wanted dinner here. But they wouldn't touch my wheat, an' they talked silly. Then they went off ter the county seat an' got out papers sayin' I was crazy, an' was starvin' my folks. They tuk me in, an' my wife staid here, an' prayed for me. The jedge asked me lots of questions. Then he said I was sound as a dollar on every subject 'cept wheat, an' as that was my religion I had a perfect right to my views."

The school-teacher thought deeply. Suddenly he questioned the man sweetly and yet earnestly: "And was that all the judge said to you?"

"Well, no," the man replied. "He tuk me off an' tells me that prob'ly wheat was good for me, but that women an' children needed more variety in their food, an' sometimes warm things. I told him that was not onpossible. An' I come home, arter the papers writ me up, an' put my picture in, an' I found that my wife had been poundin' up some wheat an' cookin' it, jest as medicine for the children, 'cause they had colds. I didn't mind it much for a few days, because women folks can't be martyrs to their faith."

The school-teacher thought of the mighty army of saintly women in all the ages who have gone to the fire, the sword, the wild beasts, the thirsty mob, for that which they believed. He looked at the pale and sober-faced wife, and suddenly he held out his hands to her: "I want to tell you that you are a noble woman, doing your best under difficulties." Meanwhile the man went ahead with his third bowl of wheat, and the children went out to their raft.

After a while the school-teacher took the poor eager-eyed wheat-reformer off by himself, and spent the afternoon in listening to him and persuading him that all reforms, especially such great ones, moved very slowly, hair by hair; and that women and children, as the wise judge said, often required more variety, and might even (medicinally) need it hot. The art of friendly and affectionate persuasion when used for worthwhile ends is one of the finest of all arts, and it was a happy school-teacher who came back to the cabin about sunset, with the man's concession to mortal weakness. Thereupon, inviting wife and children to his little boat, he spread out the contents of his locker; he made tea for the woman over his spirit lamp, and gave her nearly a pound of (medicinal) tea; he filled her and the children up with milk, bread and butter, cakes, cheese, and —audacity beyond speech—cold ham. Then he sat on the bank and talked long and earnestly with the woman, telling her what he had said to her husband. Then he kissed little Lily, and whispered that he would come back some day (which he truly did). Lastly, he hoisted sail and went out of the slough, waving his hat to the reformer who stood tall and dark against the afterglow, on the end of the island.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

BOOKS

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson. With an Introduction by John T. Morse, Jr., and with Illustrations. Three volumes. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. Price $10.00 net.

These three handsomely printed, bound and illustrated volumes are contributions of great value to historical, political and biographical literature. John T. Morse, Jr., a historical scholar and a biographical author of authority hardly exaggerates their importance in calling them, in the somewhat elaborate introduction which he has furnished for them, "invaluable." He rightly remarks, too, that "the true function of a diary is to talk to us about individuals—not to instruct us as to events." This function the diary of Mr. Welles performs admirably—not humorously or chattily but entertainingly and interestingly in the best sense, and with an intenseness and seriousness which carries conviction in many cases even when one's predilections and prior impressions were different from his. At least that has been my experience with these books.

Mr. Welles was during eight years a Cabinet minister. No other such period in the country's history was so full of danger, stress and change; no other, not even the formative period, more important in the development of a national character and polity. Its statesmen and politicians—and since it was a time of war, its soldiers and sailors—will always be, so long as the history of the United States is read, among the most interesting characters in that history. And Mr. Welles describes them in this confidential diary, written while he was in daily contact with them and in contact with them in a position affording him the best of opportunities to note their qualities, to judge their motives, and to appraise their acts. Such a record could not fail to be interesting whatever the personal qualifications as an accurate judge of character or events the writer might have or lack. But in the case of this diary the judge was eminently qualified for his work—sane, observant, shrewd, unsentimental and self-controlled. In a comparatively recent biography of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Welles is dismissed in the sketch of Lincoln's first Cabinet appointees as "a rather watery character." The gross inapplicability of this characterization is not excused by the fact that this diary had not then been published, for the Diary only emphasizes what men who were well informed of the history of the Civil War knew before, that the Navy Department was the one department of the government which can be said to have been uniformly "honestly and fearlessly" administered. Mr. Welles, in closing

his diary, with entire justice applies these characterizations to the manner of the discharge of his tremendous duties. Mr. Morse in his introduction, I think with equal justice, says that posterity will add thereto "honorably and efficiently."

