York, 1907, pp. 207, 208) says: "Spenser stands alone. He is the one supremely great undramatic poet of a play-writing time."

120 : 33. Knight of the Garter. The highest order of knighthood in Great Britain, instituted by Edward III.

121 : 1. George and Dragon of a public-house. The painted sign at, or over, the door, such as the King George-General Washington sign at the Union Hotel, kept by Jonathan Doolittle. See *Rip Van Winkle*.

121 : 3. **The mean person.** The uneducated, or un-informed.

121 : 8. **Hercules.** The lines quoted are from *Æneid*, viii, 299, 300.

123 : 8. **Don't.** Would not "do not" look better, and sound better?

123 : 28. **Legend.** The word means here, a wonderful story of the past.

123 : 31. **Burgeons out.** Old English *burjoun*, a bud. *Burgeons*, or *bourgeons*, to sprout, to put forth buds.

123 : 32. **Leaf by leaf . . . milky stem and honied bell.** What figure of speech?

124 : 18. **Fantasy.** Fancy, an imaginative conception.

125 : 11. **Rejoiced as a strong man**, etc. The reference is to *Ps.* xix, 5, 6. The preceding eight paragraphs are in the nature of an introduction.

125 : 16. **Pindar.** A lyric poet of Thebes. He is said to have died at the age of eighty-six, 435 B.C. What is the story about the swarm of bees leaving some honey on his lips when he was young? — **Æschylus.** A soldier and dramatic poet of Athens, son of Euphorion. He was in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea. A tortoise fell on his head and killed him, 456 B.C. Where did the tortoise fall from? What is the story "Uncle Remus" tells about "Brer Tarrypin" on the water-shelf, in *Mr. Terrapin Appears upon the Scene*?

125 : 27. **Earth . . . water . . . fire . . . air.** In Milton's day, matter was thought to be subject to four primary forces — "Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry," and objects fell into four classes, of which earth, air, water, and fire were types.

125 : 28. **Demeter (Ceres).** See note, § 70.

125 : 29. **Poseidon (Neptune).** God of the sea; son of Saturn and Cybele; brother to Jupiter and Pluto; husband

of Amphitrite; father of Triton, Polyphemus, Phoreus, and Proteus. With a trident he ruled the waves. When he appeared on the ocean there was a dead calm.

126 : 14. "Dust thou art, etc." *Gen.* iii, 19.

126 : 18. **Proserpine . . . Queen of Fate.** Daughter of Jupiter and Ceres. She became the wife of Pluto, and was known as "The Queen of Hell." The Greeks called her Persephone. Read Swinburne's *Garden of Prosperine*.

126 : 24. **The voice of thy brother's blood, etc.** *Gen.* iv, 10.

126 : 26. **Lord of grain.** "Side by side," seems to indicate that Ruskin refers to Pluto; but Cronus is the god of ripening, harvest, and maturity.

127 : 1. (1) **Neptune . . . (2) Nereus . . . (3) Palæmon . . . (4) Leucothea . . . (5) Thetis.** (1) See note, § 10, (2) Nereus, son of Pontus and Gæa, husband of Diros, father of the fifty Nereides; (3) Palæmon, or Palemon, a god of the sea, son of Athamas and Ino — originally named Malicerta, he assumed the name of Palæmon when Neptune changed him into a sea-god, (4) Luciothea, the name of Ino after she became a sea-nymph; (5) Thetis, a sea-goddess, daughter of Nereus and Doris, wife of Peleus, mother of Achilles.

127 : 5. "Suffer a sea change." *The Tempest*, I, ii, line 398.

127 : 9. "Fountain Arethuse, etc." Milton's *Lycidas*, lines 85, 86.

127 : 13. **Hair, as the sign of the strength of life.** Compare *Judges* xvi, 17. See (1 *Cor.* xi, 14) what St. Paul has to say of a man who has long hair.

127 : 18. **Horse . . . sea-wave, animated and bridled.**

"The wild white horses foam and fret."

— MATTHEW ARNOLD, *The Forsaken Mermaid*, line 21.

127 : 20. Hephæstus. The Greek Vulcan, smith of the gods.

127 : 30. Mars. The god of war; son of Jupiter and Juno; husband of Venus; father of Cupid, Anteros, and Harmonia. What connection is there between the month of March and Mars?

128 : 1. Queen of the breath of man. See note, § 31.

129 : 4. Gorgonian cold. See note, § 69. Perseus cut off the head of Medusa and gave it to Minerva. She placed it on her ægis (shield), and it turned into stone all who gazed upon it.

129 : 8. Queen of maidenhood — stainless as the air of heaven. Compare Tennyson's *Lancelot and Elaine*, lines 1 and 2:—

“Elaine the fair, Elaine the lovable,
Elaine, the lily maid of Astolat.”

129 : 19. Odysseus. Latin, *Ulysses*, or *Ulixes*. See note, § 39.

129 : 26. Note, § 41.

130 : 1. Didactic in their essence, as all good art is. Read Poe's essay, “The Poetic Principle,” especially §§ 11–18, noting how, in so far as poetry is concerned, he disagrees with Ruskin.

130 : 25. Chrysippus. A stoic philosopher of Tarsus, who wrote over three hundred treatises. There is a story that he died from laughing too much at the sight of an ass eating figs from a silver plate.

130 : 26. Crantor. A philosopher of Soli; he was among the pupils of Plato, 510 B.C.

131 : 13. Hesiod. A celebrated Greek poet, and supposed contemporary of Homer.

131 : 32. See visions and dream dreams. Compare *Joel* ii, 28.

132 : 2. Keats. John Keats (1795–1821), an English poet who has hardly been surpassed in “exquisite sensibility to the beauty of the things of sense.” (Pancoast.)

132 : 3. Morris. William Morris (1834–1896), English painter, architect, and poet. His life was devoted to stimulating a love of the beautiful in household decoration, book-making, literature, etc. “In his later years, he faced, as Ruskin did, the pressing social questions of his time, and strove manfully to set the crooked straight.” (Pancoast.)

132 : 7. Reynolds. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1793), one of the greatest portrait-painters of England. He was a contemporary and friend of Goldsmith, Burke, and Johnson.—**Gainsborough.** Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788), a noted English painter.

133 : 1. Æolus. Son of Hippotas, inventor of sails, ruler of storms and winds. What is an Æolian harp? Where is Æolia, or Æolis?

133 : 2. “Sage Hippotades” of Milton. See *Lycidas*, line 96. John Milton (1608–1674), the greatest epic poet known to the world of English literature.

133 : 6. But hear Homer, etc. The description which follows is taken from the beginning of the tenth book of the *Odyssey*.

133 : 20. Danaë. Daughter of Acrisius and Eurydice, mother of Perseus.

133 : 30. Æolus gives them to Ulysses, all but one, bound in leathern bags. Professor Norton (*R. to N.*, Vol. III, pp. 20, 21) called Ruskin’s attention to a mistake here: “But it was only ‘the blustering wind’ . . . (Od[yssey] x, 20) that Æolus had tied up.” To this Ruskin replied: “That is indeed an important mistake about the bag. Of course these stories are all first fixed in my mind by my boy’s

[his own] reading of Pope — then I read in the Greek rapidly to hunt out the points I want to work on, and I am always liable to miss an immaterial point . . .”

134 : 8. Lipari. The largest of the Æolian Islands, on the coast of Sicily. See Virgil's *Æneid*, viii, 417.

