

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE REVEREND CHARLES TIMOTHY BROOKS

HIS LIFE AND WORK WITH SPECIAL

REFERENCE TO HIS TRANSLATION

OF GOETHE'S FAUST PART I

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

BY

ARTHUR C. P. SCHOENFELDT

JUNE, 1949

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No one works alone! Generous and friendly men and women have helped me in preparing this work, by lending books, and by suggesting where to find material for this purpose.

Merton G. L. Bailey, Augusta, Maine, Miss Elizabeth P. Chandler, Bangor, Maine, Mrs. Grace L. Hammond, Nahant, Massachusetts, and the Rev. Roydon Leonard, Windsor, Vermont, searched the records of their respective Churches, and found nothing to indicate that Mr. Brooks had preached in them after graduating from the Theological School. However, Church records are not always well kept. For this reason I cannot give exact dates to confirm the statements made that he did preach in these three communities.

The kindness of William King Covell, Newport, Rhode Island, together with the co-operation of Miss Frances Hubbert, Librarian of Redwood Library and Athenaeum, and her assistants, provided me with a goodly store of books and information about the first minister of the Newport Unitarian Church.

Through the co-operation of the Rev. William S. Nichols, Danvers, Massachusetts, I had access to the stacks, records and historical material in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. The Rev. Mr. Nichols further extended his help by introducing me to Charles H. P. Copeland, Assistant Curator of the Marine Rooms of the Peabody Museum in Salem. Mr. Copeland was generous in sharing his knowledge about "slavers" and ships, as well as other data about the "Trade."

Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, the Solon of Unitarian History, and the Rev. Ward R. Clarke, guardian of Unitarian lore, both residents of Cambridge, Massachusetts, gave me helpful guidance in finding source materials for this work.

Miss Adele R. Herrick, Librarian of the General Theological Library, Boston, Massachusetts, sent me a transcript of data relating to Mr. Brooks and his work as a minister.

Miss Ruth Stark, Trade Department of Henry Holt and Co., New York City, wrote me, "I regret to tell you that we do not have the manuscripts of "Lorley and Reinhard" and "The Convicts and Their Children." These books were published so long ago that we do not know whether the manuscripts were destroyed or whether they were returned to the author. Copies of these books in German are not available either."

The Librarian of the Paul Pratt Memorial Library, Cohasset, Massachusetts, sent me a copy of the Federal Writers' Project, 1937, "Rhode Island." The digested colonial history given in this book provided an excellent picture of early times in Newport.

A former minister of the Channing Memorial Church in Newport, the Rev. William Safford Jones, supplied data relating to its history.

Two books lent me by Miss Henrietta Littlefield of Springfield, Massachusetts, supplied background information on the First and Second Parts of Goethe's "Faust."

Seeking a copy, through correspondence, of Mr. Brooks's translation of the First Part of "Faust" led to a dead end. One day, quite by accident, I stopped at the building of the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, Rhode Island. In answer to my question "have you material, on, or by, the Rev. Charles Timothy Brooks, especially a copy of his translation of Goethe's "Faust, First Part?" A smile flitted across the face of Clifford P. Monahan. "Just a moment, I'll see what we have," he replied. He returned with several books, and one of them was the much wanted copy of the translation!

Old index cards in the Middleborough Public Library showed that Mr. Brooks's translations of some of Berthold Auerbach's novels circulated in the town. However, search disclosed that the books are no longer on the library shelves. German textile workers had settled in Middleborough about 1863, and others may have come to nearby communities. Probably this may account for the books in a mill town library.

Mrs. Mertie Witbeck, Librarian, after considerable correspondence, located one copy of "Lorley and Reinhard" in the New Bedford, Massachusetts, Public Library. It was The Leisure Hour Series, published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, in 1887. The notes given in this dissertatin were taken from this copy.

The Librarian of The Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association in Boston, Mrs. Martha Watts, was most co-operative and helpful. She has in her library a fine picture of Dr. Charles Follen which she prizes.

The First Parish Church, Unitarian, of Northfield, Massachusetts, lent me their five volume set of the "Life of Charles Follen" written by his wife Elizabeth Lee Follen.

Miss Maud Lyman Stevens, granddaughter of Mr. Brooks, lent me manuscript sermons, books and several pictures, and told me anecdotes about her grandfather. In her library were a number of children's books translated from the German by Mr. Brooks. She wrote me a long letter giving interesting information about the family history. The letter is much appreciated, and to me, a prized document.

No one works alone! Certainly all these kind people have helped me greatly. Their generosity is deeply appreciated.

Middleborough, Massachusetts
June, 1949

Arthur C. P. Schoenfeldt

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 1

INTRODUCTION iv

Chapter 1

 I.

 Family

 Birth

 Boyhood

Chapter 8

 II.

 1828 Classmates

 Theological School Faculty

 Charles Follen

Chapter 13

 III.

 Graduation from Theological School

 Settlement

Chapter 17

 IV.

 Beginnings of the Newport Church

 Religious History

Chapter 25

 V.

 Major Questions of the Day

 Temperance

 Slavery

 Old Stone Mill

Chapter 31

 VI.

 Brooks's Health

 India

 Ministry

 Literary Activities

Chapter 41

 VII.

 Slavery Sanctioned by Rulers

 Noble Partners in the "Trade"

 Some Colonial Opinions

 Inefficiency of Government Officials

 Inhumanity

 Abolitioniasts

CONTENTS

Chapter 47
VIII.
 German Writers
 Brooks's Translations
 Brooks in spiritual and social
 agreement with Transcendentalists

Chapter 53
IX.
 Brooks and his Translation of Faust,
 Part First
 Translations compared
 Strict adherence of Brooks's Work
 Easier flowing Style of Bayard
 Taylor

Chapter 72
X.
 Obituary Notices and Memorials

Conclusion 78

REFERENCE LIST 80

LIBRARY LIST 87

oOo

INTRODUCTION

The life and work of the Rev. Charles Timothy Brooks is an example of what devotion, intelligence, moral integrity, vision, and profound faith can do to further human welfare.

Mr. Brooks through his ability to understand the German language, and through his translations of the works of German poets, novelists, philosophers, brought to the American reading public of the middle eighteenth century, new information relating to the everlasting human struggle for freedom in social, political, and religious departments of life. His warm humanity made him sympathetic with the tribulations of the immigrants who flocked to the United States after the Civil War. His close relation with Charles Follen in 1830 provided information and background for deeper understanding of people who sought freedom from autocratic government.

The material contained in this paper was gathered through correspondence, personal visits to libraries, and from people who were said to have books, manuscripts and records relating to his life and work. There is much more material about him, but a time limit, travel distances, and the handicap of correspondence prevented me from having a wider selection from which to gather information.

The Rev. Charles W. Wendte gathered a quantity of manuscript material, printed matter, and made notes of incidents which related to the daily life of Mr. Brooks. Considerable of this data has been incorporated in his book "Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems." Ten librarians were most helpful in aiding me to gather information. Friend suggested possible sources of data relating to this scholarly minister. A visit to Miss Maud Lyman Stevens, granddaughter of Mr. Brooks, gave me helpful material and information.

Dr. Camillo von Klenze, Professor Emeritus of German Language and Literature of the College of the City of New York, and Honorary Professor Emeritus of American Literature of the University of Munich, published in

1937 an excellent book on Mr. Brooks, titled "Brooks and the Genteel Tradition. It is recommended to those who wish to make a closer acquaintance of the minister-scholar of Channing Memorial Church.

Every Unitarian, in fact every American, is indebted to him for furthering freedom in religion, understanding in human relations, and for insistence upon moral responsibility in relations between individuals.

Middleborough, Massachusetts
June, 1949

AS

THE REVEREND CHARLES TIMOTHY BROOKS
His Life and Work with Special
Reference to His Translation
of Goethe's Faust Part I

CHAPTER I

Family Birth Boyhood

Charles Timothy Brooks, an eighth generation descendant from Henry Brooks, listed in the Woburn Tax Roll for the year 1649, was born to Timothy and Mary King (Mason) Brooks June 20, 1813, in Salem, Massachusetts. Mrs. Brooks was descended from the Rev. Francis Higginson, who was born in England in 1587. Both sides of the family possessed strong literary and artistic abilities.

The first fifteen years of his life were spent in the Salem home. Here he attended the private school kept by his maternal aunt, Miss Abigail Mason. Advanced beyond the subjects taught in this school, he next attended a public school where he had for his teacher Miss Mercy Ropes, who later married Joseph Webb. Still later he was enrolled in a private school maintained by Hervey Brown. At the age of eleven, in 1824, he entered the Latin Grammar School, Theodore Ames, Principal, and at the close of the year was awarded first prize for his work. This prize, a copy of Valerius Maximus, was presented to him by the chairman of the School Committee, the Honorable John Pickering, with complimentary remarks. ¹

"It is easy to see," writes the Rev. E. B. Willson in his Memorial Talk, "why Charles Brooks should be esteemed by his teachers the ideal schoolboy; they had only to teach him; a task which ceased to be a task, as his eager pursuit of knowledge stimulated their minds and rewarded with quick apprehension their labors of instruction." ²

Mr. Willson adds an anecdote to illustrate the perseverance and

character of the boy. "He had run a nail into his foot, and it seemed impossible for him to attend school. He insisted and his father got a chaise and took him to school."³

Young Brooks was not a "grind." There is much told about him which proves that he had a full flow of "growing pains", and that he took part in games with his companions. He was of a genial and humorous disposition, which assets remained with him throughout his life.

In a Memorial Paper read before the Essex Institute Monday evening, May 14, 1883, covering the life of his friend and classmate Augustus Story, Mr. Brooks spoke of a pitched battle fought by the schoolboys and Knocker's-Hole Barbarians, and the Button-holders, Uptowners, and other groups of boys. It would appear that there wasn't withdrawal, on his part, from the group life of his day and total application to complacent contemplation.⁴

Nature, the-out-of-doors, and the sea held a strong attraction for him. He was fond of fishing and got from it a deep satisfaction. Long walks were no novelty for him, as will be seen from one of his letters, dated November 9 (year?), quoted by Mr. Willson. "What a fine frosty morning. I should like such a one when I walk to Salem, for if the weather is good, and I do not come by water, I shall certainly come on foot." This letter was written when Brooks was in Harvard.⁵

From "Rhymed Reminiscences", given at the North Church Centennial Festival, we get an excellent impression of the lasting hold which the scenes and events of his boyhood had upon him.

"How oft my heart leaped up with mute delight,
When, as a boy, I journeyed home at night,
To see, while trees and lights behind us fled
The moon and stars ride with us overhead.
So with things of Time - like dreams they glide -
The eternal things are ever at our side."

In his tribute the Rev. Mr. Willson gave this observation, "Charles Brooks breathed from his earliest childhood the atmosphere, not only of Salem's best literary and scientific culture, but of its deepest religious life."⁶

To this should be added his interest in the old names of the streets and places, "characters", and stories told by old men and old women. Boy-like, he must have spent some time at the wharves; and, surely he must have listened to the yarns spun by sailors and longshoreman. From these sources, also, he must have heard comment and criticism on the Flood Ireson incident, for in his mature years he wrote a poem in defense of the maligned and badly treated Captain.

Mixed in with the perfume of spices and the mystery of bales and boxes of goods from the Orient, and the oil of palms and coconuts, the casks of wine and sugar, the bags of coffee, and leaded boxes of tea, and all manner of other strange things, was there occasionally an odor which to old and young alike had but one name "Slaver?" ⁷

The diary of the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, minister of the East Church in Salem, Massachusetts, is a reliable source for information relating to "The Trade." Taken from this diary, for the purpose of substantiating my premise is this entry; "Sept. 23, 1788 - Capt. Wm. Fairfield, Felicity Sch., sailed, according to the Clearance, for Cap de Verd Islands. It is supposed from the Cargo, this latter carried, & the character of the owner, that this vessel is intended for the slave trade. The owner confesses he has no reluctance in selling any part of the human race." ⁸ "May 29, 1789 - x x news of the death of Captain William Fairfield who commanded the Schooner which sailed in Capt. Jo. White's Employ in the African Slave Trade. He was killed by the negroes on Board." ⁹

⁷My conclusion in this matter was reached after a search through early records relating to events in Salem, giving names and dates of "servants" buried, baptized or received into Church membership, such as that of a "negro girl, Feb. 5, 1775." October 29, 1775, "Violet, a negro servant of Benj. Prescott, Esqu. was taken into the Church." August 23 1772, "Essex, a Negro, offered by his Master, James Bancroft for baptism." These coincide with records to be found in Newport, Rhode Island history concerning negroes and slavery. Records of the First Church in Lynnfield.

What bright boy couldn't weave a fabric of social cloth from the tales circulating in a seaport town? The stand taken by Charles Timothy Brooks, when minister of Channing Memorial Church in Newport, Rhode Island, no doubt had its beginnings in his early years in Salem. What a background it was! The glamour of sailing ships, and far-off ports; strange peoples, and stranger lore and tales. Then too, there was the test of a new social philosophy beginning to solidify into a new form of government. Mixed in and through it all was the tang of droll Yankee humor, which in its pungency tinged his work of translation, and found expression in original prose and poetry.

It is probable that the lad's parents were amenable to the growing influence of new ideals in the mental-spiritual, social and political worlds. As members of the Old North Church they heard all these discussed quite thoroughly. Under this influence Charles Timothy "breathed from his earliest childhood, not only Salem's best literary and scientific culture, but of its deepest religious life." 10

In 1828, when fifteen years old, Brooks entered Harvard College, and found himself in classes with Henry W. Bellows, George Ticknor Curtis, John S. Dwight, John Holmes, Augustus Story, William Silsbee, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles Sumner.

Where he found time to do all of the things in which he was interested, defies answer, for he attended eight lectures and twenty-five recitations each week, in addition to debates, forensics, and other meetings. He studied French and Spanish under Professor Sales; was interested in Dr. Ticknor's lectures on the French, Spanish, and Portuguese people. He had English under Professor E. T. Channing. His real choice of language, however, was German. Under the guidance of Professors Charles Follen and Charles Beck he advanced rapidly in his ability to understand and use the language.

In addition to his studies and classwork, Brooks took on the duties

of a monitor, but he was not a successful disciplinarian. President Quincy reprimanded him for allowing the students to rush from the Chapel before prayers were ended. Yet a few days later the President complimented him upon his work in English composition.

His health was none too robust, and the strain under which he worked brought upon him an eye trouble, indigestion, and the aches and pains which follow such disturbances. He increased his physical exercise, swam in the Charles River, and did a great deal of walking. One form of exercise was to go berrying in parties, "in the burying ground." ¹¹ His vacations usually, were spent at home in Salem, where he visited friends, fished, and roamed the fields and woodlands. Once, in 1831, he and a friend journeyed to Eastport, Maine.

According to Brooks's Journal, as quoted by his devoted friend and biographer, Charles W. Wendte, in "Memoir and Poems", students gathered in Brooks's room, at college, to talk, sing, tell stories, and enjoy themselves. Very solemnly Brooks would promise not to perpetrate any more puns, which, for him, was a most difficult promise to keep, as shown in his own works and translations. ¹²

He was a member of the Hasty Pudding Club, met with the "Med Facs", and attended "moot court" presided over by Augustus Story. The jury was made up of divinity students. In short he was socially minded and socially active.

The Unitarian interpretation of religion dominated the thought and life of the College. Dr. Henry Ware, Sr. lectured on the history and criticism of the New Testament. Students and others gathered at the home of Dr. E. T. Channing and engaged in frank discussion on religion, moral duty, and the sermons of Dr. Priestly on miracles, and Unitarian doctrines. The preaching of that day was marked by elegant language, appealing to reason and conscience, but hardly to the emotions and feelings.

Brooks listened attentively to preachers Henry Ware, Dr. J. G. Palfrey,

Dr. Lowell, father of the poet, Dr. Ezra S. Gannett, Channing's colleague, and many others. Of Lowell he wrote, "he preached a fifteen minute homily. Simple, eloquent, direct and touching. I was more impressed by it than by six or eight ordinary discourses. He used the emphatic pause with great effect, seeming to challenge an answer." He had this to say about Father Taylor of the Sailors' Bethel, "Astonishing how he careers over the whole surface and yet sounds as he goes. I never knew the might of words so till I heard him."¹³

More and more did the profundity of religion appeal to him. On May 26, 1832, he became a member of the University Church of Harvard College. "That virtue and moral energy, which I have so dwelt upon in the abstract, may I practice for my own and others' good; that religion whose cause by form I have espoused, may I adorn and promote by character and conduct."¹⁴

The years passed swiftly, and Brooks scarcely noticed the approaching end of college days. Edward Everett examined the Senior Class, and gave the Phi Beta Kappa Oration - and Brooks realized that he had reached the end of this particular undertaking. Where to, now? Professor Felton offered him a position as proctor and tutor in Greek, which Brooks did not accept.

A momentous decision was made! With the blessing of his parents, Charles Timothy Brooks chose the ministry as his life's work. Feeling that he should not ask his parents to support him while studying for the ministry, he decided to teach school for one year before entering the Theological School, though President Quincy, interested in the brilliant young man, suggested that he enter the Seminary immediately upon graduating from the College. Here indeed, was a problem. Mr. S. C. Phillips of Salem, interested in the Liberal Faith, and in Brooks, made a most generous offer, which was accepted, and the young man prepared to enter the Theological School.