Sagacious in choosing subordinates and commanders, resolute in resisting the influence of wealth or of social and political power in the conduct of the Department's work, of unwavering justice in recognizing and rewarding merit, but not without tact and judgment in the treatment of those who, inefficient in one position, might be made useful in another, Mr. Welles, by his management of the Navy Department, earned a right to a large share not only of the credit of practically creating a navy, but also of the glories of the naval battles of Hampton Roads, of New Orleans and Mobile Bay, and of the really controlling cause of the Confederacy's defeat,—the maintenance of a strict blockade under dangerous and difficult conditions.

Mr. Welles was of Puritan stock, a New England Yankee very distinctively and characteristically, with the Puritan conscience, the Puritan stubbornness of mind and the independence, firmness and integrity which go with the best specimens of the type. Even the sanest and most judicially minded of this kind of men are apt, once having become fixed in opinions, to entertain likes and especially perhaps dislikes which can hardly be distinguished from prejudices. Mr. Welles was no exception. He was an anti-Nebraska-bill Democrat who came into the new Republican party solely because that party was formed to oppose the extension of slavery into the Territories. On the questions of centralization as opposed to State rights, on questions of finance and currency, on the subject of our foreign relations and of all those matters of policy which originally divided the Whig and Democratic parties he remained a convinced Democrat until his death, and there was never absent from his mind in the political aspects of his public life this distinction between himself and most of the colleagues with whom he was cooperating. Again and again when referring to those colleagues and his differences with them, in this diary in which he was setting down his inmost thoughts and convictions, he repeats in different phrases but to the same effect, the idea he once expresses thus tersely: "It is the old story—they are Whigs, I am a Democrat." Not only had he been all his adult life up to the organization of the Republican party, a publicist and journalist Democratic in the partisan sense, but he had been a democrat in the wider sense,—not perhaps a democrat as that term is construed by the advanced radical of today who would tolerate no political distinctions between races, colors or religions,—but a democrat sufficiently fixed in his ideas to oppose all special privileges to favored classes, to fear the entrenched power of wealth and place-holding, to believe in equal political rights and opportunities before the law for all who once became citizens, and to hold in contempt the fanciful and romantic notions about birth and breeding which he insisted were at the root of a false sentiment among Southerners which led to their clinging to the institution of slavery and eventually to their rebellion against the national government.

But it is tracing through this diary the influence of his principles in the partisan Democratic sense on his own course in the Cabinets of Lincoln and Johnson and their influence also to a great extent on the course and actions of the Johnson administration, that chiefly interests me and I feel sure will many of its readers. From first to last Welles distrusted and disliked Seward, although Seward and he were the only men of Lincoln's Cabinet who remained throughout the Johnson administration the advisers of Mr. Johnson. But Mr. Seward was a Whig and an opportunist in political matters, a trimmer and an intriguer and a compromiser. Mr. Welles was none of these things. He was a nationalist although not a centralizer. He did not believe in the right of secession, and not believing in the right he denied the possibility. This idea tinctured his whole view of the proper policies to be pursued both in Lincoln's and in Johnson's time. In his opinion the men who were in arms against the United States were individually insurgents and rebels. They had no justification in the void and illegal action of their State legislatures, and could make no valid excuses for their conduct because of it. Belligerent rights were to be accorded to them only so far as the actual necessities of "civilized warfare" (if there be such a thing) imperatively required it; and meanwhile foreign governments should be notified by the United States of this position, and their action in according belligerent rights to simple rebels vigorously resented so far as the immediate national safety would permit. As a military measure, emancipation was expedient and just; but once the insurgents had laid down their arms and there were no rebels in the field, complete amnesty to the rank and file and permission to "indestructible States" immediately to resume their place in the councils of an "indivisible Union" were the only logical and sound policies for the government to pursue towards its misguided citizens.

With the idea that the result of the war in the emancipation of the Negro must be safeguarded against the undeniable attempts by the ruling race of the South to frustrate it, he had but scant sympathy. Not that he himself sympathized with the "Black Codes" of the South or desired to see the Negro unjustly treated, but like Douglas before the war, so Welles after the war refused to put the moral issue before the political one.