134 : 9. Diodorus. Siculus Diodorus, author of histories of Egypt, Persia, Syria, Media, Greece, and Carthage.

134 : 10. Sorrento. A town in the province of Naples, Italy. It is located on the Bay of Naples, sixteen miles from the city of Naples.

134 : 13. Boreas. Boreas, or Aquilo, the north wind. Homer (*Iliad*, xx, 223), says Boreas, out of love for the muses of Eriethonius, turned himself into a horse.

134 : 16. Oreithyia. Oreithyia (Orithyia), daughter of Erectheus, king of Athens, was loved by Boreas. He had to take her by force, because he could not play the lover's part by breathing gently or sighing.

134 : 17. Ilissus. A river of Attica.

134 : 21. The Harpies. Ællo, Ocypete, and Celeno, half-birds, half-maidens, with heads and breasts of women, bodies of birds, and claws of lions. They were demons of destruction.

134 : Note. Max Müller. 1823–1900. A German scholar of international reputation, professor of comparative philology at Oxford. See reference to him in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 19.

135 : 7. This is a month, etc. What month?

135 : 14. And if you do not . . . I'll give up, etc. The playfulness here attempted gives the paragraph a weak ending.

135 : 29. Charybdis. See note, § 39. On the Sicilian side Charybdis dwelt under an immense fig tree, swallowing down and sending forth the waters of the sea.

136 : 9. **Harpy Celæno.** See note, § 20.

136 : 10. **Seventh circle of the "Inferno."** Dante's "Inferno" had seven circles.

136 : 20. **Arabesque.** Arab-esque, an imaginary and fantastic ornamentation. Edgar Allan Poe seems to have liked this word.

136 : 25. **Sirens.** Sea-nymphs, who, by their music, drew mariners to destruction. How did Ulysses and his companions get by, and what became of the Sirens?

137 : 3. **Tantalus.** A king of Lydia, father of Niobe and Pelops. See next note.

137 : 7. **Forever kept hungry in sight of food.** Was he not forever thirsty in a pool (in hell), the waters of which receded from him when he tried to drink?

137 : 17. **Pelops.** Son of Tantalus. The gods restored him to life, and he became the husband of Hippodamia.

137 : 20. **Pandareos.** In Greek legend it was he who stole the golden dog made by Hephestus.

137 : 27. **Cerberus.** Plato's three-headed dog, crouched at the gate of the infernal regions to keep the inhabitants in, and the living out.

137 : 30. "**Facilis descensus.**" An easy descent.

138 : 5. **Sirius . . . the dog-star of ruin.** According to ancient belief, epidemic diseases prevailed under the ascendancy of Sirius.

"Blazed bright and baleful like that autumn-star,
The baleful sign of fevers."

— MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Sohrab and Rustum*, lines 452, 453.

138 : 9. **Icarius.** An Athenian who gave the peasants wine to drink. When intoxication bereft them of their reason, their friends and neighbors slew Icarus. He was changed into the star Bootes.

138 : 10. Drunkenness of Noah. *Gen.* ix, 21.

138 : 11. Actæon. Son of Aristæus. Because he intruded himself at Diana's bath, she changed him into a deer. He was hunted and torn to pieces by his own dogs. — **Hecuba.** The wife of Priam, the mother of Paris. After the destruction of Troy, she fell to the lot of Ulysses and was afterwards changed into a hound. Her supposed tomb, in the Thracian Chersonesus, is called Cynossema (Dog's Tomb).

138 : 13. Cynosarges. A surname of Hercules, also the name of a village in Attica where the cynic philosophers established their school.

138 : 17. Deadly madness. Rabies, hydrophobia.

138 : 24. Pandareos' dog. See note, § 23.

139 : 5. Artemis. The Greek name of Diana, goddess of hunting and chastity; daughter of Jupiter and Latona; sister of Apollo. She has the names Phœbe, Luna, Dictynna, and Hecate.

139 : 6. Hera. The Greek name of Juno, daughter of Saturn and Ops; wife of Jupiter; mother of Mars, Vulcan, Hebe, and Lucinia; queen of all the gods and goddesses; mistress of heaven and earth.

139 : 7. Aphrodite. The Greek name of Venus, the goddess of beauty and the mother of love. She sprang from the foam of the sea.

139 : 12. The Furies. Tisiphone (Rage), Megæra (Slaughter), and Alecto (Envy), daughters of Acheron and Nox, and punishers of evil-doers.

139 : 16. London season. Evidently Ruskin means just the opposite. What figure of speech is this, and what purpose does it serve?

139 : 21. Polygnotus. A celebrated painter of Thasos, who lived about 442 B.C.

139 : 22. Delphi. A town on Mount Parnassus, where the temple of Apollo was located. What is meant by "The Oracle of Delphi"?

139 : 23. Playing at dice. In Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, who play dice, and for what purpose? — **Penelope.** Daughter of Icarus, wife of Ulysses, mother of Telemachus.

140 : 3. Hermes. The Greek name of Mercury, the messenger of the gods; the inventor of the lyre, which he gave to Apollo; the conductor of the dead into the infernal regions.

140 : 4. Proteus. A god of the sea who had the power to convert himself into various shapes. He was also a prophet.

140 : Note. Grotesque. Grotto-like, wildly or fantastically formed. Poe liked this word. See *arabesque*, and note, § 22, p. 161. What special use did Poe make of the two words *grotesque* and *arabesque*?

141 : 15. Mother of Lacedæmon [and Eurotas] . . . Taygeta. Daughter of Atlas and Pleione. She was one of the Pleiades. (See next note.) Lacedæmon was king of Sparta.

141 : 16. Pleiades. The seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione. After death they were placed in the heavens, becoming a constellation. — "Canst thou bind, etc." *Job* xxxviii, 31.

141 : 20. Arcadia. A country in the middle of Peloponnesus, surrounded on all sides by land. It received its name from Arcas, son of Jupiter. The inhabitants — shepherds, warriors, and musicians — thought themselves more ancient than the moon. Read the story of *Evangeline*. Is it appropriate that a town in Louisiana should have the name *Arcadia*? What is the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney?

141 : 23. Voice of waters. Wordsworth is not the only person that has heard the waters laugh and sing. Read

the opening lines of *Thanatopsis*. See *Ps.* xlii, 7: "Deep calleth unto deep."

141 : Note. **Hera**. See note, § 24.

142 : 8. **Shepherd of the clouds**. See § 28, "The shepherd of the flocks of the sky," and the note on it.

142 : 9. **Argus**. A god with a hundred eyes which took it *turn-about* watching and sleeping. Juno set him to watch Io; he was slain by Mercury, and changed, by Juno, into a peacock.

142 : 13. After reading this paragraph, and the footnote, see the note on *philologists*, § 28.

142 : 28. **Pecuniarily**. From *pecus*, cattle. What is the origin of *peculiar*?

143 : 4. **Priam**. King of Troy, father of Paris, whose carrying Helen to Troy, in the absence of Menelaus, of Sparta, caused the war between the Greeks and the Trojans.

143 : 6. **Diomed**. A legendary Thracian king, son of Ares.

143 : 12. **Autolycus**. Son of Hermes (Mercury) and Chione. The daughter of Autolycus, Anticlea, was the mother of Ulysses.

143 : 13. **Myrtilus**. The charioteer of Œnomaus.

143 : 16. **The shepherd of the flocks of the sky**.

IN AUTUMN

"The shepherd winds are driving
 Along the ways on high
 A merry flock of cloudland sheep
 To meadows in the sky."

