CIVILIZATION GIBBETED.

From the N. Y. Tribune The discussion in Michigan of the policy of restoring the public Thuggism, whose abolition has, it seems to us, worked well, returns upon us some old considerations. Judge Cooley, Judge Graves, and Governor Blair, though lawyers, and, like most lawyers of our day, brought up at the foot of the gallows, have been wise enough to see that nothing can give to a performance essentially murderous, even when operated by the hands of the law, the dignity of decency. It costs society, to say the least, as little to abstain from killing as to kill. Whether we shall do violence to our common nature by examples of public murder; whether we shall gibbet our own civilization; whether we shall take the brute method of dealing with immortal souls—these are the obvious questions. Let us appeal, however, to another experience than our own:-

In 1774 the Grand Duke of Tuscany virtually abolished the death penalty, and in 1786 it was repealed by statute. Re-enacted in 1806, it remained almost inoperative till about 1830, when the sight of two executions caused a disgust which effectually banished it. Though made legal once more, during a period of revolution, it was never enforced, and its abolition, subsequently recognized by the Italian code, still continues. British writers, lately commenting on these facts, have failed to call to mind the admirable share in this great reform of the Marquis Beccaria, the father of the movement to put an end to public legalized murder. The Grand Duke's statement of the effects of the reform recalls some of the most practical arguments of Beccaria. "The mitigation of punishment," he remarked, "joined to a most scrupulous attention to prevent crimes, and also a great despatch in the trials, together with a certainty of punishment to real de-linquents, has, instead of increasing the number of crimes, considerably diminished that of smaller ones, and rendered those of an atrocious nature very rare." A statement that during the twelve years ending in 1864 crime in Tuscany was on the increase, has, we understand, been disproved; and it has been shown that, allowing for the growth of the population, the number of offenses against the laws has really been steadily diminishing. Had this not been the case the Italian Minister of Justice would not in 1865 have approved of the abolition of the death penalty, nor the popular Chamber of Parliament in 1866 have voted for it.

Such is the progress of this reform in a country which, though badly beset by brigands, and now and then by her politicians, claims to have been its nursery. Yet we, with our countless educational institutions, still deem the scaffold necessary, when the Italians, with comparatively few schools and legions of ig-norant citizens, think they can afford to do away within it. Had the countrymen of Beccaria possessed our wide-spread intelligence, who will say that, with the example of Tuscany before them, their Senate would have refused to add its vote to that of the Lower Chamber in favor of abolition? In a country where ignorance, poverty, and brigandage go to cheapen life, the death penalty has proved sterile. Are we to suppose that it can only thrive here, where there is so much to make life dearer, and so much to teach us the virtue of public forbearance? We think not; and every tragic deed done on the gallows, every human life sacrificed as a warning to others, only confirm our belief. To a grossly ignorant people, an example of public mercy and self-restraint should be the most legible of lessons; an intelligent one ought to have learned the lesson by heart.

THE GALLOWS AS A GATE TO HEAVEN. From the N. Y. Sun.

A few days ago a murderer named John W. Moore was hanged at Greenville, Bond county, Ill. His victim was a young woman, eighteen years of age, and only a year married. Moore had attempted to outrage her in her own house, had pursued her as she fled towards her sister's, and stabbed her to death. He was himself married, and had one child. On the morning of the day of his execution, he wrote as follows in a letter to his wife:-

"After Breakfast.—I have been out and eaten a little breakfast have dressed myself ready to depart. I feel calm, and my trust is in God. There have been several in to see me this morning, so that I was somewhat annoyed; but my soul is calm in God, trusting in Him in whose sacred presence I shall soon appear; but I feel that I am going to meet a reconciled Father instead of an angry God. Farewell, dear Hannah; farewell, my dear child. Oh! meet me in heaven. I am going soon. I shall be safely landed over on the golden shore. May the Lord bless you, and save you for His name's sake. Good-by."

