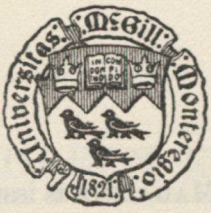

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FADS IN MODERN EDUCATION

THERE is nothing new under the sun, says the Preacher. If he were to revisit the light among us with whom even steam is becoming something of an old story—if he were here in our age of automobiles, aeroplanes, electricity, and radium, he would certainly open his eyes very wide indeed, and admit that his statement was a great deal too sweeping. But it is surely a curious illustration of the aspect of truth reflected, however one-sidedly, in his words, that this subject on which I am about to write, was treated two thousand three hundred and thirty-two years ago last March, in the Theatre of Dionysius at Athens, before the astonishingly modern people of that antique city, by the comic poet Aristophanes. The comedy called by him the "Clouds," produced in the year 423 B.C., might quite justly though much less imaginatively have been entitled "Fads in Modern Education." It may be interesting to see what he made of the everlasting theme, still green and flourishing as the perennial folly of mankind.

The old-fashioned training of the Athenian people had been extremely simple,—music, in which they included literature for the mind, and gymnastics for the body. Everybody in that town, every free man, that is, learned to read and write, and play the lyre and sing. That was considered to be just as indispensable and as much a matter of course as that everybody should learn to swim where Athene like Britannia ruled the seas.

They were in no hurry about it. They gave the boys plenty of time. The pupil sat opposite his teacher on a stool, as we can see in many of the vase-paintings, and repeated everything after him until he knew it by heart. In this way he came to have his mind stored with a great deal of excellent literature. A vast amount of epic and lyrical

poetry, Homer and Simonides, gradually settled down by a painless process as a fixed possession of his mind. The result was that he became a very good judge of such things. I suppose there never was a whole people among whom a discriminating taste in literature has been so general as among the Athenians, and they had abundant occasion both to enlarge their knowledge and to exercise their critical faculties. The great dramatic poetry of Athens was made possible, and stimulated to the highest point of productivity and excellence, just by the fact that there was an audience there, consisting of the whole people, with sufficient training to appreciate it with discrimination. For the poets competed before them and they were really, in the last resort, the judges who assigned the coveted places of honour. That was one excellent result of their extremely simple training. It was indeed a result the full significance of which it would be hard to overestimate.

If human culture is worth anything, and at least we schoolmasters must be agreed that it is worth a very great deal indeed, and that man's life would be an unspeakably poor and beggarly thing without it, what an unparalleled educational achievement it was to produce in a little nook of the earth, and within the very moderate circuit of one small city's walls, an audience of some thirty thousand people who could sit for days from morning to nightfall on stone benches, listening with keen and critical delight to the masterpieces of the Attic stage, perhaps the most profound and serious poetry in the world, outside of the Hebrew Psalms and Dante's Divina Comedia. Aeschylus and Sophocles were immensely popular poets in their own day and in their own city. Else we should never have heard of them. Think of what that means and compare it with what popularity signifies with us! A musical comedy, namely, in this particular kind, no doubt the most brainless " crackling of thorns under a pot " for the most part that has ever been kindled by the friction of two imbecilities,

the author's and his audience's. And for this highly creditable result the Athenians had to thank, to quite a considerable extent, the labours of those very poorly requited and very lightly-esteemed schoolmasters of theirs, who by dint of steady repetition filled their minds with models and standards of high excellence.

But there was another result of this training which we might be less prepared to expect. It not only nurtured a whole people of intelligent critics and an amazing number of poets, orators, and artists. That would have been remarkable enough. But the strange thing is that some of the keenest intellects of the scientific order, men who will always rank as the pioneers of exact and systematic investigation, Thucydides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, were formed by this almost exclusively literary education. I think such a fact is highly significant. It involves an important principle which I daresay I may have occasion to come back upon at a later stage, namely that there is fortunately no necessity to know beforehand what no one can possibly know, the special line of activity which the pupil is destined ultimately to make his own, or to steer straight for that from the very beginning. There are some things which he ought to know in his general capacity as a human being, and, if we give him a reasonable opportunity of growing into these, we may safely exercise a somewhat generous faith that Nature will contrive in the long run to guide him towards his own special business, on the one hand, and that on the other hand, when he does arrive there, he will find himself none the worse, but on the contrary much the stronger and more masterly, even within his own chosen limits, for what he has picked up elsewhere.

Such then was the old-fashioned Athenian system of education and such were some of its fruits. But in the time of Aristophanes a new air had begun to stir. Men had ceased to be wholly satisfied with the poet's way of looking at the world. They had begun to suspect that the sun was not really a God who drove his fiery car daily up

and down the sky and rose every morning refreshed from his bath in ocean, "like a strong man to run his race." An ingenious person called Anaxagoras declared positively that he was simply a large red-hot stone twice the size of Peloponnesus. The scientific temper was abroad and all kinds of questions were being asked about things which in the old days had been regarded as beyond all question. An impious inquisitiveness, as it seemed to old-fashioned people, began to ransack the hidden sanctuaries of Nature, the things in heaven above and the things beneath the earth and in the waters under the earth. The most plain divinities were having their noses impudently tweaked in the pincers of the physical philosophers.

These atheists did not refrain from prying into the secrets of "that orbed maiden with white fire laden whom mortals call the Moon." Nothing was sacred to them. All things were open to discussion: even the fundamental teachings of religion and morals. A new kind of schoolmaster, the sophist, had come into fashion, who charged thumping fees, in return for which he undertook to qualify his pupils to discuss any question whatever, taking either side alternately and victoriously maintaining it, proving to a demonstration, if need were, that black was white, and making the worse appear the better reason. To all this modernism Aristophanes is irreconcilably opposed. He is *laudator temporis acti*, an uncompromising champion of the old system which produced the men that fought at Marathon—a battle no less surely believed by him to have been won in the palæstra and the lyre-master's school than Waterloo, according to the Duke of Wellington, was won in the playing-fields of Eton. He rises to the very height of song when he praises the wholesome, modest, reverent young men with strong and beautiful bodies, and minds sane and pure whom one used, in the old days, to see in Athens, instead of the putty-faced, impudent chatterboxes of the present time, without reserve or reverence, who have been hatched in the sophistic incubators.

His point of view is much like that of Mr. Samuel Blake as set forth by him in a recent pamphlet. In this Mr. Blake unfolds a terrible picture of the untrammeled freedom with which the most delicate questions concerning the family and marriage and such high and holy things are discussed in the University lecture rooms of America, and that too before mixed classes of youths and maidens, often with a lead on the part of the professor or sophist to decidedly unconventional conclusions. Mr. Blake's own view is that all this license is due to the modern criticism of the Bible, while in turn the relaxation of the moral bonds which he sees gaining ground alarmingly in the doings of our age is the direct result in part of this derivative academic removing of the ancient land-marks. It is, however, scarcely necessary to say that Aristophanes maintains the thesis in a somewhat more sparkling manner than Mr. Blake, whom his worst enemy would not accuse of anything approaching levity.

The poet pours unlimited and often exquisite ridicule upon what he considers the modern educational fads of his time. What could be more comical for instance than his caricature of scientific method in the investigation of the weighty problem: "How far can a flea jump?" The creature, after biting Chaerephon on the eyebrow, had landed on the bald head of Socrates. His leaping power was measured with the utmost precision thus: Socrates dipped the insect's feet in melted wax and let him jump, then measured the distance between the traces.—*Q. E. F.* The question was settled once for all with that quantitative accuracy which is the glory of exact science.

Now I think we cannot help sympathizing a good deal both with Mr. Blake and with Aristophanes, at least in the ultimate conviction or instinct which underlies their attachment to the past. Such men feel, and rightly feel, that there are certain high and immovable sanctities at the basis of human life giving it all its value and meaning. At any given moment these imperishable rock-foundations

are represented at least for the great majority of men, and brought to bear upon their inward life and outward conduct in a more or less effective way, by forms and symbols, conventions and moralities and religiosities, myths and dogmas, so old and familiar as to seem inseparable from the inmost substance of the real things, the fundamental verities themselves; quite vital to them, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. It seems as if the inevitable expansion of man's mind by bursting through the one must disrupt and annihilate the other. But in fact it is not so. The symbols vanish. The new spirit breathes upon them and they melt away like a cloud. Not Mr. Blake nor Aristophanes himself, nor Mr. Chesterton either, can stop that, real as are the evils deplored by them, the wide-spread and often subtle unsettlement, the loosening even of moral bonds that usually accompanies this painful and wasteful but quite indispensable process. The old symbols go, but the great realities which they stood for remain. Man cannot live without them. His instinct of self-preservation secures their hold upon him. He cannot lose them without losing his own soul. Though obscured for the moment, and seemingly dissolved in the general flux, they infallibly emerge again. What seemed their death was but a re-birth: "Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb they rise and upbuild" themselves larger and fitter embodiments for the exercise of their own imperishable life.

Old fogeys like myself then, who are strongly attached to the time-honoured educational methods and subjects, will do well to take warning from the example of the first, and by far the most brilliant, assailant upon Fads in Modern Education. The physical studies on which Aristophanes emptied his inexhaustible quiver, the inquisitive attitude of mind so repulsive to him as to many other poets, Campbell[1] and Wordsworth[2] for instance, all this had a great future before it. Perhaps, after all, the most

1 "I ask not proud Philosophy to teach me what thou art."

2 "Philosopher! a fingering slave,
One that would peep and botanise
Upon his mother's grave."

distinctive claim of his people upon the admiration of posterity, the most important and original contribution they made to civilisation, was just that they were the pioneers in this cold, dissecting way of looking at the world; the first who dared to see things as they are in their own nature without disturbing reflections from the altogether different nature and subjectivity of the observer. Aristophanes did not find it difficult to make people laugh at the new studies. We are always apt to see something rather ludicrous in what we are not accustomed to, and of course all new-born things must stumble about in a very comical way at first until they have learned to walk. At this distance we can see quite plainly that the future belonged to that ungainly movement so inimitably and immortally jeered at. "The whirligig of time has brought in his revenges," and now the laugh is rather on the prince of jesters himself. One must be wary then in stamping any single novelty as a fad. The reason why it seems so to us may happen to be far from complimentary to ourselves. It may well be because we have become ossified in a dull routine. Or, perhaps, the unfamiliar claimant represents a very real, though hitherto neglected, aspect in the very complex environment, ever growing more and more complex as thought expands, wherewith it is our business as teachers to help bring our charges into a living responsive interaction, an aspect which we have somehow contrived to ignore without physical extinction, which therefore seems negligible or even non-existent to us.

Huxley spent a good deal of the spare time left over from hammering the theologians in pressing and illustrating the educational value of biological science. It was easy enough to make fun of his "fad." What could be the virtue as a mental discipline of cutting up beetles and crayfish? That sort of messing was precisely on the same level as the Aristophanic flea and gnat investigations. So the old fogeys would have said and did say. And yet in this short time biology has already taken its firm place in all the universities that count, and even in many schools. Very

few subjects, indeed, have proved so interesting to undergraduates. And, more than that, it is universally recognised, except among the incurable, that a grasp of the principle of development, such as may best and most convincingly be rubbed in by fooling with the inwards of bugs and guinea-pigs, is an absolutely essential part in the equipment of every educated man, quite indispensable to fruitful study in almost every single department of human knowledge, nature, history, ethics, or religion. Physics and chemistry used to be called "stinks" in Cambridge even, the more hospitable to innovations of the two great English universities. The name reflected admirably the prevailing contempt for these studies as compared with the classics and mathematics. They were at best a side-show. To take to them branded a man with inferiority somewhat as if in athletics he chose to devote himself to bicycling rather than to foot-ball, cricket, or rowing. Now-a-days, I fancy Oxford itself, and even the Provost of Oriel, would scarcely venture to indulge the traditional Olympian sniff at the world-transforming researches of such men as J. J. Thompson and our own Rutherford, men whom Lucretius and Vergil would have celebrated with honours not far short of divine. We must walk softly then, we gentlemen of the classics and antiquities. We must diligently guard against over-haste in stigmatising all novelties as fads. It may easily happen to us in doing so to write ourselves down in conspicuous capitals—by the letters of a highly undesirable but, according to the poet Burns,[1] most characteristically academical degree.

Still there are such things as Fads in Education. And though it is a hazardous undertaking, I will proceed tentatively and modestly, taking my life in my hand as it were, to point out three of them, out of a great many more which seem to me to deserve the name: Kühn ist das Mühen, Herrlich der Lohn. Sobered, as we may well be, by our review of past precipitancies, shall we employ the word consecrated by the usage of my ingenious friend, the editor of this

1 "They gang in stirks, and come oot asses."

Magazine, and call them "fallacies" rather, a term perhaps a little less insolent if not less cock-sure? If I understand him aright, he contends that the educational value of a subject lies in its very uselessness, and that classical studies being the most useless are therefore the best.

The first to which I should like to call attention, the first which occurs on the Aristotelian principle of transition by contraries, is the Fallacy of the Innovator whose cause I might seem to have just been pleading. It does not consist in the fact that he seeks to gain a footing for a new subject. Care has been taken to admit unreservedly that he is often perfectly justified by the event in doing so much. But as he must usually fight for the recognition of the new with the "*beati possidentes*", the representatives of the old, his human weakness is very prone to be pushed into a one-sidedness no less unjust than theirs, so as unduly to depreciate and sweep away into the rubbish heap all that competes with his own enthusiasms. This is the vice of the anti-classical iconoclasts. It is very amusing for a teacher of classics like myself, the subject so long identified with a somewhat arrogant attitude towards most other things, to have this ancient arrogance revenged upon my own quite innocent person in a certain tone of quite ingenuous commiseration which sometimes slips out in remarks addressed to me by the representatives of what seem to themselves to be the really "live subjects."

Such persons do quite sincerely grieve to see any man, for whom they still retain some modicum of regard, tied to the oar in such an antiquated galley. But you will find that we gerund-grinders, as Carlyle very unkindly called us, are not at all sorry for ourselves. We have, it is true—at least most of us—come to admit that we are not so exclusively indispensable as we once fondly imagined. But we still continue in a modest way to magnify our office, to think that it affords scope for all, and more than all, such faculties as we possess, and gives us plenty of opportunity to do work of the highest usefulness. We do not think either that our function is to be

mere vendors of pretty things. We have seen distinctly virile qualities develop under the discipline which our Greek and Latin abundantly supply. We no longer claim, I think, that every boy, whether his nature has the stuff adapted for manufacture into silk purses or not, should be forced to learn Greek. But we do claim that a fair proportion of the best boys should have, what they have not in Canada, an opportunity and some encouragement to learn it. We maintain that it is a matter of some considerable importance for any people, who are at all ambitious of taking a respectable place in the ranks of civilised humanity, that there should be among them a remnant and a leaven of really cultivated people such as can read at a pinch Homer and the New Testament in the original. It will be generally admitted that at least the latter of these two books has a fairly strong claim, so far as we can yet see, upon the permanent attention of mankind. There have been times, it is true, just before the French Revolution for instance, when some extremely clever little men thought the world would soon make a shift to get along without it. This forecast, however, was destined to receive a somewhat striking falsification; and to-day it is well known to everyone who knows anything at all about such things, that there are very few lines of inquiry which are quite so much alive as the study of this old Greek book, as there are none at all more intimately bound up with our deepest and most pressing interests. Whatever may be our views or our surmises about religion, it is certain that we have here the very central knot and ganglion, as it were, of human history of which every educated man, every one who wishes to have an intelligent hold of the inward side of the world he lives in, and hates to grope about in it in the mere darkness, must necessarily seek to have some clear understanding.

Now the astonishing thing is that this book, though diligently read for centuries, used by countless thousands as the very staff and lamp of their life, has only quite recently, within the last hundred years, that is, begun to be subjected to

an entirely free and systematic examination. At present new light is being thrown upon it every day. Only a few years ago some of its most important single words even, to say nothing of still more momentous advances, were for the very first time fully explained by Deissmann, by means of the Greek papyri found at Oxyrrhyncus in Egypt. Are we going to leave all the first-hand work in this field to the Germans? Is Canada not to take even the first steps to prepare herself for making any real contribution to what all white people, everywhere else in the world, know to be one of the most characteristically modern departures of intelligent activity? We are ready enough to admire the Germans for what they have done in the matter of aerial navigation both as regards discovery and practical application of their discoveries to commercial enterprise. Everybody knows the name of Count Zeppelin. In a short time they will have several lines going for the transport of passengers, and perhaps for military purposes. But we do not see that all this, though significant enough, is a mere trifle compared with the way in which they are influencing the world by their New Testament studies; and still less can we be brought to understand that, wide apparently as is the distance between the two fields of achievement, there is really a very close and obvious connexion between success in the one and eminence in the other.

A people who are sufficiently alive, whose higher activities are sufficiently well organised and supported by the general level of intelligence to produce a Deissmann or a Johannes Weiss, or half-a-dozen others who could easily be named can throw off a score of Zeppelins, without turning a hair. That, however, is what our "practical" people can never be expected to admit or understand, I suppose. At any rate, every one will surely see that it would at least raise us in our own and other men's esteem if we should ever produce New Testament scholars of the type I have mentioned. When shall we do so? When we become what, I think it was Curtius who said we Canadians are not, and that

for the curious reason, as some will think, that we knew no Greek—a scientific people. When we are really permeated from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a love of knowledge for its own sake; when a very small minority of us, small but sufficient to tell, at last have our eyes opened to divine something of the great spiritual horizon of our race, and can see the luminaries of that sky in something like their relative magnitudes. When we do so it may be confidently predicted that this one great steadfast star which has shone upon the world for near two thousand years will once more again irresistibly fix our gaze. We shall care enough about it to seek to know about it all that can be known. We shall use all the telescopes and spectroscopes that can be brought to bear, or see that there are those among us who can use them and give us authentic news of it—nay perhaps invent new and improved instruments of our own Canadian make. And then there will be no more illiterate talk about Greek being an antiquated subject with no bearing on our actual life. Only persons who know Greek and know it very well can do for us this specifically modern and indispensable service, can lift us to a place among the elect, in the van of the procession of the nations, or even follow intelligently and give us reliable reports of what is being done by the real leaders of humanity elsewhere.