— ROBERT LOVEMAN, *Poems*, Philadelphia, 1897, p. 40.

143 : 23. **Jupiter**. Son of Saturn and Cybele (Ops). Jupiter, with the aid of Hercules, defeated the giants of

earth when they made war against heaven. (See note, § 77, p. 81.) He was worshipped by many of the heathen nations.

143 : 26. Euripides. A tragic poet, pupil of Prodicus, Socrates, and Anaxagoras. — **Hippomedon.** Son of Nisimachus and Mythidice. He was one of the seven chiefs who went against Thebes. He was killed by Ismarus.

144 : 1. "Primo mobile." Italian for *first movements*, or *first moveables*.

144 : 5. Foray. Another form of *forage*, meaning a raid, an irregular or sudden incursion for battle or for spoils.

144 : 17. Athamas. A king of Thebes, son of Æolus. Read the story of his temporary insanity as a result of anger.

144 : 18. Phrixus. Phryxus carried the Golden Fleece, a ram's hide, to Calchis, where he was entertained by King Æetes. The Argonauts, Jason, and fifty other heroes, carried back the Golden Fleece.

144 : 19. Helle. Daughter of Athamas and Nephele. That is a pretty story about the sea receiving from Helle the name Hellespont.

144 : 21. Salmoneus. King of Elis. He tried to imitate Jupiter's thunders, and was immediately sent to the infernal regions. — **Glaucus.** A son of Sisyphus, king of Corinth. He was the owner of mares that were swift in the races. For a reason, Venus inspired the mares with such fury that they tore the body of Glaucus to pieces as he was returning from the games.

144 : 24. Bellerophon . . . Chimæra. Bellerophon, son of Glaucus and Eurymede, was sent by Iobates, king of Lycia, to conquer the monster Chimæra. With the assistance of Minerva, and by the aid of Pegasus — the winged horse — he was successful. See Milton's *Paradise Lost*, vii, 1

144 : 31. **Sisyphus.** Son of Æolus and Enaretta. He meddled in the love affair of Jupiter and Ægina and for this was condemned to eternal punishment, which is, to roll a stone to the summit of a hill in the infernal regions. The stone always rolls back to the foot of the hill.

145 : 7. **Isthmian games.** The public and solemn games of the Greeks were: the Olympian, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian. These games, in which there were physical, mental, and musical contests, derived their names from persons or places. The Isthmian was named for the Corinthian Isthmus, which joins the Peloponnesus with the continent.

145 : 8. **κέρδιστος ἀνδρῶν.** The greediest, shrewdest, or craftiest of men. Compare *Iliad*, vi, 153.

145 : 19. **Ixion.** King of Thessaly, of uncertain parentage. At the table of the gods in heaven where Jupiter had carried him, he displeased his benefactor, was banished to hell and tied, by Mercury, to a whirling wheel, which, it was supposed, would never cease to turn.

145 : 25. **Aristophanes.** Son of Philip of Rhodes, and a comic poet of Athens. He lived 434 B.C.

145 : 29. **δῖνος.** Literally, a whirlwind.

146 : 3. **Semele, the mother of Bacchus.** The daughter of Cadmus. After death she was deified, and became Thyone.

146 : 8. **τανυθέριπα.** τανυ, altogether, exceedingly; ἔθειρα, the hair of the head.

146 : 9. **Danaïdes.** The fifty daughters of Danaus, king of Argos. They married their fifty cousins, sons of Egyptus. Forty-nine of them, in obedience to their father's wish, slew their husbands the first night of their nuptials.

146 : 10. **Danaë.** See note, § 19. — **Perseus.** Son of Jupiter and Danaë. Read the story of Perseus's successful combat with the Gorgon Medusa.

146 : 11. Gorgons. See note, § 69. — **Graiaë.** Graiaë, or Grææ, the Gray-women : Dino, Pephredo, and Enyo.

146 : 14. Medusa. One of the three Gorgons. See note, §69.

146 : 27. Reread paragraph 14.

148 : 3. Shakespeare. William Shakespeare (1564–1616), the greatest dramatist in the history of English literature.

148 : 4. Mortimer. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. “[In] changing hardiment . . . Three times they breathed, etc.” *1 Henry IV.*, I, iii, 101–103.

148 : 8. Hotspur. Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The quotation is from *1 Henry IV.*, V, ii, 48, 49.

148 : 11. Hamlet. Prince of Denmark. The Queen says of Hamlet : “He’s fat and scant of breath.” *Hamlet*, V, ii, 302.

148 : 13. Orlando. One of the three sons of Sir Rowland de Boys. The quotation is from *As You Like It*, I, ii, 233.

148 : 20. Ares. Mars.

148 : 22. Camilla. Queen of the Volsci, daughter of Metabus and Casmilla. She was so fleet, or swift, that she could run (or fly) over a field of corn without bending the blades, and over the sea without wetting her feet.

149 : 4. Fresh air, etc. Is this “popular” touch out of place?

149 : 6. Achilles. Son of Peleus and Thetis, the greatest of the Greek heroes in the Trojan War.

149 : 10. Ambrosia. *Ambrosia*, from the Greek, means immortal, — food for the immortals. The fabled food of the gods, which was supposed to confer immortality on those who partook of it.

149 : 12. Harpy falcon. *Falcon*, a bird trained to catch other birds, or game. *Harpy*, in Grecian mythology, a ravenous, filthy, woman-faced vulture.

149 : 19. As a falcon . . . straight at him. Compare Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*, lines 398-402 :—

“Rustum . . . hurl'd

His spear; down from the shoulder, down it came,
As on some partridge in the corn a hawk,
That long has tower'd in the airy clouds
Drops like a plummet.”

149 : 29. **Menelaus.** King of Sparta, husband of Helen. Read the note on *Priam*, § 27.

149 : 30. **Hector.** Son of Priam and Hecuba, chief of the Trojan forces when the Greeks besieged Troy. He slew many of the bravest Greek chiefs, but fled at the presence of Achilles, who pursued and killed him.

151 : 23. **Pope.** Alexander Pope (1688-1744), a noted English writer in his day. Many of his smooth classical couplets are very quotable. He came near to being dishonest in the attempt to further his inordinate literary ambition.

152 : 10. **Atreides.** *Atreides* (Atrides), son of Atreus Agamemnon. The ending *-ides* means son of.

152 : 19. **Patroclus.** The intimate friend and constant companion of Achilles in the Trojan War. He was slain by Hector, who, in turn, was killed by Achilles.

152 : 23. **Fresh turned.** Would not “freshly turned,” or “fresh-turned” be better.

152 : 29. **Hephæstus.** Vulcan.

152 : 31. **Erichthonius.** The fourth king of Athens. He had the tails of serpents instead of legs. The invention of chariots is attributed to him. He reigned fifty years, and died 1437 B.C.

152 : 33. **Attica.** A triangular division of Greece, bounded on two sides by the Ægean Sea, on the other by the moun-

tains Cithæron and Parnes. Athens was its principal city.

153 : 2. **Aglauros.** When Erichthonius was a babe, Minerva placed him in a basket and gave strict orders that no one should open it. This was because of the child's terrible deformity. (See note above.) Aglauros had the curiosity to open the basket, and Minerva punished her by making her jealous of her sister Herse.

153 : 3. **Envy of Cain.** See *Gen.* iv, 2-4.

153 : 5. **Herse.** See note above on *Aglauros*.

153 : 6. **Mercury.** Hermes.

