

the decision of this or that battle, not on the occupation of this or that city, but on the power of the colonists to wear out the patience, exhaust the resources, and tame the pride of Great Britain. The King, when Lord North threatened in 1778 to resign unless the war were discontinued, expressed his determination to lose his crown rather than acknowledge the independence of the rebels; he was as much opposed to that acknowledgment in 1783 as 1778; and it was only by a pressure from without, and when the expenditures for the war had reached a hundred million of pounds, that a reluctant consent was forced from that small, spiteful mind. Now there was undoubtedly a vast majority of the American people unalterably resolved on independence, but they were spread through thirteen colonies, were not without mutual jealousies, and were represented in a Congress whose delegated powers were insufficient to prosecute war with vigor. The problem was, how to combine the strength, allay the suspicions, and sustain the patriotism of the people during a contest peculiarly calculated to distract and weaken their energies. Washington solved this problem by the true geometry of indomitable personal character. He was the soul of the Revolution, felt at its center, and felt through all its parts, as an uniting, organizing, animating power. Comprehensive as America itself, through him, and through him alone, could the strength of America act. He was security in defeat, cheer in despondency, light in darkness, hope in despair, the one man in whom all could have confidence, the one man whose sun-like integrity and capacity shot rays of light and heat through everything they shone upon. He would not stoop to thwart the machinations of envy; he would not stoop to contradict the fictions and forgeries of calumny; and he did not need to do it. Before the effortless might of his

character they stole away, and withered, and died; and through no instrumentality of his did their abject authors become immortal as the maligners of Washington.

To do justice to Washington's military career we must consider that he had to fuse the hardest individual materials into a mass of national force, which was to do battle not only with disciplined armies, but with frost, famine, and disease. Missing the rapid succession of brilliant engagements between forces almost equal, and the dramatic storm and swift consummation of events which European campaigns have made familiar, there are those who see in him only a slow, sure, and patient commander, without readiness of combination or energy of movement. But the truth is the quick eye of his prudent audacity seized occasions to deliver blows with the prompt felicity of Marlborough or Wellington. He evinced no lack of the highest energy and skill when he turned back the tide of defeat at Monmouth, or in the combinations which preceded the siege of Yorktown, or in the rapid and masterly movements by which, at a period when he was considered utterly ruined, he swooped suddenly down upon Trenton, broke up all the enemy's posts on the Delaware, and snatched Philadelphia from a superior and victorious foe. Again, some eulogists have caricatured him as a passionless, imperturbable, "proper" man; but at the battle of Monmouth General Lee was privileged to discover that from those firm, calm lips could leap words hotter and more smiting than the hot June sun that smote down upon their heads. Indeed, Washington's incessant and various activity answered to the strange complexity of his position, as the heart and brain of a Revolution, which demanded not merely generalship, but the highest qualities of the statesman, the diplomatist, and the patriot. As we view him in his long seven years' struggle with the perilous

difficulties of his situation, his activity constantly entangled in a mesh of conflicting considerations; with his eye fixed on Congress, on the States, and on the people, as well as on the enemy; compelled to compose sectional quarrels, to inspire faltering patriotism, and to triumph over all the forces of stupidity and selfishness; compelled to watch, and wait, and warn, and forbear, and endure, as well as to act; compelled, amid vexations and calamities which would sting the dullest sensibilities into madness, to transmute the fire of the fiercest passion into an element of fortitude; and, especially, as we view him coming out of that terrible and obscure scene of trial and temptation, without any bitterness in his virtue, or hatred in his patriotism, but full of the loftiest wisdom and serenest power; as we view all this in the order of its history, that placid face grows gradually sublime and in its immortal repose looks rebuke to our presumptuous eulogium of the genius which breathes through it!

We all know that toward the end of the wearying struggle, and when his matchless moderation and invincible fortitude were about to be crowned with the hallowing glory which liberty piously reserves for her triumphant saints and martyrs, that a committee of his officers proposed to make him king; and we sometimes do him the cruel injustice to say that his virtue overcame the temptation. He was not knave enough, or fool enough, to be tempted by such criminal baubles. What was his view of the proposal? He who had never sought popularity but whom popularity had sought; he who had entered public life not for the pleasure of exercising power but for the satisfaction of performing duty; he to be insulted and outraged by such an estimate of his services and such a conception of his character,—why, it could provoke in him nothing but an instantaneous burst of indignation and

abhorrence!—and in his reply you will find that these emotions strain the language of reproof beyond the stern courtesy of military decorum.

The war ended, and our independence acknowledged, the time came when American liberty, threatened by anarchy, was to be reorganized in the constitution of the United States. As president of the convention which framed the constitution, Washington powerfully contributed to its acceptance by the States. The people were uncertain as to the equity of its compromise of opposing interests and adjustment of clashing claims. By this eloquent and learned man they were advised to adopt it; by that eloquent and learned man they were advised to reject it; but there, at the end of the instrument itself, and first among many eminent and honored names, was the bold and honest signature of George Washington, a signature which always carried with it the integrity and the influence of his character; and that was an argument stronger even than any furnished by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. The constitution was accepted; and Washington, whose fame, to use Allston's familiar metaphor, was ever the shadow cast by his excellence, was of course unanimously elected President. This is no place to set forth the glories of his civil career. It is sufficient to say that placed amid circumstances where ignorance, vanity, or rashness would have worked ruinous mischief and disunion, he consolidated the government. One little record in his diary, just before he entered upon his office, is a key to the spirit of his administration. His journey from Mount Vernon to the seat of government was a triumphal procession. At New York the air was alive with that tumult of popular applause which has poisoned the integrity by intoxicating the pride of so many eminent generals and statesmen. What was the feeling of Washington? Did he have a misan-