Do not suppose either that this sort of scholar can confine himself to what is called New Testament Greek. We have found there is no such thing. You cannot so conveniently limit the cerebral disturbance necessary to make our country great. What used to be called New Testament Greek is simply, speaking broadly, the Greek in use among the Hellenized peoples of Egypt and the East. The very language of our most vital book can only be understood in its larger setting, in the light of what was called the "common tongue," and still more its world of thought can only come clear and stand out in full relief against the background of that whole ancient

world differing *toto cœlo* from our own. Our New Testament scholar must know among many other things, the Stoics, and these will take him back to Aristotle and Plato, to the Greek tragedians and to Homer. In short he will not be a "live" man or do his work in this place and moment unless he lives over again and inwardly retraverses the whole course of the spiritual development of that great Greek people whose stamp is once and for all indelibly impressed upon all the inward history of our race. As to the necessity of keeping alive the study of Latin I need not say one word. There are very few even among the most fanatical opponents of the classics who do not recognise the obvious indispensableness of Latin for at least the majority of those who would claim to be liberally educated, and those few are neither capable of enlightenment by words nor worth attention.

The second fad or fallacy on which I wish to say a word is what may be called the Utilitarian fallacy. Perhaps a sufficient exposure of it has already been indicated. The people who wish their education to be immediately convertible into dollars and cents are numerous, like most other classes of foolish people. It is quite true that we cannot get on without some dollars and cents; though I think one excellent result of a more wide-spread and vital education among us would be the sincere conviction, that popular superstition exaggerates enormously the amount necessary for any really serious purposes: and another excellent result, that we should be able to make a little go a much longer way. A great part of the reason why we are such slaves of Mammon, and have gone astray after so many hollow and heartless admirations, is just that so many of us are dependent for all the excitement we can get out of the world on those primitive stimulations which are at once the most worthless and also the most expensive to procure. Whereas, if we were a really educated people we could find many ways of amusing ourselves that cost very little. We should be much more independent and prouder than we are. We should not care

to call the king, or even a railway magnate, our cousin, if we could enter into that inner inalienable kingdom which consists simply in the vigorous working of our own, too often, rusty powers. Good books are cheap; the newspapers—those inexhaustible mines of raw material for reflection—cost only one cent; a man can always shut his eyes and think, if there is anything at all in his head, and get no end of fun out of it. "I have been happy thinking," says the ploughman poet; pencils and paint brushes and paper or canvas are within a moderate compass; even a decent piano or violin can be come by readily; a hammer or spud for pottering away with rocks and plants, in the way of some mild geologising or botanising, can be begged, bought, or stolen; a walk on the mountain is free to all. Good music and good plays are also cheap in civilised countries. They will be, some day, with us. I do not mean, of course, that everybody will be able to do, or will care to do, all these things; but I do mean that in the boundless riches of the world without and within, very inadequately represented by the above examples, in *tanta copia rerum*, every human being who is not absolutely maimed by nature or stopped up by a criminal and acquired dullness beyond nature and contrary to her, should be able to find a playground and a kingdom.

And I will never believe that there is one single workman in Montreal, whose day's wages are so scanty or whose day's labour is so exhausting as to close all these doors upon him; if only we could keep him at school till he is fourteen years of age, as we most certainly could do, and shall one day do, and arrange our dealings with him there so as really to make something of that miraculous body and mind of his. The great fallacy in the utilitarian view is, on the one hand, that it fails to take account of a remarkable fact which the thoughtful have often occasion to observe—the fact that your frontal attack is usually the very worst possible kind of tactics. There are many things in themselves quite desirable to secure, wealth is one of them,

happiness is another, popularity is a third, the favour of the fair sex is a fourth, and there are many others like fame and eloquence and wit and artistic effect generally—including even the red pepper of paradox—which cannot best be gained, or most surely, by driving straight at them. They are all essentially bye-products. Take them in flank and they are likeliest to fall to you. Go your ways steering by the upper lights with your eye on the solid objects of which all these are but reflections, and they will come of themselves. Or if some of them don't, you can do very well without them. If possible, never think of them. If there were no other consideration, that is the most cunning way to catch them. Leave them for the left hand which your right ignores, being too much and too profitably employed elsewhere. For a hot, direct pursuit is the surest plan to scare them away. The shy fugacious goddess of luck whose grace is all important here, eludes the hobnailed tread, flat foot, and stifling hug of her too robustious Cyclops of a wooer. "Farewell, she cries and waves her lily hand." Whereas, being female, she will often come more than half way to meet the swain who does not seem to see her.

There is no region in which a premature and covetous concentration upon mere lucre is so absurdly out of place and so certain to defeat even its own narrow ends (especially if you take the larger point of view of a whole people's interests) as in the matter of education. To make a people industrially effective you must make them intelligent. And they will never be intelligent unless a considerable number of them seek and love wisdom for her own sake, and not merely as the dray-horse for their provision carts. "Seek first the kingdom and all these things shall be added unto you." It is from the spiritual sky that the fertilising rain must come to bring all foison and plenty down here on earth: that heaven is the source of all our light, and, therefore, of all our heat and power as well. To make even your baggage waggon go, you must "hitch it to a star."

In the second place (which is only, perhaps, one aspect of the other over again) this utilitarianism forgets that a man is not a beaver whose business in life is to lay logs. He is, in plain fact, an unspeakably complex creature with multiform relations to an infinite universe of intelligences and things. And the puzzling but obvious fact is that since all the parts of this universe are nothing in themselves except in their place as parts, that is, as implying and implied in the whole which lives in them and gives them all their life and meaning, he won't make much of any one thing unless he achieves the seemingly impossible task of getting in some sense or other the hang of all. The ultimate task to which society will set him, the particular service in payment for which he is destined to be provided with his bread and butter, may be an almost infinitesimal one. He may be intended one day to be employed in a shoe-factory, contributing his small fraction along with the great number of others, more than a hundred I am told, among whom the modern division of labour apportions the various rôles in the production of a pair of boots. His compass of bread-winning labour may be much more restricted than a beaver's, and incomparably more so than a Polynesian Islander's. But he is a man all the same. He may, it is to be hoped he will, go far afield from his bootpegs. Spinoza, the spectator of all time and existence, supported himself by grinding optical glasses. Charles Lamb was a clerk in the Indian Office, John and James Mill also were officials there. Many more such cases might be cited.

Our workman is not very likely to range so widely, but it will infallibly be a bad business both for him and other people if he does not range at all. For what Carlyle says of him is literally true, he is an infinite shoe-black. He has in him potencies in height and depth, heavenwards and hellwards, that are not less than boundless and terrific. If you doom him to dullness and vacuity, if the better part of him be stunted and atrophied, you let loose a great many more than seven devils. There is a slumbering volcano

in him, not to be guarded against by the cunningest machinery of external repression, by no conceivable number of policemen, fleets, and armies sitting on the lid, but capable in spite of all such dampers of breaking out in widespread and conspicuous devastation. It was just this sort of man who made the French Revolution. Woe to the society whose arrangements would make an ant of him, without taking steps to secure the ant's stinglessness, his convenient and enviable monasticism, the modesty of his claims and his immunity from desires.

But surely it should not be necessary to dwell on the mischief which Satan finds for idle and empty heads to do; the kindlier aspect is enough. It is sufficient to say that you do not exhaustively describe the poor fellow whose case is before us, in terms of his bread-winning labour, as when you call him the *n*th fraction of a shoemaker. He is a citizen who will have a vote: he must according to the ineluctable decree of nature go courting some day, and write love letters, and be called upon like the birds in spring for some ingenious turns and trills in the way of more or less lyrical expression. When the time comes, too, it will make an enormous difference whether he can acquit himself creditably of his share with the nestlings, who cannot in this case be pushed out of the nest after a month's worms, but must be tended for years and go to school in their turn, and are not likely to do much there unless the male parent-bird shows some interest in what they are doing. He will also, it may be hoped, go to church, and if he is to avoid becoming a Christian Scientist or something equally preposterous, he will have need to be prepared for the large and intricate problems which confront every man who is going to prove himself a man in this trial-wilderness of our modern life, after a much sounder fashion than many highly educated people so-called. One part of that sound preparation will be to get off by heart, after Athenian fashion, some really good pieces of our own literature, including a few chapters of the English Bible.

The prophylactic virtue of such a course cannot easily be exaggerated. I can scarcely imagine any one who has undergone it, sitting in a gorgeous temple and listening with long and solemn ears to scripture lessons drawn from the lucubrations of Mary Baker Eddy as a substitute for Isaiah. The utilitarian proclaims as his great principle that the object of education is to fit the boy for the battle of life. Yes, of course it is. But the battle of life is not a mere battle for a living. It is a much wider thing than that. The whole extent of it is not adequately expressed in any formula short of the magnificent declaration of the Westminster Catechism, that man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him forever; and that that is the crown of his battle. There is really very little fear about a living. Anybody with two legs and arms, at least in our country, can be confidently counted on to make a living. He can do that with one hand. The great fear is that he will never enter into anything at all that deserves to be called life. If I could read my son's horoscope with unerring certainty, and knew beyond question that he was doomed to some such narrow lot as to be plumber or professor, do you think I would make him play with gas-pipes, or start thumping a desk from his tenderest years? Heaven forbid that I should take the sure way to make him a drudge or a prig. I should hope that the food he assimilated would be convertible into some surplus energy, beyond what was needed for his daily pull upon his collar in the mill-round. My foreknowledge would surely make me most anxious to fit the poor young fellow out with the means of turning his spare time, his holidays, and Sundays to some account—perhaps by the practice of plumbing if I knew he was going to be a professor, and with some of the material of professing, if I knew he was to be a plumber.

But this utilitarian fallacy is only one side, the rather sordidly actuated side of a wider phenomenon—the modern tendency to excessive or at least premature specialism, which is extensively prevalent among the learned as well as among the vulgar. The range of things knowable has expanded

so enormously in our day, and at the same time our demand for precision and completeness in every single line has become so exacting, that a division of labour scarcely less minute and soul-destroying than the kind that obtains in the factories, has established itself even in many universities, especially, I think, in the United States. Many ingenious persons there devote their whole lives not only to one department of study but to some inconsiderable fragment of one department, living and moving and having their being, for all the world, like mites in a corner of a cheese. Slaves of the microscope, coral insects of research, they pride themselves on knowing one thing and knowing it well. As if you could know the hand, as if it were a hand at all, without your knowing something, and without its being part of the whole body; as if science were a mere inventory, a catalogue, not *raisonné* of dead bits and *disjecta membra;* the scientific effort a mere registration of atomic facts and details. Of course we must have the facts. They cannot be too clearly scanned and sifted. And perhaps such myopic investigators may accumulate useful material. Perhaps it may be said of them, "Es muss auch solche Kaüze geben," "Minerva hath need even of such blinking owls."

But they will certainly not go far. If they play the part of the harmless, necessary dictionary and are good to turn up—if they are useful, they are not admirable. It would be a mournful thing indeed if efficiency had to be purchased by such mutilation, if the final shape of human society should turn out after all to be a sort of beehive where one has only a choice between being a neuter or a drone. For my own part I will not believe that the nature of things forces upon us any such dismal alternative. There was no real reason why so great a man as Darwin even, a nature so large, simple, and candid should have had his comfortless confession to make, that his absorption in exact science, the inveteracy of that austere, cold, analytic habit of mind which intense and life-long labour had bred in him, should have quite dried up in his heart the springs of poetry and faith.

I believe he was mistaken about himself; he accepted as authoritative a too narrow view of both poetry and faith, and his analysis of his own mind (he was no psychologist) was incorrect. Surely Keats is right and profoundly right: "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty. That is all we know and all we need to know." Surely these two supreme divine things are not incompatible but only two aspects of the one identity, neither of them fully itself without the other. The fact must be that beauty, which includes both love and reverence in it, is just the glow and music of perfected truth, as Aristotle says finely that, in the body, it is the supervening charm, the flower of perfect health. Truth is not quite itself until it sing for us. We will not part till much further notice with the noble Greek ideal of culture; a harmoniously developed manhood, the stature and the breadth of a four-square humanity, sound in wind and limb without; and inwardly capable of responding tunefully and flexibly to all the main strokes of this brave and various world. In spite of the stifling, manifold knowledge which threatens like Frankenstein's monster to overwhelm the mind which has created it, in the teeth too of Juggernaut, the god of this lower world and his harsh demands, we will still hold up our heads and claim our undiminished birthright.

We will do our very best, then, to avoid the fallacy of the specialist, and not that only, but also the other vicious extreme, the last fallacy, out of a large remaining list of still remaining possibles, which I can overtake at present, namely, what may be called the Polymathic one. This consists in the superstition of the half-baked, that a man's intellectual wealth consists in the abundance of the separate things he knows, his fighting power in the weight and multifariousness of his panoply. It is what my colleague, Professor Dale, called the other day, the rag-bag theory.

Just this seems to me to be at the bottom of a good deal of the inefficiency of our Canadian, more particularly the Ontario, system of education. People think that if there is anything which it is desirable to know, and of course the

real trouble is that there is nothing which is not, then we ought to make that thing part and parcel of our express system of instruction; make haste to include it in our school curriculum. I remember once finding in my boy's hands, when he was nine years of age, a book called "History Notes." It began in fine systematic style, like Euclid, with solemn definitions of the various concepts necessary to the proper understanding of history. Such indispensable notions as political economy, excise, import duties, government, administration were elaborately expiscated for the benefit of this suckling, in such precise and abstract terms as it took me all my time to make head or tail of. The poor young wretch was supposed "to get them off by heart." As if he needed at that age of innocence to be told what excise and import duty was! As if all that could not safely wait till it came by the practical method of the immortal Squeers, till the time when, by the inevitable development of his own natural corruptions, he had made his first essays in running the cutter into the port of Montreal. There is a vast amount which a wholesome young person with ears and eyes picks up for himself, Heaven knows how, in old Mr. Weller's University, by grazing at large as it were. We are not dependent, thank goodness, upon the school, for any considerable proportion of which we know. The school does very well indeed if it does not "interrupt our education," if it arouses in us, or increases the desire to know, and shows us something of the right way to go about it. The mind is not a box, a sensorium, in which things are mechanically piled up, or even put into dockets. It is a living organ, a muscle, a lung, a stomach. When I made a plea a moment ago for some variety of pabulum for it, I did not mean that it was to be stuffed with all sorts of miscellaneous feeding like a Strassburg goose nailed to the floor for the manufacture of *paté de foie gras*. The great thing, almost the one thing, is to get it going on almost any thing at all. It learns by doing, not by suffering. If only it begins to work spontaneously with a zest, the problem is solved. It will go on then by its own inner impulse—

ponderibus librata suis—and find its own pet pastures for itself. The world is all before it where to choose. There is nothing impenetrable to it, indigestible by it. The whole universe belongs to it, for the substance of the universe is, as I believe with Hegel—else how could the mind move one step?—just such stuff as itself is made of, namely, reason. Our practical problem then is to choose out certain subjects, and not too many of them at any one time, which will be as nearly as possible perfect foods, bringing to bear and exercising all its digestive machinery, the whole gamut of its energies.

But above all not too much at a time. Above all some approach to the priceless simplicity of the Athenians! The most fatal thing of all is that this living member, so exquisitely capable of torture, should be bewildered and paralysed, chased from pillar to post after the unspeakable way of racing through Europe and the picture-galleries. The net result of that method is, of course, nothing or worse, mere dyspepsia of mind and body, a dizzy blur, a dull sense of powerlessness and persecution. There is really no hurry: Die Zeit ist unendlich lang. Give the young shoots plenty of time to throw out those miraculous tendrils of theirs; time to grow naturally into what they will twine around of themselves, if you do not vainly seek to tie them or nail them to it; and so most likely kill them. Give their minds a chance to play freely about what you wish them to learn, to gain in some degree the unspeakably encouraging and quickening sense of mastery. Bring them at least within divining distance, on Pisgah as it were, of that feeling which is the beginning of all education and the teacher's highest triumph to awaken; the dawning suspicion that this uncanny thing on the black board or in the book, which they incline first to shy at like young horses, is not after all something hostile, external or alien, but in reality their very own—a half-covered treasure, to be digged for indeed but not hopelessly inaccessible, in the boy's or girl's own deeper self; a permanent possibility of sensation, an enlargement and heightening of life.

The problem of combining a reasonable and necessary variety with simplicity is not an insoluble one. Neither, to go back for one last moment, is it a chimera to reconcile the far sight and the sharp close vision. The larger horizon need not be incompatible with facility in the use of the microscope. The *non omnes omnia possumus* is true alas! We must clip our wings and confine ourselves to some one field, if we are to accomplish anything considerable. No one can be an admirable Crichton nowadays. *Entbehren sollst du sollst entbehren*—thou must renounce, renounce. That is the stern and wholesome law of life, that pinches some of us nowhere more than in the unavoidable self-restriction here, to some things or thing, where all are so fascinatingly interesting. It is on one main side the tragedy of our imperfection and of the brevity of man's days, and I think one of the chief arguments for immortality. I had a dear old friend, Dr. Williamson, the brother-in-law of Sir John Macdonald, another not unlike himself, except that Sir John had had his nature, like the dyer's hand, subdued somewhat to what it worked in. The old gentleman had studied most things. He had taught classics, physics, New Testament, and astronomy in the University. He was a preacher and theologian, and one of the best botanists in Canada. He had learned French in Edinburgh in his youth from some noble emigrés of the Revolution, heir lovely language and their fair manners. He also spoke Italian beautifully. He died over ninety years of age and had, just before, begun seriously for the first time the study of philosophy. That, I believe, is what he is doing now. Few indeed can be like him, because few can have his child-like heart. But in a world where all things are so closely related together, the infinite variety and embarrassing riches of which is only after all an endless series of exquisite variations on a few simple fundamental themes, constantly repeated in thin disguises, kaleidoscopically illustrated as it were, it should be possible, in such a world of system, law, and unity, to extract from a quite compassable range of studies some-

thing not altogether undeserving the name of a grasp of the whole at least in its essential substance. Even in our day we need not altogether despair, I think, of the Aristotelian ideal—the universally cultivated man. It was said of Gœthe, who certainly did not know everything, having, as he undoubtedly had, among other things, a poor head for the mathematics, that if the work of creation had stopped on the fourth day, he could have furnished the ground plan for the other two, including, I may add, the song sung by the Sons of Morning, which last indeed he has actually contributed in the opening lines of "Faust". The Stoics said that the wise man must be a shoe-maker, physician, philosopher, and king. I cannot see that at bottom they were asking anything much out of the way. It should be possible, nay I think it has in large part already been done, without breaking anybody's back, by the Germans, to arrange our High School and University courses in such a way that, when a man finally settles down to his little part, he shall be able to do it not like a mole but like a being of large discourse of reason, in the light of the whole, to see the whole in it with some tolerable fulness as one sees the stars out of the smallest sky-light, shall be able to stand on the heights of his time, in the places of large vision, and emerge into the wide sunshine, following with intelligent sympathy what is being done by other people as well as by his fellow-ants and insects of the den.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON

THE JEWISH SCHOOL QUESTION

NOTHING is perfect in this world—not even modern democracy—and there is nothing which shows the weaknesses of democracy in so clear a light as the problem of education. Acquiescence in the rule of the majority is the corner stone of the democratic structure. From this obviously imperfect convention of majority rule arises the important question of minority rights. The statesmen of to-day are using all their ingenuity in attempts to devise some satisfactory method of safeguarding the rights of minorities, especially in cases where the fundamental principle of the liberty of conscience is involved. Education is largely a matter of conscience; and hence we are constantly meeting with this question of minority rights, when considering the various aspects of the complex problem known as the school question. Should schools be national or sectional? Should schooling be free or paid for? Should education be compulsory or voluntary? Should instruction be non-sectarian or denominational? These are a few of the elements of the school question.