Unitarianism had outgrown its phase of intellectual and moral protest against the prevailing teachings of orthodoxy, and had become a de-

nomination whose membership was marked by literary culture, religious earnestness, social and moral worth of the individuals comprising the membership. One hundred or more "First Churches", including the Church in Plymouth, joined in forming an Association. The Faculty at Harvard College, at this time, was by a large majority in favor of the new theology.

CHAPTER II

1828 Classmates Theological School Faculty Charles Follen

The student body of the Theological School was a small group of inspired young men. Brooks had for classmates Cyrus A. Bartol, Samuel Osgood, John Parkman, Christopher P. Cranch, and John S. Dwight. And as fellow students there were George E. Ellis, A. A. Livermore, William Silsbee, Theodore Parker, Henry W. Bellows, E. H. Sears, and R. P. Stebbins.

The faculty of the School was made up of

Dean - Prof. J. G. Palfrey	- Biblical Archaeology	- Daily prayers
Dr. Henry Ware, Sr.	- Christian Evidences	
Prof. Henry Ware, Jr.	- Systematic Theology	
Prof. Andrews Norton	- Sacred Literature	
Dr. Convers Francis	- Homiletics and Pastoral Care	
Prof. E. T. Channing	- Sacred Oratory	

During the last year of work at the School Hebrew and New Testament criticism were added to the required courses. At the evening services a Senior led in prayer, and in turn preached every Sunday through the year. There were frequent religious meetings, and under the leadership of Henry Ware, Jr., a class met in the afternoon for extemporaneous preaching. A Philanthropic Society was formed to discuss reform and social topics.¹⁵

At this point it will be most helpful for us to diverge, for a little while, from continuing the life development of Mr. Brooks, to consider the background, ability, humanity, and intellectual breadth of Charles Theodore, Christian Follen, a second son of Judge Christophed Follen, who was born September 4, 1796, in Romrod, Upper Hesse, Germany. No one man had greater influence on the thought and life of Brooks than did this brilliant Transcendentalist.¹⁵

His elementary education was received in the Pedagogium in Giessen. Here he studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French and Italian, and upon passing his examinations was given permission to enter the University of Giessen, in 1813 (Brooks's birth year), when not yet seventeen years old. Shortly

after his entrance into the University Germany declared war on France.

Follen was a member of the Burschenschaft. He volunteered and joined the Prussian "War of Liberation" against Napoleon.

The young student was intellectually and spiritually enthused by Gottlieb Welcker in Giessen, Professor of ancient literature, and Professor Lewis Jahn, idealist, author of modern gymnastics, and devout believer in the freedom and rights of man. "Jahn inquired into the sources and reasons of the perverseness and unnatural life of the German youth. He found in the history of the nation the springs of whatever was most noble and beautiful that a nation can boast of, but he also found that these buds of promise had not been unfolded or cherished in public life; its system of laws had been supplanted by a foreign one; its freedom had been undermined and shaken; even its language, morals and customs had received a foreign varnish."¹⁶

Jahn was influenced by Pestalozzi's methods in child education, and out of this, and his own views he developed a gymnasium system which became a nursery of patriotism, which brought much good to Germany prior to the first World War.

Follen, because of his activity in defending the friendly way of life, and his ardent support of the principle of the rights of man, as well as his activity in student organizations, came under the suspicion of government officials. He fled to Switzerland, and in 1824 came to America. Acting upon the advice of Lafayette, he went to Harvard, and through Ticknor's influence was made instructor in German in the College in 1825. In 1830 he was given the full professorship in German language and literature, and thus became the founder of Germanic studies in the United States.

From early childhood the religious emotion was a strong factor in his life. His stepmother said of him "The opinions and principles of the Unitarians filled even then his whole soul, and he spoke about them (though not often) to his father, who fully agreed with him on this subject, with such depth of feeling and eloquence, that I seemed to see the image of our

Saviour as he taught in the Temple in his twelfth year."¹⁷

This spiritual intensity, his warm humanity and his intellectual ability brought him into close fellowship with William Ellery Channing, under whose guidance he began to study Unitarian theology. He was very active in anti-slavery works, asserting that slavery was organized crime. Many people of that day believed his strong participation in the then unpopular movement was the reason for the suspension of the professorship. The Corporation, in 1834, notified him that his appointment as professor could not be renewed. However, they would be pleased to retain him as an instructor in the German language at five hundred dollars per year if he so wished. Mr. Follen could not see the matter in that light, and left the University in 1835.

The example, thought, teaching, and three books from his mind and pen were of considerable help to early American Unitarian ministers in their adventure into the mysteries of studying the German language and forming acquaintance with the German literature of that day. The three books were

Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger	1826
A Practical Grammar of the German Language	1828
Follen's Edition of Luther's Version of the Gospel of St. John	1835

In constant poverty, after the discontinuation of the professorship, this devoted and able man eked out an existence by lecturing, preaching when opportunity afforded, teaching and tutoring. A group of people in East Lexington, Massachusetts called him to be their minister, and in 1835 he founded the Church now known as The Follen Church in that community. Aboard the steamer Lexington, bound for Boston from New York, January 13, 1840, he with a number of other passengers met death when fire destroyed the craft.¹⁸

The lofty ideals of Charles Follen, and his skill in, and knowledge of literature, enkindled in Charles Timothy Brooks an unquenchable spiritual fire. His ministry, his literary work, and his life reflected the depth of

his regard and esteem for the Transcendentalist, who in his early young manhood dared to oppose entrenched and autocratic power in his homeland, from which he migrated to take part in furthering freedom in the New World.

About Follen's influence on American culture, and upon individuals, Dr. Camillo von Klenze says, "Nevertheless there can be no doubt that he encouraged Americans to think with the heart rather than with the head and that he did more than his share towards strengthening the tendency eminently characteristic of the genteel tradition in sentimental, moral, and political patterns. And as this tendency has greatly impeded a sounder understanding and has not been wholly transcended to this day, Follen's influence cannot be regarded as uniformly beneficent." 19

The writer of this paper feels that though there was sentimentalism in Follen's nature, yet there was a practical helpfulness underneath the emotion which encouraged and sustained people in times of distress. Let us remind ourselves that it was only when moral indignation was aroused that slavery was stopped. Back of this indignation was what some people call sentimentality for a "lesser people." Charles Follen worked for the advancement of humankind, and to a fair degree succeeded in implanting workable practices in the minds of people.

Let us go back again to Charles Timothy Brooks, who came under the influence of Follen at Harvard. There has been criticism of his translations to the effect that his knowledge of German was not entirely adequate. Follen, a master of several languages, as the head of the Department of German at Harvard, certified that Brooks was "thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the German language, and able to read with precision and ease the standard German authors." x x x Brooks "acquired an unusual insight into its [German] didactic structure and idioms." 20 Theodore Parker, John S.

Dwight, Samuel Osgood, Christopher P. Cranch and others shared with Brooks a deep interest in the literature coming into the United States from Germany in the early nineteenth century.

This literature, and the critical examination of the material contained in the Bible, plus a more exacting scholarship, helped to further the Unitarian interpretation of religion. It took hold at Harvard College as a prairie fire gains momentum when fanned by a continuing breeze.

It was a reasonable and longed-for reaction against the prevailing teaching of scriptural infallibility, and the cruel theology based on predestination. It brought warmth and purpose to the work of bettering man's lot, and furnished a new and hopeful outlook for the individual, as compared to the questionable lot of life in the future. It accepted mental growth as part of spiritual attainment, and emphasized intellectual honesty.

Charles Timothy Brooks was a Transcendentalist, as is shown in his sermons, prayers, and contributions to the Dial and other periodicals, and newspapers. Additional proof is to be found in the works selected from German authors which he translated into English. Among these were Goethe, Schefer, and Berthold Auerbach.

CHAPTER III

Graduation from Theological School Settlement

After graduation from the Divinity School in 1835, Brooks preached in sundry pulpits, occasionally as a candidate. The first sermon listed bears the title "The Voice Of The Spirit", the text was taken from Hebrews 3-15, "Today if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." This sermon was first given in Nahant. He also preached in Waltham, East Lexington, South Scituate, and in the newly organized Church in Augusta, Maine during the winter of 1835-1836. On May 29, 1836 he came to the recently founded Church in Newport, Rhode Island, which was the missionary work of the devoted William Ellery Channing.

To bring into high relief the component parts of the social, economic, intellectual and religious background of Newport, let us have a short review of its history. Settled by a company of people led by John Clark and William Coddington of Boston, in 1639, Newport was incorporated in 1784, and was re-incorporated in 1853. It is divided into (a) the old center, now the Army and Navy bases, and the Summer Resort; (b) the Military and Naval Area with their own reservations; (c) Opulent Newport behind and below the old center. Each of these general divisions is sufficient unto itself, and the detached "Old Part" has not been "restored." In many ways unique, but not "quaint" in the tourists' vocabulary of appreciation of coast towns.

Roger Williams helped Clark and associates in the purchase of Aquidneck from the Indians. The first settlement was made near the north end of the Island, that part now known as Portsmouth. Emigrants from Massachusetts, under the leadership of Anne Hutchinson, came and gained political control. Displeased by this, some of the first settlers agreed to "propagate a plantation in the midst of the island or elsewhere", and moved to the southern end of the island. Each group found a suitable place, some going to Castor's Island, and others settling on the land now marked by West Broadway and

Marlborough Streets in the Old Part of Newport.

Colonial Newport was an important place for the Jews. In 1658, fifteen families came over from Holland. They founded the Congregation Jeshuat Israel. They brought with them the first degrees of Masonry, and, it is believed, established the first lodge of Free Masons in America. A synagogue, still standing at seventy-two Touro Street, was built in 1763. Refugees from the Spanish Inquisition came to Newport in 1745, and many driven from Portugal found refuge in the Newport colony. These early Jewish settlers were men of education and means. The colony was broken up during the Revolution, when the British military occupied Newport.²¹

The early Newport records relating to Religion are very interesting. Bishopp Berkeley, Episcopalian, wrote to a Dublin friend in 1729, "Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceable with their neighbors of whatsoever persuasion."²²

A social evening attended by all the clergy of the town is thus described by Nathaniel Greene, after the mellowing influence of the punch got in its work; "The Rev. Honeyman thought there was not half as much virtue in a surplice as he had always believed. Parson Clapp concluded there was less error in the Established Church than he had supposed. The Rabbi agreed that if the messiah had not already come the sound of His chariot wheels was in the air. The Baptist brethren cheerfully admitted that on or into the water was very much the same thing. Services were omitted the next morning and all attended the Friends meeting at which Mr. Greene was to speak. At length he arose, and counselled the hearers to be temperate, especially in the use of drink."²³

Politics in Newport were rugged, and the party spirit ran high. The theory seems to have been that "all is fair in love and war and elections!" From 1647 to 1743, according to the records, a common practice was to get

freemen "half seas over" and strand them on Prudence Island far distant from the polls. Once, a sloop filled with voters was run on the harbor rocks, in order to have the majority on the right side."

The right to vote in Rhode Island, since 1742, rested on ownership of one hundred pounds in real estate, or property which rented for at least seven shillings annually. Thomas Wilson Dorr, member of a prominent family, graduate of Harvard University, realizing the inequality of this arrangement, in 1840 organized the Rhode Island Suffrage Association. In 1841 the People's Party was founded and held a convention, and drew up a constitution providing for universal suffrage. Dorr was elected governor, and was inaugurated in Providence on May 3, 1842. One day later, May 4, 1842 Samuel Ward King was also inaugurated as governor in Newport. President Tyler was asked to settle the absurd situation, but did not intervene in the matter. Dorr left the state for a time, his following dwindled, and in 1845 he surrendered to the authorities. He was charged with treason, was tried and was convicted. His defense was that treason could be committed only against the United States. He served one year's imprisonment. Suffrage for all, his sole purpose in doing what he did, was brought into being by others, some of whom had done nothing until Dorr fought for equal rights for all. In November, 1842, a convention was held and a State Constitution was framed, providing that all males who had real property to the value of one hundred and thirty-four dollars, or paid an annual tax of one dollar could vote.²⁴

A bit of humor, with a poignant side, relating to government, is here noted. In 1756 negro slaves set up a form of government patterned after that of their masters. An election was held in June, and every negro who had a pig and a sty was permitted to vote. The winning "Governor" was escorted to the place of inaugural, the corner of Thames and Farewell Streets, where victors and losers united in the celebration.²⁴

The pages of Newport's history are darkened by acts of the "Slave Trade", and the action of the British Board of Trade. In 1708 this Board

sent a circular letter to "The Trade", to all the Colonies from which is taken this quotation. "It is absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the Kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage."

The Colony, in 1707-1708, laid an import tax of three pounds on each negro. The returns from this source were very large, and some of the money was used for street paving and bridge building. The tax was repealed in 1732. It was said that from fifty to sixty vessels engaged in the traffic out of Newport, and that some of the vessels were owned by leading merchants of the time." 24

Increasing wealth and opportunity for travel, and the infiltration of aristocratic Southern families and wealthy English planters from the West Indies made Newport the Paris of the New World. Her social functions, the grace, beauty and intelligence of her ladies, her wealth and business opportunities were topics for discussion in the salons of Europe. Yet more! While Newport had schools for white children, there were also schools for colored children. Though back of her settlement was the spirit of Puritanism, there was abroad the spirit of freedom and gayety. Yet always in the background was the ominous cloud of human bondage and the traffic therein. 25

CHAPTER IV

Beginnings of the Newport Unitarian Church Religious History

To this flourishing, strangely composite city came a young man, "Slender, with delicate features, a flush of color in his cheeks, even in his old age, which made him look as some one said 'like a pre-Raphaelite saint!'"²⁶ He had come to speak in the newest Church, of the thirteen in Newport at that time, the Unitarian Church started by one of the city's ablest minds, William Ellery Channing. At that time there was one Church to each thousand people, divided into nine denominational groups, namely

Baptist	4	Congregational	1
Colored Union	1	Episcopal	2
Friends	1	Methodist	1
Moravian	1	Synagogue	1
Unitarian	1		

The writer of this paper visited Mr. Brooks's granddaughter, Miss Maud Lyman Stevens, from whom he gained much information about her gifted grandfather. In a comfortable living room, a large portrait "done by a wandering painter, Lawrence, I believe" hung over a generous fire place. Spirituality and kindness shone from the eyes and illuminated the face of the young man, Charles Timothy Brooks, who had come to Newport May 29, 1836.

God-enthused "Father" Charles Briggs, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association so inspired George Wanton Ellery, Joseph Crocker Shaw, and others that a meeting was held, in the middle of October, 1835 in the house of the devoted St. John family. The purpose of the meeting was to start the work of establishing a Unitarian Church in Newport. The Newport Mercury (founded by James Franklin, Jr., in 1758, and still in publication) on October 17, 1835 announced that the Rev. Charles Briggs, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association would preach the next day in the State House at 10:30 A M, and again in the evening "at early candle-light." Between thirty and forty people were present at the morning service, and one hundred were pre-

sent in the evening.

Attendance increased as the services continued, and stimulated the idea of a meeting place for the group. Committees were named to raise funds, to find a suitable site for the proposed Church, and to attend to other matters related to the venture in prospect.

It was learned that the Old Hopkins Church (Fourth Baptist or Free Will Baptist) could be had for two hundred dollars per year. A choir leader asked a salary of one dollar per week, and fifty dollars had been raised for this purpose. On November fifth the Committee reported that the church property could be had for the sum of sixteen hundred dollars; and, they were authorized to make the purchase, which was done that same evening.

"The original deed of transfer is a pleasant specimen of old-time economy. A piece of paper 10 by 7, contains on one side the offer, (dated Nov. 5) of the 4th Baptist Church, to sell either the Clarke Street Meeting-house for \$3000.00 or that in Mill Street for \$1600.00; on the other are: 1st The agreement to buy (same date) signed by Wm. Ellery; 2nd The agreement to sell (Nov. 6) signed by George Tilley; and 3rd The closing of the agreement in behalf of Wm. Ellery and others by Josiah C. Shaw, Michael Freeborn, Alex M. McGregor, James Hammond, B. Wood, and Samuel St. John, Jr." 27

The services were advertised in the name of the Unitarian Association of Newport." An incorporation charter in the name of the "Unitarian Congregational Church" was secured from the Rhode Island Assembly at the January session. "Hard times came a'knocking at the door", and the winter of 1835-1836 was characterized by three "F's", fire, frost and failure." 28

Nevertheless, the New Society chared in the social work of a Church, making two contributions, one of eighteen dollars and another of twelve dollars toward such relief. Mr. Brooks comments "they may sound small in these inflated days (1875). That amount probably told as much as one hundred dollars would do now." New England Churches showed their interest in the new undertaking by making contributions of money. The Church School

had an enrollment of thirty pupils." ²⁹ The Rev. F. A. Farley held the opening service in the Hopkins Church on November eighth, preaching in the morning and afternoon, ending with a two-hour extemporaneous talk on liberalism.³⁰

The members of the newly-formed Society felt the Old Church should be renovated. Arrangements were made to use rooms in the Masonic Temple "to hold our meetings and keep a singing school." This school met Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Mr. Atkinson was hired as leader at a salary of one hundred and twenty-five dollars per year. Rent for the room was twenty-five dollars per quarter. Mr. Ellery, March 2, 1836 noted "Mr. Storer (of Walpole) preached for us last Sunday in Masonic Hall. We had a good house all day, and in the evening it was over-flowing. The leader with the new singers made their first appearance, and everything went well."

One of the Newport Weeklies reported that the Rev. B. Frost would preach for the "Unitarian Congressional Society." ³¹ This mistake in the use of "Congressional" for "Congregational" is made in the present time.