This would be adulterer and violator and

This would-be adulterer, and violator, and murderer here talks of his calmness of soul in the very sight of death, and asserts his confi-dence of going straight to heaven, as thou-sands have done under like circumstances. Not only in their own estimation, but in that of others, their crimes have been expiated and their evil natures transformed by the piety of their last few mortal hours, and the gallows has been to them the gate of eternal bliss. Is this a well-grounded belief, or a mere delusion of the imagination?

According to the opinion of many intelligent people, the happiness of heaven is the result, not of admission into a heavenly place, but of the acquisition in the soul of a heavenly state. They hold that a man must have heaven within, as well as around him, in order to taste its delights; and that no matter what may be his superficial condition of mind, if he dies with a heart occupied by selfish, cruel, and devilish passions, the abodes of the blessed will be as uninhabitable by him as the air by a fish, or the depths of the ocean by a land animal. This is the doctrine of Swedenborg and of his follower Emerson. Others go further, and assert that all men are naturally disqualified for heaven, and can never enter it except by a radical change of character and conduct. The change, they also say, must be at least commenced during this life, and that, too, sincerely and voluntarily. No mere impression of the mind, arising from temporary excitement, will effect it, nor yet will avail it if it be caused by the fear of some impending calamity. There must, according to this class of thinkers, be a free, unconstrained, and hearty repentance of one's evil courses, and a firm purpose to avoid them in future with all one's might. Anything less than this must,

they say, prove a false ground of hope.

Viewed in this light, the class of thinkers
that we are speaking of argue that the mental condition of a condemned criminal awaiting the gallows must be such as to render his chances of heaven more doubtful than they are commonly supposed to be, His repentance may be sincere and thorough; but he is like a man with a pistol at his head who is required to give up his money or sign some

certain. So when a man under sentence of death, moved by the dread of the unknown future into which he is about to be launched, betakes himself to pious language and practices, and even attains to the cestasy of religious enthusiasm as did that brutal murderer and the probability of the probability was may now the probability of the world, and look a little to my own saving, which I am more competent to. Instead of this, these professed disciples of the world and probability was now now the world. Anton Probst in Philadelphia, we may possibly believe him to be sincere, and accept his repentance as genuine, but, at the same time, the common sense of mankind generally

A zealous defender of the death penalty for murder once gave as a reason for its rigid enforcement in all cases when once pronounced, without interference from executive clemency, that, in his experience, wherever a criminal had thus escaped the gallows, the pious contrition which had been previously developed in him was dissipated, and he re-lapsed into his former evil habits. He therefore humanely insisted that this calamity should be prevented by hanging the man and thus giving him no chance to apostatize. It does not seem to have occurred to him, as it does not seem to occur to many other good people, that a piety which will not stand the wear of life in this world may not be of any permanent value in the world to come. And so John W. the world to come. And so John W. Moore, edifying as his state of mind would appear to have been, while awaiting his death on the gallows, may have been really no better a man than he was when he committed the crime for which he suffered; though we must charitably hope that he had really become reformed, and was not merely under a delusion. But it should not be forgotten that the only sure reformation is that which is undertaken voluntarily and persevered in through all difficulties and all failures; and that a good life with a sincere effort to obey the divine laws is better and safer than a sudden excitement of the mind under fear of death, and a religious spasm of the imagina-

IN SILK ATTIRE.

ceptive.

tion that after all may be unfounded and de-

From the N. Y. Tribune. What is to be the costume of the emancipated woman? There is evidently an increasing gorgeousness of array upon the platform, wherever she sets her courageous foot. Miss Dickinson, having lately traversed a continent, bears a reminiscence of its broad acres behind her in her train. Miss Logan was mildly censured by her presiding officer on one occasion for her personal splendors, and she now appears "in heavy black velvet, heavy silk overskirt and panier, and gold ornaments." Miss Field, on the other hand, according to "Susie V." in the Springfield Republican, is "clad in simple white muslin, pure as her aspirations." Mrs. Paulina Davis, in the Hartford Convention, was "radiant in an overwhelming confusion of blue satin, black velvet, and white hair," and Mrs. H. B. Stanton in black velvet solely. The latter lady, at the Newport Convention last summer, discoursed upon the vanities of dress, while arrayed in a brilliant Roman scarf tied over the left shoulder and beneath the right arm. Yet she bears testimony in a late number of The Revolution against "many of the new converts, who, being persons of wealth, refinement, and cultivation, desire to make the platform highly respectable, fashionable, unobjectionable in all ways," and regrets "to hear so much said just now about the importance of keeping our platform clear of all humble, plain-spoken, uncultivated people." Now, which is to be the attitude? Under which king, Bezonian, or which queen? Is it Eugenie, or Lucretia Mott, who is to regulate the costume of the platform?