The thesis of the present essay is that the ideal school system is a national system of free, compulsory, non-sectarian education; and, since it follows that educational progress is synonymous with the approximation to this ideal, that any step in the opposite direction should be condemned by educationists as distinctly retrograde. It is with the present situation in the city of Montreal that we are here concerned; and it is my purpose to apply the foregoing general principles to this particular case.

Should schools be national or sectional? At first it might appear that there could be no two answers to this question. Yet there are to be found in every land people who will uphold the cause of local or sectional education. It is argued that national education tends to develop

certain stereotyped characteristics throughout the country; whereas sectional education results in the diversification of national attributes. Let us admit the point to be well taken in theory; surely it will not prove so in practice. Yes, in a single case, it might; that is, in the case of a state with a homogeneous population. But our modern conception of a state differs radically from that of the ancients. In the eyes of the Greeks unity of race was an absolute essential —an alien could not become a citizen; whereas in the State of Austria-Hungary to-day there are more than a dozen races, and the population of most modern states is similarly heterogeneous. Under such circumstances it seems obvious that any system of local education, perpetuating local differences and sectional jealousies, would prevent the State from ever becoming a nation, in the strict sense of the word. This is true, *a fortiori*, in the case of a Federation like Canada, where the differentiation between the provinces is more than incidental.

But, while the modern conception of the State by no means coincides with that of the classical era, the nineteenth century saw a remarkable revival of the nationalistic idea, as a result of the great political upheaval subsequent to the French Revolution. We can see traces of this idea in the formation of a united Italy and a united Germany, to say nothing of the similar attempts in many other countries, such as Hungary, which proved abortive. Nationalism is becoming more and more the *primum mobile* of modern politics; and experience has shown education to be one of the most efficacious of tools in the hands of the nation-builder, when properly wielded. A national system of education is of incalculable service in fostering a truly national spirit. The Canadian people aspire to take their rank among the nations; let Canadian legislators not forget that they have the great force of education at their disposal, a force which, at present, is either idle or even acting in a negative direction in some parts of the country.

Should schooling be free or paid for? Should education be compulsory or voluntary? These are in reality but different aspects of the same question, for if education be compulsory it should in all justice be free. Now schooling must be paid for, if not by the individual, then by the State. So that the first half of the question resolves itself into: Should schooling be paid for by the individual or by the State? There are some who will ask why people without children of their own should be taxed to educate the offspring of others. Quite apart from all ethical considerations, this question can easily be answered on the somewhat lower ground of self-interest. There are unfortunately many people who cannot afford to pay for the education of their children, so the children of this class must needs grow up in ignorance unless free schooling be placed at their disposal. Ignorance is the prolific mother of vice, poverty, and crime; and it obviously pays the community better to spend money on schools and teachers than on gaols and constables. Every resident of a locality, whether he have children of his own to educate or not, profits by the education of all the children in the neighbourhood. This fact has now become axiomatic, and it is generally recognised that every one should receive at least an elementary education. If the individual do not see to it, then the State must intervene. Even the staunchest advocates of individual liberty admit that it is the duty of a government to require that every one be educated.

Not only, then, is it the duty of a government to see that every citizen receives a certain degree of education, but it is criminal for it not to do so. Consequently, in default of adequate provision being made by the individual, the State must take the matter into its own hands. The first step is to provide free schooling, thus making it possible for every one to educate his children. But it is generally found that this will not be sufficient to ensure universal education. There are many who, from force of circumstance, from sloth, or from lack of foresight, reckon the

time during which potential wage-earners are converted into school-children as so much net loss to the family budget. In such cases it is not enough to render education accessible, it must be made obligatory. And, therefore, the government must resort to the weapons of compulsory education and factory acts forbidding the employment of children under a certain age. In this way the strongest temptation for parents to neglect the education of their children is removed.

Glancing over the roll of the nations, we find that in all progressive States the government has acknowledged its obligation; and hence, that free, compulsory education is the rule to-day in nearly every civilised country. Denmark has had compulsory education ever since 1814. England, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany all have free compulsory education. Many parts of Germany have even gone so far as to make attendance at continuation schools compulsory. In the United States all schools are free, and in the great majority of the States education is compulsory. In Canada we have free schools in eight of the nine provinces, and compulsory education in seven of them. That Quebec has neither free nor compulsory education is a blot on the provincial escutcheon.

Should instruction be non-sectarian or denominational? The problem of religious instruction is the most debateable feature of the whole school question. It is in this connexion that the bitterest controversies have raged, that the hardest feelings have been engendered, and that the least satisfactory conclusions have been reached. In fact, the difficulty seems no nearer solution than when the point was first mooted. On the one hand, we have the Radical, who says that there should be no religion taught in the schools, that religion is the affair of the home and the church. On the other, we have the Sectarian who maintains that as religion enters into every relation of life it cannot be divorced from secular education. The fault of the Sectarian is that not only does he desire his creed,

and that alone, to be taught, but he also wishes his children to be kept from contact with any children learning other creeds. An examination of the arguments on both sides leads us ultimately to the question of the rule of the majority.

There is one point on which these two schools of thought agree. Both Sectarian and Radical admit that if the moral side of education be neglected, education becomes a peril. But this truce of opinion is not long-lived, and we soon find ourselves confronted with the same difficulty as before. In imparting moral instruction, to what sanctions should the teacher appeal? There are three possible sanctions; namely, the religious; the social, civic, or patriotic; and the personal. Will the social or the personal sanction, or a combination of the two, suffice; or must we always look to religion to provide the ultimate sanction for moral teaching? That is the great question, and three distinct theories find support. The first is that religious training and moral training are inseparable. The second is that moral instruction is wholly separable from religious teaching, and that it should rest entirely upon a secular basis in schools supported by public taxation. The third is that, although religion must provide the ultimate sanction for moral training, the school should confine its appeal to those moral instincts and convictions which are shared by all, leaving the religious teaching to the home and the church. Advocates of the first two theories are extremists, and their views naturally possess the faults characteristic of all extreme opinions. The third idea seems fraught with all the advantages of the others, without entailing any of their disadvantages, and is by far the most reasonable.

A salient feature of the whole controversy is the tendency to exaggerate the influence, great though it undoubtedly is, of the school upon the character of the child. Judging from the uncompromising attitude assumed by the Sectarian, one might suppose that the school was

the sole agent of any consequence in the formation of character. Unquestionably, it is of vital import; but we must not overlook the fact that the influence of the home is equally important, if not more so. This is seen when that influence is exercised in the wrong direction, and is found to render almost entirely nugatory the training received in the school. In fact, the school is only one of many instruments in moral training, and its work can never take the place of the character-forming influences of a good home. Children are under the care of teachers during but one third of their waking hours—indeed, during not more than a quarter of them, if Sundays and holidays be taken into consideration. It is true that the concentration of the forces of the school upon training gives special power to its work, but that work can only be truly effective when supported by the efforts of the home. There are three classes of subjects in which a child should be instructed: purely secular subjects, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic; secular subjects involving moral and ethical considerations, such as history and literature; and purely religious subjects, such as matters of creed and dogma. The first class falls entirely within the province of the school; the second is a function of both school and home; the third belongs exclusively to the home. The word "home" is used throughout this discussion to signify general environment outside of school hours, and to represent the joint influence of parents, church, and Sunday-school.

Dogmatic teaching has no place in the school. The sole duty of the teacher is to see that full opportunity is afforded the child to carry out the observances which he has been taught at home to regard as part of his duty. On no account should an attempt be made to neutralise any of the home teaching, but the feeling of religion that underlies all creeds and forms should be deepened as far as possible. This allotment of subjects provides the religious sanction which nearly all admit to be requisite

for effective moral instruction, without making it necessary for the school to transcend its proper sphere. Moreover, it safeguards both religious interests and the liberty of conscience; whereas, the Sectarian, in his anxiety about religion, would ride roughshod over the principles of freedom, while the Radical would sacrifice religion outright to his notions of liberty.

Apart from all other considerations, once given a system of national and compulsory schools, it seems to follow logically from the recognised principle of the liberty of conscience that education should be non-sectarian. But because education is non-sectarian, it does not necessarily follow that it is "godless," the epithet of the clerical opponents of the undenominational system. In the words of M. Ferdinand Brisson, the State school is a school without a priest, it is not a school without a God. If the critics of non-sectarianism were met with the statement: Very well, let us have religion taught in our schools, but what is religion?—they would be hard put to it to give a satisfactory definition. Our views on matters of religion are daily becoming more enlightened; we are beginning to see that the true religion is an eclecticism of "religions." In fact, the so-called "religions" of the world are not religions at all; they are merely creeds. One might as well speak of "moralities" as of "religions." Both morality and religion are abstract ideas. The various creeds or "religions" of the world are but the outward forms and manifestations of the inner light. Every "religion" has its good points, but it stands to reason that no one "religion" monopolises the road to Heaven; for to assume this would be to take it for granted that future happiness was reserved for one particular, and comparatively small, portion of the human race. The doctrine of predestination, with its eternal blessedness for some and eternal damnation for others, is now generally viewed with nothing less than horror. And yet every "religion" claims to be the true one, and nearly every one teaches that the votaries of all

other "religions" can never attain the same immortal happiness as its own disciples. The proper position for the State to assume has been aptly pointed out by M. Briand, the new Prime Minister of France:—"L'état laique doit rester neutre à l'égard de toutes les confessions religieuses. Il n'est pas anti-religieux, il n'a pas le droit d'être anti-religieux. Il est a-religieux."

Before leaving the subject of religious teaching, I must quote a very suggestive passage from Dr. Egerton Ryerson's Report on religion in the schools of Ontario (1857). This passage carries all the more weight with it owing to the fact that Dr. Ryerson was himself a clergyman: "Though religion is essential to the welfare of the State, and even to the existence of civil government and civil liberty, the State is not the divinely-appointed religious instructor of the people. Nor can the State perform that work without determining the kind of religious instruction to be given, and appointing the religious instructors. This may be done where the State is the Church, and the Church the State, as in the Roman States of Italy and in Turkey; but it is at the expense of all civil and religious liberty on the part of the people. It may also be done where but one form of religion is established and supported by the State, and where the clergy are the officers of the State.....In none of these cases is there any instance in which civil or religious freedom has been enjoyed, or the people of a country educated; on the contrary, in every instance the mass of the people have grown up in ignorance, and in most instances a government of absolute and oppressive despotism has prevailed."

Having established a theoretical basis for the practical conclusions of this essay, let us now proceed to apply the foregoing general principles to the particular instance of the school question in the city of Montreal. For the sake of clearness it will be necessary to give a preliminary outline of the existing educational structure in the Province of Quebec, including a brief historical review.

According to De Montigny, the province was entirely destitute of public schools during the régime of Lord Dorchester. At that time rural education depended altogether on the home. The Order of the Jesuits had been suppressed, and the schools of the Ursulines and the Recollets were no longer in existence. A commission was appointed to investigate this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and an act was passed in 1801 which established a system of free, non-sectarian common schools. In 1841 provisions were made for the first time for dissentient schools and separate boards. This principle of separate schools was elaborated by the Acts of 1845 and 1846, which set up two Boards of School Commissioners, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic, in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, introducing the panel system of taxation. In 1856 the Council of Public Instruction was instituted. Membership was not at first made subject to any religious test, but three years later it was limited to Protestants and Roman Catholics. Then came Confederation, and the British North America Act recognised and perpetuated the principle of separate schools.

The Education Act now in force is 62 Vict. (1899) cap. 28. Special statutes provide special systems for Montreal and other cities. But, to the extent that it does not conflict with these, the Education Act is of universal application. According to the provisions of this Act the Department of Public Instruction includes: a superintendent; a Council of Public Instruction; school visitors; central boards of examiners; school commissioners in country municipalities; school trustees in country municipalities; and a Roman Catholic and a Protestant Board of School Commissioners for Montreal and other cities. The Council of Public Instruction is divided into two committees, one composed of the Roman Catholic members, and the other of the Protestant members. The Superintendent is *ex officio* a member of both, but can only vote in the committee of the religious belief to which he adheres. Questions in

which the one faith or the other is exclusively concerned must be decided by the committee of that faith. Both the Superintendent and the Council are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; and this latter body is in every case the final educational authority. The school visitors can "visit only the schools of their own religious belief." Two central boards of examiners are provided for, one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant. Their duty is to examine "candidates of each of the two religious beliefs for teachers' diplomas." School commissioners manage the schools of the religious majority in country municipalities; school trustees, the dissentient schools. In 1896 the terms "religious majority" and "religious minority" were expressly interpreted to mean "the Roman Catholic or Protestant majority or minority as the case may be."

In Montreal the schools are under the management of two boards. The Roman Catholic Board is composed exclusively of Roman Catholics: three appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; three by the Roman Catholic Archbishop; and three by the City Council from among its members. The Protestant Board is composed exclusively of Protestants: three appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; and three by the City Council from among its members.

Government grants are divided in country parts according to attendance; in Montreal "according to the relative proportions of the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations in the said city, according to the then last census." School taxes are levied on real property, and in Montreal the panel system is used. There are four panels. Panel number one consists of the real estate belonging exclusively to Roman Catholic proprietors: the taxes go to the Roman Catholic Board. Panel number two consists of the real estate belonging exclusively to Protestant (including Jewish) proprietors: the taxes go to the Protestant Board. Panel number three consists of the real estate belonging to corporations and incorporated com-

panies. This is commonly known as the neutral panel. The taxes of this panel are divided between the two Boards "in the relative ratio of the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations in the said city according to the then last census." Panel number four consists of the real estate exempted from taxation.

How is the education of the Jews of Montreal to be provided for? Until quite recently all statutes of the Province of Quebec relating to education have been based on the assumption that the whole population of the province was either Roman Catholic or Protestant. Members of other faiths have been considered as negligible quantities. It is true that at Confederation the Jewish population was infinitesimal, the census of 1871 recording only 549 Jews in the whole Province. According to the census of 1901 there were 6,597 Jews in Montreal alone. Then came the atrocities of Odessa and Kishineff, which sent a thrill of horror through the whole frame of civilisation; and the result was the arrival of hordes of Jewish immigrants seeking shelter from the persecutions they had undergone in the benighted land of their birth. The Jewish population of Montreal increased enormously, until it is estimated to-day at 30,000. The way in which these vast numbers of immigrants were handled is an achievement of which the Jewish community may be justly proud. They arrived here destitute and penniless, for the most part with large families to support, utterly ignorant both of the language and of the customs of the land; and yet not one of them has ever become a public burden, not one of them has ever appeared in a police court to answer a charge of drunkenness or violence, nor have they swelled our prison population. They have been assimilated almost unconsciously by the industrial life of the country. Education was mainly instrumental in the accomplishment of this feat. The Jew has a passion for education. Within a year over 3,000 children were raised by the efforts of the Jews themselves from appalling "incompetence" to the ranks of

the "competents", and were thus enabled to take advantage of the ordinary educational facilities of the city. As a result there are to-day 4,374 Jewish children in the Protestant schools of Montreal, out of a total enrolment of 11,956. Practical evidence of the remarkable progress made by these immigrant children, within so short a time, may be obtained by scanning any list of prize-winners or scholarship awards; just as practical evidence of the prosperity of their "immigrant" fathers may be secured by glancing over any list of real estate transfers. If every class of immigrants were endowed with the industry, thrift, and exemplary sobriety of the Jews; if every class of immigrants were handled as the Jewish immigrants are handled by their fellow Jews, what a prosperous country Canada would be!

It was a decision of the Superior Court in 1903 that gave rise to the present controversy over the relation of the Jews to our school system. A scholarship won by a Jewish pupil was refused by the Protestant Board on the ground that his father was not an owner of real estate (although the same objection would not have held in the case of a Protestant). A petition for a writ of mandamus was dismissed; and the judgement rendered was equivalent to a statement that the education of the children of Jewish tenants in the Protestant schools was an act of grace, and that the Jews had no legal rights in the public schools of the city, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, despite the fact that they had to pay the school tax like other citizens.

A short account of the way in which the Jewish taxes had been disposed of will aid greatly in arriving at a clear understanding of the question. Previous to 1886, in accordance with their right of option, the entire body of Jews elected to contribute to Protestant education, and their children were admitted to the schools on the same terms as Protestants. A dispute arose, and the members of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, representing

$2,116 out of the $2,700 paid in school taxes by Jewish citizens, transferred all their properties to the Roman Catholic panel, arranging for a rebate of 80 per cent. with which they established a school of their own. Meanwhile the mass of the Jewish children continued to attend the Protestant schools, so that in a few years the Protestant Board found itself educating 80 per cent. (174) of the Jewish children, while only in receipt of 20 per cent. of the Jewish taxes ($600). Moreover, neither the government grant nor the share of the neutral panel was increased by reason of this attendance. The Protestants naturally objected to such a state of affairs. The members of the seceding synagogue were induced to return their property to the Protestant panel and to close their school; yet matters continued to be far from satisfactory.

As a result of the manifest unfairness of the then existing conditions—unfairness to the Jewish tenants on the one hand, and to the Protestant Board on the other—an act was passed by the Provincial Legislature in 1903 at the joint instigation of Protestants and Jews. Under the provisions of this act Jews were identified outright with Protestants for the purposes of education. Their right of option as to the disposal of their taxes was abrogated, and all Jewish rates were to be paid into the Protestant panel, on the understanding that Jews were to have in return equal rights with Protestants in the schools. Moreover, a conscience clause was inserted to safeguard the religious scruples of the Jews. One very important feature of the act was that thereafter the Jewish population was to be counted as Protestant both in the division of the Legislative grant and in the allotment of the proceeds from the neutral panel. This act is still in force.