153 : 7. **Pandrosos.** Daughter of Cecrops, sister of Aglauros and Herse. (See notes above.) Because she had not the curiosity to open the basket containing Erichthonius, a temple was erected in her honor.

153 : 10. **Blessing of Esau.** *Gen.* xxvii, 28.

153 : 14. "Io sono Aglauro, chi divenne sasso." See Dante, *Purgatorio*, xiv, 142.

153 : 32. **Primrose.** An early (Latin *primus*, first) flowering plant.

154 : 1. **Asphodel.** The asphodel of the early English and French poets was the daffodil. The pale asphodel is said to be the only flower that blooms in hell. In Poe's *Eleonora*, the asphodels are "ruby-red."

154 : 3. **Crocus flame.** The saffron bloom of the crocus.

154 : 4. **Ida.** A mountain range in Asia Minor.

154 : 5. **Elysian fields.** Elysium, a place in the infernal regions where the souls of the righteous were supposed to repose after death.

154 : 8. **Maia.** Daughter of Atlas and Pleione. The most beautiful of the Pleiades.

154 : 13. **Vergil.** Publius Maro Virgilius (70-19 B.C.) the greatest of the Latin poets.

154 : 15. Chaucer. Geoffrey Chaucer (*cir.* 1340–1400), England's first great poet to break away from the native literary traditions of his people.

154 : 17. Pastorals and Georgics. Works of Vergil.

154 : 32. "There shall come forth a rod, etc." *Is.* xi, 1.

155 : 1. Almond rod of Aaron. See *Ex.* vii, 10.

155 : 7. Course of Olympia. The place of the Olympic games, dedicated to Jupiter Olympius. See note on *Isthmian games*, § 29.

155 : 9. Panathenaic. All the Athenian games. Similar to our modern "Field Day."

155 : 14. Moriai. The Mora is a leguminous tree.

155 : 15. Erectheum. Of, or pertaining to Erectheus, a mythic king of Athens.

155 : 17. "Children like olive plants, etc." See *Ps.* cxxviii, 3.

155 : 19. Rod . . . of the stem of Jesse. *Is.* xi, 1: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem [or stump] of Jesse."

155 : 21. Antioch. A city in Asia Minor, founded by Seleucus, and named by him in honor of his father, Antiochus.

155 : 22. Extreme unction. The sacrament of anointing in the last hours.

155 : 29. Agonia. Italian for *horror*, or *agony*. Latin *Agonia* is another name for *Agonalia*, a Roman festival, — from *agon*, a struggle, contest, or combat. What is the origin of *agonize*?

155 : 31. Palestine. Called also Canaan, and The Holy Land. The name in Greek (*Παλαιστίνη*) means the country of the Philistines. It is the land of the Hebrews; Jerusalem is the chief city.

156 : 1. British Museum. The building, in London, in which England's greatest art collection is kept. It contains,

also, a vast library of between two and three millions of books. The circular reading room is one hundred and forty feet in diameter, and over a hundred feet high. — **Dolphin.** A fish from five to eight feet long; a constellation between Aquila and Pegasus. Read the story of Arion and the dolphin.

156 : 13. Cretan colonists. People of Crete.

156 : 14. Pytho. The ancient name of Delphi.

156 : 17. Hydria. An urn.

156 : 19. Tarentum . . . Taras. *Tarentum*, also called Taras, an Italian city on the western coast of Calabria. *Taras*, a son of Neptune, supposed to have built Tarentum.

156 : 24. Magna Græcia. A part of Italy, where the Greeks planted colonies. — **Arion.** A noted lyric poet on the island of Lesbos. It was he whose harp so charmed the dolphins. See the note on *dolphin*, § 39.

156 : 26. Æneas. Son of Anchises and Venus; husband of Creusa; father of Ascanius. After the destruction of Troy he built a fleet of twenty ships and escaped to the coasts of Africa. How did he save his father when Troy was in flames?

156 : 29. Merlin prophecy, etc. About 1200 A.D. Hélie de Barron wrote the French prose romance of *Merlin*, which contained, in the appendix, Merlin's Prophecies. See *1 Henry IV*, III, i, 149.

157 : 8. Laocoön. In the Trojan War, Laocoön, a priest of Apollo, opposed the admission of the wooden horse into the city. For this, two great serpents crushed him and his sons. See Byron's *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, stanza clx.

157 : 12. Scylla. Between Italy and Sicily are two rocks called Scylla and Charybdis. On the Italian side, in a cave, dwelt Scylla, a twelve-footed, six-headed monster.

157 : 16. Peplus. An upper garment worn by Grecian and Roman women.

157 : 23. Turner. See note, § 56.

157 : 24. Ulysses and Polyphemus. Ulysses, a king of Ithaca, whose adventures in the Trojan War furnished Homer the subject for his *Odyssey*: the Greek name of Ulysses is Odysseus. See note, §16. Polyphemus a Cyclops, son of Neptune (Poseidon) and Thoosa. Ulysses and some of his companions put out the one eye of Polyphemus with a fire-brand.

158 : 1. Cloud-phantasm. A cloud-fancy.

158 : 14. The race is not to the swift. *Eccl.* ix, 11: "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

158 : 24. Parable of the ten virgins. See *Matt.* xxv, 1. Sidney Lanier says there were ten virgins, and five of them were foolish; there were ten lilies, and all of them were wise.

158 : 26. Pentecost. See *Acts* ii, 2.

158 : 31. The zeal of thine house, etc. *Ps.* cxix, 139.

159 : 1. Ares. Mars.

159 : 17. Melody. An agreeable succession of sounds. How does melody differ from harmony?

159 : 21. Measured and designed . . . impulsive and passionate. What is said here of music may also be applied to poetry. An example of a measured and designed poem is Poe's *The Bells*, the four stanzas of which may be tabulated as to the kinds of bells, the metals, what they tell, how they tell it, etc. An example of an impulsive and passionate poem is Poe's *Annabel Lee*, or Pinkney's *A Health*.

159 : 22. Athena . . . aids the shout of Achilles. Read Browning's *A Tale* (Epilogue to *The Two Poets of Croisic*) for the story of the cricket that "Lighted on the crippled lyre," and aided the player in winning the prize.

159 : 24. **Demeter.** See note on *Ceres*, § 70.

160 : 1. **Apolline lyre . . . Doric flute.** The lyre was the most famous of ancient stringed instruments. At first there were three strings, afterwards eight, and, finally, through a long process of development, we have the piano. The flute, or pipe, was the wind instrument. They were made of reeds, and of the bones of stags, fawns, asses, and elephants. Flute-music was thought to exert a strong influence on the minds and bodies of men — to the extent of curing certain diseases.

160 : 2. **Pipe of Pan.** *Pan*, a man with horns, long ears, and the lower half of his body like a goat. The Pan-pipes (Syrinx) were reeds fashioned by himself. What is the origin of the word *panic*?

160 : 3. **Double pipe of Marsyas.** Marsyas, the supposed inventor of the flute, challenged Apollo to a musical contest. Apollo defeated him and then beat him to death.

160 : 6. **Gorgonian serpents.** Instead of hair, the heads of the Gorgons were covered with vipers.

161 : 11. **Music . . . in her health, the teacher of perfect order.** Read Browning's *Saul*.

161 : 15. **Gloria in Excelsis.** Glory in the highest. — **The Marseillaise.** *La Marseillaise*, a French patriotic song, composed at Strasburg, on the night of April 24, 1792, by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a captain of engineers. When, where, and by whom was "The Star Spangled Banner" written?