"During the first week I passed in Newport, I often visited the work at the Church, which was fast approaching completion," wrote Mr. Brooks in his journal.³² On July 27, 1836 the meetinghouse was dedicated to Liberal Christian worship. Dr. William Ellery Channing preached the sermon "The Worship of the Father one of Gratitude and Joy." The text was taken from John 4-23:24. In accepting the invitation to preach the sermon, Dr. Channing on April 3, 1836, wrote, "I shall rejoice to take part in dedicating a house in my native town to that worship of God and the inculcation of that truth which Jesus Christ came to establish on earth. I have long and earnestly desired for Newport the opening of such a Church and I shall now feel myself bound to it by a new tie." ³³ Colored people attended the service. In the afternoon the eighty-four pews were offered for sale. Friends living in Europe contributed toward the improvement of the old building.

Those who had part in the dedicatory service were

Rev. Edward Hall

- Providence - Prayer

Rev. George W. Briggs	- Fall River	- Scripture Lesson
Rev. Charles Briggs	- Boston	- Dedication Prayer
Dr. William E. Channing	- Boston	- Dedication Sermon
Rev. F. A. Farley	- Providence	- Concluding Prayer

Mr. Brooks was invited to preach three Sundays in September, and on the eighteenth of that month preached all day. A chest affliction prevented him from completing the agreement, so he returned to Salem where he remained until the end of December, when he returned to Newport. On New Year's morning he was greeted by David Carr, who was sweeping snow, "Are you the Parson? I'm the saxon of this Church." "This quaint introduction and Right Hand of Fellowship was the pleasant beginning of my ministry in Newport", said Mr. Brooks in The History of the Unitarian Church in Newport, R. I., given in 1875." ³⁴

Mr. Brooks accepted the unanimous invitation to become the minister of the Church, effective January 1, 1837. The service of ordination took place on June fourteenth of that year. Dr. John Brazer of Salem gave the sermon. Others having part in the service were the Reverend Messrs F. A. Farley, Edward Hall, and George W. Briggs. The Charge was given by Dr. William E. Channing, from which is quoted this paragraph,

"The spirit of Change which characterizes our times has penetrated the Church, and, shaken the old stability of the ministry. In no profession are men exposed to greater change than ours." ³⁵ Commenting on this experience Mr. Brooks said, "I shall never forget the kindling look of his large luminous eyes, as he turned to me and said, after dwelling on the predominance of 'solemn sound' in the pulpit, 'My brother, help men to see.'"

The content of the Charge rooted deeply in the mind and soul of the young minister. This is revealed in the forthrightness of opinions expressed in his sermons. In fairness and kindness he put forth the truth, as he saw it, to those who did not agree with him as to the heed of social betterment, and greater kindness to the less fortunate, especially the slaves.

The membership of the Newport Church was a cross section of all

households of faith, each person having his own interpretation about the content, purpose, and place of religion in every-day problems of living in harmony with each other. Every Unitarian minister has had some experience in the trying work of uniting such minds in a common undertaking.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century a minister was usually required to give two or three sermons on Sunday, conduct a Bible class, and have a weekly conference meeting. In addition to this they had to prepare sermons, attend to the offices of the Church, make parish calls, and to look after sundry good works. One parishioner remarked, "I should think that three sermons was about as much as a man could write in a week." ³⁶ Mr. Brooks's salary was less than one thousand dollars a year.

From Dr. Wendte's "Memoir and Poems" is taken this anecdote about Mr. Brooks's ability to handle ticklish situations. A family were distressed because the husband and father would say nothing religious before his death. Mr. Brooks pointed out the unreasonableness of demanding from a man reticent of speech, who spoke daily through his deeds in praise of his Maker, eloquence on religious subjects when nearing the time of dissolution.

Church attendance then, as now, was a problem with which ministers had to wrestle, and Mr. Brooks was no exception. He mentions the lack of young men in the Church, and the need of co-operation on the part of parishioners in furthering the work of the Church. Referring to attendance he said, on a cold Sunday morning twenty people were at Church; at the afternoon service less than twenty; and, at the evening service "Church quite empty - only one pew full of giddy girls." ³⁷

Strange, but true! There was little opportunity for exchange of pulpits, and one can easily imagine the strain on Mr. Brooks to have no change in the routine. The nearest ministers at Providence, Fall River and New Bedford exchanged with him occasionally. Ministerial friends, when visiting Newport, would take services for him, thus affording opportunity to have a little change from the general run of his work.

Among these friends were

Rev. Henry Giles	Dr. Samuel Osgood
Dr. William E. Channing	Dr. Theodore Parker
Dr. William Henry Furness	Rev. John Weiss
Dr. Henry W. Bellows	Rev. Augustus Woodbury
Dr. Frederic H. Hedge	

Charles Timothy Brooks and Harriet Lyman Hazard, daughter of Benjamin Hazard of Newport, were united in marriage by their mutual friend Dr. William E. Channing on October 18, 1837. Four children were born to them, Harriet Lyman, Jonathan Mason, an invalid needing constant attention, Mary Elizabeth, and Peyton Hazard. Devoted to his family, lovingly guided by the practical understanding of his wife, Mr. Brooks shared with his children and those of his friends his stories, poems, and whimsical humor which endeared him to young and old alike.

Miss Maud Lyman Stevens, his granddaughter, in talking with this writer said, apropos the subject of children, "He loved children, and always had stories and poems for them. He translated children's stories from the German, such as "Max and Maurice", and we have copies of them in our library." It was my good fortune to spend an hour in her library browsing through the children's books which had brought so much happiness to the them.

To review a ministry of a quarter of a century is not the privilege of every minister. Mr. Brooks's sermon number nine hundred eighty-six "Remembrance of a Twenty-five Year's Ministry" is such a unique record. The text was taken from Psalm 143-5 "I remember the days of old." The sermon was delivered June 15, 1862.

"In short my great aim and aspiration has been to keep before you, and if possible awaken within you, the true and elevating and enlarging idea of Religion -- not such an idea of Religion as some seem to have in these days, who complain that it is hard to get people to attend to religion, because their heads, and hearts, and hands are so full of war and the country - just as if these very subjects were not themes and history of the real religion of a people and the ones through which to reach their souls and save

them from sin, that is selfishness -- but I mean that idea of Religion which, instead of limiting it to the times and places and forms, sets it up as the central and abiding principle which is to inform the whole man and inspire the whole life, to give dignity and solidarity to the (homely?) satisfactions of the day and hour, and to redeem the soul from losing itself little by little, its patience, its purity, its integrity, amidst the meanness and imitations and depressions of this distracting world." 38

"What do ministers do with their time, and what do they do?" "As regards my own idea of my work and calling, I may say that I have long felt that the minister is a man as well as a minister, and before he is a minister, that while he belongs not to one congregation or denomination alone; yet in order really best to serve his more immediate ecclesiastical relatives, he should remember that he belongs to the great church of humanity - he belongs to his country and his generation, to truth and to God. In the spirit of this conviction I have felt that I was in my place and at my post, while giving my time and my thoughts to the various problems of the age, to the cause of education, of temperance, of freedom, of government, and to all subjects and studies and struggles which bring men together in the arena of inquiry as men; as brethren of one great human and divine family. But still in all these walks of thought and labor, I have ever remembered that the world is to be sanctified and saved by truth, and that truth, if anything more than a name to you or me, is thought and that thought is study." 39

"I have never been able to feel the significance, the edification of statistical resumes in regard to moral and spiritual matters. In comparison with the question how sincerely, and deeply and lovingly religion takes hold of a single soul, then gives him what numbers are swayed in the name of religion is to me one of very small interest. The true question of spiritual success is one of quality not quantity. Here we live and walk and work by faith, not by sight, and no mathematical statement can satisfy or instruct the right soul. I believe my great aim has not been to convert

men from this opinion to that opinion, but to convert from worldliness to Godliness. And if any of my ministry has been governed by any one leading idea, I think it has been this; that the truth is God - that is, God manifest to the innermost man - the truth is the wisdom and the power of God to salvation, and that the truth saves us only as it becomes (lovingly?) ours by our own individual and independent thought, conviction and action." 40

"The gift of memory has far other and higher meaning to the thoughtful Christian than it has to the mere sentimentalist." 41

This review of twenty-five years of work, thought and service in a Free Church makes clear to me, that the basic faith as held by Unitarians is the eternal Faith. It was experience by Channing when he was a student and a member of an orthodox Church preaching from their pulpits. After he became identified with the Unitarian faith no pulpit was open to him, and he had difficulty in getting permission to speak in any orthodox Church. To illustrate the feeling of churchmen of the accepted denominations, I wish to tell a story. Elder Eddy, a Baptist in Newport, granted Channing permission to use his pulpit. However, before he got to the Church, some one removed the Bible remarking that a Unitarian would have no use for it."

CHAPTER V

Major Questions of the Day Temperance

Slavery Old Stone Mill

The gentle and lasting bravery of Channing, and the holy devotion of Charles Follen, "great teacher and a scholar, the man who had set all Boston afire with German literature, now in disgrace with Harvard and with Beacon Street, since he had taken up abolitionism",^{41-a} served to intensify the zeal and devotion in Brooks's soul. He took a firm stand on Slavery and on Temperance, even though it was hinted that it was unwise and might cause his removal from his pulpit.

The problem of Temperance in 1842, as in our own time, was a touchy one. "Think Soberly", a sermon delivered Sunday evening, February 6, 1842 in the Church, pointed out in the opening paragraph the many phases needing thoughtful consideration by men as Christians and men as citizens.

Said Mr. Brooks, "but I have read the gospel very strangely, if the great principles involved in this Temperance Cause are not the peculiar and essential principles of the gospel itself. I have wholly mistaken the characteristic and fundamental requisitions of the gospel, if soberness, self-denial and humanity are not chief among them. I have a vast deal to unlearn, if this is not the strongest test of our own Christianity; that we watch and be sober and stand ready to sacrifice and crucify every selfish passion and every idle habit on the altar of human good."⁴²

"It has been said that this is not a religious movement." x x x
"Not religious - because disregarding all those thousand and one banner cries of bigotry and heresy, it listens to that deeper cry which comes up from the abyss of real distress, from the wronged and almost ruined physical, moral and religious nature of Man? Not religious - because it seeks to purify those fountains which should well up into eternal life, and which are now sending up, in so many quarters, the black streams of death and desolation?"

"I believe that if ever the Spirit of God inspired a human enterprise, it inspired that little band who first placed the Temperance Cause on its new basis in this country." ⁴³

This is a strong hint of the unwillingness of people to learn from those who have first-hand experience. Alcoholics Anonymous use this technique in their splendid work. Were Mr. Brooks living today, he would be an ardent supporter of their methods and work. "But for my own part I thank and honor the man who has had the heroism to struggle with these accursed bonds and to shake them off and trample them underfoot and now feels himself moved to tell his story, that others who are in a similar, or a different road to the same abyss of degradation from which he came up, may be at once admonished and encouraged by his struggle and success, and that those who are not themselves in any such danger, may be awakened and stimulated to new efforts in the heavenly work of seeking out and saving them which are lost. Is it any real disgrace to a man to have wrested the sceptre of his reason after a long servitude and a long struggle from the fiends and furies of poisoned appetite?" ⁴⁴

"Suppose men in a moment of sincere thought, begin to plan their own redemption from the appetite and degradation it has brought upon them, begin the actual task. Think of the power of will and purpose they must exert to overcome all the pressure against them, and win free from all their pull and strain. These are the true heroes." ⁴⁵

The Temperance Cause was a daring social venture in the day when custom and habit were strongly knit together. Liquor and strong drink were part of the diet, and an accepted part of social amenities. Courage and vision, and love for mankind shine forth from Mr. Brooks's words, and his belief in helping men to grow in spiritual stature. What would have been his opinion of the "Men of Distinction" glamor advertising that floods our magazines and newspapers today?

It would do no harm to give here a few illustrations of the intrench-

ed strength of habit, and the industry which catered to it. Abraham Lincoln was opposed to legislation licensing and taxing the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. In a campaign talk in 1855 he said "That tax will tend to perpetuate the liquor traffic, and I cannot consent to aid in doing that."⁴⁶ He felt he should not sign the Internal Revenue Bill of 1862. Finally he yielded to the entreaties of Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. "I would rather lose my right hand than to sign a document that will tend to perpetuate the liquor traffic, and as soon as the exigencies pass away, I will turn my whole attention to the repeal of that document."⁴⁶

In 1826 Dr. Lyman Beecher urged that intoxicating liquors be removed from lawful articles of commerce as a public safety measure. Nine years later, 1835, liquor selling was regarded as an immoral business. The constitutionality of prohibition was challenged, and after fierce legal battles the United States Supreme Court, in 1847, declared the principle and the law constitutional.

Maine passed the first prohibition law in 1851, and four years later thirteen other states had passed a similar law; and, Kansas incorporated it into her constitution in 1880. North Dakota, Maine and Iowa followed her lead, but modifications in the Iowa law nullified its effectuality. Prohibition and the Anti-Slavery Party (Republican Party) increased in strength, though "slavery and immigration were great factors in retarding prohibition."⁴⁷

The power of the liquor interests was increasing. General Grant when president, declined to speak at a meeting of the United Brewers Association in 1872, because he was to be at a Republican Convention in Philadel-

⁴⁸The Sons of Temperance, organized in New York City September 29, 1842, became a powerful factor in the cause of Temperance. The National Prohibition Party was started in a Good Templar Lodge in Oswego, New York in 1869, and its platform in 1876 was a five-point stand on the side of morality. (1) International arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. (2) The abolition of polygamy and the social evil. (3) Suppression of lotteries and gambling, whether in gold, stocks, produce, or other forms of property. (4) The national observance of Sunday. (5) The free use of the Bible in public schools as a text book of the purest morals, of the best liberty, and noblest literature.

phia that day. The whiskey frauds of 1873-1875 gave strength and impetus to the Temperance Cause. The pledge signing Washingtonian Society, started in Baltimore April 6, 1840, after six years of activity had five million pledges.

Mr. Brooks aptly described the power of an ideal, with reference to this pledge "This pledge, small and trivial as it may seem to many, I regard as a great thing. It is great, as an expression of the general feeling that the principle is principle, however simple and homely the act which declares and asserts it. It is great, as an expression of willingness, on the part of so many, to sacrifice a darling habit for the sake of a brother's salvation." ⁴⁹ There were people in his congregation who did not agree with him in the matter of the Temperance Cause. But in his firm and kindly way he endeavored to be helpful to his needy brothers.

The arduous work of teaching religious liberalism, and transcendentalism in religion, and kindly social relations between men of differing opinions, writing prose and poetry, interest in Nature, fishing and other side lines did not consume all of Mr. Brooks's time. Some was left over to be used in studying history, especially that local problem "The Controversy Touching The Old Stone Mill in the Town of Newport, Rhode Island." Mr. Brooks's pamphlet, published in 1851, is an example of thoroughness in gathering facts.

The introduction to part one is a succinct summation of information about the structure "which has from an immemorial period defied alike the tooth of time and the wits of antiquarians. It is variously called the Round Tower, the Newport Ruin, and the Old Stone Mill. Some years ago it had become celebrated as the central object of certain scenes in Cooper's Red Rover (Preface - Pages 7, 8, 9 - and chapters III and IV, page 54 ff), and within a few years, the popularity of Newport, as a summer resort, has made it almost the first question put to any one who goes from here to other parts of the country, "what do you make of that old stone mill?" ⁵⁰

In the first chapter of his book Mr. Cooper thus summarizes social and economic conditions in Newport, "Rhode Island was the foremost among the New England provinces to recede from the manners and opinions of their simple ancestors. x x x By a singular combination of circumstances and qualities, which is, however, no less true than perplexing, the merchants of Newport were becoming at the same time, both slave dealers and gentlemen. It was styled 'the Garden of America.'" ⁵¹ He also refers to the cosmopolitan character of the town, the summer playground of planters from southern states and Jamaica, and to the fine harbor.

In this exotic setting Mr. Brooks did not lose his sense of values; and was not misled by a skilfully planned and well-executed hoax centered around the Old Stone Mill. In a clear and well-balanced style he marshalled facts, from colonial records and deeds, and steadfastly maintained that Norsemen had no part in building the tower. He declared that most Newporters were satisfied that it is "nothing but an old stone mill." Others think it may have been a watch tower, or a fortress, or a mill and fort combined.

He reasoned if the tower had been there in 1638, why didn't the early settlers mention it? To the point was the will of Governor Arnold, dated December 20, 1697, giving this instruction, "My body I desire and appoint to be buried at the north-east corner of a parcel of ground containing three Rod square, being and lying in my land in or near ye line or path from my dwelling house, leading to my stone built Mill in ye town of Newport above mentioned."⁵²

"Old Settlers" made statements under notarial seal; and engineers tested masonry and mortar, and found them to be of the same kind as used in the old buildings then standing. During the occupation of Newport by the British, during the Revolutionary War, the military suspected that the tower was being used for signaling messages to colonial troops. A force was sent to raze the structure. The undertaking was abandoned because the hardness of the masonry made the task a difficult one.