There was no more trouble for six years, until a bill was introduced at the last session of the Legislature to make the Protestant Board elective by the Protestant proprietors of real estate, any male Protestant who was a municipal elector being eligible. Unfortunately, an

entirely unnecessary definition of the word "Protestant" as including Jews was inserted. This was seized upon by opponents of the bill, and the race cry was at once raised. It was insinuated that the bill had been instigated by the Jews, an assumption that was false. A circular was issued by the Protestant Board in which the Jews were charged with having broken faith. This statement was entirely unwarranted, as neither individually nor collectively were the Jews in any way responsible for the introduction of the measure. The circular was in reality a plea on the part of the Commissioners for their own retention in office.

As for the principle of election, although the Commissioners sang their own praises, the issue was to a great extent ignored. The principle at stake was obscured by raising the Jewish peril, the real intention being to keep the Board a close corporation. But let us examine the arguments on both sides. The main arguments against the election of School Commissioners may be summarised as follows: that it was advisable to "let well enough alone"; that there were no complaints as to the efficiency of the present system; that the introduction of the elective principle would be followed by a deterioration in the personnel of the Board, since many capable men would be unwilling to face a popular election, and since this method would not result in the choice of the best men; and, finally, that there was no public demand for the change.

In the first place, if statesmen were always content to "let well enough alone" there would be no such thing as progress. Secondly, it is not true that there have been no complaints against the present system of administration; surely the resignation of one of the Commissioners after the Hochelaga disaster, which resulted in the loss of eighteen lives, was a suggestive reflection of public disapproval. The third argument, which is truly a striking arraignment of the principles of representative government, has also its amusing side. The distrust of the Protestant electorate by the clerical Commissioners seems to point to

the fact that their work must have been a failure. But the balance of opinion seems to be against this view, and it is generally conceded that Protestant parents would be sufficiently interested in the education of their children to secure the election of the best available men. One half of the Board is even now indirectly elected, though neither with reference to their special fitness for the position, nor by directly interested constituents. The statement that capable men would be deterred from running for office by the elective system is scarcely deserving of comment, when it is borne in mind that two of Montreal's foremost clergymen did not consider popular election to a school board beneath their dignity in Edinburgh. The last argument reminds one forcibly that "there are generally a score ready to take up their pens to advocate what only a score think, against one who cares to argue for what everyone thinks." But it is not true that there has been no demand for the change. The proposal has met with hearty support in nearly every direction; distinguished clergymen, prominent business men, eminent educationists, labour leaders and professional men of all classes have united in commending the constitutional principles involved in the proposed change. The matter has been before the public in one form or another for over five years, and the sole voice raised against this chorus of assent has been that of those directly interested in the maintenance of the present system, whereby taxpayers have no control whatever over the funds to which they subscribe.

The argument for the adoption of the elective system assumes what may be termed a constitutional aspect and a practical aspect. In its constitutional aspect we meet with the old Liberal doctrine of "no taxation without representation." For twenty years no denomination has been directly represented on the Board excepting Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists. It is urged that all people who pay taxes should have a voice in the management of the schools, and in the expenditure of the public funds.

It must be admitted that this argument is scarcely valid unless the tenants, instead of the proprietors, as was proposed, constitute the electorate. For it is the tenant who in reality pays the tax, and, therefore, it is the tenant who should control the expenditure. The practical aspect of the argument is that, considering the large sums handled yearly, it would be in the highest degree desirable for the Board to be composed of business men. A debt of almost a million dollars has been imposed on the Protestant property of this city, and the general public has no knowledge of how it has been incurred. Finally, it is pointed out that the elective system has proved successful wherever it has been tried; why should it fail in Montreal?

Let us now return to an analysis of several remarkable statements made in the circular issued by the Protestant Board when the Bill was before the public. In the first place it is said that "the admission of Jewish citizens to the electorate, and, as a consequence, of Jewish representatives to the membership of the Board, would immediately involve the destruction of the Christian character of the administration. The employment of Jewish teachers would logically follow, and as a result the religious instruction of Protestant children would, in certain cases, be placed in non-Christian hands. It seems scarcely necessary to characterise such an innovation as undesirable." Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that the admission of Jews to the electorate would result in the election of Jewish Commissioners, and in the placing of the religious instruction of Protestant children in Jewish hands. Why should Christians be afraid of contact with Judaism? Jews are not afraid of contact with Christianity. We see many a Jew leading his class in the study of the New Testament, but never a Jewish convert as a result. In a conflict between two religions the better will prevail, in accordance with the well-established law of the "survival of the fittest." But would the admission of Jews to the electorate have such results as the circular fears? Granted

that the religious instruction of Protestant children by Jewish teachers would be "undesirable," is it a necessary result of the appointment of Jewish teachers? Why not have the latter confine their teaching to such subjects as arithmetic, spelling, or geography? This point will be met with vague allusions to the "undesirability" of the personal influence of a Jewish teacher. Granted that the mere contact between Jewish teachers and Christian pupils would be "undesirable," why not have them teach in the schools where 95 per cent. of the children are Jews? Surely the presence of Jewish teachers in schools such as the Aberdeen or the Dufferin could scarcely destroy any "Christian character." However, such is the acknowledged policy of the Board that, although many capable young Jews take Protestant Normal School diplomas, no Jewish teacher has a chance of employment under any circumstances in the Protestant schools, in which 37 per cent. of the scholars are Jews. In the light of the above argument, the logical inference is that the real reason for the exclusion of Jewish teachers from earning a livelihood must be the desire to retain positions for Protestants only.

Moreover, the first part of the statement quoted from the circular is an absolute *non sequitur*. The admission of Jews to the electorate would not necessarily result in the election of Jewish Commissioners, and would certainly not result in the "swamping of the Board." Is it quite fair to insinuate that to give the Jews a voice in the management of the schools is to surrender the schools to their management? Besides, there is nothing in the law now in force to prevent the appointment of a Jewish Commissioner.

Supposing that we did have Jewish Commissioners, how would it "immediately involve the destruction of the Christian character of the administration?" What is meant by the word "Christian"? Christians are too prone to designate as "Christian" all that is pure, noble, and virtuous in life. Might not a Jew challenge the right of Christians thus to monopolise the virtues? Might he

not with equal right—might he not with better right, characterise those very attributes as Jewish? The Christian maxim that has become known as the Golden Rule is but the paraphrase of an old Jewish precept. Moses enjoined: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" and Hillel taught: "What is hateful unto thee, do not do unto thy neighbour." The Beatitudes are one and all simply adaptations of Jewish teachings. Two examples will suffice. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Is not this sentence much more beautifully expressed by the Psalmist: "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy"? "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Is not this a repetition of Psalm XXXVII, 11: "The meek shall inherit the earth"? And so upon analysis it will be found that all that is best in the Sermon on the Mount, the quintessence of Christian morality, is a paraphrase of pre-existing Jewish teachings. Moreover, to what religion do Christians owe the Ten Commandments? Is it not to Judaism? Why, then, designate everything that is good in life as "Christian?" Has not history shown that Christians themselves are often less "Christian" than Jews? We have a Spanish Inquisition in the name of Christianity and Catholicism. We have the manifold persecutions under the Tudors and the Stuarts in the name of Christianity and Protestantism. We have the burning of Servetus in the name of Christianity and Calvinism.

On the other hand, if the word "Christian" is used in its dogmatic sense, why should the character of the administration of the schools be Christian? Even a fair-minded sectarian would have to admit that it should be at least 37 per cent. Jewish. But it has already been demonstrated in the first part of this essay that matters of creed and dogma have no place in the school: that we should "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Moreover, the spirit which prompts an association of the Jew with the infidel and the thief, even for purposes of rhetorical effect or abstract argument, is a spirit that it

would be scarcely advisable to infuse into the rising generation, unless we wish to rear up a race of mediæval fanatics.

The circular says further that Jewish children are "fully protected by a conscience clause," and that if Jews are not satisfied with present conditions the only thing for them to do is to leave the Protestant schools, and establish a separate system of their own, "a change which, however *objectionable from a national point of view*, would certainly be preferred by many Protestant parents and ratepayers to that now proposed." I must confess my surprise at finding that men who are responsible for the education of our future citizens regard the personal preferences of "many" Protestants—the Protestants being but a small minority in the province—as of more importance than the interests of the nation. That School Commissioners of a city like Montreal should frankly admit a change to be "objectionable from a national point of view," and yet advocate that change, is astounding. If these views be characteristic of Christian administrators, once more let me urge that the sooner we infuse a different spirit into the administration of our schools, the better for our national welfare.

In the statement that the Jews are "fully protected by a conscience clause" the circular is unusually moderate. It is customary for those who object to the presence of Jews in the schools to argue that not only are the Jews "fully protected" by the conscience clause, but that "it places the Protestant scholars under a disability." It is maintained that Jewish pupils are given unfair privileges in two ways. In the first place, they are not required to attend the Scripture class, yet are given the average mark in this subject. Thus they get credit for work not done by them, and at the same time have one subject less than other pupils. This involves unequal competition, since they have more time to devote to the other subjects in the curriculum. In the second place, they are allowed to absent themselves on obligatory religious holidays without losing any marks

for punctuality, attendance, or conduct; whereas every moment's absence is recorded against the Christian pupils. "The Jewish children enjoy their holiday, and return to school to resume their lessons where they left off," while "the Protestant children have been standing still."

Let us see what these arguments are worth. I maintain the diametrically opposite proposition; namely, that not only are the Protestant pupils not placed under any "disability" by the conscience clause, but that the Jewish children are not even "fully protected" thereby. The granting of the average mark of the class to the Jew in Scripture is undoubtedly unfair. But the discrimination is against the Jew, not the Protestant. A class average is usually a low mark, whereas the cleverness of the Jewish scholar is proverbial. The result is that a Jew must either content himself with loss of rank, or waive his legal rights as set forth in the conscience clause. This is equivalent to moral compulsion, and is, therefore, illegal. Personal compulsion is also exercised upon the Jew through the force of the opinion of his fellow students. The potency of these two forms of compulsion is seen in the fact that it is very rare to find a Jewish pupil who does not attend the Scripture class. This attendance immediately overrides the objection that Jews have one subject less than other pupils; and the success attained by the Jews in this very Scripture lesson strengthens the argument that the award of an average is a distinct discrimination against the Jews. At the time of the framing of the present regulations, what the Jewish community did ask for was an alternative subject. The Protestant Board ignored this suggestion, but it seems to be the only plan that would secure justice for all. At any rate, the whole system of examinations in Scripture is admitted by the best educationists to be wrong in principle. The moral side of the Bible is sacrificed to the mere facts of Bible history. In the words of Henry Herbert:—"Experience has taught me that the more earnestly and intelligently one teaches the Bible, the worse one does at the Scripture examination."

As for the permission granted to Jews to absent themselves on religious holidays, would it be possible to compel them to attend without flagrantly violating the basic principles of the liberty of conscience? Apart from all legal consideration, surely the Board could not do otherwise than as at present.

The next point raised by the circular is the only one really deserving of serious consideration. It is contended that the Protestant Board is losing annually a large sum through the education of Jewish children. The average cost per pupil in the schools which most of the Jews attend is estimated at $23 a year. Reckoned on this basis the total annual cost of educating the Jewish children would amount to $100,000 in round numbers. In 1908 the contribution of Jews to the Board treasury was approximately as follows:—

Jewish school tax	$30,000
Jewish share of neutral panel	4,400
Jewish share of government grant	600
Total	$35,000

Thus it would appear that the Board lost about $65,000 through Jewish education. But these figures are extremely misleading. In this Province the school tax is divided according to the religious persuasion of the proprietor. Now any one who knows the first principles of the incidence of taxation is aware of the fact that it is the tenant who really pays the tax, and consequently that the religion of the tenant should determine the allotment. In Ontario this principle is fully recognised, and the more equitable method of allotting taxes according to the religious persuasion of the tenant has been adopted. Under our system, although Jewish tenants pay indirectly through rent their full share of civic taxes, they are not given credit for so doing. The landlord, who advances the tax to the city treasury, is alone considered, and it is his religion that determines the division of the fund. The Protestant com-

munity owns a vastly greater proportion of the property of Montreal than it occupies, and hence the Protestant Board receives a disproportionate share in the division of the school tax; although this advantage is counteracted to a certain extent by the fact that, while the majority of corporations is composed of Protestants, the Roman Catholic Board receives two-thirds of the school assessment on all property owned by these corporations. In any case, if allowance be made for the circumstance that taxes are really paid by the tenant, we shall see a great transformation of figures. The ratio of Protestants to Jews in the city of Montreal is about three to one; therefore, the Jewish portion of the total Protestant school tax would be 25 per cent. instead of 9 per cent.; $80,000 instead of $30,000. This reduces the loss of the Board to $15,000. It must further be remembered that both the neutral panel and the government grant are divided on the basis of the census of 1901, when there were only 6,597 Jews in the city. The new census will result in a large increase in the share of both these funds that will accrue to the Protestant Board from the fact of their educating Jews. It is estimated that there are to-day 360,000 Roman Catholics, 90,000 Protestants, and 30,000 Jews in Montreal; and 290,000 Roman Catholics, 75,000 Protestants, and 25,000 Jews in Montreal exclusive of suburbs. On this basis the Jewish share of the neutral panel and the government grant would amount to $10,500 and $1,500 respectively. Add to this the $80,000 which Jewish tenants are paying to-day, and we have the total contribution of the Jewish community for educational purposes amounting to $92,000. This would still mean a loss of $8,000 for the Protestant Board; but by the time that the new census is taken (and it is not pretended that these figures will hold until then) the neutral panel and hence the Jewish share of it will have increased. Whether this increase will suffice to remove the present deficit, depends on whether the Jewish population will increase proportionately with the number of Jewish children

attending the schools; and it seems reasonable to suppose that this will be the case.

Quite apart from the above considerations, Jewish real estate holdings are increasing with remarkable rapidity. This may be seen from the growth of the Jewish school tax. In 1903 it amounted to $4,500; and in 1908 to $30,000. In other words, the increase in five years was nearly seven hundred per cent. We seldom read a list of real estate transfers in which the Jews have not a disproportionate part, so that the day is not far distant when their school taxes will fully pay for their education. But in order that the Protestant panel as a whole should be increased by the purchase of real estate by Jews, this real estate must be bought from Catholic landowners. For if bought from Protestants it would only be transferred from one ratepayer to another in the same panel; whereas if purchased from Catholics it would mean the acquisition of new property for the Protestant panel. A sermon preached recently to a Roman Catholic congregation in the north end of the city, in which the priest forbade his flock to sell any more land to the Jews, as the parish revenue was being seriously diminished through Jews buying up real estate, may be cited as sufficient proof that Jews are buying from Catholics, and hence increasing the Protestant panel.

It is hard to believe, even with the figures before us, that the loss entailed by the education of Jews is really so great as the Protestant Board pretends. If the Jewish tax is not sufficient now, it is certain that it will be very soon. The arguments that the Jewish school tax does not pay for the education of Jewish children, and that Jewish proprietors would outvote Protestants so far as to "swamp" an elective Board, are not easily reconcilable. There is a fallacy somewhere. When the Protestant Board undertook to educate Jews in 1903, it was due to its foresight in perceiving the prospective influence and power of the Hebrew community. That its motives were not entirely philanthropic may be deduced from the following state-

ment of the president of the Board (as quoted by the press): "It so happened that at that time (1903) we badly needed more taxes.....We had been told that the increase of taxes would be made if we would admit the Jews to our schools. To this we agreed." It is well to note that the financial benefit to the Board thus resulting from the admission of the Jews does not appear in its figures.

But even if Jewish real estate owners did not contribute a dollar to the school tax, it would still be in the interest of the community that Jewish children should be as well educated as others. The exclusion of any one from the ordinary benefits of citizenship on the ground that he has not invested money in real estate is a manifest injustice, since, as has already been pointed out, all who pay rent contribute to the general taxation fund. Granted that the education of the Jews is at present a burden (although we do not for a moment admit that it is as great a burden as is generally supposed), the claim of the Protestants that Roman Catholics should share in the support of that burden is undeniably valid. For Catholics benefit quite as much as Protestants by the good citizenship of the Jews. In default of national schools, the only way to remedy this grievance would appear to be the devotion of the whole of the proceeds from the neutral panel to non-Catholic education. Such a plan would be sure to meet with a great deal of opposition, but it is only fair that those who insist on sectionalism should pay for their privileges. The real solution of the financial difficulty is to raise the school tax sufficiently to pay for the free education of all children, irrespective of creed or race.

But the great question of the day still remains unanswered. Does the Protestant community wish further to divide our population (already torn asunder into two factions, whose racial and religious prejudices not even the united efforts of the statesmen of the past forty years have succeeded in extinguishing) by school segre-

gation? We may as well recognise that either the Jews must be given a share in the management of our schools, or a separate Jewish school system must be established. The Jewish community cannot allow itself to be merely patronised and tolerated any longer. Now the development of a new and unnecessary line of cleavage, by forcing the Jews into a separate school system, would be nothing short of a crime against the nation. It is true that the appeal to sectionalism is always convincing; the arguments strike the most vulnerable part of human nature. It requires a broader and more patriotic view to foresee the more remote results of the alternative. Do we wish to force the Jews to remain foreigners for ever? If not, let us be done with all this prating about a separate panel for Jews; a suggestion which seems prompted by that spirit which has in all ages herded the Jews in ghettos, and forced them to wear a degrading badge as a mark of distinction from their Christian persecutors. We must remember that the principle would not stop at a Jewish panel. A dangerous precedent would be established. The recent incorporation of the Greek Orthodox Church in this city is significant of the growth of our Syrian colony. The next step would be to set up a Greek Catholic Board, and we should soon have the same privilege being extended to all the other sects of which our population is composed; "so that the State would come to the subsidizing of schools that teach every language from Yiddish to Chinese, and every religion from paganism to a most corrupt form of Christianity." Every sectionalisation of the schools is a denationalisation of the people; and once it is admitted that each religion is entitled to separate schools, the Dominion will become the mere semblance of a nation—a thing of shreds and patches. Every one who has been to school knows of the petty antagonisms and unreasoning antipathies that grow up between children of different schools, especially where these schools are distinguished by differences of creed, a

where the whole attitude towards those who teach different ways to Heaven is one of disdain. It may well be doubted whether such schools, by the mere fact of their separatism, do not do more harm than all the good they achieve. Our population is becoming as heterogeneous as that of the United States, and we ought to adopt the plan of the educationists of that country. They are very particular to make their schools, above all, schools of patriotism. Let us follow their example in confining the school to its proper sphere—that of secular instruction and moral training. The elementary school is the one great agency we have for unifying the diverse elements of our population. To introduce into that school questions of creed and dogma is to impair its usefulness. The circular, to which we have so frequently referred, unconsciously makes the strongest plea possible for the Finnie Bill when it says:—"Should the measure become law, the two school systems of the city will become much more widely separated: one, the Roman Catholic, would still remain Christian, while the other would be neither Christian nor Protestant." Precisely. It would be Canadian.