161 : 31. [1869.] The year is not given in the original.

163 : 14. **Spirit . . . quench . . . grieve.** This refers *quench* to 1 *Thes.* v, 19; *grieve* to *Eph.* iv, 30.

163 : 30. **Pisistratus.** An Athenian who ordered a commission of scholars, about 537 B.C., to collect and revise the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

164 : 1. A beautiful woman, armed like Athena. This woman was Phya.

164 : 5. Antiparos. An island in the Ægean Sea, opposite Paros.

164 : 19. St. Louis. Brother of Charles I., king of Naples.

164 : 20. The Cid (*cir.* 1040–1099), called also *El Campeador*. *The Cid*, master. *Campeador*, champion, or challenger. He is the principal national hero of Spain, and is famed for his exploits with the Moors. — Chevalier Bayard. A French national hero (1475–1524), called “the knight without fear, and without reproach.”

165 : 2. Horace. Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 B.C.), a poet whose talents were recognized by Virgil. The special qualities of his *Satires* and *Epistles* are humor and wit.

165 : 3. Wordsworth. William Wordsworth (1770–1850), one of England’s greatest poets. His works are inspired by love of Nature and of man. His poetry is simple and true, in comparison with the shams and artificialities of Pope.

165 : 6. Mechanical drill in verse-writing. Writing verse by pattern, or by the foot, without proper reference to poetic thought.

165 : 10. Hexameter. A line of verse having six metrical feet.

165 : 19. Thyme. A sweet-smelling flower. — **Matin.** Morning.

165 : 21. Faun. A god, of fields and shepherds, something like the Satyr.

165 : 22. Rome. The capital of Italy, and the centre of the Roman Catholic Church.

166 : 13. Sell that thou hast, etc. See *Matt.* xix, 21; *Mark* x, 21; *Luke* xii, 33; xviii, 22.

II. ATHENA KERAMITIS

(Athena in the Earth)

167 : 13. The Greek word for "breathing." Πνέω or Φυσάω.

168 : 21. St. Paul. An early apostle of the Christian Church. See *Acts* xiii, 9.

169 : 4. Nemean lion. The first of the "Twelve Labors of Hercules" was the combat with the lion that infested the valley of Nemea.

169 : 6. Python. A serpent which sprang from stagnant waters and mud, after the deluge of Deucalion.

170 : 28. "Born of the spirit." See *John* iii, 6.

171 : 5. The strong word "ascertained." Make a list of the synonyms of *ascertained*, arranging them in the order of their strength.

171 : Note. Manuel d' Iconographie Chretienne. Handbook of Christian Iconography. — Iconography, the art of representation by pictures or images. *Christian Iconography*, the study of the representations in art of the Deity, the persons of the Trinity, angels, saints, etc. — *Lorsque vous aurez fait le proplasma*, etc. When you will have made protoplasm, and outlined a face, you will have made flesh with glycasm for which we have given the receipt. In old men you will indicate the wrinkles and, in young people, the corners of the eyes. Thus it is, according to Panselinos, that flesh is made.

172 : 19. In which all things live, move, and have their being. *Acts* xvii, 28.

173 : 4. Ethics of the Dust. Published, 1866.

174 : Note. Mr. Darwin. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), an illustrious English biologist, grandson of Erasmus Dar-

win, the poet. See Professor Winchell's article, "Darwinism," in the *Encyclopædia Americana*. The Cambridge (England) *Daily News*, Thursday, June 24, 1909, contains an account of the Darwin Centenary Banquet, at which Mr. William Erasmus Darwin spoke of his father "as a man and as he knew him from a child."

175 : 9. Calcareous slime. Slime consisting of, or containing, calcium carbonate or carbonate of lime.

177 : 30. Fire to speak. See *Ex.* iii, 2; xiii, 21; xix, 18; *Lev.* ix, 24; x, 2; *Num.* xi, 1, 3; xvi, 35; *Deut.* iv, 12, 15, 33, 36; v, 24, 26; *1 Kings* xviii, 24; *1 Chr.* xxi, 26; *Is.* lxvi, 16, etc. — Dove, to bless. See *Matt.* iii, 16; *Mark* i, 10; *Luke* iii, 22; *John* i, 32.

178 : 12. Hieroglyph. A character in picture writing. The word here means a character or figure with a hidden meaning.

179 : 1. Than ever "vanti Libia con sua rena." Than ever boasted Libya with her sand.

180 : Note. Richard Owen. Sir Richard Owen (1804-1892), an English anatomist and paleontologist. — **Hippocampus.** A sea-horse.

180 : 16. Gigantomachia. This is the Latin form. English, *Gigantomachy*, a war of giants, especially the mythic war of the giants against heaven. See the notes on *Ossa and Pelion*, § 77. In some of the texts this word is hyphenated : *Giganto-machia*.

180 : 18. "That which thou sowest, etc." *1 Cor.* xv, 36.

180 : 24. Æsculapius. Son of Apollo, husband of Epione, father of Machaon and Padalirus, who were skilled in medicine. One of the four daughters, Hygeia, is the goddess of health.

181 : 7. Nascent eyes. Eyes just beginning to see and discriminate.

181 : 33. **Frenzied grotesque.** This should be "frenzied grotesqueness," or "the frenzied grotesque." Ruskin, however, uses *grotesque* elsewhere as here.

182 : 1. **Psalter of St. Louis.** See note, § 46.

182 : 16. **Lacertine.** Also *lacertain*, like a lizard.

183 : 5. **Dove with the olive branch.** See *Gen.* vii, 11.

183 : 15. **Peacock of Hera.** *Hera* (Juno) rode in a chariot drawn by peacocks.

183 : 16. **Dove of Aphrodite.** Aphrodite (Venus) was specially fond of the dove, the sparrow, the swan, and the dolphin.

183 : 20. **Cherubim.** The Hebrew plural of *cherub*.

183 : 31. **Mr. Fergusson.** James Fergusson (1808-1886), a Scottish writer on architecture. His *Fire and Serpent Worship* was published 1868.

183 : 32. **Draconian.** From *Draco*, a dragon; also the name of a famous lawgiver of Athens, 621 B.C.

183 : 33. **Judea.** In Bethlehem of Judea Jesus was born. See *Matt.* ii, 1.

184 : 31. **"Leguminous" plants.** Such as beans, peas, clover, etc. Legumen is an albuminous substance characteristic of grain-bearing plants.

184 : 33. **"Lætum siliqua quassante legumen."** Pod shaking its joyful (or joy-giving) legumen.

185 : 9. **Acacia, laburnum, Judas-tree . . . vetch.** Consult dictionary or botany. Why is the Judas-tree so called?

185 : 11. **Trefoil tracery.** Three-leaf tracery.

186 : 4. **Henbane . . . mandrake . . . tobacco . . . cyclamen . . . primulas . . . stamens . . . lobes . . . corolla,** are all botanical terms. Consult botany or dictionary.

186 : 6. **Umbelled and cruciferous plants.** Latin *umbella*, a shade. Such plants as milkweed and carrot. *Cruciferous*, having four petals arranged like the arms of a cross. Such plants as mustard and turnip.

186 : 13. Hemlock drink. Socrates, by the perjury of witnesses, was tried for corrupting the Athenian youth, making innovations in the religion of the Greeks, and ridiculing their gods. He was condemned to drink hemlock. See Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*, lines 1 and 2.

186 : 14. Chervil. A plant with pinnately divided, aromatic leaves.