Much was printed and much more was said about the tower, but the perpetrators of the hoax (who maintained it was the work of Norsemen) were soon dis_ountenanced by a letter written by Charles C. Raffn, Secretary R. S. N. A., of Copenhagen, January 4, 1848. "I beg to return you my thanks for the communication transmitted, and deem it my duty to inform you that the article which lately appeared in your journals on the subject of the ancient structure in Newport is from beginning to end a downright fabrication, no such report having ever been made to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities as the one alluded to; the persons mentioned in the article too, Bishop Oel-rischer, Professors Scrobein, Graetz, &c, are all fictitious characters, there never having existed here individuals bearing these names. Thus the entire notice is nothing more than fiction, the object of which is to mystify the public." 53

Some very recent information substantiates Mr. Brooks's stand that the tower was built by order of Governor Arnold. The New York Herald-Tribune, August 8, 1948 reported "The excavation, financed by an anonymous donor, is being supervised by Dr. Jown O. Brew of Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Dr. William S. Godfrey, New York archaeologist, is in charge of the actual digging, which began last month and is expected to take two months or more. To date Dr. Godfrey and his assistants have turned up an 1875 dime, a musket ball, pennies dating to 1855 and some animal bones, but no large fragments or complete objects." Available information at the time digging was stopped for the year was nothing had yet been found to support the statement that the tower had been built by Norsemen.

These excursions from what might be the actual work of Mr. Brooks's ministry are taken for the purpose of showing the public thought, the conditions existing in the economic and social life of the town of Newport.

CHAPTER VI

Brooks's Health India Ministry

Literary Activities

We have for our next consideration, in the progress of this paper, Mr. Brooks's health, his work in the ministry and his literary activities, especially translation from the works of German authors.

The St. John family and M. E. Martineau, cousin of Harriet, had started a Unitarian Church in Mobile, Alabama. Believing that a sojourn in that warmer climate might benefit Mr. Brooks, he was invited to preach in that Church during the winter and Spring of 1842. While there his health seemed to improve. During this period his friend and classmate, William Silsbee, supplied the pulpit of the Newport Church. The delicate position in which Mr. Brooks was placed can well be imagined. He preached on doctrinal topics, said little about negroes, and interested himself in the "poor whites." He studied their speech, manners and religious beliefs and the camp meeting programs.

The bronchial affliction grew worse in the rigorous climate of New England. A friend arranged for him to sail on the Piscataqua of Portsmouth, New Hampshire on October 27, 1853. The ship was loaded with ice in the hold and with miscellaneous freight between decks. Three missionary families and Mr. Brooks were the passengers.

A short distance out of Boston, during a severe storm the ice shifted position and could not be re-packed. For one hundred and forty-three days the vessel sailed "heeled over." All persons aboard suffered discomfort and hardship. Great was their joy and relief when on March seventeenth they sailed into Madras, India.

As was to be expected, Mr. Brooks made good use of the time while on the voyage. He exchanged lessons in German and Hebrew for instruction in Tamil and Hindustanee; and, began gathering material which he printed under

under the title "Madras in Pictures" in Harpers New Monthly Magazine, December, 1857. It is illustrated with fifteen pictures. ⁵⁴

This following is a bit of Brooksonian humor taken from the article.

"There go following each other (to begin with an Irish bull as well as an Eastern one) two rude carts, each loaded with about a bushel of hay and drawn by two hump backed, long horned bullocks, the driver of one walking between his team and cattle, the other riding the pole." ⁵⁵

He tells of a unique method of increasing individual importance, as practiced by certain Indian gentlemen, namely that of winding cotton cloth about the person, thus increasing portliness to indicate station and importance. "They cawed, they screeched, they whistled, they sharpened their knives, they turned their grindstones" is the way he described the animal sounds he had heard. ⁵⁶ The need and poverty of the people, the drought, and the price of rice, at that time four times higher than usually asked, were items of interest in his notes. He said soldiers were stationed at the food depots to prevent rioting on the part of the starving people. Cattle were in terrible condition due to lack of feed. Walking through the streets he had for the first time "a realizing sense of the populousness of India."

This abridged daily routine is given that we may better understand living conditions as Mr. Brooks experienced them. Awakened by the birds; bathed by pouring jars of water over himself; out on the veranda to watch the people and the birds, then busy writing. Sometimes a walk along the road. Then "little breakfast", a cup of tea or a glass of goat milk. Between nine and ten o'clock breakfast with the family. After breakfast a drive into different sections of the city; then to the beach at two o'clock for tiffin. As the sun was sinking he returned to the bungalow, bathed and had dinner.

⁵⁷Of course, you wish to know about the ice; the five hundred tons melted down to one hundred and ninety tons of saleable material. The ice house, according to Mr. Brooks's description, had the appearance of a castle, and flew a flag in honor of the safe arrival of the ship.

After several unsuccessful calls, Mr. Brooks met William Roberts the native Unitarian minister, a man thirty-three years old "with a sprightly twinkle in his eye, and a countenance beaming and radiant with fine intellectual expression."⁵⁸ A school was connected with the chapel, under the management of a monitor, a splendid young man. The children were reciting in unison.

Mr. Roberts' brother had apostatized. William had been a servant to a bishop, who, learning he was Unitarian, dismissed him. Roberts applied to another man for work. The prospective employer agreed to hire him if he could get certification from the bishop stating cause for dismissing Roberts. This the bishop declined to give. The missionary outlined the pressures which his small group had to withstand so as not to become "mere rice-Christians" as "the loaf and fish disciples in India" are called.⁵⁹ Recounting unusual experiences, Mr. Brooks says he met a company of Christians coming from a meeting, and soon after them a "wagon-load of great wooden gods, probably changing their residence."⁶⁰

Mr. Brooks describes a service led by Mr. Roberts "He was reading the scriptures with a singular canto, the hearers with their Bibles carefully following. After the reading came the Liturgy, an amended Common Prayer used by English Unitarians, translated into Tamil. Then the singing of a hymn, translated by Mr. Roberts' father, the metre always long. The preacher would "deacon off" a stanza, then the chorister would rise and sing it through, swelling slowly to the close of each line with a peculiar and indescribable hum-m, which in chorus by the congregation - the children's shrill voices quite prominent - was still more marked and intense."

"The sermon, of which I understood nothing but Paravaran (the Supreme Spirit), and Amen, repeated by the audience with a most hearty twang, as if they were reluctant to let it go from their closed lips, was delivered in quiet earnestness. One thing was enlivening, whenever there was a text to be cited, the speaker would simply name the place, and then whoever found

it first would read (or chant) it out, and the discourse would proceed." 61

That same evening, March 26, 1854, Mr. Brooks attended the service in the English cathedral, "and heard the English service in an English Church and on English ground. Somehow or other that service does not seem at home, except on English ground and English lips. The sermon was a good one."

x x x "A more comfortable looking array of people than the men who occupied the heads of the pews I have seldom seen." 62

Mr. Brooks visited the Seven Pagodas and the buried city of Mavalipoor by palanquin, which he disliked because human beings were doing the drudgery. There were twelve bearers, and they relieved each other every five minutes. "Mostly the men in front use one kind of a groan or grunt, which is answered by another from those behind. these sounds often approach a scream, and frequently include warnings against stones in the way or pools of water, but these are articulated so indistinctly that it is difficult to catch them." 63

His contemplation of the ruins was disturbed by the "Pharisees and Sadducees of the college nearby. These were the Chief Priests who gave information, but somehow lacked vital information, speaking about the obvious, in hope, of course, for bucksheesh." 63

On Monday, April tenth he made a farewell visit to Mr. Roberts, and on Tuesday he "Gave Daniel his money and his 'character' (which I hope he will never sell to any one unworthy of it)." In the afternoon he boarded ship, which lay in the Roads a week because of the Easter holidays. On the evening of April eighteenth they left Madras. His Oriental holiday, of ten months, ended when the Lotus fastened to the wharf in Boston, Sunday, August 27, 1854.

Returning to his Newport ministry he found that his physical strength was unequal to the task before him. He preached his first sermon on September 17, 1854, but found it expedient to have the Rev. F. A. Tenney take over the pulpit duties. Mr. Brooks's feeling about the pastoral duties was more

intense than ever before. He also worked very hard at German translation and completed the First Part of Goethe's "Faust" and Jean Paul Richter's "Titan." He started work on Rückert's "Wisdom of the Brahmin."

After a two year absence from the pulpit, in 1856, he again took up his full pastoral duties; and, also printed the first part of his translation of "Faust." His volume of productivity increased. In 1859 he published "The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings", a volume of twenty-five sermons. The quotations given in the following paragraphs were taken from an autographed copy presented to the Redwood Library and Athenaeum in Newport.

"At the request, therefore, of those whose judgment he has the highest regard, this volume is published with the hope that it may do something to help on that work which is engaging some of the noblest spirits of the time, -- the reciprocal reconciliation of "reason" and religion; the showing of religion to be a reasonable thing, and (what is quite as important) reason to be a religious faculty and responsibility; the commanding of Christianity as a manly and humane faith, and the joining together of what God has united, but men have sundered, -- thought, feeling, and action, -- as inseparable elements in the one grand whole of a man's true life." Newport, October, 1859)⁶⁴

Like other Unitarian ministers of that time, Mr. Brooks used a terminology familiar to the ears of orthodox churchmen. But it had none of the Trinitarian meaning or connotations.

"The Unitarian Idea", sermon number seven, reviewed the May Meetings of 1859, in which Mr. Brooks asked

A - Shall we call ourselves, or let ourselves be called Unitarians? Is it not time to drop that name as a thing out-grown and obsolete?

B - Whether it is desirable, convenient, consistent for us to be organized as a distinct body?

C - Whether there is not some great religious idea which is committed to us as really Unitarian; x x x which distinguishes or should distinguish us from the so-called Orthodox communions?⁶⁵

The first two questions, says he, are nominal, but the third is the

vital one to hearten all who consider the Unitarian ideal and faith "an abstract, barren, scholastic, sectarian notion, but an expression rich in suggestion of truth, which the soul of man everywhere dearly yearns to reach and realize." 66

"Every Church must be built upon an idea." This cannot be a notion but a conviction of truth, of mind and judgment, and feeling, which springs from faith, not religious sentimentalism. "To us there is but one God, the Father (I Cor. 8-6). This is the great idea of Unitarianism - not merely the doctrine of 'unity,' but of the unities. The harmony and identity of so many sacred things which God has united, or rather which in God are united, but which man has put asunder." 67

"The Doctrine of Divine Unity is the doctrine of the oneness of humanity. The expression 'To us there is One God, the Father', means not merely to each of us, but to all of us, one and the same Father. Sectarian or social influence may make us feel or live as if we really had different origins and destinies, but reason and revelation assure us with combined utterance, that we are all offspring of one and the same Being, 'of whom and through whom are all things.'" 68

A vein of mysticism flowed through the mind and soul of Mr. Brooks. This he felt in the service of the Church, Communion, in the fellowship of human companionship, and in the laws and mysteries of Nature. This, the writer of this paper believes, is very well shown in his sermon "What Is The Use Of Praying?", number twelve in the 1859 collection. The purpose and place of prayer he sums up as an inner urge God has planted in man's soul. In this struggle to find inner strength and peace, through prayer, man reaches out and up to God.

"How much, in this heated, impatient, flitting age when men are in such a hurry to prove all things that they can hardly hold fast for a moment or two, that which is good, -- when we break up the fairest mansions of peace to build over toward air-castles of that ever-flowing tomorrow, - when people

call it enjoying themselves that they are forever hiding from themselves, - how much we need the true philosophy of piety, how much we need the composure and the quickening, the elevation and serenity that would come from entering, with all heart and mind, into the season of prayer, the meditation upon our real innermost life and its laws, of which prayer would be the necessary, -

"A stream that, from the fountain of the heart,
Issuing however feebly, nowhere flows,
But with access of unexpected strength."

The text of this sermon was taken from Matthew 6*8, "Our father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him." ⁶⁹

Continuing with the theme of mysticism, Mr. Brooks's sermon number eighteen, "The Communion", further supports my assertion that there was within his mind and soul a profoundly deep supply of this spiritual quality and emotion. He felt there should be a revival of the Service of Communion as a part of the Church's worship ritual; that individuals should pay more attention to this "memorial of our religion." He sensed and felt the majesty and worth of this Commemoration of "Christ's sufferings and sacrifice." Lack of understanding on the part of the individual makes the Service "the end rather than the means of a Christian experience."⁷⁰ The Service should be the means of "helping us join the Church." 'Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; ' x x x ' not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God." ⁷¹

Evidently for him the spiritual essence implied in the religious Service was not too far from the basic thrill of the worship of the holiness of Jesus' teachings and way of life. It is certain that he could not accept the cold mechanics of Calvinism or that of theological juggling. He was profoundly moved by the suggestion of the underlying sacredness in the observance of holy services, and the power so released to elevate mind and soul through such participation. In this, I am certain he had shared consciously or unconsciously with his one-time teacher, Charles Follen. It wasn't the ritual and drama that he wanted, but that people in such a Service should re-

cognize in simple participation a memorial to holy living as a means of aspiration, and the fact of being joined together in this worthy association and holy purpose.

The measure of value, applied to faith and religion, seems to be an ever-recurring subject for debate. Perhaps this is so because men have not yet out-grown their spiritual childishness. In our time, 1948, eleven years short of a century, which would mark the delivery of the sermon next to be quoted, eminent theologians are discussing the progress or regression of religion. The last sermon in the book, "The Present Crisis of Faith", has these very familiar words, "The age we live in is characterized, religiously, by a suspense of faith." ⁷² Unitarianism "having gone over so far in the direction of individuality, independence, and informality", said by critics "to shudder at its own hardihood and at the wilderness before it, is beginning to pause, and to reconsider whether it is not time to turn back and seek again the central ground, the safe ground of fixed forms and formulas." ⁷³

The truth of this observation related to present-day methods and worship services in Unitarian Churches, is to be seen in the increased use of the cross, an occasional Yin and Yang symbol, elaborate rituals, and other forms of service elements. Many of the forms of symbolism lack the essence and spirit Mr. Brooks sought in his simple order of service and in the Memorial Communion Service. One cannot help but agree with him when he says the tendency "is suspended animation, which statement is based on an eagerness to frame theoretical solutions instead of patiently working out practical ones. "Suspense of Faith" is a fitting general description of the condition of mind within, and without the fold of normal practicing Christians, for they await a new inspiration. This state of suspense is due to their having out-grown the present forms, and the fear to use new and more meaningful ones. "The wish is father to the thought, or sometimes the fear is. So, too, rhetoric is often father to the logic, and a felicitous figure stands for final arguments." ⁷⁴

"Let us hope that our present 'suspense of faith' is a progress of this kind; that we are passing from the faith of childhood to that of manhood; from the faith of fear to the faith which worketh by love; from the faith of superstition to the faith of reason; from the faith which finds God only in the strange and exceptional, to that which finds him, or rather has Him, in what is familiar and universal." 75

The granddaughter of Mr. Brooks, Miss Maud Lyman Stevens, lent me two manuscript sermons. Sermon nine hundred thirteen, "The Church of the Child-like", was evidently a first draft, for corrections were made on several of the pages. It was twenty-one pages in length, and old-fashioned "esses" were used. The lesson was taken from Matthew 18:20, and the purpose was to make the greatest account of those weak and wandering souls, that were as lost and neglected children, and especially to be careful not to throw stumbling blocks in the way of such, when they were struggling after an entrance into the kingdom, by a proud exclusiveness such as they, his disciples, had just manifested in frowning upon men who were trying to do good, because they only used Christ's name and did not follow their party. Such things, says, Jesus, are a stumbling block to my cause." 76

Mr. Brooks says, about the Church, "To what a sad extent has the Church, which in the idea of the Master, was to be the germ of the kingdom of Heaven on earth, the nursery of a brotherhood of lowly, loving and forgiving souls, degenerated into a kingdom of this world, a kingdom divided against itself, forgetful of its first law and great duty of upholding the Royal law of self-consecration. How much less has the Church, like the governments of the earth,, seemed to assume that it existed for its own sake, for its own private aggrandizement - as if man were made for the Church instead of the Church for man." 77

As Mr. Brooks saw the matter, the practical way to establish the Church would be this, "Let us cease to stumble at names and forms and strive after the living and loving spirit: - studying to have in ourselves the root of the

matter of religion, which, in proportion as it is fixed in our convictions and affections, will as naturally and necessarily put forth the shoots and flowers of life, as the earth softened with the heavenly influence clothes itself with bloom and beauty and fruitage as a thank-offering to the summer sun." 78

CHAPTER VII

Slavery Sanctioned by Rulers
Noble Partners in the "Trade"
Some Colonial Opinions
Inefficiency of Government Officials
Inhumanity Abolitionists

It is this writer's purpose to give a few glimpses of behind-the-scenes activity which opposed the efforts of the men and women who strove to have the cruel business of slavery stopped.

Official government records and private diaries of Colonial Times, and later, give much illuminating information relating to slaves and slavers. For example, the "Test Books" of Deacon Joseph Seccombe, among many more entries of a similar nature, give these items;

Feb. 5, 1775 Isaac Southwick, jun. Negro girl about fifteen years old died.

Oct. 29, 1775 Violet a negro servant of Benj. Prescott taken into Church.

Feb. 25, 1764 Died Caesar, a negro boy of Dr. Aborn's in ye 9th year of his age.

Caesar, a negro servant of the late Mr. Jno Orne, died 12 April, 1792, aged 80

Aug. 23, 1772 Bap. x x x "and Essex, a negro, offered by his master, James Bancroft. 79

Such items show that many masters tried to treat their servants as Human beings, and give them recognition as such.