It is surprising to find even a portion of the Protestant community upholding the cause of sectarian schools. Sixty years ago Protestants were demanding a system of non-sectarian schools, in which Roman Catholic and Protestant, French and English, might all alike grow up to be loyal Canadians, united by a feeling of common nationality. The Roman Catholic majority in the Province forced upon the Protestant minority a separate school system, which has so effectually preserved racial and religious antipathies that they have become to-day a national calamity. And now we find a Protestant majority in the city assuming the self-same attitude towards a Jewish minority. How potent is the force of numbers even where fundamental principles are involved! But Protestants will themselves pay the penalty for this inconsistency. Already dissentient schools are being closed in all parts of the Eastern Town-

ships as a result of the sectarian system, and the number of Protestant children who must either attend the Catholic schools or go uneducated increases annually. Owing to this, large numbers of Protestant farmers are forced to sell their holdings and leave the Province. But with the Protestants of Montreal invoking the sectarian principle against the Jews, how can the Protestants of the Eastern Townships complain of the application of that very principle by the Catholics against themselves?

We have already seen that our ideal should be a national system of free, compulsory, non-sectarian education. That such an ideal could ever be attained in Canada may seem visionary; but "too low they build, who build beneath the stars." The establishment of national schools supported by a national tax, leaving all separate schools to be paid for by the private individuals who insist on sectarian privileges, would require an amendment to the British North America Act. Such an amendment could only be procured by co-operation on the part of the provinces. But four provinces already have free, compulsory, non-sectarian education and common schools. Manitoba has free common schools, but education is not compulsory, and undenominational religious instruction is provided for. Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan have common schools and separate schools, education being compulsory in each case. Quebec is apparently the only province without common schools. Apparently; for ever since 1903 the "Protestant" schools have been in reality public schools, and if this fact were more generally recognised a great deal of futile discussion would be avoided. Roman Catholic Quebec is the only serious obstacle in the way of national schools. But the time will come when Quebec will not be so important a factor in Canadian politics as it is to-day. The power of the future lies in the West; and if eight provinces and part of the ninth were asking for national education, it is not at all improbable that their wish would prevail. It is not the eight provinces,

but the part of the ninth that we have reason to fear. So, descending from the realms of the ideal to those of the practical, let us see what must be done with regard to non-Catholic education in Quebec. The first step forward is to drop the word "Protestant," and to admit that the moment the Act of 1903 came into force the schools ceased to be "Protestant" and became public. Let us call them public schools, and thus remove a source of endless confusion. Secondly, let us lose no time in making the schools free to all, raising the school tax, if necessary, to make this possible. Thirdly, let us make education compulsory up to a certain age and standard. Fourthly, let us abolish all sectarian religious teaching during regular school hours. If religion must be taught in our schools, let this instruction be given by clergymen after school hours to children of their own denomination, as is the practice in Ontario and Manitoba, and in most parts of Australasia. But whether all or any of these forward steps be taken, one thing is certain: we must not step backward. If we cannot approach our ideal, we must not recede from it. On no account must we allow our people to degenerate into a number of sects whose clamourings would mar the harmony of our national existence. The establishment of a separate Jewish school system would not be merely retrograde, it would be calamitous. To the credit of the Jews let it be said that, with a more truly patriotic spirit than either of the Gentile factions, rather than start a separate school system of their own, they would continue to submit to the present unjust conditions to the end of time.

BRAM DE SOLA

[The above article is presented in its entirety in the interests of those whom the writer represents. Few readers of the UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE would disagree with the statement that a system of public schools, applicable to every denomination alike, would be desirable in the city of Montreal, if it were obtainable.—Ed. U. M.]

THE VILLAGE AND THE NATION

THE TERM village is used for the purposes of this article to indicate the unit of rural life. The outlying country population is organically part of the village municipal unit. When a town is incorporated, it then becomes separate in taxation and institutions from the surrounding country.

In Canada, as elsewhere, town knows little of country. To most city-bred Canadians, and to tourists who visit the cities, cross the plains, and go away impressed with our vast resources, the Dominion consists merely of a few important centres connected by lines of railway that pass through grain-raising and timber-producing regions. The numbers of people who spend their daily lives in these intervening spaces have little reality to the urban mind. The city can hardly be blamed for this failure of comprehension, since the country has failed equally to realize its own powers and capacities.

Canada is, and must be for some time to come, largely a nation of rural municipalities. According to the census of 1901, the town and city population amounted to 30.8 per cent. of the whole. This includes all towns of over two thousand inhabitants. The cities themselves represented at that time about twenty per cent. of the total population. In 1906 the cities and towns of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan constituted twenty-six per cent. of the population of these provinces. In the rural districts of Canada poverty and illiteracy are almost unknown. In the cities large numbers of the inhabitants live under conditions that make them either a negligible or a positively injurious element in public opinion. The life of the cities is, comparatively speaking, cosmopolitan and imitative. That of the country is native and characteristic. In view of these facts it is clear that the rural population of Canada ought to be a much more potent force than it is in the national life.

There are many difficulties in the way of developing an influential rural opinion. In the first place, agricultural interests are unorganized. The country is dominated by the city, and the city by its commercial interests. The country too often receives its political opinions from demagogues. It submits to a city press that ignores its interests, and to a local town press that is frequently trivial and unintelligent. The farmer is slow to realize that if he will not consider his own interests intelligently himself they will not be considered for him. This lack of cohesion and consequent lack of power has been due in the past to geographical conditions, to isolation, infrequent mails, difficulties of travel; due somewhat, also, to lack of education on the farmer's own part, the result largely of this same isolation. These conditions have changed. The farmer, who has as much opportunity as any man to read, and more than most to reflect, is now in a position to have his own opinions and to express them.

In the second place the country, like the city, shows a deplorable lack of the sentiment of moral responsibility in public affairs. Veiled bribery and other forms of political corruption have come to be regarded almost as necessary evils. Many of those who have the moral sense to be disgusted with present conditions keep their own hands clean by the cowardly expedient of shirking civic responsibility altogether. In the country districts, which are not hampered, as are the cities, by an illiterate electorate, it should be possible to develop a better sentiment. The great obstacle in the way of any such patriotic movement is the inertia characteristic of a rural population. Right sentiment is there, if it could be made to express itself, and the sense of dissatisfaction with present evils, if this could be roused to throw off the yoke of habitual acquiescence. The same inertia which at first seems to be the enemy of reform may prove to be its greatest ally. For it means that the mass of public opinion, once set in motion in the right direction, will go on steadily and gain force. It is for this reason that all movements of reform have in the country a power and permanence which can never be attained

in a shifting city population. The period of four years from now until the next general election, is the time to arouse public sentiment, and educate the country on questions with which governments entrenched in power have failed to cope. Every farmer and villager has the power in his own hands to contribute very materially to political reform. It is in the primaries, where the nominating convention delegates are appointed, that the foundations of government are laid. By asserting themselves in the primaries, a few men of public spirit in each township could carry the conventions and dominate the political machine.

The characteristic inertia of country places is partly due to contentment. The farmer's life is unique in its self-sufficiency. No man is less dependent than he upon the common weal. His product is always in demand, and his industry can sustain itself through great fluctuation of prices. In the old days of his isolation it was easy for him to grow narrow, selfish, "close-fisted", and behind the times. In these days he is becoming more and more identified with the village in which the life of his township is centralized. It will soon be the rule, not the exception, for the well-to-do farmer to give at least one of his children a college education. Hence he begins to feel toward the school and college, and as a consequence toward other public institutions, a sense of ownership. He is developing into a public spirited citizen, all the more reliable in that he has no immediate private interests to serve in the conduct of municipal politics.

If selfish content is a drawback in some cases, selfish discontent can have an equally paralyzing effect. Among the professional classes, including the clergy, and among the young people throughout the country, there is a disposition to underestimate the dignity and importance of country work and to crave advancement to city positions. This difficulty is both a cause and an effect of other difficulties. With the development of better conditions, more scientific farming, better transportation, better schools, more stimulating village life, there is reason to hope that the tendency wil

become less. Of late years, labour-saving machines have relieved the farmer of much of his drudgery and permitted him an amount of leisure that compares well with the leisure afforded in other occupations. The farmer may have what most men in this strenuous age must do without—health, happiness, tranquillity, contact with nature, and a margin of energy for self-development. Scientific husbandry should attract college-bred men. Homesteading needs comparatively little capital and is a rapid road to independence. Nothing could be of greater importance to the country than the growth of an educated land-owning and land-working class.

If village institutions are to be preserved and developed, the attractions of the city must be offset by establishing counter attractions at home, by dignifying labour, and by cultivating a taste for the pleasures of rural life. Much has been done in some localities by organizing village amusements. The constant complaint in this regard is that "nothing lasts." After a year or two the young people weary of any device for their entertainment, and most societies presently break up in a quarrel, or fall to pieces through neglect. Human nature is always childish, pleased with its toy for an hour, then ready to toss it aside. The public spirited organizer must be wise enough to expect that "nothing will last." What he must have is the patience to find the substitute, the orchestra for the choral society, the gymnasium for the reading-room, the course of public lectures for last winter's round of church sociables. If one device has entertained and co-ordinated a village for a season, keeping idle hands out of mischief, teaching contentment and at the same time stimulating ambition, it has served its turn, and may make room for its successor. Meantime there is for the servant of the community, prejudice, sectionalism, petty jealousy, and all manner of fractiousness to combat, with what tact, patience, and powers of self-effacement he may possess. It is out of such travail that a nation is born.

Denominational and social cleavage is, in small communities, the greatest enemy of organized progress. Never-

theless the tendency of the time is strongly toward the breaking down of such barriers. When community of taste can be developed, ancient feuds and prejudices drop out of sight. With the strengthening of large interests the trivial ones lose their hold.

The strong attachment of country people to their churches is by no means a fact to be deplored. It might be taken to indicate merely ultra-conservatism and ignorance of modern movements. In some cases, perhaps, it does mean this; but upon the whole, conditions in the country districts of Eastern Canada show a prospect of the preservation of sacred institutions, with at the same time an emancipation from restricted points of view. In the cities the growth of modernism has, even in Canada, produced a considerable exodus from the churches. Those who have grasped, whether consciously or unconsciously, the principles of individual freedom of conviction, and of the essential spirituality of religion, have been eager to free themselves from the tyranny of form and creed. In the country, however, modernism bears much the same relation to the churches that European Neo-Catholicism does to Rome. The modern is anxious to preserve his connection, as far as he may without doing violence to conviction, with the institutions which have always been the centres of the highest life of humanity. The country church is still, ethically, socially, and often intellectually, the leading force in the community.

It is not unusual to find among country clergymen scholarly men who have followed the struggle of modern thought for the last half century, are in sympathy with the changed attitude of the theological colleges, and have been quietly leading the thought of their people into harmony with the spirit of the time. There are, however, still numbers of back country places where the new ideas have not penetrated, and where the conclusions of science are regarded as the enemies of religion. But there seems little doubt that the revolution will be accomplished here peacefully also, and that the individual mind will achieve new freedom

without bringing danger to the organized church as the instrument of moral progress.

The revolution in theological thought and the growth of the spirit of union, which is one result of this revolution, are the most hopeful indications that means will be found to meet the moral needs of the West. The peril of Eastern Canada has been in the exodus of youth and vigour and in the slack energies of age and conservatism. The peril of the West is in its very youth and exuberance, in the fullness of its hope and strength, and in the recklessness with which it will cast away the props of an older civilization. The homesteader, however, once located, will be held by conditions that make for stability. The organized forces of religion are arming themselves with a great weapon, the fullest and frankest sympathy with the spirit of youth, its curiosity, its capacities for enjoyment, its love of life and adventure, of experiment and progress. If with this can be combined a wise conservatism of pure ideals and institutions around which the ivy of association may cling, there is reason to hope that the Church in Canada may be entering on a new lease of life and usefulness.

Country conditions are peculiarly favourable to education. In the old days the ambitious young backwoodsman went to school with the simple intention of learning all that could be extracted from the books at his command and from the teacher's brains. He began at page one in the arithmetic book and went through to the opposite cover. He proceeded with other books in the same manner. He chose what studies he pleased, his time in school being practically at his own disposal. The teacher gave help when he could find time, encouraged the pupil's ambitions, lent him books, and whetted his curiosity.

In recent years all village schools, and, to a less rigorous extent, the schools of the country districts, have been brought under the graded system, and made to conform to provincial regulations. A multiplicity of subjects taken in small doses in place of a few books thoroughly and continuously perused,

a system in place of individual effort, the menace of the matriculation examination in place of the stimulus of natural curiosity,—these are features of the revolution. Yet there is no doubt that in the main and for the greatest number, the introduction of the graded system into the country schools has been of inestimable gain. Scientific studies, especially, are carried on under vastly improved conditions. There have been corresponding losses, but these have been less serious than might have been expected. The spirit of the country school is still the same. It is smaller than the city school, and consequently, in matters both of study and of discipline, more simply organized. It is a centre of pride and interest in the community; and has few distractions to contend with. Its pupils are as a rule eager to learn. Its teachers are not specialists, a fact that implies both gain and loss to the pupils. The head teacher of the village school has entire charge of at least three classes or grades, and is responsible for all the Latin, French, Science, Literature, History, Mathematics, Book-keeping, etc., etc., that goes into the brain of some twenty to forty pupils. Teaching under these conditions is in itself a liberal education, and those teachers of village schools who remain in the work for any length of time nearly always possess a fund of general efficiency and information such as might put to shame the college graduate fresh from the special study of some branch of higher learning. Of course no subject in the school course of study can be as well taught by the country teacher as by the city specialist. Yet the general results are often in the long run better. The pupil learns to rely more upon himself, less upon the teacher, still less upon any artificial system of learning. He works out his own difficulties. He learns to study and think as well as to recite. He acquires facts more slowly than does the city student, but his memory is retentive. He is outwardly phlegmatic but his powers of enjoyment are fresh and strong. He has the habit of absorbing outward sensations to inward experience. In spite of many disadvantages the true joy of teaching is to be found

in the country schools. There the teacher is no mere cog in a machine. He is permitted to retain and develop an individuality to which, through the very imperfection of methods and conditions, the individuality of the pupil can respond.

The habit of leisurely thoroughness acquired in the country school is too often lost, temporarily at least, in the subsequent pressure of college work. The college graduate returning to his native heath cannot always prove himself the compendium of knowledge he is supposed to have become. He is not informed upon a tithe of the history, science, philosophy, English and foreign literature, with which his frequent questioners assume him to have gained familiarity. His parents, reading for the better part of a half century the books owned by a country-side, consuming the solider portions of half a dozen periodicals, and in all matters of enquiry or controversy consulting a well-worn encyclopædia, receive his confessions of ignorance with grieved surprise. The young scholar grows restive under the frequent paternal comment: "Why, I knew that, didn't you, Mother? Strange John never came across it in his studies."

Poor John is still further put to the blush by the reflection that all the books which he has dipped into, summarized and "crammed" for examinations, would, if read by his parents at their more leisurely pace, have stood for a depth of thinking, a breadth of knowledge, a soundness of culture to which he may not hope to attain. He resolves to "do some decent reading some of these days." If his future work should lie in the country this resolution will probably be carried out.

Though the circumstances of country life are favourable to the development of a taste for good reading, few villages of Eastern Canada possess village libraries. Many households, however, which own collections of books, are doing the work of circulating libraries, seizing every opportunity to lend a book, and insensibly guiding the taste of their communities. Country people reflect upon their reading. It is

a mistake to suppose that the rural mind is confined to narrow grooves. In many country homes topics of far-reaching interest, books, public affairs, questions of the day, are under constant discussion. The chance visitor from the city is welcomed like the travelling minstrel of old, as the bearer of news from the outer world. He soon finds that his intellectual best is demanded. The villager looks up with deference to metropolitan opinion. From the leaders and teachers of his nation he expects to receive bread, and he is not infrequently given a stone. Nevertheless this habit of looking abroad for greatness gives the villager a breadth of view which often compares favourably with the outlook of his urban neighbour.

Under the present conditions of city life the instinct of home has little opportunity to develop. The various members of a family have a tendency to follow separate interests, to spend much time away from home and to regard the common place of abode with little more sentiment than if it were a lodging house. The country home, on the other hand, has long and permanent associations. It is usually a spot of natural beauty. It is a place of work and pleasure. Family ties are strong because the members of the family have interests in common. Young and old dwell together, engage in the same enterprises, read the same books, have the same friends, and to a great extent share in the same amusements. The effect of a home life of this kind upon those who reach maturity under its influence cannot be overestimated. In the last half century large numbers of young people went out from such homes as these and found employment in the United States, where they made a reputation for honesty, application, intelligence, and good habits. From such homes come many of the most eminent professional men of our own cities, virile and independent university students, painstaking teachers and nurses, reliable business employees. "The city," says Emerson, "is recruited from the country. The city would have died out, rotted and exploded, long ago, but that it was reinforced from the fields." It is of paramount im-

portance to keep the sources of our national life pure and vigorous.

The people of a young and democratic nation are apt to suffer from a lack of the restraint and stimulus of family tradition. In the country, however, as a direct result of the vitality of home life, the influence of family tradition is strong. In very many cases Canadian villagers stand in the shoes of their fathers and grandfathers. The country is theirs, for they helped to clear and till it and to build villages. As a matter of course they endeavour to preserve inherited tradition. They are not a floating population. They do not deal with a floating population. As far as such a thing is possible in a young country, their interests are permanently and broadly Canadian.

In the country districts of Canada, then, there have been developing for the last century, a national type of character and a Canadian life and point of view. It is in these districts that the most characteristic material is to be found for a native literature. We do not mean to suggest that villages be made a hunting ground for types and local colour by the tourist and book-maker. The literature of Canadian country, if it is to be a genuine product, must come out of the country itself, and must be the expression of that quiet life which thus far, save through the yea and nay of its political vote, has not spoken.