187 : 1. Catkined trees. Such as the willow, poplar, and chestnut. The flowers are along the sides of a slender axis. Called *catkined*, because of the resemblance to a cat's tail.

187 : 5. Coveting of Eve. See *Gen.* iii, 6.

187 : 9.

“Rosa sempiterna,
Che si dilata, rigrada, e ridole
Odor di lode al Sol.”

The rose eternal,
Which spreads herself, divides, and scents
Odor of praise to the Sun.

188 : 1. Spinous process. Having the form of a spine or thorn.

188 : 2. Awn or beard. What is the origin of the word *awning*?

189 : 2. Lilies, asphodels, amaryllids, irids, rushes. See footnote to the next paragraph.

189 : 15. Crocus . . . hyacinth . . . star of Bethlehem . . . gladiolus . . . water lilies (Nereid sisters). Consult dictionary or botany. Why is the “Star of Bethlehem” so called?

189 : 19. Ganges, Nile, Arno, and Avon. *Ganges*, a large river of India, emptying into the Indian Ocean. *Nile*, the longest river in Africa, and one of the longest in the world. *Arno*, a river in Tuscany, Italy. *Avon*, an English river on which Shakespeare's Stratford is located.

189 : 22. The Annunciation. The festival (March 25) in memory of Gabriel's announcement of the incarnation to the Virgin Mary.

189 : 23. Fleur-de-lys. French for *flower of the lily*.

189 : 24. Christ's lily of the field. See *Matt.* vi, 28; *Luke* xii, 27.

190 : 1. Perdita's "The crown imperial, lilies of all kinds." *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 126.

190 : 7. "Giglio." Italian for *lily*.

190 : 22. Loved better than the gray nettles, etc. Ruskin seems here to be contrasting country ("lowly") life with suburban or city life. Which does he prefer?

191 : 4. Hyacinth and convallaria. Consult dictionary or botany. Explain "hyacinth hair," in Poe's poem *To Helen*.

191 : 25. Narcissus. A handsome youth who became enamored of his own image in a fountain. Because he could not reach the object of his affection, he killed himself, and his blood was changed into the flower which bears his name.

192 : 18. Quatrefoil, cinquefoil, sixfoil. Four-, five-, and six-leaved.

193 : 6. Foxglove, snapdragon, and calceolaria. Consult dictionary or botany.

193 : 12. With paleness round. For poetry this would do; for prose "with paleness around" is better.

193 : 17. Kalmia . . . stamens . . . borage. Botanical terms.

194 : 8. Æsculapian. Medicinal plants, named for Æsculapius, the god of medicine.

194 : 10. "Erba della Madonna." The flower of the Virgin Mary. Literally, the grass of the Virgin Mary.

194 : 15. "Labiatae." From the Latin *labium*, lip.

194 : 16. Strength for healing. Compare *Rev.* xxii, 2.

194 : 28. **Ordinary botanist.** Does Ruskin's answer, in § 89, to the questions proposed in this paragraph (§ 88), indicate that he regards himself as an extraordinary botanist?

196 : 4. "**Glaukopsis.**" Literally blue-eyed. Ruskin says "gray-eyed," § 93, p. 232.

196 : 17. **Aristotle.** A famous philosopher and pupil of Plato who called him the philosopher of truth. He died 322 B.C.

196 : 26. "**Purpureos inter soles, et candida lunæ sidera.**" Among the purple suns, and the white sides of the moon.

196 : 27. "**Pro purpureo pœnam solvens scelerata capillo.**" The wicked woman paying the penalty for golden hair.

196 : 33. **Murex-dye.** Dye made from the shell of the murex.

197 : 15. **Davy's safety-lamp.** Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829), a celebrated English chemist. He invented the safety-lamp in 1815. A safety-lamp does not ignite the gas in a coal mine.

197 : 16. **Subterranean "damp."** Called also "fire-damp." Consists chiefly of light carbureted hydrogen.

197 : 27. "**Chiaroscuro.**" The arrangement of light and dark parts in a work of art.

198 : 4. "**If thine eye be single, etc.**" See *Matt.* vi, 22; *Luke* xi, 34.

198 : 16. **Attic coins.** Coins of Attica.

198 : 25. **Lapislazuli.** A rich blue aluminous mineral. — **Smalt.** A deep blue pigment.

198 : Note. **Payne Knight.** Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824), an English numismatist and archæologist. See Gayley's *Classic Myths*, Boston, 1900, p. 16, note.

200 : 3. **Troy.** The capital of Troas in Asia Minor. Here the siege was conducted by the Greeks under Agamemnon. — **Ajax.** A brave Greek in the Trojan War.

200 : 8. **Erebus.** Son of Chaos, a god of Hades.

200 : 15. **Pandarus.** Son of Lycaon. He aided the Trojans in the war with the Greeks.

200 : 16. **Helen.** The beautiful, unfortunate wife of Menelaus. Her flight to Troy with Paris, 1198 B.C., brought about the Trojan War. See note on *Priam*, § 27, and note on *Menelaus*, § 34,

201 : 21. When the ecstasy which gave it birth has passed away forever. This reminds one of Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*, lines 17 and 18:—

“ But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there hath passed away a glory from the earth.”

201 : 24. **Phidias.** An Athenian sculptor who died 432 B.C. His statue of Minerva was in the Pantheon.

203 : 2. **Libyan.** The Libyan Desert in Africa. Libia, the daughter of Epaphus, king of Egypt.

203 : 19. **Plectrum.** A small instrument used in playing upon the lyre.

204 : 5. **Altar to a God unknown.** See *Acts* xvii, 23.

204 : 9. **A God who made of one blood, etc.** See *Acts* xvii, 26.

204 : 20. **Seats bought . . . price of a dove.** See *Matt.* xxi, 12; *Mark* xi, 15; *John* ii, 14, 16.

III. ATHENA ERGANE

(*Athena in the Heart*)

206 : 9. **Valley of the Somme.** The Somme, a river in northern France, which flows into the English Channel.

206 : 19. **The faults of a work of art, etc.** In connection with this paragraph, read *Sesame and Lilies*, § 10.

206 : 22. **A foolish person builds foolishly, etc.** Compare *Matt.* vii, 24–27.

207 : 19. **Stonehenge.** A prehistoric monument in Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire, England.

207 : 22. **Michael Angelo.** A famous Italian sculptor and painter (1475–1564).

207 : 26. **Bill Sykes.** The burglar in Dickens's *Oliver Twist*. Ruskin mentions Bill and his mistress, Nancy, in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 22.

207 : Note. **Rouen Cathedral.** Rouen is the capital of Seine-Inférieure, France. Its cathedral is one of the most impressive in existence.

208 : 8. **That which is born of evil begets evil.** Probably suggested by *John* iii, 6 : "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit."

209 : 2. **Pharaoh, or David, etc.** *Pharaoh*, a title given to Egyptian kings. *David*, the second king of Israel. *Leonidas*, a Greek hero, king of Sparta, slain at Thermopylæ, 480 B.C. *Valerius*, Publius Valerius, supposed to have been the colleague of Brutus in the first year of the Roman Republic. (Marcus Valerius was a distinguished Roman general). *Barbarossa* (Italian "Redbeard"), a Mohammedan corsair, who conquered and became ruler of Algiers about 1517. He was succeeded by his brother Khair-ed-Din. *Cœur de Lion* (French, *Cœur de Leon*, Lion-hearted), a name given, on account of their valor, to Richard I. of England, and Louis VIII. of France. *Dandolo*, Andrea Dandolo (1310–1354), Doge of Venice, 1343–1354. The reference may be to Enrico Dandolo (1108–1205), Doge of Venice, 1192–1205, as both were first successful soldiers, then chiefs or head of government. *Frederick the Great*, Frederick II. (1712–1786), king of Prussia. It will be observed that Ruskin

gives nine names and eight nationalities. Which Cœur de Leon does he refer to?