There is also a less favorable side from which shall be taken several accounts which tell their own story and need no embellishment on my part. Sir John Hawkins has the dubious distinction of having been the first to establish slavery as a business between the Guinea Coast and America. Having shown the immense profits to be made in the "trade", Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Admiralty, Thomas Lodge, Governor of the Russia Company, Alderman Lionel Duckett, Sir William Winter, and Queen Elizabeth became interested and contributed money to further the venture. Ironic, was it not, to

have a ship named "Jesus of Lubeck" transporting human beings into bondage? Kings and queens, nobles and highly-placed officials, and later in our Colonies, and still later in our national life, business-men of education and reputation supported the degrading "trade", and had great influence upon the political life of their times.

Quoting from the Diary of Dr. William Bentley, minister of the East Church in Salem, Massachusetts, we have this interesting account. "1802, August 30 The Company of Prince, G. Ropes, & Philips of this Town have been questioned by the Government upon the complaint of the Slave Trade. G. Ropes was the Master and had long been on the A. Coast. Ropes was imprisoned but has returned home. Of the facts there is no question but in what degree, & upon what evidence we do not know. We know men will do anything for money." 80

"1802, Oct. 11 News came that Tracey Collins had died in Havana. This young man had adventured largely in the Slave Trade, & has been charged with great cruelties. He was wounded and much cut, &c. He belonged to a most worthy family." 81

According to report, West Indies planters worked their slaves to death rather than provide for them when they became old and unfit for further service. 81

The callous regard in which many slavers and many owners held their negroes is shown in this digest of a court record. "Captain Luke Collingwood of the ship Zong, September 6, 1781, found he had insufficient water to supply the needs of his cargo. He recalled that Underwriters had to pay for jettisoned cargo (either to lighten ship or to provide safety for the rest of the cargo aboard). He had one hundred and thirty-two negroes as "cargo." He ordered a number to be thrown overboard; ten negroes jumped into the sea to induce others to die bravely. Collingwood presented his claims, which were refused by the Underwriters. Solicitor General J. Lee declined to carry the matter to a higher court. "The Master had unques-

tionable right" to throw slaves into the sea. "This is a case of goods and Chattels; it is a case of throwing over goods and Chattels; it is a case of throwing over goods; for to this purpose, and the purpose of insurance, they are goods and property." 82

This event aroused the consciences of the British people, and on May 22, 1787 the British Society for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade was organized. Granville Sharp was elected chairman, and his most active assistant was Thomas Clarkson. William Wilberforce, member of Parliament, was a champion of the Society. On the other side H. R. H. Duke of Clarence, later William IV, was a leader in support of the Slave Trade.

The cruelty and the insufferable conditions under which negroes were taken and transported defy description. Highly courageous blacks tormented by ill-treatment stoically endured floggings which eventually killed them. Many committed suicide. Quite a few negroes believed in resurrection, though not Christians, thus believing to return to the life they enjoyed before their enslavement. To stop this Slavers cut parts from the bodies of the negroes, because an incomplete body prevented such return. The blacks kept on trying to "go homes."

Various methods and attempts were made to stop the despicable commerce. In 1701 representatives from Boston desired to promote the bringing over of more white servants, thus putting to an end importation of negroes as slaves. 83

On the surface it seems inhumane and very unkind to stop owners from freeing slaves. Chapter Two of the Law of 1703, Massachusetts - Restraint of Manumission, Discharge or Setting Free of Molatto or Negro Slaves." Some owners freed slaves, not through kindness, but because they were too old and infirm, and thus they rid themselves of the care and cost of keeping the aged persons. 84

All this would seem to have little bearing upon the work of Mr. Brooks as a minister, writer, and translator. However, it was just such

influences upon his thought for the welfare of mankind that made him prominent in the true ministry in the work of establishing better understanding of human needs and problems in social relations.

A word about our National Constitution and the ineffectiveness of our Government in the control of "Slavers" and the Slave Trade. Article 1, Section 9 of the Constitution, regarding Slaves, reads "The Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand, eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation not exceeding ten dollars for each Person." Observant citizens noticed that Slaves were called "Persons." State legislation seemed to be based upon economic considerations. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, said "It is better to let the Southern States import slaves than to part with those States."

The free negroes of Pennsylvania, in 1800, petitioned for revision of laws relating to the Slave Trade, the fugitive Slave Law, and for a system of gradual emancipation.

In the debate which followed the introduction of this petition into the Congress, Dana of Connecticut declared it "nothing but a farrago of the French metaphysics of liberty and equality." Brown of Rhode Island stated "We want money; we want a navy; we ought therefore to use the means to obtain it; x x x Why should we see Great Britain getting all the slave-trade to themselves? Why may not our country be enriched by that lucrative traffic? The petition was presented six years before President Jefferson congratulated Congress (December 2, 1806) "on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to prohibit the slave-trade." In 1808 Congress felt it had the authority to do this, and began to try to exert its power."⁸⁵

In October, 1787 Rhode Island passed an act to stop importation of slaves, encouraged the abolition of slavery, and proposed a fine of one

hundred pounds per person, and one thousand pounds per ship for violation of the act. Enforcement of the act was very difficult in face of the tremendous profits to be made - for example, ninety thousand dollars on a ten thousand dollar ship in one voyage. ⁸⁶

We can better understand the difficulty of enforcement of the law, after reading the letter written by Charles A. L. Lamar, an astute business man, in high social position, of Savannah, Georgia. It was written to Captain N. D. Brown, one of his shipmasters. "Your attorneys will visit you before the trial (he was captured with a ship loaded with negroes after slaving had been forbidden by our Government). If a true bill be found against you by the Grand Jury, it will be done upon the evidence of Club and Harris, and, of course, they will testify to the same thing. In this case I think you ought to leave, and I will make arrangements for you to do so, if you agree with me. I have offered Club and Harris \$5,000 not to testify, but the Government is also trying to buy them."

"I am afraid they will convict me, but my case is only seven years and a fine. If I find they are likely to do so, I will go to Cuba until I make some compromise with the Government." ⁸⁷

This letter shows, also, that there was a form of loyalty to each other on the part of the brethren of the "trade." However, from the correspondence of Mr. Lamar we have testimony to the contrary. After his "wanderer" experience, he wrote to a friend "I have been badly swindled by getting into the hands of rascals and vagabonds. I am out of pocket on the Wanderer, had to assume all the responsibility, pay all the money and do all the work." ⁸⁸

The shameful facts back of this commerce were these; human beings in Africa were hunted and captured to fill holds of ships and to be sold as chattels. On some plantations they were bred like cattle. Escaped slaves were hunted in free States, and under the law had to be returned to their owners. All this, and more, in a so-called Christian land dedicated to freedom and personal liberty. The evidence given in these few quotations show the wealth

and organization, cupidity and ruthlessness underlying the business of slaving. They also make clear how difficult it may have been for honest public officials to do their duties. Also, it is very clear, from the testimony here given, that great spiritual and physical courage were necessary to keep the men and women who were against slavery in their work of opposing the evil traffic. I have in mind, not the few honored by having their names recorded on the pages of history, but the plain people like Mr. Brooks and those who supported him in Newport. Considering also that for his service as a minister he received less than one thousand dollars per year as salary, what, by a program of appeasement might have been done to improve this condition, had there been less conviction about the rights of mankind in the mind and soul of Charles Timothy Brooks! According to the records, and the stories told about him, this clear picture is ever before me; After a service, he is standing in his usual place speaking to the people as they leave the Church. A man, whose face shows his anger, speaks to Mr. Brooks, suggesting that such matters as slavery be left out of the sermons, or else there might be changes in the ministerial personnel. Mr. Brooks's calm reply, "I am holding my hat in my hand."

CHAPTER VIII

German Writers Brooks's Translations Brooks in spiritual and social agree- ment with Transcendentalists

The list of German authors, from whose works Mr. Brooks made translations into the English language, includes Schiller, Goethe, Heinie, Count Auersperg, Langbein, Gottlieb Leopold Immanuel Schefer, Uhland, Theodor Körner, Justinus Kerner, Jean Paul Friederich Richter, Friederich Rückert and Berthold Auerbach. He also translated some of the books of M. Busch, the humorist, whose works appealed greatly to children. In the matter of style, Mr. Brooks trended more to the literal than to the poetic, though at times in Faust he has this fire and rhythm.

Jean Paul Friederich Richter, pseudonym Jean Paul, established his literary fame on his novel "The Invisible Lodge", and made it secure with his fictional biography "Hesperus." A tinge of mysticism flows through his writings, though there is some sarcasm, saved by a sense of humor. Richter had a great love for children, and was much interested in education.

An article by Mr. Brooks, published in The Christian Examiner, quoted by Dr. Camillo von Klenze, shows how much the German author was esteemed by Mr. Brooks. "Of all the German writers and men Richter is the one whom we are most eager that our country-men should appreciate and understand. . . He is to us by far the most suggestive, soul-stirring, improving of German minds. . . He is the Shakespeare of Germany. Jean Paul is greater than Goethe. . . Jean Paul's heart embraced everything at a distance. . . Goethe's all-sidedness has always seemed to us to be a cold indifference of heart to many forms of humanity. . . While Richter seems to us, with his large and glowing bosom, to meet all the aspects of human life and lot with a profound and tender and immortal interest." 89

Brooks translated three of Richter's books showing a considerable ability in putting into English the German author's involved manner of writ-

ing.

"Titan"	- 1862
"Hesperus"	- 1864
"Invisible Lodge"	- 1883

Mr. Brooks was working on the proof of this last named book when death called him.

The minister-translator's catholic taste in literature was intrigued by the writing of Friederich Rückert, professor of Oriental languages at Berlin. The first six books of his "Wisdom of the Brahmin" were translated by Brooks, and were published in 1882. He also translated a number of Rückert's poems; and, from his quartrains the one quoted below shows the touch of New England in the phrase "right nice"

"THERE'S many a little book that reads right nice,
The reader never cares to see again;
But whatsoe'er is not worth reading twice
Was not worth reading once, I do maintain."

Berthold Auerbach, of Jewish parentage, was a Liberal in ideology, and a Transcendentalist. He had studied at Tübingen, Munich, and Heidelberg. In 1836 he was imprisoned in Hohenasperg for participating in Burschenschaft activities. His ability to portray the life of German peasants and common people is well summarized by Dr. von Klenze.

"Berthold Auerbach had in common with the author of Wuz Jean Paul, an interest in the problems of the lowly so sincere, and a delight in the charm of simplicity so genuine, that Tolstoy could cherish him as a true apostle of humaneness, and that in Victorian England, in the France of George Sand, and in many other countries he could be hailed as one of the greatest writers that ever used the German idiom." 90

This should make it very clear why Auerbach was so highly regarded by the Newport minister, and why he translated four of the German writers novels. These four bear the date of 1877 as the year of printing.

"Aloys"
"The Convicts and Their Children" - Sträflinge
"Poet and Merchant" - "Dichter und Kaufman"
"Lorley and Reinhard" - "Des lorles Reinhard"

That Mr. Auerbach might have been somewhat exacting at times is supported by a statement made by Dr. Charles W. Wendte, devoted friend and biographer of Mr. Brooks. He wrote "A series of translations of Berthold Auerbach's novels led to a correspondence in which the less amiable traits of that eminent author were displayed." 91

Through the generous co-operation of several librarians, one copy of Auerbach's "Lorley and Reinhard", as translated by Mr. Brooks, was secured for background material. We tried to get all four books, in German and in the translations, but failed. A digest of the book to show the translator's style, and use of Yankee idiom follows.

Auerbach felt that mankind could be united through education and reason, and this is outlined in his Preface to "Lorley and Reinhard."

"The Railroad and free emigration have thoroughly metamorphosed the domestic and social economy of village life.

The German Empire has arisen!

"There is no cottage in the land so secluded that the song of the Fatherland does not resound within its walls.

In the battle for liberty and purity of human thought has grown up the universal obligation of the community to share in the great spiritual warfare. No soul is so shut up within itself as not to be reached by the summons:

No poet's imagination could have invented such creations as the inspirations of history and our age present to our eyes." 92 Midsummer, 1876.

The story centers around the difficulties young and old face in adjusting themselves to the new conditions and situations developed by the railroad. The attitude of mind is shown by Old Squire Shanks, owner of the inn, when it was suggested that he widen a barn door. "The young folks needn't fare any better than we did. They must learn, be wide awake. I've driven it for thirty years and never got stuck yet." 93

His buxom daughter Lorley is in love with Reinhard, a painter. Fine

souled, devout and capable, she is one who must have work for her hands. Comparing village and city life, she says "the misfortune is just this, that a wife cannot help the husband in his business, cannot run to his assistance in the least thing, and so each must be alone; at home with you the wife goes with her husband to the field and helps everywhere." 94

Barby, an old servant at the inn, who goes with Lorley to the city when they marry, is vexed with the Artist who comes late to breakfast. She admonishes him in good New England style, though the inn is in a Black Forest village. This, of course, is the work of the translator. "Mr. Reinhard gang in and drink your coffee. I aint a-goin' to warm it over for you again." 95

The Artist's friend, Adalbert Reichenmaier, a librarian, noting the sickness and need in the village, calls on the village priest and outlines a plan for a hospital and other aid for the handicapped people. "Impractical" says the Churchman, "the people help each other. Later in the Residence City an entry is made on the Records of the Ministry which shows close relation of Church and State. "The Collaborator Adalbert Reichenmaier, on complaint of Pastor M. at Weissenbach, adjudged by report of the Court at G. to hold atheistic sentiments, charged with attempting to stir up an insurrection among the people." 96

Before her marriage Lorley feels the responsibility that has been hers - "She felt like an honorable domestic, who, before he leaves his place of service voluntarily scrubs and scours the whole house from top to bottom." 97

After the wedding, when the newly-weds are ready to depart for the city, the Innkeeper is hold the horse. He gives it a smart cut with the whip, and after the animal is quieted gives this reason for his act; When one goes away from home, one must give the nag a little tickling that he too may know that one has the rod at hand; after that, one often has no occasion to use it at all the rest of the way. So too, it is with the wife; one must at the very outset give her to understand who is master, afterward all will

go well and we can lay the rod quietly by, but, the bridle one must hold fast - whoa, there! Whoa, nag, whoa!" 98

The customs and the strange ways of the city, and the manners and pretense and indifference, the shoddy and the sham do not square up to her honest soul. An old saying comes to mind "ausßen fix, innen nix", and she decides to return to her home village.⁹⁹ Here she becomes the village nurse, friend and confidant of the helpless and needy.

The railroad brought innovations and new people into the village, and many changes so altered the once complacent community that the few remaining old residents hardly know what to do or where to turn. The Artist and the Librarian again met at Weissenbach, and exchange accounts of their doings since last they met. The Artist finishes his story with the words "Art was my native land - war an abomination." After a short silence the Librarian speaks "I was a member of the Committee of Refreshment and handed to friend and foe many a comforting draught." 100 He said no more, for he was thinking of his sister Leopoldina who died of overwork in the military hospitals.

Mr. Brooks, in chapter thirty-one, page two hundred and seventy-three, translates "skat" a card game popular with Germans, and known to many Americans in communities where German immigrants settled, as "cribbage." There is little similarity between the two games. Skat uses thirty-two cards, and cribbage the full pack. Skat has games within the game, and a "nullo" bid in which the player contracts to make no points. It may be that he used the term "cribbage" to give a popular flavor for the reader's benefit. Perhaps few people along the Atlantic seaboard were familiar with the game. My feeling is that he must have learned about the game from Charles Follen when this revered friend was in Cambridge.

One item of particular interest, with reference to the changes which have taken place, is that common men smoke cigars instead of pipes which would indicate an advance in the social scale.

Further commenting on conditions the Librarian says "And knowest thou

the severest blow the priests have dealt us? x x x They have made the people rebellious and refractory against education; they have broken up the old confidence between us. That is the hardest thing of all." 101

Tragedy ends the story - the cause an idiot son of the new Innkeeper, whose devotion to Lorely caused him to try to take from Reinhard a picture of her. The Artist was on the Old Inn gallery, and the idiot ran against him forcing both against the old rail which broke, and the Artist fell to the street. The old time friends met in another land.

Mr. Brooks's translation is understandingly sympathetic, and one feels that he had the villagers ever before him as he took the story from the German tongue and placed it in the English language. My feeling is that Brooks's translations should again be published, because they give such intimate and clear pictures of living conditions of other days. He did us a splendid service when he translated these and other writings into the English tongue.

CHAPTER IX

Brooks and His Translation of the First Part of Faust Translations Compared Strict adherence of Brooks's Work Easier flowing Style of Bayard Taylor

When comparisons are made of original works, and the translations made therefrom by countrymen of the authors, and those made by men of other nations, it should be borne in mind that each translator will see fit to use a phrase, a word, or an idiom of his own. These may not agree, yet each according to the desire of the translator will be the fitting word.

As none of us can read the innermost emotions and thoughts of others, so translators are limited in expressing the actual content of an author's work. The techniques of writers, the fine turn of a phrase, the fire and emotion, or the lack of them, can be criticized. But the exact content of a man's soul can never be exactly known by another.

So it is when we consider Mr. Brooks's translation of the First Part of Goethe's Faust. At times one senses the tension that must have been in his mind when he endeavored to get the fine and exact flavor of a word or a line. Again, it might seem that there is a lack of poetical fire. But it may have been the restraint of a meticulous worker whose one desire was to have exactness rule in the translation of the Master-piece.

In this connection Dr. Camillo von Klenze points out a number of examples, which from a scholar's point of view are just criticisms.