It is a new problem for reformers-Wherewithal shall we be clothed? In the anti-slavery movement no such trouble came in. We utterly fail to recall any bewildering gorgeousness of dress on that platform. Concentrated on moral ideas, women bore no "trailing clouds of glory" in the form of dry goods, and men were plain in costume as in speech. Stephen Foster, for instance, as we recall him in those better days of the Republic, had no leaning towards the vanities of dress. There is a tradition of his having once made a speech in blue yarn mittens, when the weather was cold; and in warmer moments, he was apt to handle sinners without gloves. Nor did Charles Burleigh habitually dress his hair or his person according to the requirements of a vain world. After all, there were some advantages in those good old times, when simplicity of attire had neither to be prescribed nor proscribed in *The Liberator*. Feminine orators then dressed well, as some still dress well, according to Dr. Johnson's standard, "I am sure she was well dressed, for I cannot tell what she had on."

An eminent French writer has said that the artist or man of letters needs only a black coat and the absence of all pretensions to put him on the level of the best society. And the author of "Pelham" sums it up more briefly, "There is safety in a swallow-tail." This for men-and for women, every step into the avocations of men must involve something of that simplification of foilet which man has undergone. "Let them be sea-captains if they will," said Margaret Fuller, but she did not recommend purple and fine linen as a nautical right; nor does any shipmaster, except the pirate captain of the dramatic stage, habitually tread the quarter-deck in silk and velvet. There are fitting scenes for these splendors no doubt, but the soiled planks of a public platform are unfit. There should be a conventional costume and a convention costume. Women of society cannot be won over by wearing a dress which every such woman sees to be inappropriate. The attempt to meet fashionable ladies on their own ground by dressing more elaborately than they do is like Mr. Richard Swiveller's efforts to demonstrate his clerkly qualities by carrying a pen in his mouth and another behind each ear. There is such a thing as over-doing. It is not desirable that ladies should appear on the platform in the costume of Miss Sally Brass; but it is safe to fall back on the maxim of that anonymous countess who writes Mr. Routledge's "Manual of Good Society:"-"Ladies who are neither very young nor very striking in appearance cannot do better than wear quiet colors."

THE IDEALISTS.

From the N. Y. World. The "Carlyle and Emerson Association" is the title of a new organization the pros-pectus of which it is worth our while to reproduce and our readers' while to peruse.

The singularity that will strike any reader of it who has been also a reader of the two illustrious men whose names it bears is that the disciples of the chief preachers of individual effort should feel moved to combine for the purpose of associated effort. Mr. Carlyle has over and over expressly insisted that individual thought and individual effort are the true reformatory powers, and that the curse of our age is that everything is attempted to be done in it by what he calls machinery. Of course, an honest construction and acceptance of this belief of his does paper. Were he at perfect liberty he might possibly comply with the demand; and the pistol may really not control his action; but every one will admit that this is by no means

his have organized a league to save the world, as would appear, by virtue of his teaching. The other sponsor of the association is in quite as hostile an attitude to them, if we may judge from the whole tone of his writing. With him, too, men are all; institutions are nothing.