209 : 20. In connection with this paragraph, read *Sesame and Lilies*, paragraph 10.

210 : 19. The fathers have eaten sour grapes, etc. See *Jer.* xxxi, 29; *Ezek.* xviii, 2. How may we know that the allusion is to Ezekiel?

“What time I hear the storming sea,

Blood of my ancestor stirs in me;

* * * * *

Thrustararorum was his name,

The brave old fisher from whom I came!

* * * * *

With brawny arm he hauled the net,

And I see in my hands the mark of it yet.”

— HENRY NEHEMIAH DODGE, *Mystery of the West*, Boston, 1906,
“Foreword,” lines 1, 2, 13, 14, 41, 42.

211 : 3. **Giotto.** Giotto di Bondone (1276–1337), an Italian painter, architect, and sculptor. — **Dürer.** Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528); a German painter and engraver.

211 : 19. **Geneva . . . Mont Blanc.** *Geneva*, the capital of the canton of Geneva, Switzerland. *Mont Blanc* (French), White Mountain, the highest mountain of the Alps. Its summit is crossed by the French-Italian boundary.

211 : 31. **Voiron.** A mountain range in Haute-Savoie, France, ten miles east of Geneva, Switzerland.

212 : 21. **Wonder and sorrow concerning life and death,** etc. Possibly this “inheritance” is as much from Bishop Ulfilas, the teacher and apostle of the Goths about the middle of the fourth century, as from the “first sea kings.” What is the inheritance of the Celtic soul?

212 : 29. The pure heart it will make pure. Compare *Titus* i, 15 : "Unto the pure all things are pure." See also the title-page of Abram Lent Smith's *Lava Fires*, New York 1888 : —

"Here's a truth that will endure,
"To the pure all things are pure.'"

214 : 14. "Stones of Venice." Published, Vol. I, 1851 Vols. II, III, 1853.

216 : 1. Useful black servants to the Americans. Wh. black? Do the Americans now buy their coal from England? Even brick used to be brought to America from England. Old Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia, and "Old Pohick," near Mount Vernon, the churches Washington attended, were built of brick that came from England.

216 : 13. The ignoble. Surely Ruskin does not mean to refer to Americans as "ignoble." For the sake of Charles Eliot Norton alone he would have spared America this thrust — even had it been in his mind. — **Fire balls.** Bullets and cannon-balls.

216 : 24. In justice only she judges and makes war. Compare *Is.* xxiii, 5.

216 : 30. I will mock you, etc. *Prov.* i, 26, 27. King James's version : "and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind."

216 : 33. *Dies Iræ.* The day of wrath (ire); the Judgment Day.

217 : 7. Cries of peace, where there is no peace. See *Jer.* vi, 14; viii, 11.

217 : 33. Clothed, and in your right minds. See *Mark* v, 15; *Luke* v, 35.

219 : 18. But when men are good and true . . . stronger kings. Read, in connection with this, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 44.

222 : 12. **Truism.** The truth is so obvious as to make a statement unnecessary.

223 : 11. **Job . . . ash heap.** *Job* ii, 8.

226 : 23. **Provence.** An ancient government of south-eastern France.

227 : 22. **Petroleum** cannot possibly be in a hurry to arrive anywhere. Is this humor?

227 : 33. A wholesome human employment is the first and best method of education, mental as well as bodily. Judged by the ever multiplying agricultural, mechanical, and technical schools in America, and elsewhere, the world has adopted Ruskin's view.

228 : 16. **Riband-makers.** Ribbon-makers.

228 : 24. **Navvies.** Laborers on canals or other public works.

232 : 3. **Unguents.** Ointments.

232 : 8. **Returning to cool English.** Notice Ruskin's remark, paragraph 132, concerning "a violent little fragment of an undelivered lecture."

234 : 5. **Three different ways of writing.** Note Ruskin's three ways of writing, remembering that these notes (1 to 7) belong to his third way or manner.

234 : 18. **Albert Dürer.** See note on *Albrecht Dürer*. *Albrecht* is the German for Albert.

234 : 23. **Aglaia's cestus.** In Greek mythology, *Aglaia* is one of the three graces. *Cestus*, a girdle, particularly that of Aphrodite (Venus), which gave the wearer the power of exciting love. In § 42, "Athena in the Heavens," Ruskin speaks of his essay, "The Cestus of Aglaia."

234 : 25. **This same opinion, etc.** Compare Browning's *Andrea del Sarto*, line 69.

235 : 10. **Cinderella.** In a fairy tale; she is a beautiful girl who drudges for her sisters and stepmother.

235 : 13. *Marchande des Modes*. Milliner, merchant of fashions.

235 : 27. *Null' altra pianta*, etc. H. F. Cary's translation gives this in *Purgatory*, I, 102-104:—

“ No other plant,
Cover'd with leaves, or harden'd in its stalk,
There lives. . . .”

236 : 33. *Aladdin's palace*. See the story in *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and learn the meaning of the sayings, “To finish Aladdin's window,” and “To exchange old lamps for new ones.”

237 : 6. *Siddim*. A valley mentioned in *Gen.* xiv, 3, 8, 10.

237 : 11. *They had brick for stone*, etc. Exact quotation of the latter part of *Gen.* xi, 3.

237 : 21. *Insolent . . . solemnity*. *In* = not; *solens* = accustomed; *insolent* = not accustomed. *Sollus* = all, entire; *annus* = a year; *solemnity* = that which takes place annually. See note on *philologists*, § 28, p. 32.

238 : 2. *Upside-down, Babel*. The swallow's nest.

238 : 5. “*Lor via é lor fortuna*.” Their way and their fortune.

238 : 19. *Thomas Bewick*. An English wood-engraver (1753-1828). — *George Cruikshank*. An English artist and caricaturist (1792-1878).

238 : 25. *Wolds of Tyne*. Woods on the river Tyne, in the north of England.

239 : 33. *Delphian, Vestal . . . cosmic*. *Delphian*, of or pertaining to Delphi. (See note, § 24, p. 164.) *Vestal* of or pertaining to Vesta, the virgin goddess of the hearth. *Cosmic*, having reference to universal law or order.

240 : 4. “*Home, Sweet Home*.” It is said that John Howard Payne, when writing this song, had in mind the

home of Miss Mary Harden, Athens, Georgia, which he visited in October, 1835. Afterwards, by letter, he made her this proposal of marriage:—

“I am conscious of my own unworthiness of the boon which I desire from you, and cannot, dare not, ask you to give a decisive answer in my favor now, only permit me to hope that at some future time I may have the happiness of believing my affections returned, but at the same time I conjure you to remember in making your decision that it is in your power to render me happy or miserable.”

— Extract from the *Annals of Athens, Georgia*.

240 : 7. Sebastian Bach. Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), one of the greatest composers of Church music. He was born in Eisenach, and died in Leipsic.

240 : 18. La Robbia. Luca della Robbia, whose real name was Luca di Simone di Marco della Robbia (1400–1482), a celebrated Italian sculptor. His son Andrea, and his grandsons, Giovanni and Girolamo, were noted for their work in terra-cotta.