"In any case, his aim, as he emphatically states in the Preface, was to outdo all his predecessors in accuracy, not so much verbal as metrical. This insistence on stricter fidelity to the form of the original is of course merely an expression of respect for the great dramatic poem, a respect greater than had ever been manifested by an English translator. The question instantly arises: to what extent did Brooks succeed in conveying to the reader this reverence which he himself so strongly felt?

"Only the welding of a sovereign control of the idiom of the original

with a genuine poetic gift can assure at least partial success. Unfortunately Brooks possessed neither, when the essential failure of his attempt." 102

Dr. von Klenze further elaborates "Did he grasp the meaning of: "er (der Entschluss) will es (das Mögliche) nicht fahren lassen" (Faust 1. 229), when he translated "Once in the yoke and you are free." 103

Beginning with line two hundred and twenty-five, Goethe's words are

Was heute nicht geschieht, ist morgen nicht getan,
Und keinen Tag soll man verpassen.
Das Mögliche soll der Entschluss
Beherzt sogleich beim Schopfe fassen,
Er will es dann nicht fahren lassen
Und wirket weiter, weil er muss.

As translated by Mr. Brooks they read as follows

Tomorrow will not do what is not done today.
Let not a day be lost by dallying,
But seize the possibility
Right by the forelock, courage rallying,
And forth the fearless spirit sallying, --
Once in the yoke and you are free.

The only possible defense that seems reasonable, to account for the translation of the last line, as given, is that Mr. Brooks might have had in mind the thought that so long as undone chores confront individuals, so long are they enthralled. Further, that when physically in the yoke (the load, the burden of the work) they rid themselves of that particular burden.

Bayard Taylor's translation flows freely, and comes close to Goethe's own thought

What's left undone today, To-morrow will not do.
Waste not a day in vain digression:
With resolute, courageous trust
Seize every possible impression,
And make it firmly your possession
You'll then work on, because you must.

Now to the Preface and let Mr. Brooks speak for himself. This quotation, and others which may follow, was taken from the Second Edition published in 1857.

"Perhaps some apology ought to be given to English scholars, that is, to those who do not know German, (to those, at least, who do not know what sort

of thing Faust is in the original,) for offering another translation to the public, of a poem which has been already translated, not only in a literal prose form, but also, twenty or thirty times, in metre, and sometimes with great spirit, beauty and power."

"The author of the present version, then, has no knowledge that a rendering of this wonderful poem into the exact and ever-changing metre of the original has, until now, been so much as attempted. To name only one defect, the very best versions which he has seen neglect to follow the exquisite artist in the evidently planned and orderly intermixing of male and female rhymes, i. e. rhymes which fall on the last syllable and those which fall on the last but one. Now, every careful student of the versification of Faust must feel and see that Goethe did not intersperse the one kind of rhyme with the other, at random, as those translators do; who, also, give the female rhyme (on which the vivacity of dialogue and description often so much depend) in so small a proportion."

"A similar criticism might be made of their liberty in neglecting Goethe's method of alternating different measures with each other."

"It seems as if, in respect to metre, at least they had asked themselves, how would Goethe have written or shaped this in English, had that been his native language, instead of seeking *con amore* (and *con fidelitá*) as they should have done, to reproduce, both in spirit and in form, the movement, so free and yet orderly, of the singularly endowed and accomplished poet whom they undertook to represent." 104

Bayard Taylor supports Mr. Brooks at this point in these words "The feminine and dactylic rhymes, which have been for the most part omitted by all metrical translators except Mr. Brooks, are indispensable. The characteristic tone of many passages would be nearly lost without them. They give spirit and grace to the dialogue, point to the aphoristic portions (especially in the Second Part), and an ever-changing music to the lyrical passages." 105

Technical criticism, and pressure for exactness, on the part of translators and writers, must have irked Goethe, for in 1831, twenty-six years before the publication of Brooks's work, he wrote "At present, everything runs in technical grooves, and the critical gentlemen begin to wrangle whether in a rhyme an s should correspond with an s and not a sz. If I were young and reckless enough, I would purposely offend all such technical aaprices; I would use alliteration, assonance, false rhyme, just according to my own will or convenience -- but, at the same time, I would attend to the main thing, and say so many good things that every one would be attracted to read and remember them."106

It would seem that Goethe's reaction to exacting criticism was one of understanding the use of freedom on the part of writers and translators, and others, so long as content, fact and imagination were honestly presented.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, every translation, no matter who makes it, will have in it traces of the soul, humor and bias, and particular bent of the translator. As a general question, are there any perfect translations from one language to another? Can it be done? Why then object too strenuously when there is a difference of opinion? Of course, clumsy mishandling will irritate the finer sensibilities. A bit of the apt humor of the "bauer" translated into the dry idiom of the Yankee still has the content of folk experience and tangy directness.

Perhaps Mr. Brooks and other American writers and translators were more interested in sentimental writings. These, to a degree, served to remove a certain mental-spiritual starchiness which was most helpful in advancing growth in the field of letters being established in the New Nation. How could it, new-born into the hardships of turning a wilderness into a home, compete with nations who for generations enjoyed comparative leisure and opportunity to forget the savage and raw conditions that once faced their forebears?

It is recorded that Brooks was not much interested in mathematics

and philosophy. This may have had bearing upon his choice of material for translation, especially as his feeling for the humanities was so strong.

In the Preface to his translation of Faust, Bayard Taylor says about Mr. Brooks's effort "It is twenty years since I first determined to attempt the translation of Faust in the original metres. At that time, although more than a score of English translations of the First Part, and three or four of the Second Part were in existence, the experiment had not yet been made." 107

"Mr. Brooks was the first to undertake the task, and the publication of his translation of the First Part (in 1856) induced me, for a time, to give up my own design. No previous English version exhibited such abnegation of the translator's own tastes and habits of thought, such reverent desire to present the original in its purest form. The care and conscience with which the work had been performed were so apparent, that I now state with reluctance what then seemed to me to be the only deficiencies, -- a lack of lyrical fire and fluency of the original in some passages, and an occasional lowering of the tone through the use of words which are literal, but not equivalent. The plan of translation adopted by Mr. Brooks, was so entirely my own, that when further residence in Germany and a more careful study of both parts of Faust had satisfied me that the field was still open, -- that the means furnished by poetical affinity of the two languages had not yet been exhausted, -- nothing remained for me but to follow him in all essential particulars. His example confirmed me in the belief that there were few difficulties in the way of a nearly literal yet thoroughly Rhythmic version of Faust, which might not be overcome by loving labor. A comparison of seventeen English translations, in the arbitrary metres adopted by the translators, sufficiently showed the danger of allowing license in this respect: the white light of Goethe's thought was thereby passed through the tinted glass of other minds, and assumed the coloring of each. However, the plea of selecting different metres in the hope of producing a

similar effect is reasonable, where the identical metres are possible."¹⁰⁸

Mr. Taylor says that Mr. Brooks translated Faust in a sincere and practical manner within the limits indicated in the original composition. Within this scope he, at times, has not agreed with other translators. In this respect both men saw eye to eye in the matter of freedom of opinion. Mr. Taylor puts it in these words "Here, as in a few other places, I do not feel bound to confine myself to the exact measure and limit of the original. The reader may be interested in comparing some other versions."¹⁰⁹

The allusion relates to the section beginning with line three hundred and fifteen, The Prologue in Heaven. Mephistopheles and the Lord are speaking about Man, the Lord having in mind especially Faust.

So lang' er auf der Erde lebt,
So lange sei dir's nicht verboten,
Es irrt der Mensch, so lang' er strebt.

As translated by other writers, we see a wide variety of interpretation;

Goethe	Es irrt der Mensch, so lang' er strebt
Hayward	Man is liable to error, while his struggle lasts
Anster	Man's hour on Earth is weakness, error, strife
Brooks	Man errs and staggers from his birth
Swanwick (Miss)	Man, while he striveth, is prone to err
Blackie	Man must still err, so long he strives
Martin	Man, while his struggle lasts is prone to stray
Beresford	Man errs as long as lasts his strife
Birch	Man's prone to err in acquisition

These examples from the minds of men and women who have worked for years in analyzing Faust, endeavoring to give each word and each line content and place basically agree in the differing use of language. The writer of this paper wonders why some one did not translate the line "Aspiration's urge his error'd reveal." Mr. Taylor's translation is

While Man's desires and aspirations stir,
He cannot choose but err.

Mr. Brooks's translation reads

So long as he shall live on earth
Do with him all that you desire.
Man errs and staggers from his birth.

It is possible that Mr. Brooks saw man endeavoring to answer aspiration's urge checked by the stone wall of Fact, re-routed innumerable times by experiential detours to the highway of his soul's desire, as a falling, rising, weaving creature. So he used "stagger" as the most comprehensive and descriptive English word for the German "strebt."

However great may have been the range of Mr. Brooks's mind and desire for more knowledge, we should remember that he was born into the period of transition from pioneering days to the time of a more stable economy, which began to provide greater opportunity for gaining cultural values. A relatively few people had time for books and study, and the means to buy books. They were the merchants, clergymen, doctors, and educators. There were private libraries, and workingmen's reading clubs. But there was not a general circulation of folklore, legend, tradition about the Bible and religion; nor was there a wide circulation of the latest books on philosophy, political writings, religion and social problems as was true in Europe.

By virtue of his position as a clergyman, Mr. Brooks gained much information about progressive thinking in Europe as brought back by sea captains, and merchants who travelled abroad. Yet his circle of information and culture was small compared to that which Goethe enjoyed. As has been pointed out, Mr. Brooks was not overly interested in the sciences. On the other hand Goethe worked in fields of science, politics, was gifted in knowledge of the stage and drama, knew European folklore, and had access to the latest writings of students and literary people. He had studied architecture and art, and was versed in the newer approach of progressive theologians.

His Faust is a vast collection of legend, folklore, personal experience, philosophical speculation, and comment on the religious beliefs of the times. A considerable study had to be made of the poem in order to get the exact flavor and meaning of the words and lines. This required research, and understading of the group life and philosophy of the German people, who were just emerging from the restrictions of autocratic govern-

ment.

The background of religious thinking reflected the thinking of Melancthon and Luther who believed in personal devils. It will be remembered that Luther threw an inkwell at a devil who bothered the learned Martin in his study. The doctrines of Calvin had a firm hold on the religious thinking of a great number of people.

The name Faustus, ("fortunate", "of good omen") was not an unusual given name. The younger Socinus, who taught Unitarian doctrines in Poland and Transylvania was so named. "x x some have very absurdly attempted to connect (him) with the Faust legend. He was not born until 1539."

Zealots in religion have used some of the lines in Faust as referring to religious groups not in agreement with them; and, as proof of the sure reward of those who seek to find out the secrets relating to Nature and to God. The Faust legend, in short, is a cross section of sixteenth century superstitions and beliefs.

Faust and the Devil! There is no end to the stories; and, they take every imaginable form. One story, for illustration, is that Mephistopheles first served Faust in the guise of a monk, and that he supplied his master's table with food and wine taken from the cellars of the Bishop of Salzburg, and other prelates. When Faust wished to marry, according to another story, Mephistopheles reminded him that this would be pleasing to God, which would be a violation of their agreement. 110

Goethe has been criticized for his hard treatment of some people who had been of great help to him. It is not my province to do this, but to point out that he was not entirely one-sided in this respect. This can best be done by Albert Schweitzer, a devoted admirer of the poet.

In his address given in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, August 28, 1929, when he received the Goethe Prize, Schweitzer said "At the end of my student days I reread, almost by chance, the account of his Harzreise in the winter of 1777, and it made a wonderful impression on me that this man, whom we re-

garded as an Olympian, set out amid November rain and mist to visit a minister's son who was in great spiritual difficulties, and give him suitable help. A second time there was revealed to me behind the Olympian the deep and homely man. I was learning to love Goethe. And so whenever it happened in my own life that I had to take upon me some work or other in order to do for some fellow man the human service he needed, I would say to myself, "This is a Harzreise for you." lll

Why all this background about Goethe and Charles Timothy Brooks? As this writer views the matter, Mr. Brooks through his mysticism saw with the spiritual eye the quantity and quality of human life incorporated in the story of Faust. He yearned to release its greatness to the people of his own country through the English language. Within his mind fomented the pungent wit and directness that characterizes men and women who meet life in direct grips with fundamental facts of the demands made upon all living creatures. These were refined by his association with all sorts and conditions of men; and, through the responsibilities of husband and parent.

Goethe and Brooks were mystics and Nature-lovers. Both were deeply religious, and both loved their fellowmen.

The savant, and the parish minister - one born in a community old and with established customs, lore, loves and hates; the other a child in a new land where life was hard, with little time for relaxation and contemplation of the more intricate soul stuff, and comparison of philosophies.

In the new land the heritage of the older traditions and customs were, at times, not gently changed, but abruptly disrupted by immediate and urgent need of something different. Whether or not this was understood, felt, or realized, nevertheless it was the effort of the human soul to burst forth into greater mental-spiritual freedom. It is aptly described in Auerbach's *Lorley and Reinhard*, as translated by Brooks "In the battle for liberty and purity of human thought has grown up the universal obligation of the community to share in the great spiritual warefare." This is in the Preface.

There was a great spiritual warfare in the old civilization where the savant was born, as well as in the new land where was born the parish minister. Each in his own way was eager and anxious to do all he could to forward the possible good of mankind. Yet each used a different language, made up of the past, the present, and indications for the future, with the tempering of experience, hope, failure, defeat and success. Whilst looking forward, each could not but look backward also because memory had recorded much sweetness, love, truth and, perhaps, a wish or two. They were companions in imagination, and in the over-all view of possible expansion of the human mind in growth and appreciation of the rich heritage bequeathed them by God.

This companionship of understanding is shown Faust, Part First Dedication, here given; the author reaching back to meet again the deeply loved and spiritually-needed experiences; and the translator setting this into another language yet keeping the mystical relation as first expressed by Goethe.

ZUEIGNUNG

Ihr naht euch wieder, schwankende Gestalten,
 Die fröhlich sich einst dem trüben Blick gezeigt.
 Versuch' ich wohl, euch diesmal festzuhalten?
 Fühl' ich mein Herz noch jenem Wahn geneigt?
 Ihr drängt euch zu! Nun gut, so mögt ihr walten,
 Wie ihr aus Dunst und Nebel um mich steigt;
 Mein Busen fühlt sich jugendlich erschüttert
 Vom Zauberhauch, der euren Zug unwittert.

Ihr bringt mit euch die Bilder froher Tage,
 Und manche liebe Schatten steigen auf:
 Gleich einer alten, halbverklungenen Sage,
 Kommt erste Lieb' und Freundschaft mit herauf;
 Der Schmerz wird neu, es wiederholt die Klage
 Des Lebens labyrinthisch irren Lauf
 Und nennt die Guten, die, um schöne Stunden
 Vom Glück getäuscht, vor mir hinweggeschwunden.

Sie hören nicht die folgenden Gesänge,
 Die Seelen, denen ich die ersten fang;
 Zerstoßen ist das freundliche Gedränge,
 Verklungen, ach! der erste Widerklang.
 Mein Leid ertönt der unbekanntnen Menge,
 Ihr Beifall selbst macht meinem Herzen bang;
 Und was sich sonst an meinem Lied erfreuet,
 Wenn es noch lebt, irrt in der Welt zerstreuet.

Und mich ergreift ein längst entwöhntes Sehnen
 Nach jenem stillen, ernstest Geisterreich,
 Es schwebet nun in unbestimmten Tönen
 Mein lispelnd Lied, der Aeolsharfe gleich
 Ein Schauer fasst mich, Träne folgt den Tränen,
 Das strenge Herz, es fühlt sich mild und weich;
 Was ich besitze, seh' ich wie im Weiten
 Und was verschwand, wird mir zu Wirklichkeiten.

The following is Mr. Brooks's translation of this Dedication, Part
 First, of Goethe's Faust.

DEDICATION

Once more ye waver dreamily before me,
 Forms that so early cheered my troubled eyes!
 To hold you fast doth still my heart implore me?
 Still bid me clutch the charm that lures and flies?
 Ye crowd around! come, then, hold empire o'er me,
 As from the mist and haze of thought ye rise;
 The magic atmosphere, your train enwreathing,
 Through my thrilled bosom youthful bliss is breathing.

Ye bring with you the forms of hours Elysian,
 And shades of dear ones rise to meet my gaze;
 First Love and Friendship steal my vision
 Like an old tale of legendary days;
 Sorrow renewed, in mournful repetition,
 Runs through life's devious, labyrinthine ways;
 And, sighing, names the good (by Fortune cheated
 Of blissful hours!) who have before me fled.

These later songs of mine, alas! will never
 Sound in their ears to whom they first were sung!
 Scattered like dust, the friendly throng forever!
 Mute the first echo that so gratefully rung!
 To the strange crowd I sing, whose very favor
 Like chilling sadness on my heart is flung;
 And all that kindled at those earlier numbers
 Roams the wide earth or in its bosom slumbers.

And now I feel a long unwonted yearning
 For that calm, pensive spirit-realm, today;
 Like an Aeolian lyre, (the breeze returning,)
 Floats in uncertain tones my lispings lay;
 Strange awe comes o'er me, tear on tear falls burning,
 The rigid heart to milder mood gives way;
 What I possess I see afar off lying,
 And what I lost is real and undying.

The last two lines of this translation are reminiscent of lines in
 his "Rhymed Reminiscences" which were given at the North Church Centennial
 Festival, here given with special emphasis on the last two lines.