The intelligence and moral strength of the country population is like unexcavated mineral ore or unharnessed water power. It is at the present moment the greatest of our national resources, the least known, the least utilized. With the country people themselves lies the task of turning it to a better account. There is no good reason why every county should not possess a citizens' club, so constituted as to meet rural needs, and on a basis broad enough to include the best intelligence of French, English, and foreign elements. These organizations, in their debates and public lectures, could find ample scope for activity in such matters as roads, forestry, village building regulations, beautifying of school

grounds, encouragement to labourers to own their own homes, university extension movements, town halls, the local press, and so forth. Villages may grow to be towns. Towns may become cities. It would be well for us if, from their youth up, we could train our cities in the way they should go. County clubs, such as we propose, working in harmony with city clubs of similar patriotic aim, and deriving from these stimulus and moral support, could be made a most effective instrument in developing responsible citizenship.

The value of this kind of organized effort is seen in the excellent work of the Farmers' Institutes and Women's Institutes of Ontario, for the promotion of scientific farming and housekeeping. The Women's Institutes, including 502 branches and 13,550 members, established in ninety-one electoral districts, are educating the women of the country to a stronger sense of responsibility in their home life, and to a more intelligent interest in the work that is naturally theirs. The agricultural colleges are radiating centres of a similar wholesome influence. Even in comparatively unprogressive Quebec, the new Macdonald College is already making a quite perceptible impression on the minds of farmers and their children. Its very existence has opened a vista of progress, and has roused, in old and young, new ambitions, new self-respect, a new sympathy with the activities of the nation at large. To the healthy mind contentment is conditioned upon a sense of progress. Rural progress will make for a well-founded rural contentment, which is as valuable an asset as any nation can possess.

While organization is good and even necessary, the best hope of the country is in the persistent effort of individuals. In every village, however small, there are from two to a couple of dozen men of intelligence and public spirit, farmers, physicians, merchants, notaries, teachers, clergymen, and others. This number should be continually increased from the ranks of those in the country who are waking up to the importance of their national problems; from the ranks, too, of those who are going back from the education of the cities

to country work. Individual character gains value and emphasis from the circumstances of rural life. It is in the country that the individual can have freedom, breathing space for his mental and moral lungs, elbow room for his personality, and an opportunity immeasurably greater than he could find in the city to serve his day and generation, and to leave a permanent impress on the character and institutions of his community. The histories of such lives may be uneventful and obscure, graven not on tablets of stone; but they are oftentimes the biographies of great men.

J. G. WALES

CRUCIFIXION

" Lord, must I bear the whole of it or none ?"
" Even as I was crucified, my son."

" Will it suffice if I the thorn-crown wear ?"
" To take the scourge, My shoulders were made bare ?"

" My hands, O Lord, must I be pierced in both ?"
" Twain gave I to the hammer, nothing loth."

" But sure, O Lord, my feet need not be nailed."
" Had mine not been, then love had not prevailed."

" What need I more, O Lord, to fill my part ?"
" Only the spear-point in thy broken heart."

FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT

THE AFTERMATH OF PURITANISM

THE ENGLAND of Shakspeare well deserved a title once bestowed upon Ireland, "the land of heroes and of song." The conquerors of the Armada grew up amid gladness and melody. The land was a nest of singing birds. Music pervaded the life of the people to an extent unbelievable now.

In Shakspeare's plays are many lines illustrating the love for music existing among the people at large; their skill in it; their appreciative knowledge of it. Some of these sentences, now-a-days, require foot-notes to make them comprehensible, even to the cultivated reader. In the spacious days of great Elizabeth they were grasped immediately by a casual crowd.

In those days a lute was kept in every barber shop, so that the customer could entertain himself while he waited his turn. For that was the "golden age" of English music.

It was part of a liberal education then to learn to sing a second part to any melody that one might hear. This enrichment of the tune was called the "descant" from *de cantos* with or from the song. It coiled about the melody or "plain song" like a vine about a pole. Such improvisation presupposes a musical aptitude which music teachers of to-day rarely hope to find; and yet in Shakspeare's time the art of free descant was taught to the children of the Royal Chapel.

Country roads, village taverns, and city by-ways were so full of wandering musicians, catering to this love of music pervading the whole populace, that severe laws were passed to diminish their numbers. Every holiday was a pageant in which townspeople, workmen, and children bore their part.

"When the soul is full and fresh," says Taine, "it plays and figures its ideas. That is, the children tongue, the 'let's pretend,' the speech of artists, of invention, and of joy. It is in this manner they please themselves with songs and feasting on all the symbolic holidays with which tradition has filled the year. On the Sunday after twelfth night, the labourers parade the streets, decked with ribbons, dragging a plough to the sound of music, and dancing a sword dance; on another day they draw, in a cart, a figure made of ears of corn, with songs, flutes and drums; on another Father Christmas and his company; or else they enact the history of Robin Hood, or the legend of St. George and the Dragon. We might occupy half a volume in describing all these holidays: Harvest-home; All Saints; Martinmas; Sheep-shearing—above all Christmas, which lasted twelve days and sometimes six weeks."

That was indeed "Merry England." Oh! the Maypoles, the bell ringings, the merrymakings, masques, and morris-dances! They are gone, we fear, for evermore. There was folly, it is true; there was even, perhaps, grossness. But among people of higher gifts and better opportunities "let's pretend" found expression in drama and in poetry. The figures of warriors and statesmen, grand as they appear to us who see them from a distance, were dwarfed by the figures of poets and playwrights, for the new drama was displaying its wonderful powers. "Few events in our literary history," says Green, "are so startling as this sudden rise of the Elizabethan drama. It was the people itself that created the English stage, and the English dramatists owned no other source of poetic inspiration, no other teacher. Rude as the theatre might be in all its mechanical appliances, the people were there, nobles, courtiers, stewards, citizens, apprentices. Their imagination, their enthusiasm could supply all the deficiencies of the crudest and cheapest stage setting."

No wonder that "fifty dramatic poets, many of them of the first order, appeared in the fifty years which preceded

the closing of the theatres by the Puritans." Nor did all this pleasure prevent earnest, intellectual pursuits. It was the fashion to read the classics in the original. Elizabeth, Jane Grey, the Duchess of Norfolk, the Countess of Arundel, and many other high-born ladies were conversant with Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero in the original, and appreciated them.

Nor did the gladness and the learning prevent the development of spiritual graces. The Renaissance in Italy tended towards a pagan selfishness and sensuality, but in England it was not so. "The religion of the English Renaissance," says Taine, "does not shock by narrow rigour. It does not fetter the flight of the mind. It does not attempt to extinguish the buoyant flame of fancy. It does not proscribe the beautiful. We find a new literature arising, elevated, original.....Many poets wrote noble stanzas on the immortality of the soul, on the frailty of things human, and on the supreme providence in which alone man can find support for his weakness.

"Spencer was religious to the core.....In the greatest prose writers, Bacon, Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, Raleigh, we see the fruits of veneration, a settled belief in the obscure beyond, in short, faith and prayer. Several prayers, written by Bacon, are among the finest known, and the courtier Raleigh writes of the fall of Empires with the ideas and tones of a Bossuet."

This religion was able to produce characters of extraordinary beauty, like Philip Sidney and Jane Grey, and that "subject of all verse, Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother."

This Reformation would never have become hostile to science, poetry, or art. Upon all this exuberance of life, artistic, sensuous perhaps, but never sensual (that came later), intellectual and spiritual, like a black autumn frost upon a blossoming garden *dour* Puritanism descends. The whole temper of the nation becomes changed.

The change, however, was not immediate. The early Puritan was not a gloomy fanatic. We read of Colonel Hut-

chinson, one of the regicides, that he piqued himself on his skill in dancing and fencing, that he took great pleasure in planting groves of fruit trees, and that "though diligent in examination of the scriptures, he loved gravings, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly."

Indeed a taste for music seems to have been common, even in the graver homes of that time, and Milton's father, precision and man of business as he was, composed madrigals and rivalled Gibbons as a writer.

Perhaps the change in the temper of Puritanism was due in part to the influence of Cartwright, who, though Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, had the bigotry of a mediæval inquisitor. Probably it was due in part to the influence of returning refugees bringing with them the gloomy Calvinism of Geneva. Doubtless the Puritan party was excited to extremes of opposition by the extravagance, folly, and sensuality which came to court with the restored Stuarts.

Moreover, the earlier Puritanism, being largely political, affected men with natural or hereditary powers of leadership. Bigots arose when Puritanism had filtered through the social strata and permeated the artisan and servant class—naturally people of narrow education with provincial views of life. Other causes may have combined with these to produce the later Puritanism. However it arose, "it destroys the artist" says Taine, "stiffens the man, fetters the writer."

These latter Puritans abolished as impious the free stage. The drama of England, which had achieved so much, which promised so much more, all but died, so that it has never since been able to fulfil the promise of its youth.

Had this English drama grown to maturity and come to its own, we should not now have represented in English-speaking countries the exotic products of the French playwright. The genius of dramatic authors with the Anglo-Saxon preference for cleanliness might have made of the stage

what the mediæval church tried to make of it — an object teacher of moral lessons. The Puritans scotched though they could not quite kill the rich poetry which the Renaissance brought into being.

They caused pictures and carvings in the churches to be pulled down and destroyed, merely because people had reverenced them and thought them beautiful. They fulminated and legislated against the poetic and symbolic festivals of the country. The May trees were cut down. Fines and beatings debarred even from children games, dancing, bell ringing, junketings, wrestling, the chase.

For the Puritan thought all earthly joy a sin. So the merry devils were cast out quite effectively for the time being. But did the reign of righteousness begin indeed?

No, for one cannot make men righteous by Acts of Parliament and the spirit of God works only and always from within. There still remained the dour devils, the sins of the soul, pride, envy, censoriousness. In Dante's Vision of Hell, it may be remembered, the sins of flesh and appetite are punished in the second, third, fourth, and fifth circles. The lustful are only on the outskirts of hell, just within the first circle of all, where live noble heathen souls and the souls of unbaptized infants. But those who have yielded to the sins of the soul are in the innermost and nethermost circles. In the vision of Purgatory we meet the same thought turned, as children say, "otherwise to". Pride is purged away at the outermost circle of Purgatory, envy at the second, anger at the third. These sins must be left before one can approach even the Terrestrial Paradise, which is not that Paradise where Beatrice dwells in the light of God, but a much lower and more earthly place.

One need only look at Dante's pictured face to see that he was not in this case "compounding for sins he was inclined to by damning those he had no mind to." Perhaps the great poet's thought was that purely spiritual sins, which belong to the immortal part of us, are the most serious and the most terrible sins of all.

"When the Nonconformists became supreme in the State," says Macaulay, "the sincere Puritans were joined by men of the worst type, who found it easy to assume, for private ends, what were considered the signs of godliness—the sad coloured dress, the sour look, the speech interspersed with texts. The people, with rashness which we may lament, but at which we cannot wonder, formed their estimate of all Puritans from these hypocrites."

Later, when war stirred up all the bad blood on both sides, there was developed a dark and morose type of bigot who confounded his personal enemies with those of Jehovah, and justified by Old Testament texts the gratification of personal animosities. And so, as soon as the Restoration made it safe to express enmity to the party which had so long been predominant, an outcry against Puritanism arose from every corner of the kingdom.

The Puritans had had their chance and spoiled it. Worse still, they had ruined their cause. They had caused religion and fanaticism to become mingled in a common reproach. They had made virtue itself absurd and odious.

There have always been ascetics of all faiths, and probably there always will be. But the Puritan is the ascetic who, eating not, judges, condemns, and, if he can, bullies him that eateth. Through him godliness became a by-word of scorn so that "all that was noblest and best in Puritanism," says Green, "was whirled away with its pettiness and its tyranny in the current of the nation's hate."

The artificial restraints upon sensuality, arbitrarily imposed from without, suddenly gave way. There resulted, quite naturally, a moral relapse. Instincts long chained and imprisoned had grown hungry and fierce. The courtiers of Charles II. and of James II. reduced human existence to animal licentiousness. It is impossible to describe the things that were done, the sins that were sinned, the bestial joys in which society indulged. The merry devils came trooping back, each grown bigger and stronger, each

bringing seven others more wicked than himself. For this is what happens when the house is left empty, and Puritanism left it empty—it is a religion of negation and repression.

After a while the strong nation, like a great, swift river, cleared itself of much uncleanness. But other after-effects of Puritanism persist even to this day. The whole artistic development of the English nation was checked and thwarted.

The creative energy of the Renaissance could not have persisted as it was in Shakspeare's England. As well might one expect to arrest the day at sunrise or the year at spring. But without the blight of Puritanism English art would have developed much more rapidly, fully, and freely, and would have become the solace and joy of the masses, instead of the luxury of the classes.

We owe to the Puritans that riving asunder of the art and the religion of English-speaking peoples which did not exist in Elizabethan times. The Oxford movement did something towards healing this breach, but complete reconciliation has not yet been effected. Hence, among English-speaking Protestants many people of artistic professions (and among artistic professions we include literature) have been and are practically pagan. And the religion or lack of it in such people is of peculiar moment, because they can so strongly influence their fellows.

We owe it to the Puritans that the drama, the art which might make, above all others, a powerful appeal to the public, has been till very lately a Cinderella among the arts, sitting as it were among the cinders, and too often living up to the bad character imputed to her.

It is quite undeniable that there are objections to the drama as it is generally given, very valid and serious ones, most of them arising from the fact that both men and women appear on the modern stage. But in the Elizabethan and early Stuart drama these evils did not exist. Women's parts were taken by boys, as on the old Greek stage. The Puritan objected to the stage, not because it

harmed the actors, but because it pleased the spectators.

The maimed drama revived after a fashion and after a while, but for the country feasts there has been no resurrection. We weep for them for they are dead—dead, with all their poetic symbolism derived from the old nature worship; dead, with all their pagan joy in life and summer and the bountiful green earth. Lacking them the country life of English-speaking peoples has become deadly dull, and want of rational amusement in villages has caused and is causing two grave evils. One of these is the lamentable sensuality among the young people in small country communities. And another is the cityward drift which is preparing for the rising generation two heart-breaking problems—the congested city and the abandoned farm.

To Puritanism we owe the Sabbatical character imparted to what used to be the Lord's holiday. To it we owe the deafness and blindness to art and beauty, the Philistinism of great numbers among the English-speaking peoples. This is regrettable, not only because it diminishes the pleasure of life, but because it lowers life's tone.

For though art is not the best means by which we can be lifted out of materialism it can become a beneficent influence raising us above the flesh and its cravings, a little higher, a little further towards the God who gives us all things richly to enjoy. But this is not the Puritan's view. Between his heaven and that of Fra Angelico where the child angels, flower-crowned, dance light-heartedly in the light of God's face there is a gulf indeed.

No other beauty is comparable to the serene and divine beauty of goodness, if one can realize it. This realization, taking hold of all one's consciousness, is the vision of God. But each one must see this vision for himself. The parent cannot convey this realization even to his own child; nor can he open the child's eyes to it by shutting out and taking away the child's interests and pleasures. Even in conventual societies the fine fervour of devotion

tends to smoulder, and now and then the blast of reform must come to rekindle zeal and bring the communal life up to the ideal.

Yet such societies are formed and maintained by persons who come into them because of complete sympathy with their ideals. But Puritanism had to be kept alive by the imposition of the religious ideals of the parents upon children who very often did not share them. If the children reared in an ascetic atmosphere could not attain to the vivid faith and burning zeal of their forefathers, what remained in life for them? A great proportion of the world's music and most of the world's art were for them gardens shut up and locked. From dramatic art they were debarred. A large proportion of literature, including most of the literature of the imagination, was debarred.

After two or three generations have been shut away from all these things generations are born with no capacity to feel or respond to them. For such, unless they can glimpse the Vision of God, there remains—what? The pleasure of the senses, good food, good clothes, a good house, good furniture. And from the eager desire for these things comes the love of money which can buy them all. And so it is gravely and justly charged that commercialism is the blot upon our civilization.

Hence vital and spiritual religion dies itself at the long last, for there can be no real religious life in souls devoid of imagination: "Where there is no vision the people perisheth."

Thus we come, when Puritanism has had its perfect work, to a time of drought and dearth—a church sunk in the materialism and sloth which Wesley combated, a society submerged in the depths of dullness which Madame de Stael ridiculed, a literature so barren and artificial that the rhymed proprieties of Mrs. Hannah More could pass for poetry. "Even the books written for little children were in a bad way," says Leigh Hunt, "with sordid and merely plodding morals. They were Hogarth's pictures taken in

their most literal acceptance. Every good boy was to ride in his coach and be a Lord Mayor and every bad boy was to be hung or eaten by lions."

A strong people could not remain at this low ebb, and so in course of time came the Romantic movement. Inaugurated by poets who sang like birds in a chill, gray dawn this movement affected all the arts in turn. But much of the artistic development of the last century has been a mere retrieving of lost ground, and it has affected but a small part of the people. The masses remain hopelessly Philistine. We have not yet disproved that we are a race of shop-keepers, though it might be urged in doubtful extenuation that we lack the shopkeepers' exuberant politeness.

Had we been permitted to develop unchecked along Elizabethan lines into the artistic people we then bade fair to become, surely money would now mean less to us. And of us it is peculiarly true that the love of money is the root of evil.

E. M. HARDINGE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES

IN an interesting paper on "Government by Party" in the December (1907) number of this Magazine, Mr. W. F. Chipman analysed the two parties into the two principles of Management and Liberty, Socialism and Anarchism; or, as the ancient Greek might have said, Platonism and Pericleanism. But there is still perhaps room for a lighter and briefer sketch, for a broader and more flippant cartoon, and for an "impression" caught at a different angle.

Our schools are teaching "patriotism": our schools are teaching "temperance"; and yet, a philosopher will say at once, that what we need is rather a union of the two themes and a teaching of temperate patriotism, and of patriotic temperance; there lies the desire of nations, the salvation of Canada from spread-eagleism, of Great Britain from drink; there, from the point of view of our Empire, the whole duty of man. Then why are the subjects divorced in our schools? Because they are first divorced, and cultivated, not merely separately, but even antagonistically, in our Parliaments and in our politics.

Even though we are most of us sure in our hearts that the political party which ought to prevail at any time is the party which at that time comes nearest to the ideals of a "temperate patriotism" and of a "patriotic temperance," yet it remains none the less a fact that the two great parties in our Parliament are representing antagonistically the one party, broadly and metaphorically, temperance and the other, more directly and nakedly, patriotism.