A more striking illustration of that prone ness of our age to distrust individual effort and trust to co-operation, which Mr. Carlyle has expressly, and Mr. Emerson by inevitable inference, deprecated, could hardly be found than in the formation of an "association" to promulgate their views. The postulate of a society which professes to found itself upon them is that they are wrong in one of most distinctive of the doctrines which they

hold and inculcate in common. But, waiving that, what is it that this association proposes to itself to do? This specific thing, among a number of nebulous and general things: "to popularize the writings and teachings of Carlyle and Emerson." But Carlyle and Emerson are quite accessible already to anybody who has a taste for them. If it is complained of them that they are both sometimes obscure, we do not imagine that the "Carlyle and Emerson Association" intend to commit the impertinence of illustrating them by notes, or by translations into the vulgar tongue, by way of "popularizing" them. And, indeed, such obscurity as there may be in them is inherent; for no appreciative reader of either will deny that he is an admirable literary artist, or admit that any other expression of his thought could be an improvement upon his own.

The truth is that the main value of the writings of Mr. Carlyle in particular is not that he promulgates a systematic scheme of religion or of morals, but that he is a continual stimulus to the feeling and the conscience of his reader, and forces him by the power of earnest appeal—all the more effec-tive because it is unconscious—to live up more nearly to the reader's own ideal. This may be called the highest worth of any writer to any reader; but this cannot be attained in any other way, that we can see, than by individual study of the writer's works. All that an "association" can do for a student is to direct him where to go for instruction, and that, it seems to us, he would find out, in the present state of intelligence, quite as readily without the association as with it.

If the admirers of two eminent writers wish to do them honor-and that we suspect to be the real motive of this association-nobody can object. But the mode which has been chosen in this instance, we may safely say, is one which neither of the persons meant to be honored could approve, and in which many of their true admirers and disciples cannot join. It is doubtless the birth of a generous young enthusiasm, for which its possessors will by and by discover a more fruitful field. But to get up an "association" for the purpose of testifying the gratitude of pupils to instructors is a boyish way of ventng enthusiasm which neither gods nor men can approve, however much they may sympathize with the spirit that prompts it.

LIQUOR LAWS IN POLITICS. From the N. Y. Times.

Last Tuesday's elections show that the prohibitionist people made good their threat to have a hand in State politics whenever they could; and their work is visible from Massachusetts to Minnesota. So far, however, as can now be seen, their main achievement has been to damage their own cause. In the two States just mentioned they made a very poor show. and in the former, where they once controlled the Legislature by an overwhelming vote, they have now lost it by a majority equally

overwhelming.
The policy of the prohibitionists has been at once grasping, inconsiderate, and shortsighted. They have clamored everywhere to have the single issue-and that a moral onewhich they present, raised above the great fundamental political principles on which the two great parties of the country are organized. They have not even been content to take from these parties a general declaration of sympathy with any movement for true temperance, allowing every member of the party to exercise his own discretion as to the proper means for the progress of temperance. They have sought, rather, to commit potitical conventions to the support of their extremest measures; to allow no latitude of judgment; to read out of the ranks any person, no matter how hard a worker and honest a thinker on all other questions, whose ideas on this subject did not square with their own. A man in favor of the strictest sort of license law was to be anathematized. And, in demanding those things, under all sorts of threats of "bolting" and opposing, the prohi-bitionists have never mineed their words. By one of those curious contrasts we often see in politics, the special advocates of so-called "temperance" have furnished the most "frightful examples" of in-temperance in language and conduct.

The result has been thus far, as we have said, that many people have violently opposed the prohibition movement, who, had it taken another form, would have suffered it to run its chances. It has secured the hatred of many who cannot submit to see all other interests sacrificed to this. That it should gradually have lost ground, even in Massa-chusetts, which would naturally give it something of a welcome and support, is not wonderful when the persistency of its assumptions is considered.

If the friends of the temperance issue have learned wisdom by experience, they will hereafter content themselves with less than they have been accustomed to demand. Instead of trying to force the question on parties formed for different purposes, and instead of trying to break up those parties by reason of their unwillingness to have that dogma introduced as an article of general party faith they will seek simply to throw their influence in behalf of friends of temperance in local elections, choosing, as between any two candidates, the one whom they consider to be the best man.

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