How often my heart leaped up with mute delight,
 When, as a boy, I journeyed home at night,

To see, while trees and lights behind us fled
 The moon and stars ride with us overhead.
 So with the things of Time - like dreams they glide --
 The eternal things are ever at our side.

Further proof that Brooks was a mystic is found in note number four in Dr. von Klenze's book. "So now you have a vague image. I will only add that mysticism has been one of my faults." To which Dr. von Klenze adds this comment, "It is not unlikely that the savour of mysticism characteristic of several scenes in Faust I helped to attract Brooks to Goethe's great drama." 112

The quotations given in German, and as translated by Brooks and Taylor, show differences of opinion and use of words. At times, in Mr. Brooks's work there is the impression of hardness of language, no doubt due to the aim of the translator to give exactness to his work.

Line fifteen, Part I, Faust

Und nennt die Guten, die, um schöne Stunden
 Vom Glück getäuscht, vor mir hinweggeschwunden.

Mr. Brooks's translation

And, sighing, names the good (by Fortune cheated
 Of blissful hours!) who have before me fled. 113

Mr. Taylor's translation has a smoother, softer flow of words

And names the Good, whose cheating fortune tore them
 From happy hours, and left me to deplore them.

In the conference between the Lord and Mephistopheles, Prologue in Heaven, beginning with line three hundred and thirteen, there is again, to me, a hardness in the language of Mr. Brooks's translation as compared to that made by Mr. Taylor.

Wen Ihr mir die Erlaubnis gebt,
 Ihn meine Strasse sacht zu führen.

Mr. Brooks translation reads

If you will give me leave henceforth,
 To lead him softly on, like an old stager. 114

Mr. Taylor made three lines, brought in smoother rhythm and a gentler suggestion equally as forceful in content. There is also a softer man-

ner in asking a favor of the Lord.

There's still a chance to gain him,
If unto me full leave you give,
Gently upon my road to train him.

In the scene between Faust and Wagner, line five hundred and thirty-eight, Faust, somewhat irritated by his *Famulus* who makes an inopportune visit to his study, rather sharply speaks to him

Sitzt ihr immer! leimt zusammen,
Braut ein Ragout von andrer Schmaus
Und blast die kümmerlichen Flammen
Aus eurem Aschenhäufchen 'raus! 115

It is difficult to agree with Mr. Brooks in his use of "Thaw your glue-pot" in translating "leimt zusammen." To me it has the suggestion of putting together bits of unrelated material, and hints at piddling about with petty thoughts and ideas, when the individual should be doing work in a large measure. Faust might have been a bit ironic, considering Wagner's clumsy efforts to become a learned one.

Here then is the translation as made by Mr. Brooks

Sit there forever! Thaw your glue-pot, --
Blow up your ash-heap, and brew
With a dull fire, in your stew-pot,
Of other men's leavings a ragout. 115

Mr. Taylor phrases it in smoother form, and comes closer to the author's thought and language.

You sit forever, gluing, patching;
You cook the scraps from others' fare;
And from your heap of ashes hatching
A starveling flame, ye blow it bare!

The scene before the City Gate, where towns-people, students, and companies of girls are walking about and gossiping, contains some of Mr. Brooks's New England flavored translation. We shall begin with line number eight hundred and twenty-eight.

Schüler

Bliz, wie die wackern Dirnen schreiten!
Herr Bruder, komm! wir müssen sie begleiten.
Ein starkes Bier, ein beizender Tobak,
Und eine Magd in Puz, das ist nun mein Geschmack.

Bürgermädchen

Da sieh mir nur die schönen Knaben!
 Es ist wahrhaftig eine Schmach:
 Gesellschaft könnten sie die allerbeste haben,
 Und laufen diesen Mägden nach!

Mr. Brooks's translations, given in the following paragraph has the tang of salt water in the student's "fasten alongside" and "well rigg'd." A "good smart tobacco" covers quite a lot of territory, as the term "good smart" has been used by New Englanders. According to the immigrant's use of "ein reizender Tobak" he would be asking for a "strong tobacco" were he using English. Mr. Brooks leaves a strong flavor of either Salem or Newport in this particular part of his translation. Mr. Taylor comes nearer the original in my estimation.

Scholar

Stars! how the buxom wenches stride there!
 Quick, brother! we must fasten alongside there.
 Strong beer, good smart tobacco, and the waist
 Of a right handsome gall, well rigg'd, now that's my taste.¹¹⁶

Citizen's Daughter

Do see those fine, young fellows yonder!
 'Tis, I declare, a great disgrace;
 When they might have the very best, I wonder,
 After these galls they needs must race.

The contrast as shown in Mr. Taylor's translation is quite noticeable, in the general flow of average speech without verging too near that of a particular group or section of the world.

A Student

Deuce! how they step, the buxom wenches!
 Come, Brother! we must see them to the benches.
 A strong, old beer, a pipe that stings and bites,
 A girl in Sunday clothes, -- these three are my delights.

Citizen's Daughter

Just see those handsome fellows, there!
 It's really shameful, I declare; --
 To follow servant girls, when they
 Might have the most genteel society to-day!

The next quotation is taken from the scene in Auerbach's Cellar, when Mephistopheles, at a table, asks for a gimlet, and Altmayer, line two thousand two hundred and fifty-nine, says "Dahinten hat der Wirt ein Körbchen Werkzeug stehn." This Mr. Brooks translates "The land-lord's tool-chest there is easily got at." A little basket hardly warrants being called a tool-chest. My grandfather had such a basket, and in all my association with him never once did he ask me to bring his "tool chest." Mr. Taylor also translated "Körbchen" as "box of tools", the line reading "Yonder, within the landlord's box of tools, there's one."

Faust and Margaret are deep in their love-making in the garden. She brings up the matter of religion, and for a time his answers seem reasonable enough. However, they are not satisfactory, and beginning with line number three thousand four hundred and sixty-six, Margaret says

Wenn man's so hört, möcht's leidlich scheinen,
Steht aber doch immer schief darum;
Denn du hast kein Christentum.

Mr. Brooks has her say, in his translation

Well, all have a way that they incline to,
But still there is something wrong with thee;
Thou hast no Christianity. 117

Certainly, Margaret held in the power of love for Faust, would be less book and direct than the translation would imply. The need is a measure of tenderness, even though in the original German the reply seems to be short and direct. Perhaps Brooks and Taylor might have given their translations a bit of softness without the harsh directness their lines imply. Perhaps something like this

Thy words are fair.
Yet underneath they do not say
Christianity is thy faith.

Mr. Brooks translated one hundred and forty-seven lines of Part Second of Faust. There seems to be no answer for his not having finished it, unless it be that his health was none too good. Hence, he may have considered it wiser to translate such material as would have a readier sale and

and a greater appeal to the reading public.

In note number ninety in his book Brooks and the Genteel Tradition, Dr. von Klenze writes "The fact that F. H. Hedge, distinguished Unitarian minister and for many years professor of German literature at Harvard, in a review of Brooks' Faust in The Christian Examiner, LXIII (1857), 1 ff., deplored Brooks' failure to translate Faust II, -- furthermore the fact that Brooks at least began a translation of it, and that Taylor englished the whole, and all that despite the regnant contempt for Faust II in England (cf Hauhart, The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England, p., 43)- proves the correctness of von Grueningen's contention that in respect to Goethe American opinion, though at times derivative from English views is "quite as often, if not in the main, decidedly independent." 118

The quotation from Part Second of Faust, given here, is for the purpose of illustration, to show that poetic fire did burn in Brooks's mind and soul. It is taken from the opening scene of the first act. Faust, reclining on a grassy knoll, seeks rest and sleep. Ariel is singing to an Aeolian harp accompaniment.

Wenn der Blüten Frühlingsregen
Ueber alle schwebend sinkt,
Wenn der Felder grüner Segen
Allen Erdgebornen blinkt,
Kleiner Elfen Geistergrösse
Eilet, wo sie helfen kann;
Ob er heilig, ob er böse
Jammert sie der Unglücksmann.

Die ihr dies Haupt umschwebt in lust'gen Kreise,
Erzeigt euch hier nach edler Elfen Weise.
Befänstiget des Herzens grimmen Strauss,
Entfernt des Vorwurfs glühend bittre Pfeile,
Sein inres reinigt von erlebtem Graus.
Vier sind die Pausen nächtiger Weile;
Nun ohne Säumen füllt sie freundlich aus!
Erst senkt sein Haupt aufs kühle Polster nieder,
Dann badet ihn im Tau aus Lethes Flut;
Gelenk sind bald die krampferstarnten Glieder,
Wenn er gestärkt dem Tag entgegenruht.
Vollbringt der Elfen schönste Pflicht,
Gebt ihn zurück dem heiligen Licht! 119

The translation of these lines, as made by Mr. Brooks, next follows, and I believe it will fully support my statement that he possessed poetic

When the rain of blossoms falleth,
Fluttering, on the lap of Spring;
When the field's green blessing calleth
Forth to joy each earth-born thing, --
Great-souled elves, in stature lowly,
Haste to help where help they can;
Be he guilty, be he holy,
Pity they the sorrowing man.

Ye, round this head in airy circles wheeling
Come, show now, here, a noble elfin feeling;
Assuage the torment of the fevered heart;
His memory cleanse from horror's ghastly power;
Pluck out remorse's bitter, burning dart.
Four are the pauses of the nightly hour;
Haste, now, and fill them out with friendly art!
First, on the cooling cushion rest each member,
Then bathe him in the dew from Lethe drawn;
Soon will the cramped and rigid frame grow limber,
When, strong through sleep, he goes to meet the dawn.
Elves, do your fairest task tonight,
Restore him to the holy light. 120

Next is given Mr. Taylor's translation, which has a pleasing poetical rhythm in keeping with the original poem.

When the Spring returns serener
Raining blossoms over all;
When the fields with blessing greener
On the earth-born children call;
Then the craft of elves propitious
Hastes to help where help it can:
Be he holy, be he vicious,
Pity they the luckless man.

Who round this head in airy circles hover
Yourselves in guise of noble Elves discover!
The fierce convulsions of his heart compose;
Remove the burning barbs of his remorse,
And cleanse his being from the suffered woes!
Four pauses make the Night upon her courses,
And now, delay not, let them kindly close!
First on the coolest pillow let him slumber,
Then sprinkle him with Lethe's drowsy spray!
His limbs no more shall cramps and chills encumber,
When sleep has made him strong to meet the day.
Perform, ye Elves, your fairest rite:
Restore him to the holy light.

These examples are given in support of an earlier statement that no two persons will be in exact agreement when transferring from one language to another the thought, drama, emotions, actions and meaning that may have been in the mind and wish of the author.

Charles Timothy Brooks, a Liberal and a Nature-lover like Goethe, through his interest in the German language, and his association with Mr.

Follen, and his classmates also interested in the language, eagerly read the works of German novelists, poets and other writers. He felt the truth and justice of the Transcendentalists in their urge that confining restrictions be removed from the thinking and action of mankind, that through reason and knowledge they together might work for their own betterment.

Moved by these spiritual and intellectual forces he, in his quiet way, determined to make known to his fellow Americans the new thoughts and views and discoveries being released through the writings of German thinkers.

Other Unitarians saw the same values, and through translation made valuable contributions toward furthering advancement in American letters and culture. This created a desire, on the part of many Americans, to learn the German language that they might read at first-hand the writings of poets, theologians, novelists and economists. Mr. Brooks had a share in creating this interest.

Unite the quality of bravery which dares to declare that no man should be held in slavery with the profession of Liberal ideas in religion, then add to these the courage to urge men to read about new social and political views and opinions, especially when taken from a language foreign to a great part of the population, and you have a fairly good cross section picture of the part played by men like Mr. Brooks, and all persons who dared to support them in their work.

In Joseph Henry Allen's little book Sequel to Our Liberal Movement, he mentions an association of men called "Hook and Ladder", "an association of something less than twenty, which included such names as Dr. Hedge, Starr King, Williame B. Greene, Charles T. Brooks, John Ware, Charles H. Brigham, Thomas T. Stone, Dexter Clapp, George W. Briggs, Nathaniel Hall, John Merrick, and (I think) David A Wasson, of whom only three remain." ¹²¹ Surely, a company of minds such as this exchanged information about literature, writers, books and all manner of information relating to human thought and

behaviour, religion, philosophy, and everyday problems.

Mr. Brooks was a voluminous writer, as attested by the files of daily and weekly newspapers, magazines and religious journals in the Salem Institute, the Unitarian Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association, Kirsten Library in Boston, Boston City Library, newspaper files, and private libraries. Mr. Brooks's was not an inconsiderable contribution to the intellectual and spiritual growth of the New Country. What were some of the sources he opened through his ability as translator? The list is long, but some shall be named that we may have before us a visual record of the constant application to the work he loved,, done in addition to his Church services and parochial duties.

Author	Work	Year Published
Friederich Schiller	William Tell	1837
Friederich Schiller	Homage of the Arts	1846
Several Authors	German Lyrics	1853
J. W. von Goethe	Faust - Part First	1856
Jean Paul F. Richter	Titan	1862
Kortum	The Jobsiad - First Part	1863
Leopold Schefer	Layman's Breviary	1867
M. Busch	Max and Maurice	1871
M. Busch	The Tall Student	1873
Leopold Schefer	World Priest	1873
Berthold Auerbach	Aloys	1877
Berthold Auerbach	Poet and Merchant	1877
Berthold Auerbach	The Convicts	1877
Berthold Auerbach	Lorley and Reinhard	1877
Friederich Rückert	The Wisdom of the Brahmin	1882
Jean Paul F. Richter	The Invisible Lodge	1883

The quality of his articles and reviews may be judged from such titles as German Hymns published in volume LXIX, p. 234, The Christian Examiner, and German Hymnology on p. 402, in the same volume. The Monthly Magazine, August, 1850 printed two of his articles Reflections on Zwingle's Death, and Zwingle and Luther.

Mr. Brooks translated prose and poetry from languages other than German, such as French, Greek, and Italian. The list of his sermon topics, original poems, articles, studies in history, translations, and general writing would make a fair sized volume, in which should be included his unpublished works in manuscript form.

CHAPTER X

Obituaries and Memorials

This excerpt from a book review taken from a newspaper clipping, undated and unnamed, found in the files of The Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association in Boston, seems a fitting opening for this chapter.

"The gentleman of subtle and graceful mind who wrote pretty poems in this volume, and who translated so many of the master-pieces of German poetry with so much conscience and literary facility; the gentleman so well known as the saintly and faithful pastor of the Unitarian Church in Newport, is with unconscious inadvertency left out of the memoir section of this book. Mr. Brooks was one of the few men of his generation of Americans -- a generation of commercial success and commonplace -- who always left a distinct image upon the minds of those who had once seen him. This image was not only a casual impression, but an abiding memory." ¹²² (The underlining is mine.)

From the heart and pen of his lifetime friend, and classmate, the Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, came this memorial tribute to Mr. Brooks.

"The Church of which this man was long a pastor, and the town of Newport he lived and was loved in, contemplated celebrating his seventieth anniversary. But heaven coveted the occasion, and God has appointed a greater than any earthly nativity. Surely a spirit so lofty and pure must be born again out of the mortal body, unto what finer than fleshly form, who shall say? He follows, into the, to us, unseen clearing of the forest of mystery beyond the grave, Dorr, Osgood, Bellows, and others of my own college and Divinity-School Class.

Among us whom he leaves behind has breathed no more spotless and ingenuous soul. Childhood was in him perfected into manhood by natural growth. He was congenitally and constitutionally incapable of aught gross or insincere. I have never known a person who surpassed the impress of high honor

were many distinguished persons, prominent among them George Bancroft, Francis Brinley, W. J. Weld, George W. Wales, George H. Calvert, A. J. Weaver, Reverend Dr. Thayer, for many years pastor of the Congregational Church in Newport, Edmund Tweedy, ex-Gov. van Zandt, George E. Waring, George B. Bancroft, and others."

The next three paragraphs were taken from Dr. Frederic H. Hedge's spoken memorial.

"A man absolutely without guile, utterly unworldly -- 'a babe of Paradise' amid the scenes of this world. He, if any one, could say

"My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find
As far exceeds all earthly bliss
That God or Nature hath assigned."

"He may not rank high as a poet; but I have never known a more thoroughly poetic nature, never one who had more melody in his heart. His inner life, so far as it could be interpreted by outward signs, was a daily song, a perpetual carol of gratitude and trust and hope; and his written poetry bears that stamp of genuineness which only the poetic soul can give. Witness the verses in commemoration of Channing, written for the dedication of this Memorial Church, so replete with feeling, so charged with the inspiration of their theme."

"It is not my purpose, nor is this the time to speak of the literary merits of our friend, of the arduous labors and manifold and precious service of his pen. Dearer than these to all who knew him is the beauty of his character, the charm of his converse, his childlike simplicity, sweetness and truth. I count him one of the fairest products of our liberal faith, and can never think of him without recalling that pregnant word which expresses the characteristic beatitude of his life: 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' ¹²⁵

"Of the rare qualities of heart and head," said the Rev. John S. Dwight, a classmate of Mr. Brooks, "the faithful discipline of will, the deli-

cate gifts of thought and speech which gave him such an influence for good as preacher and pastor, and of the literary work which he performed with the childlike alacrity that turns labor into play, it is for others to speak. Let me only allude to that genial, playful, elastic side of his happily balanced nature, in which his earnest spirit found such ready recreation, and which did much both in college and in the graver years to endear him to his classmates. In all our annual reunions we could rely on him to come full of reminiscences; for his memory was fresh and keen of every individual, though snatched from earth scores of years ago."