I mean that the one party seems to represent the saintliness, and the other the manliness of man; the one, the ideal-

ism, the great and soaring virtues of our race, its faiths and hopes and dreams, humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism, philanthropy, in a word, Christianity ; and the other party, well, I was just going to say " the great vices of our race," and then, for fear of mistake, to add in the same breath that I was on the side of the vices—but I will say instead " the great redeeming vices of human nature"; vices in the eyes of some philosophers but "*redeeming*" in the eyes of other mortals; the redeeming vices of self respect and honest pride ; of Pagan Patriotism and even Roman Imperialism.

Jesting apart, is it not true that the one party represents the angelic virtues which are somewhat premature (like Free Trade) at present, which will be more in order when we have reached a citizenship in the Heavens ? and that the other party represents the plain humble and humdrum virtues which the world has not yet been able to forgo ? and does not seem likely to be able to forgo for a few centuries yet ? natural affection (which is only to fail in the last days); love of our kith and kin (rather than of our kind) ; kindness for the altars of our fathers, for the hearts and hearths familiar to us ; patriotic ambition ; the energy to carve out our own fortunes and to extend our own Empire ?

If we have at times scruples about these vulgar virtues, when we contemplate the majestic proportions of their rivals, and when we tremble before the august presences of humanity, philanthropy, cosmopolitanism, yet if we pause a little space and listen, we shall hear at such times a still, small voice within us approving the simpler virtues of home and country, and saying quietly to us, as Heraclitus to the hesitating students of old, " enter ye in here also, there are gods "; for no man ever yet—whatever he may think, however he may intoxicate himself with the heady wine of solitary imaginings—unless he love first the fellow-countrymen whom he hath seen, will really love the other-countrymen or the God, whom he hath not. And every man knows in his heart that if our Empire is to succeed and to deserve success, if it is to be a blessing to the world and not a curse, it must be the Empire neither of

those who wholly despise narrow ties, and recognise no tie narrower than a common humanity or a common divinity ; nor yet of those who repudiate the tie of a common humanity and divinity altogether ; that it must be the Empire of men who are both men and citizens ; with something of the angel about them because they are men, and yet something of the man because they are citizens; in a word, of temperate patriots, neither Pro-Boers nor Jingoes ; neither little Englanders nor Maffickers.

The Universities, by the way, tend rather, for various good reasons, to breed the first of these extremes ; the Universities breed not seldom " the candid friend " ; the friend of every country, that is, except his own ; was not Plato himself a Little-Athenian ? a Mikro-polites ? This is the besetting danger of Universities, and of that academic hypercriticism of theirs, which falls most heavily on their own side, their own soldiers, and their own people. And yet, fortunately for their good fame and usefulness, they produce, even they, conversely a " prancing pro-consul " or two sometimes, to cancel the scandal of their " magnanimous Majubas " and similar mistakes : and to err, if they err, in the opposite direction, and with Lord Palmerston.

Is it too much to hope that in the future they will avoid each extreme more successfully than in the past, and will send out into distant lands men of peace, yet strong men, capable of facing unacademic human nature and human craft and cunning in the raw ? scholars, yet not to be imposed upon; honourable men and just, whose honour and justice are not only for the stranger ; gentlemen, who are not gentle (or magnanimous) at their country's expense ; temperate patriots. And is there anything in all this loose theory applicable even to the practice of our own politics ? those politics which are the least of all politics, and which are not worthy so much as to be called politics ?

Perhaps there is a little ; even in the rudimentary politics of happy and prosperous Canada, where there are at present no real party-questions, and no true division between

the parties. Even here the Liberal party tends to be the party of "believers," of idealists; the Conservative to be the party of business, of "horse-sense" (not excluding the sense of the horse's poor relations).

It cannot be a mere coincidence that all the popular leaders, the demagogi who appeal to demos most directly, who represent most closely, for better and for worse, the man in the street, belong to the Conservative party.

It is no accident that the man in the street finds his ideal and his contempt for ideals echoed from the Conservative benches; that he recognises his counterpart and his mouthpiece in Colonel "Sam" Hughes, in Mr. Bennett, in Mr. Roblin, in Mr. McBride, in Dr. Beatty Nesbitt; all of whom were yesterday, or still are, outstanding Conservative figures, in Ottawa, in Winnipeg, in Victoria, and in Toronto.

MAURICE HUTTON

CANADIAN COAST DEFENCE

EVENTS are moving rapidly in the matter of Canadian naval participation in naval defence. From arguments as to what Canada should do we are advancing to a consideration of what Canada is likely to do: from our hopes and opinions to actual achievements.

The decision of the Government seems to be for a strictly Canadian defence against naval molestation. The term "Coast Defence" seems to apply more accurately to the scheme under consideration than the word "Navy." Let us be at the pains to state the position of affairs with some fullness and also with clearness.

There are two phases to consider. At present a crisis is impending; Germany is enlarging her fleet so rapidly that by 1912 there is danger that the supremacy of the Royal Navy may be open to challenge. If Germany were to assail the Mother Country to wrest that supremacy from her, a war would ensue, tremendous in the physical sense, and momentous as to its issues. The practical measures taken by Great Britain to meet the growing power of the German Navy have been, first, to build additional ships in numbers which may or may not be sufficient—upon that point there is divergence of opinion; and secondly, to concentrate almost the whole strength of the Royal Navy in capital ships in the North Atlantic, weakening her squadron in the Mediterranean and practically evacuating the Pacific. This situation we may term the present emergency.

The problem of the German challenge must be solved in one way or the other within a measurable time, If it is solved in a way satisfactory to the British Empire, we still shall be living in a world of powerful navies, where naval strength must remain the foundation of the British Empire's

international credit. Apart altogether from the European situation, the United States and Japan will possess great fleets. This will be the future permanent condition.

In surveying the marvelous change in Canadian public opinion during 1909, it is necessary to admit that unquestionably the present emergency has touched our people's minds and sympathies more than the second phase. Such desire as exists to help the Mother Country has reference to the present emergency, and as a result we have perplexing cross-currents of interest, sympathies, and opinions of our own to consider.

If we wish to help with the present emergency, two methods present themselves. One is the plan of a non-recurring direct contribution to the North Sea battle-fleet. Put into the terms of business, it means that we should raise a loan in London, paying annually for interest and sinking fund from 3½ to 4 per cent, the Admiralty to use the money to build at once a capital ship to be added to the Home Fleet. Thus by 1912, the fateful year, Canada would be represented by a certain number of heavy guns in the actual battle-squadron. A second method would be to turn our attention to the Pacific. The situation is that the British Navy a few years ago was dominant there, and to-day is weak; while we have a strong present and an overwhelming future interest in the condition of that ocean.

The change in Great Britain's position in the Pacific has been magical. In 1904, when the Russo-Japanese war broke out, the British Fleet actually in Pacific waters certainly could have beaten the Russian fleet, and probably needed only some additional cruisers to overmatch the Japanese navy. To-day the Japanese Fleet is overwhelmingly superior to the four armoured cruisers which represent the White Ensign in the ocean where ten years ago it was supreme. In order to render prompt assistance for the present emergency we might assume responsibility for one "unit" of the Imperial Pacific Fleet which the Admiralty is seeking to organize to replace the old China Squadron. Australia and New Zealand have

gone into this project; were Canada to join, by 1912 there could be afloat on the ocean of the Far East a powerful squadron of four Indomitables—monster cruiser-battleships of eight or ten twelve-inch guns each, and a speed of 28 knots—backed by a commerce-protection fleet of a dozen Bristols—swift 25 knot vessels of some fighting power—and a torpedo flotilla of two dozen powerful high-sea destroyers and a dozen submarines for coast defence. To effect this Canada would assume the financial responsibility for one Indomitable, three Bristols, six destroyers, and three submarines. This would be effective and immediate aid, for the fact that the German menace forbids the detachment of a strong armoured fleet to the Pacific must cause the Admiralty acute anxiety.

For the second phase, the thing to do is to build up a naval force of our own and I have argued this at length in previous issues of the UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE. Even if we do not contribute to the battle fleets we can arm in a measure for the present emergency. Let us state sympathetically the position which the Canadian Government seems to have resolved to take. It begins by fastening its regard purely upon Canada and her local security. Let Canada defend her own coasts. If Canada does this, she will perceptibly lighten the burden of the Admiralty. That responsible body has to consider a multitude of problems, of which the battle-fleet will be but one; it will have trade routes interlacing every ocean to guard, innumerable coaling places and cable stations to protect, the shores of scores of British dominions and colonies to defend. At present every bit of coast line over which the British flag flies, every rendezvous where British sea-trade converges, is a responsibility and a pre-occupation to the anxious men at Whitehall. If our Canadian coast line becomes self-sustaining so far as minor attacks are concerned, off goes one load; it may be a small load and only one load out of many, but it goes none the less. If the intersecting points of ocean trade lanes which lie off the Canadian coast line become unwholesome

for hostile commerce destroyers, another load goes off the shoulders of the anxious men. The aid given will be modest, but it will be aid.

Let us assume that the Government resolves to set up a system of Canadian coast defence. Remember our danger. I have already argued that our coast line is of such a nature that its four gateways—Belle Isle Straits, Cabot Straits, Halifax, and the mouth of the Bay of Fundy—can easily be blocked if the enemy is strong at sea, and can easily be defended if we have the necessary force. That is our great peril. It is all the more serious, in one sense, because the trade from our Atlantic ports will be very sensitive to reports of hostile cruisers. The American ports will be ready to attract the ships which ordinarily sail direct to Canada, and if the alarms of the war were to result in Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, and St. John being deserted for Boston and New York, Eastern Canada would suffer severely, apart from the actual capture of ships. Coast defence includes safe egress from Canadian sea-ports to the blue water. Then we must count upon the danger of having our fishing grounds raided and our fisher-folk driven away. A certain amount of annoyance of our coastal towns might be apprehended; for example, an absolutely undefended town which possessed a dry dock might be seized and the dry dock used; or Sydney might be raided, its coal supplies seized, and its industries ruined or held to ransom. We must regard actual territorial annoyance, however, as a secondary, though possible, danger. The primary and serious danger is the capture of our ships in coastal waters, though possibly a good many miles from land.

The danger unmistakably indicates a mobile defence as our need. There must be certain fixed points to serve as pivots; Halifax with its powerful defence is one already, and so is Levis with its forts. St. John should have guns enough to keep hostile ships away, and so should Sydney; cities of such commercial and industrial importance should be safe from any sudden blow. Then, any ports, large or

small, which we decide upon as bases for our mobile defence should be defended; for example, if it was resolved to hold the mouth of the Bay of Fundy by a mobile defence operating from Yarmouth, then Yarmouth should be strong enough to protect a friendly ship chased in by a stronger opponent. It must be emphatically impressed upon readers that these fortifications need be very slight. Ships do not engage guns on shore; at Santiago, for example, the whole American battle fleet was held at bay by Spanish works which mounted only two modern guns, and those no heavier than six-inch calibre.

From our fixed points we proceed to the torpedo and mine menace. The latter is a doubtful quantity. It is said, for example, that the British decision to develop the submarine was due to the fact that the strong tides of the Channel make it excessively difficult to get good results from mines as they cannot be anchored securely, and are in perpetual danger of going afloat, to the danger of merchant shipping. If the Channel tides are strong, what about those of the Bay of Fundy? The whole subject is technical in the extreme. If our naval advisers say that good results can be obtained from them, they must be obtained in peace, and most careful plans and preparations made in advance for their use in time of need. This means a corps of specialized officers and men. The British practice is that these should be sailors.

Next, we have the torpedo. This weapon can be launched from the submarine, or from an ordinary ship, the swift torpedo boat or still swifter and stronger destroyer. The submarine calls for exceptionally well-trained men, the flower of a navy. It also is as yet a blind, uncertain thing, unable to operate with certainty at any distance from its port: though in this respect it is improving and can now make rather long voyages. The destroyer proper has great advantages in many respects. It has almost incredible speed; it can use the torpedo; it can fight a bit with its 12-pounder or 4-inch guns; it can scout, can cover great areas, and can

make whole localities unsafe or at least uncomfortable for vessels far superior to it in sheer fighting power.

This brings us to trade protection. On the high seas trade now follows definite routes, often called "lanes," and one of the advantages of steam navigation is that these routes can be changed at will. The commerce-destroyer who sought for his prey on the blue ocean might find himself seeking for a needle in a haystack. But these lanes must converge near land. Ships trafficking in Canada, however eccentric their course in mid-Atlantic, must thread Belle Isle or Cabot Straits to get into the St. Lawrence. The points of intersection are at once the points of attack, of danger, and of defence. We may leave the high seas to the British Navy; but if we have any Canadian ships, say a torpedo flotilla, the place for them is, not hugging the coast, not hanging about within the three-mile limit, but out in the fairway of Cabot Strait, somewhere in Belle Isle, well out in the region outside Halifax where the trade routes draw closer, off the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. A patrol of these dangerous areas, scouting voyages to discover possible raiders before, instead of after, they reach the coast—such work would be useful.

Little can be said as to numbers. Mine-laying now is usually managed from ships provided with special appliances. The tendency is to convert old cruisers to this purpose, though vessels have been specially built for this one department of warfare. As for destroyers, they usually fight in company, and four or five areas of usefulness are indicated on the Atlantic sea-board alone. The tendency seems to begin with one division of four, of the "River" type; by this is meant a strongly-built craft 225 feet long, 23½ feet beam, armed with four 12-pounders each and able to develop a speed of 26 knots in rough weather. The term "river" arises from the circumstance that all of this type now in the Royal Navy are named after British streams.

Defence by mine and torpedo has its distinct limitations. Those of the mine are obvious. In almost any body of

water which an enemy may navigate there are several million square yards, and one mine protects only one little patch; if the enemy happens to go elsewhere, the mine is useless. Even if the enemy pass over a mine-field it does not necessarily work; on one occasion the Russian Port Arthur squadron anchored on top of a Japanese mine-field and took no hurt. Then, too, the mine is highly undiscriminating. Destroyers are formidable in the night; by day a small cruiser is superior to a big destroyer. The torpedo menace acts by denying infested areas to a hostile force at night, and can thus, by forcing it to stand off to sea for the night, make its action spasmodic and intermittent; it also tries the nerves of officers and crew and so wears down the ship's fighting value. But the situation thus has the great weakness that even very moderate cruisers can prey in our waters in broad daylight, with little to fear.

The situation thus points to one step more. Some cruisers are needed. Numbers and types are matters for sailors, and for progress. Our governing consideration is that, as the result of the conditions of commerce-destroying warfare, each cruiser we put on our coast will deter a somewhat stronger cruiser from coming its way.

I have been discussing material alone. The question of men is more difficult. We can get the ships by sending a letter to a single British firm. We cannot obtain officers and men so easily, unless we procure them from the Royal Navy. Unfortunately the country is vastly more interested in the material side of the problem. It talks of building the ships in Canada, though it will take several years to set up a ship-yard; and enthusiasts are busy with the names of the vessels, instead of wondering how we shall train the men.

So much for the plan of coastal defence which there is reason to believe will mark the genesis of the Canadian naval force. I may be permitted to add one or two remarks of a more general nature. First, I wish to urge the high importance of the principle of interchangeability. Our

naval force, whatever its composition, should be able at any moment to exchange men or ships with the Royal Navy without inconvenience, confusion, or a lowering of the Royal Navy's efficiency.

From some standpoints we must consider the question from a strictly Canadian standpoint: as long as we do that we are on safe ground. There comes a stage in our calculations when we must recollect that Canada is a part of the Empire. Our whole problem of defence is based on the fact that we are not isolated, but one part of a great whole, and that we can do with prudence many things which would be beyond the power of a separate country. Again, we must include in our considerations the fact that our connexion with Great Britain is not merely juridical, but is political in the sense of arousing warm loyalty and a keen Canadian interest in British sea-power; the developments of the past year illustrate this point with sufficient force. If Canada were a separate country, on the same footing in the world as Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, conditions would force her to develop a typical small power navy; these Scandinavian Kingdoms have gone in for a special type of small coast-defence armour-clad, the calculation apparently being that these vessels could outfight the light craft of a great naval power, and by using the shallows and intricacies of the coast might give small fleets of more powerful vessels some trouble; while they would be no more powerless against a serious manifestation of strength than would the very few large battleships which they could afford. Such a power's whole hope then is to be able to repel secondary attacks by stronger powers, and it knows it would be helpless if a great power turned its force against it in earnest. Our problem is wholly different and far more cheerful. It is to render ourselves strong enough to repel secondary attacks, knowing that a serious attempt upon our shores would automatically bring the might of the British Navy upon the back of our assailants. Should, therefore, our waters become the scene of the operations of a powerful British squadron, our local

forces should fit into it in every detail of type of ship, style of training, school of naval thought. Thus Norway may develop a special type of cruisers; we must procure the standard cruising ship of the Royal Navy. This same principle of interchangeability extends to our men and our officers. Here again I already have argued out the point in these pages.

Perhaps I may add some observations upon a subordinate aspect of our problem. There is a tendency to deprecate the provision of any but capital ships; it is urged that a force which would not be actually present when the guns were roaring in the decisive battle in North Sea or Mediterranean would be wasted and useless. This is a political as well as a technical question, and so I may not be too daring if I discuss it.

The teachings of Mahan have caused almost all writers on naval warfare to concentrate their attention upon the battle-fleets. The capital ships of one country defeats the capital ships of another country; forthwith the victor has "command of the sea"; forthwith he proceeds to use it to strangle his antagonist; the Napoleonic war remains the classic example of this process. A series of battles fought at the mouth of the Nile and off the coast of Spain saved England from invasion, and protected the utmost confines of the far-flung British Empire. So in like manner, in some future war Canada may owe her safety to a victory in the Mediterranean, in the North Sea, off the coast of Australia. All these considerations are absolutely undeniable. But many writers have been led by them to fix their attention exclusively upon the battle-fleet. Let the capital ships win their victory, they assume, and the command and control of the sea passes automatically to the power whose flag they fly.

Let us look a little more closely at the situation. The battle-fleet sets out to seek its adversary. Is it composed exclusively of battleships? The First and Second Divisions of the Home Fleet to-day comprise 97 fighting ships, of which 26 are battleships or heavy armoured cruisers, and 61 are

cruisers or destroyers. At Tsushima Admiral Togo's cruisers far outnumbered his capital ships, and it was a converted cruiser, an armed merchantman which was the first to sight the Russian Squadron and warn the Japanese leader. Suppose when the struggle comes it is a Canadian cruiser—even a weak one—which spies the enemy, shall we not be pleased? And shall we not be helping?