241 : 26. Crackling of thorns under the pot. See *Eccl.* vii, 6.

242 : 26. “With puissant words, and murmurs made to bless.” Milton, *Arcades*, line 60.

“This undisturbed song of pure consent,
Aye sung before the sapphire-colored throne
To him that sits thereon.”

— MILTON, *Ode: At a Solemn Music*, lines 6–8.

243 : 21. χρυσή περόνη. χρυσή, golden; περόνη, buckle.

245 : 10. Northern hands and eyes are, of course, never so subtle as Southern. It is interesting to make a study of the degrees of latitude that have furnished the best poets,

orators, artists, statesmen, warriors, etc. Climate and contour affect not only the body—hand, eye, voice; but also physical and mental energy. See what is said of Luini, § 157, and of Turner, § 158.

247 : 33. Cretin. A degenerate, deformed idiot.

248 : 29. And then you are a man. Mark Antony says of Brutus (*Julius Cæsar*, V, v, 73–75):—

“His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, ‘This was a man!’”

Read Burns's poem: *For a' That and a' That*:—

The rank is but the guinea stamp
* * * * *
A man's a man for a' that.

249 : 14. Habits of swine . . . taste of husks, etc. The allusion is to the story of the Prodigal Son, *Luke* xv, 11–23, particularly to verse 16.

250 : 21. Athanasian creed. One of the three great creeds of the Christian Church, dating from the sixth century. The name is from Saint Athanasius, a father of the Church, who was the chief defender of the orthodox faith against Arianism.

250 : 25. Mr. Mill. John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), an English philosophical writer, logician, and economist.

251 : 10. Athol . . . Glen Tilt. *Athol*, a district in northern Perthshire, Scotland. *Glen Tilt*, a valley in northern Perthshire, Scotland. The road follows the river Tilt through the glen.

251 : 15. Loch Katrine. A lake in southwestern Perthshire, 25 miles north of Glasgow. This lake furnishes the water-supply of Glasgow. “Ellen's Isle,” Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, is located in this lake.

251 : 19. Dean and Chapter. *Dean*, an ecclesiastical dignitary, subordinate to a bishop, and the chief officer of a chapter, which is an assembly of monks, prebends, or other clergymen.

251 : 27. Castaly. The English form of *Castalia*, an ancient fountain on the slope of Mount Parnassus, Greece, sacred to the Muses and Apollo.

251 : 32. If the blind lead the blind, etc. *Matt.* xv, 14; *Luke* vi, 39.

253 : 7. Luini. Bernardino Luini (or Luvini), an Italian painter of the Lombard school. He was born about 1475, and died about 1535.

253 : 13. Angelico. Fra Giovanni da Fiesole (1387–1455), an Italian painter of religious subjects.

253 : 14. Veronese. Paul (Paolo Cagliari) Veronese (1528–1588), an Italian painter of the Venetian school.

254 : 1. Lugano. Town and lake in the canton of Ticino, Switzerland. — **Saronno.** A town in the province of Milan, Italy. The Sanctuary of the Virgin, a church of the sixteenth century, has a series of frescoes by Luini.

254 : 9. Milanese school. The school of Milan.

254 : 30. His instincts in early infancy were warped into toleration of evil, or even into delight in it. This reminds one of Pope's lines (*Essay on Man*, lines 217–220):—

“Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen:
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

256 : 4. Haydon. Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846), an English historical painter. His life was full of struggle and disappointment, and ended with suicide.

256 : 6. Blake. William Blake (1757–1827), an English poet, engraver, and painter.

256 : Note. French Emperor (1869). Louis Napoleon.

THE HERCULES OF CAMARINA

257 : 19. Camarina. An ancient city on the southern coast of Italy, 45 miles southwest of Syracuse.

258 : 18. Donatello, Velasquez. *Donatello*, Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi (1386–1466), a Florentine sculptor, and one of the leaders in restoring sculpture in Italy. *Velasquez*, Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velasquez, or Velázquez (*cir.* 1599–1660), a celebrated Spanish painter.

259 : 3. Correggio. Antonio Allegri da Correggio (1494–1534), an Italian painter of the Lombard school.

259 : 5. Liker. More like a foot.

260 : 8. Argos. A city in Argolis, Greece. It produced many noted sculptors.

260 : 9. Corinth. A city of Greece, situated near the Isthmus and Gulf of Corinth.

260 : 10. Thurium. Or Thuri, an ancient city of Magna Græcia, situated near the modern city of Terranova. — **The Siren Ligeia.** *Siren*, from the Greek, means to pipe or whistle. The Siren Ligeia, on the coin, as in other works of art, is represented as having the head, arms, and bust of a young woman, and the wings and lower part of the body of a bird. What American writer is the author of a “grotesque arabesque” story with the title “Ligeia”?

260 : 11. Fountain of Arethusa. The name of a spring in ancient Greece, on the island of Ortygia, in the harbor of Syracuse. Other ancient Grecian springs bore the same name. See Milton’s *Lycidas*, line 85. — **Terina and Syracuse.** *Terina*, a town of the Brutii, a people of Italy. *Syracuse*, the capital of the province of Syracuse, on the island of Ortygia, Sicily.

260 : 15. Ænus. Or Ænos, now Eno, a city of Thrace, at the eastern mouth of the Hebrus.

260 : 16. Bacchus of Thasos. See note on *Bacchus*, § 70, p. 74. Thasos, or Thasus, a small island in the Ægean Sea on the coast of Thrace.

260 : 17. Pomatum'd. Dressed with pomade, a perfumed ointment originally made of apples.

260 : 19. Apollo of [Clazomenæ. *Clazomenæ*, an ancient Ionian city of Asia Minor, near the modern Vurla.

260 : 24. Venus of Melos. *Melos*, Italian *Milo*, an island in the monarchy of Cyclades, Greece. It is noted for the Venus of Melos (*Venus di Milo*) found in the ruins of the city of Melos.

261 : 22. Wild writhing . . . longing for the moon . . . agony of eyes . . . fiddle-strings. Pretty plain talk, but probably delivered in a half-humorous way.

262 : 30. Pons asinorum. Bridge of asses.

264 : 1. Felis Leo. Latin *feles*, *felis*, a cat; *leo*, a lion.

264 : 3. Typhon and Echidna. *Typhon*, a monster giant with an hundred heads. He made war against the gods, and was put to flight by Jupiter's thunderbolts. See Milton's *Christ's Nativity*, line 226. *Echidna*, the mother of dragons, Gorgons, the Nemean Lion, and all other adversaries.

264 : 5. Cerberus . . . the Hydra of Lerna. See note on *Cerberus*, § 23, p. 162. *Lerna*, a country of Argolis, celebrated for a grove and lake where the Danaides are said to have thrown the heads of their husbands.

266 : 22. Zeuxis. A celebrated painter, born at Heraclea. He flourished about 468 B.C. He was the disciple of Apollodorus, and contemporary with Parrhasius.

267 : 19. Holbein. Hans Holbein — "The Younger" (1497–1543), a German historical and portrait painter and wood engraver, son of Hans Holbein, "The Elder."

267 : 33. Crown of Parsley first and then of the Laurel.

In the Olympic games, the victor's prize was a wreath of wild olive; in the Pythian, the prizes for musical excellence were gold and silver, for gymnastic exercises a crown of laurel; in the Nemean, at first a wreath of olive, afterwards of parsley; in the Isthmian, at first a crown of pine, afterwards of parsley, and still later the crown of pine was resumed. What is the origin of the term *Poet Laureate*?

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