"He has gone to his rest! But his spirit is still with us. May we, while there are days left, be worthy of the gift. . . ." ¹²⁶

The Rev. Samuel Longfellow penned his tribute in these words "May I venture to say that the very name of our friend calls up such lovely visions of tranquil movement of calm waters through sunny meadows and under shady woodland coverts, such refreshment of cool waves, such rippling as of gentle laughter, or low murmured sound of prayer. Nothing stormy, nothing tempestuous, but calm and even flow in gentle bounds. His very work in letters so much of it was but the reflection in the still stream of a kindred mind and heart of thoughts and fancies and feelings, inverted in translation as the mirrored picture in the streamlet gives back the bending grasses and the summer flowers and the crimsoned bough of autumn." ¹²⁷

This brief, but eloquent summation of the worth and quality of his friend, was written by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, June 15, 1883.

"In years he was one of the fathers of our Church, but in temper and spirit one of its little children. If those who become as little children are best fitted for the kingdom of heaven, then he who kept that divine Childhood of the heart and lived in that kingdom here, must have felt little change in going into the kingdom beyond." ¹²⁸

Words are but an indication of the depth of affection felt for Mr. Brooks. Here we have abstracts from the heart's out-pouring as revealed in

the words of Dr. Charles W. Wendte.

"I cannot speak to you adequately, my friends, of my own sense of loss at parting with my elder brother, I may almost say my spiritual father. I knew him from childhood and loved him deeply. He is interwoven, a sweet and gracious figure, with my earlier years. Possibly my attachment to him may have been deepened by our common interest in that German language and literature which was mine by inheritance, through birth and blood, and which he had acquired by earnest and devoted study. We loved to converse together concerning the great names and master-pieces of that tongue of which he was the exponent to so many in this country."

"It was especially the foreigner, the lonely exile in a strange land, the political refugee, with his shattered hopes and bitter memories, the distressed scholar, who found in the New World that his learning and culture, gained in the first schools of Europe, were almost worthless to him here for bread winning, -- it was these who found in Mr. Brooks a ready comforter and wise counselor and brave helper."

"You are witnesses before God how instant he was in your service and how devoted. Summoned away to larger posts of duty, where richer emoluments and great honors might have been his, he preferred to remain with you, content to fill a humble place, so God were glorified. And you who came here from summer to summer for refreshment and strength will also bear witness to his unremitted, faithful, and consecrated service."

"As we lay thee away today, we will remember what thy favorite author Jean Paul, said of the grave, "It seems to us deep, yet it is only the footprint of the angel that leads the soul to the mansions of the eternal life." 129

A Schoolmate, so the letter was signed in the "Pro and Con" column of The Christian Register, sent in this memory garland, "I doubt if the trait so lovingly named by Mr. Wendte as a prominent virtue of his (Brooks's) life "self-denial", "living for others rather than himself" was ever more beautifully shown than in this willingness as a schoolboy to help others who were

less advanced than himself, under importunities that at times must have tried his patience and good-nature." ¹³⁰ This refers to Salem Grammar School days when school mates would gather around Brooks's desk asking for help in scanning and translating Latin assignments.

On Sunday, July 4, 1848, I made my acquaintance with Channing Memorial Church, as I was to preach for their minister who had to be absent from his pulpit. I made the pilgrimage of homage looking at the windows and the tablets on the wall. The greater part of the time, however, was spent before a bronze portrait head and bust, in high relief, of Mr. Brooks. In serenity he looked out over the auditorium as though he were pronouncing blessing and benediction. The portrait is affixed to a slab of black marble. It was designed by Augustus St. Gaudens. The contributions, which made it possible to place the memorial in the Church, came from rich and poor of all faiths and all classes in American and foreign countries. The simplicity of the inscription symbolizes the man whose heart and soul spoke all languages of the world through understanding kindness, and devotion to the healing and soothing power of spiritual things.

IN SACRED MEMORY

Of The

FIRST AND BELOVED MINISTER OF THIS SOCIETY

CHARLES TIMOTHY BROOKS

Born in Salem, June 20, 1813

Died in Newport, June 14, 1883

HIS PASTORATE EXTENDED OVER THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS

A persuasive preacher, and eminent as a scholar and Poet, he was still more distinguished for the simplicity and purity of his character, his child-like faith in God, and never-failing charity towards his fellow-men.

CONCLUSION

The Transcendentalism released through the surging restlessness of social, economic, and political changes, and the new intellectual approach in the evaluation of scientific and religious concepts in the eighteenth century, furnished the vehicle by which Charles Timothy Brooks brought his abilities into action.

Through interest in literature, imagination and mysticism he found mental-spiritual companionship with Goethe, especially in "Faust", in Leopold Schefer's "The Layman's Breviary, as stated in the Preface to the translation published in 1867; "These blooming pictures of Nature, praising the love, goodness, wisdom of the Creator and his work, from in truth a poetical book of devotion for the Layman whom dogma does not satisfy, -- a Breviary for man." Friederich Ruckert's "The Wisdom of the Brahmin" also fits into this paragraph. The author, through his interpretation, gives the content and beauty of Oriental religions and the mysteries of the faith which can transfer man's thought from earthly joys to spiritual happiness.

His sense of humor and appreciation of the irony in the involved writings of Jean Paul created a bond which held him in close connection with that author's social outlook.

It was in the nature, heart and mind of Mr. Brooks to bring to men comfort, hope, and a new outlook upon the problems confronting them. His was the art of spiritual healing. He could not be untrue to his inheritance, hence his loyalty to all who wrote and worked through the medium of the kindly word, and the understanding mind.

His avocation of clipping humorous pictures from German magazines, and setting verses thereto was a practical application of the Carpenter's suggestion that children be made partners and companions in living. It brought laughter and happiness to them.

His health prevented him from enlarging upon an already large volume

of creative work. His failing eyesight prevented us from having a wider knowledge of German literature, through translation, of works treating with social problems of his day.

Supporting his gentleness was a simple courage that sustained him in difficult and trying situations. Surely it required wisdom and courage to preach brotherhood of man in a community where some men gained luxury, and access to culture, through trading in human beings; a community where such commerce was recognized as legitimate and legal.

His last translation was Jean Paul's "The Invisible Lodge". Of this work Dr. Wendte said "a dreamy extravaganza in which he has imbedded a wealth of quaint and abstruse fancy." 131

The greatness of this minister-scholar's soul is well described in these lines from "The Layman's Breviary", his own translation:

The pious mind implies not slavery,
Neither to wear nor yet impose a yoke.
The pious man alone is free and strong;
The free man is the good man and the saint,
He wills that each should be as free as he;

Charles Timothy Brooks, the first minister of Channing Church in Newport, Rhode Island, and the first to translate Goethe's "Faust" into the "exact and ever-changing metre of the original" was a free man.

REFERENCE SOURCE

¹E. B. Willson, Memorial of Charles T. Brooks. Historical Collections, Essex Institute. Vol. XX, 1884. pp. 71, 72

²ibid

³ibid

⁴Charles T. Brooks, Memorial Paper. Historical Collections, Essex Institute. Vol. XX, 1883. pp. 115, 137

⁵E. B. Willson, Memorial of Charles T. Brooks. Historical Collections, Essex Institute. Vol. XX, 1884. pp. 71, 72

⁶ibid

⁷Historical Collections, Essex Institute. Vol. XXXIV, 1898. pp. 34, 37, 132, 140, 157.

⁸William Bentley, D. D., Diary of, Vol. 1, April 1784 to December 1792, Essex Institute. p. 104.

⁹Historical Collection, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, p. 311

¹⁰E. B. Willson, quoted by Charles W. Wendte in Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p. 8.

¹¹Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p. 11

¹²ibid, p. 13

¹³ibid, p. 17

¹⁴ibid, pp. 17, 18

¹⁵Charles Follen, His Life, by his wife (Elizabethe L. Follen) Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 5 vols., 1842. Vol. 1, p. 12, 13

¹⁶ibid, p. 15, 16

¹⁷ibid, p. 10

¹⁸Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, Vol IX, A-O. Ed. Benjamin E. Smith. New York: The Century Co., 1894-1895. p. 938

¹⁹Camillo von Klenze, Brooks and the Genteel Tradition. Pub. by Modern Language Association of America. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1937. p. 18.

²⁰Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p. 22.

- ²¹Federal Writers' Project, 1937. Rhode Island. American Guide Series. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. p. 204
- ²²ibid, p. 205
- ²³ibid, p. 205
- ²⁴ibid, pp. 205, 206
- ²⁵ibid, p. 206
- ²⁶Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p. 31
- ²⁷Charles T. Brooks, A History of the Unitarian Church in Newport, Rhode Island. Pamphlet. Newport, 1875. pp. 17, 18.
- ²⁸ibid, p. 19
- ²⁹ibid, p. 29
- ³⁰Charles T. Brooks, A History of the Unitarian Church in Newport, Rhode Island. Pamphlet. Newport, 1875. p. 21
- ³¹ibid, p. 25
- ³²Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. pp. 29, 30
- ³³Charles T. Brooks, A History of the Unitarian Church in Newport, Rhode Island. Pamphlet. Newport, 1875. p. 26
- ³⁴ibid, p. 31
- ³⁵Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885 p. 316
- ³⁶ibid, p. 33
- ³⁷ibid, p. 36
- ³⁸Charles T. Brooks, Remembrance of a Twenty-five Years' Ministry. Sermon, Mss Number 986. Newport, 1862. pp. 16, 17
- ³⁹ibid, pp. 18, 19
- ⁴⁰ibid, p. 22
- ⁴¹ibid, p. 1
- ^{41-a} Henry Steele Commager, Theodore Parker, Yankee Crusader. Boston: Beacon Press. 2d ed. p. 55
- ⁴²Charles T. Brooks, Sermon, Think Soberly. Pamphlet. p. 1
Newport.

- ⁴³Charles Timothy Brooks, Sermon, Think Soberly. Pamphlet p. 6
- ⁴⁴ibid, p. 12
- ⁴⁵ibid, p. 14
- ⁴⁶Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem. Ed. Ernest Hurst Cherrington. (The Anti-Saloon League of America) American Issue Publishing Co., Westerville, Ohio. Quoted by Raymond W. Cooper, see note 47.
- ⁴⁷Raymond W. Cooper, Drama of Drink Distributors, Andover, Mass. 1932. p. 132
- ⁴⁸ibid, p. 133
- ⁴⁹Charles T. Brooks, Sermon, Think Soberly. Pamphlet. P. 15
Newport
- ⁵⁰Charles T. Brooks, The Controversy Touching the Old Stone Mill In the Town of Newport, R. I. Pamphlet. Mason & Pratt, Printers. Newport, 1851. p. 2
- ⁵¹J. Fennimore Cooper, Red Rover. Home Library Edition, Burt. Chapter 1, p. 12
- ⁵²Charles T. Brooks, The Controversy Touching the Old Stone Mill In the Town of Newport, R. I. Pamphlet. Mason & Pratt, Printers. Newport, 1851. p. 31
- ⁵³ibid, p. 64
- ⁵⁴Harpers New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XVI, December 1857 to May 1858 Public Library, Middleborough, Mass. pp. 19 to 35
- ⁵⁵ibid, pp. 20, 21
- ⁵⁶ibid, p. 21
- ⁵⁷ibid, p. 24
- ⁵⁸ibid, p. 26
- ⁵⁹Harpers New Monthly Magazine, Vol XVI, December 1857 to May 1858 Public Library, Middleborough, Mass. p. 26
- ⁶⁰ibid, p. 27
- ⁶¹ibid, p. 28
- ⁶²ibid, p. 28
- ⁶³ibid, p. 30
- ⁶⁴Charles T. Brooks, The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings. Twenty-five Sermons. Newport, 1859. Preface
- ⁶⁵ibid, pp. 86, 87

⁶⁶Charles T. Brooks, *The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings. Twenty-five Sermons.* Newport, 1859. p. 87

⁶⁷ibid, p. 89

⁶⁸ibid, p. 96

⁶⁹ibid, p. 160

⁷⁰ibid, pp. 228, 229

⁷¹ibid, p. 239

⁷²Charles T. Brooks, *The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings. Twenty-five Sermons.* Newport, 1859. p. 326

⁷³ibid, p. 326

⁷⁴ibid, p. 328

⁷⁵ibid, p. 342

⁷⁶Charles T. Brooks, *Sermon, The Church of the Childlike.* Mss Number 913. p. 9

⁷⁷ibid, pp. 15, 16

⁷⁸ibid, p. 21

⁷⁹Historical Collection, Vol. XXXIV, Essex Institute, 1898. p. 157

⁸⁰Diary of William Bentley, D. D., East Church, Salem. 4 vols. Essex Institute. Vol. 1, April 1784 to December 1792. p. 212

⁸¹ibid, p. 453 Vol II, 1793 to 1802

⁸²John R. Spears, *The American Slave Trade.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. p. 48

⁸³ibid, p. 92

⁸⁴ibid, p. 92

⁸⁵ibid, p. 116

⁸⁶ibid, p. 118

⁸⁷John R. Spears, *The American Slave Trade.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. p. 102

⁸⁸ibid, p. 205

⁸⁹Camillo von Klenze, *Brooks and the Genteel Tradition.* Published by the Modern Language Association of America. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. London: Oxford University Press. 1937 p. 33

⁹⁰ibid, pp. 36, 37

⁹¹Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, *Memoir and Poems*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p. 97

⁹²Berthold Auerbach, Lorley and Reinhard, tr. Charles T. Brooks. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1877. Leisure Hour Series. Preface

⁹³ibid, p. 22

⁹⁴ibid, p. 164

⁹⁵ibid, p. 22

⁹⁶ibid, pp. 57, 58

⁹⁷Berthold Auerbach, Lorley and Reinhard, tr. Charles T. Brooks. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1877. Leisure Hour Series. p. 91

⁹⁸ibid, p. 99

⁹⁹ibid, p. 134

¹⁰⁰ibid, p. 160

¹⁰¹ibid, p. 300

¹⁰²Camillo von Klenze, *Brooks and the Genteel Tradition*. Published by the Modern Language Association of America. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. London: Oxford University Press. 1937 p. 31 ff

¹⁰³ibid, p. 31

¹⁰⁴Johann W. von Goethe, *Faust, Part First*, tr. Charles T. Brooks. Boston, 1857, 2nd ed. p. 5 ff

¹⁰⁵Johann W. von Goethe, *Faust, Part First*, tr. Bayard Taylor. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1870. Preface

¹⁰⁶ibid, p. xv

¹⁰⁷ibid, p. iii

¹⁰⁸ibid, pp. iii, iv

¹⁰⁹ibid, Note number 11, p. 228

¹¹⁰ibid, Appendix I, Faust Legend, p. 341

¹¹¹Albert Schweitzer, *Goethe, Two Addresses* by Albert Schweitzer. tr. Charles R. Joy and C. T. Champion. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948. p. 17.

¹¹²Camillo von Klenze, *Brooks and the Genteel Tradition*. Published By the Modern Language Association of America. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. London: Oxford University Press. 1937 pp. 78, 79

113 Johann W. von Goethe, Faust, Part First, tr. Charles T. Brooks. Boston, 1857, 2nd ed. Dedication, p. 13

114 *ibid*, p. 27

115 *ibid*, p. 37

116 *ibid*, p. 49

117 *ibid*, p. 171

118 Camillo von Klenze, Brooks and the Genteel Tradition. Published by the Modern Language Association of America. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. London: Oxford University Press. 1937 pp. 88, 89

119 Johan W. von Goethe, Faust, Part Second. Opening of the first act. Faust seeking rest and sleep. Ariel singing.

120 Charles W. Wendte, Charles T. Brooks, Memoir and Poems. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. p 183. Brooks's translation of the lines given in German, note 119. Only one hundred and forty-seven lines of Part Second were translated by Mr. Brooks.

121 Joseph Henry Allen, Sequel to "Our Liberal Movement." Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1897. p. 147

122 A review of a book of "Poems Original and Translated, By Charles T. Brooks, with a Memoir by Charles W. Wendte. Selected and edited by W. P. Andrews. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885. Newspaper clipping undated, no by line, Paper's name not given, found in the files of the Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association, Boston.

123 The Christian Register, June 21, 1883, Vol. LXII, Number 24, in the files of the Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association, Boston. p. 387

124 *ibid*, p. 390

125 *ibid*, p. 390

126 *ibid*, p. 391

127 *ibid*, p. 391

128 The Christian Register, June 21, 1883, Vol. LXII, Number 24, in the files of the Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association, Boston. p. 391

129 *ibid*, p. 391

¹³⁰The Christian Register, July 5, 1883, Vol. LXII, Number 27, in the files of the Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association, Boston. p. 419

¹³¹Leopold Schefer, The Layman's Breviary, tr. Charles T. Brooks. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1867. p. 418 - VIII

oOo

LIBRARIES

From which books, material
and data were secured
in preparation of
this Work

Essex Institute,
Salem, Massachusetts

First Parish Church, Unitarian,
Northfield, Massachusetts

Historical Library,
American Unitarian Association,
Boston, Massachusetts

Meadville Theological School,
Chicago, Illinois

Middleborough Public Library,
Middleborough, Massachusetts

New Bedford Public Library,
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Peabody Museum,
Salem, Massachusetts

Paul Pratt Memorial Library,
Cohasset, Massachusetts

Redwood Library and Athenaeum,
Newport, Rhode Island

Rhode Island Historical Society,
Providence, Rhode Island

Miss Maud Lyman Stevens,
Newport, Rhode Island