As the States were still States, and had the right to self-government and to regulate their own suffrage laws and their own social arrangements, it

must be left to the softening and civilizing effects of time and renewed friendly intercourse to make the Southerners see the better way. Welles opposed therefore the military government of the States lately in rebellion, and the imposition of any terms on the resumption of representation by those States in the House and Senate and opposed the submission and adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. It was the logical and natural position for one with his views to take if he would not recognize that the country was "confronting a condition and not a theory." But as I have said Mr. Welles was never an opportunist. In matters which seemed to him of principle he was as uncompromising as a Scotch Covenanter. President Johnson's policy concerning reconstruction, if it were not in its essential features the product of Mr. Welles's counsel and advice, was at least firmly upheld and confirmed by it. So much the Diary leaves in no doubt. Carl Schurz in his Autobiography has given the best defense that I know of of the other side of the deplorable controversy between Congress and the President from 1865 to 1868. His summing up of the whole matter is that the war, all Constitutional theories aside, had imposed a duty of honor as well as of policy on the government. "The Union," he says, "could not consent either in point of honor or of sound policy to the restoration of the late rebel States to the functions of self government and to full participation in the National Government as long as that restoration was reasonably certain to put the freedom of the emancipated slaves or the security of the Southern Union men or the rights of the public creditors into serious jeopardy. It could not be absolved from its duty of honor as well as of policy by any Constitutional theory. It found itself in an extra-Constitutional situation, a situation of moral duress. It had to perform its manifest duty, even if it could be done only by extra-Constitutional means." And Mr. Schurz justified at the time, and justified later when writing his memoirs, the giving of suffrage *en bloc* to the freedmen on the ground that it was the only practicable method of protecting their liberty.

Mr. Schurz deemed it probable that Mr. Seward was responsible for Johnson's views of reconstruction. This has been the general opinion, but it is sure to be changed as the Diary of Mr. Welles becomes widely known. But while Mr. Welles thought Mr. Johnson's policy sound and Constitutional, and insisted that it was the continuation and reflection of Mr. Lincoln's (for whom Mr. Welles always held the most loyal affection and admiration), and although he personally liked and respected Johnson, he deplored the President's mistakes in the manner and method of appealing to the country and his lack of dignity in conducting his fight with Congress.

This did not prevent him, however, from too sweeping condemnation of all the President's opponents. In the stress and bitterness of the conflict he confounded the motives of men like Schurz, Trumbull and Fessenden with those of the politicians and place holders who unfortunately constituted the majority of the leading "exclusionists and radicals" as he calls them, and who, as Mr. Morse in his introduction says, were "talking of the Negro, but thinking only of votes and of the retention of political office."

I have no space here to discuss the opinions of men and measures which Mr. Welles from day to day, often in pungent and picturesque phrase confided to this confidential diary. I can only assure the readers of The Public that these books contain a wonderful picture of things "behind the curtain" during the drama which interested every man in the momentous years in which they were written. Some reputations will suffer and some be distinctly improved by their publication. They are, as I began this notice by saying, of distinct value to the seeker for historical truth.

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The need of a "Rational Almanac." By Moses B. Cotsworth. (Box 211, Victoria, B. C.) From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Volume II, Section III. 1909.

Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1911. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1912.

The Social Center Movement. Address by Josiah Strong, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 302. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

Lead Poisoning in Industries. Bulletin Number 95—July, 1911, of the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Social Center: A Means of Common Understanding. Address by Woodrow Wilson, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 306. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

Prevention and Reporting of Industrial Injuries. American Labor Legislation Review, Volume I, Number 4. Published by the American Association for Labor Legislation, 1 Madison Ave., New York. Price, $1.00.

An Open Letter to the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the Causes of Strikes and Bank Failures. By Arthur Kitson. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Bedford St., Strand, W. C., London. Price, sixpence.

Lessons Learned in Rochester with Reference to Civic and Social Center Development. Address by George M. Forbes, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 301. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1911. Price, 5 cents.

A Report to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Cambridge [Massachusetts] upon a Comprehensive Plan for the Development and Improvement of the Streets and the Disposal of Refuse, June 26, 1911. Printed for the Department under the direction of the City Clerk.