throe's cynical contempt for the people's honest tribute of gratitude? Did he have a demagogue's fierce elation in being the object of the people's boundless admiration? No. His sensations, he tells us, were as painful as they were pleasing. His lofty and tranquil mind thought of the possible reverse of the scene after all his exertions to do good. The streaming flags, the loud acclamations, the thunder of the cannon, and the shrill music piercing through all other sounds,—these sent his mind sadly forward to the solitude of his closet, where, with the tender and beautiful austerity of his character, he was perhaps to sacrifice the people's favor for the people's safety, and to employ every granted power of a constitution he so perfectly understood in preserving peace, in restraining faction, and in giving energy to all those constitutional restraints on popular passions, by which the wisdom of to-morrow rules the recklessness of to-day.

In reviewing a life thus passed in enduring hardship and confronting peril, fretted by constant cares, and worn by incessant drudgery, we are at first saddened by the thought that such heroic virtue should have been purchased by the sacrifice of happiness. But we wrong Washington in bringing his enjoyments to the test of our low standards. He has everything for us to venerate, nothing for our commiseration. He tasted of that joy which springs from a sense of great responsibilities willingly incurred and great duties magnanimously performed. To him was given the deep bliss of seeing the austere countenance of inexorable duty melt into approving smiles, and to him was realized the poet's rapturous vision of her celestial compensations:

"Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace,  
Nor know we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face."

It has been truly said that "men of intemperate minds cannot be free; their passions forge their fetters;" but no clank of any chain, whether of avarice or ambition, gave the least harshness to the movement of Washington's ample mind. In him America has produced at least one man whose free soul was fit to be liberty's chosen home. As was his individual freedom so should be our national freedom. We have seen all along that American liberty in its sentiment and idea is no opinionated, will-strong, untamable passion, bursting all bounds of moral restraint and hungering after anarchy and license, but a creative and beneficent energy, organizing itself in laws, professions, trades, arts, institutions. From its extreme practical character however it is liable to contract a taint which has long vitiated English freedom. To the Anglo-Saxon mind liberty is not apt to be the enthusiast's mountain nymph, with cheeks wet with morning dew and clear eyes that mirror the heavens, but rather is she an old dowager lady, fatly invested in commerce and manufactures, and peevishly fearful that enthusiasm will reduce her establishment and panics cut off her dividends. Now the moment property becomes timid, agrarianism becomes bold; and the industry which liberty has created, liberty must animate, or it will be plundered by the impudent and rapacious idleness its slavish fears incite. Our political institutions again are but the body of which liberty is the soul; their preservation depends on their being continually inspired by the light and heat of the sentiment and idea whence they sprung; and when we timorously suspend, according to the latest political fashion, the truest and dearest maxims of our freedom at the call of expediency or the threat of passion, when we convert politics into a mere game of interests, unhallowed by a single great and unselfish principle,—we may be sure that our worst passions are busy

"forging our fetters," that we are proposing all those intricate problems which red republicanism so swiftly solves, and giving manifest destiny pertinent hints to shout new anthems of atheism over victorious rapine. The liberty which our fathers planted and for which they sturdily contended and under which they grandly conquered, is a rational and temperate but brave and unyielding freedom, the august mother of institutions, the hardy nurse of enterprise, the sworn ally of justice and order; a liberty that lifts her awful and rebuking face equally upon the cowards who would sell and the braggarts who would pervert her precious gifts of rights and obligations; and this liberty we are solemnly bound at all hazards to protect, at any sacrifice to preserve, and by all just means to extend, against the unbridled excesses of that ugly and brazen hag, originally scorned and detested by those who unwisely gave her infancy a home, but which now, in her enormous growth and favored deformity, reels with bloodshot eyes and dishevelled tresses and words of unshamed slavishness, into halls where liberty should sit throned!

## LORD PLAYFAIR



**L**YON PLAYFAIR, first Lord Playfair, eminent English chemist and statesman, the son of an inspector-general of hospitals at Bengal, was born at Meerut, India, May 21, 1819, and died at London, May 29, 1898. He was educated at the universities of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, London, and Giessen, Germany. His interest was attracted from medicine to chemistry, and after he had worked at the laboratory of Baron Liebig, in 1858, he became professor of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh. Previously, he had been appointed, by Sir Robert Peel, member of the royal commission on public health, which did much for modern sanitation. In successive years he was a famine commissioner to Ireland and a member of many other committees of public utility. He helped to reorganize the civil service after a method which was called "the Playfair scheme." Besides serving as professor in the school of mines and inspector-general of the government schools of science, he was elected member of Parliament, and sat continuously until 1892, when he was raised to the peerage. Among other posts held by him were those of postmaster-general (1873-74), vice-president of the council (1886), lord-in-waiting to the late Queen Victoria, and was moreover member of the Legion of Honor and of many other British and foreign orders. He took a great interest in education and published several treatises, among them one on "Primary and Technical Education" (1870), another "On Teaching Universities, and Examining Boards" (1872), and still another on "Universities in their Relation to Professional Education" (1873).

### THE EVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

DELIVERED IN 1894

**R**ECENTLY the London University Commission, of which I was a member, has made its report, and during its sitting we received much evidence in favor of the University Extension scheme, as well as some evidence hostile to it. I think the opposition arose from a misunderstanding of its origin and purposes, and upon these I should like to address you. The extension of university knowledge and educational methods to the people who are unable to attend the university courses during the day, is one of the processes of evolution of popular education which has been trying to organize itself for about a century.

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