We must calculate upon the battle squadron being kept occupied for a long time by the unsubdued battle-fleet of the enemy. Armageddon may not happen in the first week after the ultimatum. Naval wars are not fought out by the pleasingly simple process of both fleets quitting harbour simultaneously and rushing straight at each other, like two angry bulls, to settle the whole thing in the first shock. It was fifteen months after the first shot before Togo abolished the Russian fleet. It took Nelson and his fellows thirteen years, from 1792 to 1805, to eliminate the French fleet as a factor, and in all preceding naval wars the British fleets found much to occupy them at sea till peace was signed. Behind the battle-front of the fleets the great web of British trade will be spread upon the face of the waters. Will not those myriad steamers need protecting? Their safety, their persistence in keeping at sea, is the life-blood of the Empire. Will not these ocean sheep need their due proportion of ocean watch-dog? In short, in addition to capital ships the British Empire needs cruisers with the battle-fleets, to serve as scouts, messengers, blockaders, and cruisers away from the battle-fleets, to protect commerce.

A step further. Suppose Armageddon fought and won. What then? Two results, among others. On our side it will be in order to exercise to the full the command of the sea which the capital ships have won; at every possible point in the ocean the enemy must feel our strength. That is the first sequel. The second is that the enemy, beaten and enraged, will be exceedingly likely to have recourse to a commerce-destroying war. What sort and what number of ships do we need to perform the duty of pressure and to cope with the commerce destroying menace?

Not the battleships. They cost five or ten million dollars apiece, and must not be risked for any but the largest purposes. They are bound to keep up their squadron formation. Moreover, for the greater part of the work to be done, light guns and small ships are as useful as heavy guns and big ships. If a million dollar ship can do the job as well as a ten million dollar one, it obviously is better economy to send the cheap one on the business. It is wasteful to send a grown up man on a small boy's errand. Furthermore, a battle ship suffers from the common disability of being unable to be in more places than one at the same time. A Bristol will cost two millions, therefore we can buy five Bristols for the price of one Dreadnought; and the Bristols can be in five places where it is necessary to have a warship. It comes to this: that when our great battle is won it becomes necessary to cause the ocean to swarm with our vessels. There must be cruisers off every port where the enemy's ships hide. The white ensign must flutter at every converging point of the ocean lanes. There must be an unwearied patrol of every trade route. All this means numbers, and numbers imply cheapness of the individual ship.

The teaching of British naval history is that in every period of peace the tendency is to build or employ comparatively few cruisers; and that in time of war the tendency is for the cruiser fleet to grow mightily. Nor is that all; the tendency is for the increase to be specially marked in small and rather weak cruising craft. In peace the administrator's eyes are fixed on the battleship; in war he finds need for swarms of vessels, small as well as big. I cite statistics to prove this.

Here are the figures, first, for selected dates from the earlier and middle Eighteenth Century; secondly, for every year of the great French War. I set down the ships of the time available; the number of cruisers—heavy frigates, light frigates and sloops—which were on hand; and the flotilla of brigs, cutters, and such small craft.

Year	Ships of the line	Cruisers	Flotilla	Remarks
1714	131	74	15	Year after the war of Spanish Succession
1727	124	67	12	Peace
1752	132	112	10	Peace
1760	155	170	12	War
1762	141	199	—	End of Seven Years' War
1775	131	134	—	End of peace
1783	174	273	—	End of war
1792	129	90	—	End of peace
1793	113	166	18	First year of war
1798	120	274	94	Year of Battle of the Nile
1805	116	389	127	Year of Trafalgar
1812	120	489	127	War with U. S. began.

Early in the 18th century the true cruiser type had not been discovered; the frigate, a vessel of 32, 36, or 38 guns and fitted by her build for real cruising work, makes her appearance in the Seven Years War. In 1752 the number of cruising ships was still inferior to that of ships of the line. In 1760, we find an increase in cruisers from 112 to 170, and in small fry from 4 to 22; the cruising ships now outnumber the battle fleet. In 1762, the battle fleet has actually undergone a numerical decrease, while the cruising squadrons exceed 200. Thirteen years later, at the end of the peace, we find that the cruising fleet has fallen by nearly 40 per cent. By the end of the war of the American Revolution we find that the battle fleet has increased by 32 per cent. and the cruising fleet by 114 per cent. The peace follows, and we see the younger Pitt cutting the cruising fleet down by two-thirds, while the line-of-battle ships have shrunk by only one quarter. The opening of the great French War meant a prompt increase in cruisers, and an actual diminution in battleships. As that struggle goes on we see the battle-fleet constant while the cruising squadron multiplies with enormous rapidity. And in 1789, when there were 382 cruisers of all sorts afloat, or three to every line-of-battle ship, Nelson missed Bonaparte in the Mediterranean and fretted himself sick, for want of scouts. His cry for "more frigates" is part of our naval history.

Now let us study the great French War a little more closely from this same standpoint. It is necessary to go into finer distinctions. At that time cruising vessels were divided into fourth rate, fifth rate, and sixth rate ships; sloops; and brigs, cutters, etc. The typical fourth rater was the 50-gun vessel, a ship rather too large for ordinary cruising and too weak for the line of battle. Some theorists see in her a precursor of the armoured cruiser. The fifth rater was the frigate proper of 44, 40, 38, 36, and 32 guns. The sixth rater included vessels of 28, 24, and 20 guns. The sloops carried a lighter armament. The others were small fry, of still more insignificant fighting value. Now observe the fluctuations of the numbers in this class during the 22 years of war, with the short and uneasy peace of Amiens intervening:

Year	4th rate 50 guns	5th rate 32-44 guns	6th rate 20-28 guns	Sloops	Brigs, Cutters, etc.
1792 peace	17	90	41	42	—
1793	12	79	35	40	18
1794	12	84	36	53	21
1795	12	102	35	62	33
1796	21	106	37	84	36
1797	16	115	40	91	52
1798	16	123	41	94	94
1799	14	117	42	98	97
1800	14	112	34	107	97
1801	13	113	34	104	103
1802	13	120	28	98	104
1803	11	102	22	78	52
1804	10	106	22	91	60
1805	13	114	25	121	127
1806	13	125	26	131	160
1807	10	138	29	172	173
1808	10	141	32	191	163
1809	8	144	28	251	160
1810	7	146	24	246	144
1811	6	139	20	225	138
1812	5	137	18	209	127
1813	3	123	19	214	121
1814	10	134	29	212	126
1815	9	126	42	185	74

We see that the numbers of 50-gun ships remained stationary or rather decreased. These vessels seem to have been used on convoy service and to strengthen frigate squadrons on distant stations. The frigates proper increased from 80 to 90 at the outset of the war, to 100 or 110 at the time of the Trafalgar campaign, and then at once rose to 125, fluctuating from that number to nearly 150. The sixth rates, corvettes as they were sometimes called, show a tendency to decline. The increase in the number of sloops is enormous. When the war began the Navy had about 40 in commission; by 1800 the list had passed the hundred mark; by Trafalgar year the Admiralty had found employment for 121; and from this year of complete victory onward the number steadily rises, reaching the enormous number of 251 in 1809. So also with the small fry. At the opening of the war a score suited the Admiralty; the number rose to the hundred, and promptly dropped to 50 or 60 during the peace years which followed the Treaty of Amiens. In Trafalgar year it goes up to 127, and during the period of undisputed command of the sea this mosquito fleet multiplied inordinately. Adding together the sloops and the small craft, we see that from Trafalgar onwards the British Government kept afloat from 300 to 400 vessels of insignificant fighting power. For details of the estimation in which these little chaps were held, and of the sort of work they had a chance to do, I refer the reader to Michael Scott's "Cruise of the Midge." It should furnish a welcome relief after this prolonged dry spell of statistics.

One line more of statistics, however. I add the present distribution of the ships of the Royal Navy, leaving out the torpedo flotilla—destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines—as vessels having a special function. There are 61 battleships and 39 armoured cruisers; if we take Togo's example to heart and count all armoured cruisers as "fit to lie in a line" we have 100 capital ships. We have 72 protected cruisers, first, second and third class, built and building. In addition there are 20 "scouts" and torpedo gunboats borne in Brassey's

list of cruising ships; and there are thirty or forty ships which the Admiralty could get to sea for various purposes, either as mine-layers, depot ships for submarine and torpedo boats, or cruisers of the ordinary type.

Steam, cables, and wireless telegraphy undoubtedly have changed conditions, and one must be cautious in drawing lessons from the past for the present. One enormous change which in fairness we must note, is that in the days of wood and canvas the smaller vessel possessed certain advantages of speed which she has lost to-day, when the larger vessel, other things being equal, is the swifter. But none the less it is instructive that in those days the tendency was to lay up the small craft in peace time and to send them forth in ever-multiplying swarms as actual war went on. Some of the factors of the problem are constant. The ocean is as vast as ever. The range of the human vision is as restricted as ever. One ship is as unable as ever to be in two places at the same time. It seems a fair conclusion that a serious maritime war would mean a great call for cruising ships.

Now, suppose that the Canadian naval force of the future has a number of serviceable cruisers. The type hich just now is the fashion is what is termed the Bristol, from the name-ship of the class. These vessels are to be of 4,800 tons displacement, are to have a speed of 25 knots, and are to carry an armament of two 6-inch and ten 4-inch guns. Their complement probably will be about 350. In other words, they have excellent speed, some fighting power, and should not be too expensive to maintain. Would a squadron of such vessels be unwelcome to an Empire with trade to defend in every corner of the ocean? Suppose that we establish a class of vessels just large enough to pass through our canals; in case the Rush-Bagot Agreement should ever be abrogated by our neighbours the point to aim at would be: (1) numbers; (2) armament as heavy as the dimensions would justify; (3) moderate sea-keeping qualities, as they would be needed for operations in narrow and coastal waters rather than for oceanic work. Would a few such craft be

unwelcome to an Empire which in one year had afloat four hundred vessels of trifling individual fighting power?

Battleships are absolutely necessary. On them depends the main line of the war. I have no idea of advocating the heresy of the *guerre du course*, as one critic has suggested. But the battleships must be supplemented by cruisers—cruisers in great number. So long as Canada is an integral part of the British Empire, a Canadian naval force of cruisers—provided they are efficient of their sort and their crews well trained—will have a place in the world. The big battle fleet would be needed to do its work; our small ships would be needed to do their part.

C. Frederick Hamilton

AN UNITED EMPIRE

IT IS a matter of supreme regret to many people who call themselves Imperialists—that is, to those who take an interest in the maintenance of the British Empire—that the present controversy on the subject should have degenerated into a battle of phrases. It is the fashion to give the palm of journalistic superiority or of platform eloquence to the man who can weave into his sentences the greatest number of these phrases. Is it not time to pause to consider their meaning and true value?

The phrase which appears to be all-powerful at the moment is "drawn into the vortex of European militarism." It is alternately held up to scorn and used as an argument against the formation of a Canadian Navy, but it can be depended upon to draw applause from an audience in whichever sense it is used. It has become, in fact, a stereotyped climax and as such it has escaped the analysing to which all such phrases should be submitted.

"Let us not be drawn into the vortex of European militarism." What alternative is there? The only alternative seems to be to stand aloof from European politics, and it becomes necessary to consider what would be the effect of breaking off the political connexion of Canada with Europe.

This cannot be done without losing the British connexion, as a short survey of Canadian history will prove; and the maintenance of the British connexion must be the basis of all discussion on the subject. No loyal subject of the King can listen to arguments which do not assume it.

In 1775 Canada was attacked. Why? Because the New England Colonies were at war with England. In 1812 Canada was again attacked. Why? Because France and England had annoyed the United States by issuing the "Berlin

Decrees " and the " Orders-in-Council." And Canada was attacked because that was the easiest way in which the United States could strike a blow at England. In 1866 the Fenians attacked Canada. Why? Because England did not treat Ireland as they thought she should. Fortunately at each trial the Canadians rose to the occasion—as they will do again. In all, Canada has been attacked three times from without, and each time because of events in Europe. Yet no Canadian would claim that Canada had voluntarily interfered in European politics, at any rate, before Confederation. It appears therefore that any of the King's Dominions is liable to attack during a war in which His Majesty's troops are engaged; and it remains to be seen whether unpreparedness can save Canada from military attack.

Her great weakness did not seem to save Spain when " the most civilized nation in the world "—presumably incapable of acting on the old adage " might is right "—coveted some islands that did not belong to her. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Canada, herself without an army or navy and not backed by the power of the British Empire, might find herself in the same position as Spain, for there is land in Canada as desirable as the Philippines. Fortunately Canada is not likely to find herself unbacked by His Majesty's Navy and Army.

It is a remarkable thing that the wars of the present generation (30 years) between two white peoples do not seem to have been fought because of any equality in the two armies. On the contrary, they have been foregone conclusions; which leads the cynic to believe that civilization has not reached that point where it would be considered immoral for a strong power to attack a weak one. So it is hardly safe to count weakness an asset.

No; Canada, as a part of the British Empire, must depend on strength for her immunity from attack as the British Empire has always done in the past. And just as the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link, so the strength of the British Empire is the strength of its most vulnerable part.

At the same time the strength of each part is the strength of the whole Empire. Any quarrel in which the Crown may find itself involved on the part of any single portion of its Dominions will be fought by the whole, and the glory will not be Indian or English or Canadian or Maltese—but British. When General Wauchope's troops were beaten at Magersfontein the disaster was no more Scotch than it was Australian—it was British. When the 21st Lancers charged at Omdurman the glory belonged no more to England than to New Zealand—it was British, and so was the prestige. When the King visits President Loubet to discuss "Fashoda," or the German Emperor to discuss European problems, the advantage accruing belongs to Canada as much as to England and Ireland. When a skillful Ambassador is sent to St. Petersburg or Washington the gain is British and the work he does is for the advantage of the West Indies just as much as for England and South Africa.

A loud cry of "autonomy" has gone up from the smaller minds who cannot think in Empires, whose brains can grasp nothing much larger than parishes. Where will autonomy stand when a foreign "Dreadnought" is anchored at Montreal and the sailors from a foreign "mosquito fleet" are growing strong on wheat from the elevators of Port Arthur and apples from the Niagara Peninsula; and not so much as a Diplomatic Corps to entice them away? Is it not better that Canada should have some just claim to the use of the three great Imperial Services, the Army, the Navy, and the Diplomatic Corps?

Besides, autonomy would not be altogether ignored if Canada undertook (for the sake of example) to equip a fleet whose base should be the same as that of the old North American Station but which should join the other fleets of the Royal Navy for manœuvring, and act with them under one Commander-in-chief in case of war. Efficiency, on the other hand, would be entirely ignored if a Canadian contribution to the Royal Navy were limited to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence or were not under the same orders as the other fleets in war.

It is surely possible that the best interests of Canada should be served by confining a hostile fleet to its own ports rather than by defending the shores of Canada and allowing the enemy to roam the rest of the oceans. This is a matter which naval experts must be allowed to determine. Its risks, the possibility of carrying it out, and the cost of failure must be weighed by them, because no civilian can properly estimate the comparative values of this and of the many other plans of campaign which would have to be taken into consideration.

And the conclusion of the whole is this: "The British Empire before everything!" and afterwards (not till afterwards) the individual advantage of its component parts.

H. G. C. Don

IN DRYBURGH ABBEY

What though fell Time leaves here and there a heap,
Where long ago stood a frequented fane,
As some exploit transforms a nameless plain,
Where Industry her waving fields did reap,
Into a storied place where strong men weep;
So that dear mound, within Saint Mary's aisle,
The fortune-favoured remnant of this pile,
From dull forgetfulness this shrine shall keep.

And while the Eildon Hills their brows make bare,
And his loved Tweed its plaintive lay is singing;
While on this altar-site men breathe a prayer,
Or to these stones their hearts like vines are clinging,
Though its own voices have been silent long,
To God this roofless fane shall still belong.

A. L. Fraser

EARLY TRANSPORTATION IN CANADA

IN STUDYING the history of Canada during the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries one is impressed with the apparently sluggish development of industry. This impression is obtained from an unconscious comparison of Canadian with American progress. Yet it may he admitted that an industrial depression affected the Provinces in the early years of English rule. Racial hatred and religious intolerance permeated the political world and unfitted the legislator's mind for calm and unprejudiced consideration of those problems which lie at the root of all national development. The French-Canadian element of Lower Canada more than once obstructed beneficial legislation because it would aid in the advancement and prosperity of the English Province. Rival political interests and racial enmity retarded undertakings of national importance, and great public works, such as the Lachine Canal, although begun early in the century were not completed until after the Union. Railway connexion between the two provinces was not seriously advocated until after 1841, although a through service by water and stage had been inaugurated by 1826. As late as 1865 Mr. Wm. Kingsford opposed the deepening and improvement of the Lachine Canal because the work was calculated to benefit Lower Canada rather than his own Province. Even after the Act of Union "provincial" interests were predominant and national ones often forgotten in the heat of party strife. In the Lower Province this localism coupled with French-Canadian conservatism checked industrial progress for many years.

The absence of an active immigration policy and inadequacy of transportation facilities hampered the growth of population, which, previous to 1841, was slow when compared with that in the United States.

Montreal, the largest town in either province, acquired its prominence through its situation, the geographical advantages of which were grasped at an early date by Mr. John McTaggart, Assistant-Engineer on the Rideau Canal. In 1851 at the opening of the "Railway Era," Canada had five cities with populations exceeding 10,000, and of these, two, Montreal and Quebec, were in the old Province and three, Toronto, Hamilton and Kingston, in Upper Canada. These were the only towns of any considerable importance before the coming of the railway, although in this year Canada had two cities with populations between 5,000 and 10,000, two with between 4,000 and 5,000 people, eight with between 3,000 and 4,000, and two others with over 2,000.

Many of these towns were active in industrial pursuits, Montreal taking the lead. In 1817 the Bank of Montreal and the Quebec Bank were established. Before the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway had been commenced Canadian manufactures had reached a condition of comparative prosperity. At Montreal and Quebec there were industrial establishments of all sorts. In 1843 forty-eight ships were built at Quebec with a gross tonnage of 13,785 tons. In 1853 the same yards turned out seventy-six ships, valued at $2,500,000 and totalling 51,637 tons.

The condition of agriculture in Lower Canada at the time of the union was very backward. The methods of the early eighteenth century were in use in Quebec up to the middle of the nineteenth century. In spite of this conservatism there was a steady increase in the annual crop until in 1851 a high standard was reached. The crop for that year included 16,590,989 bushels of wheat; 1,485,017 bushels of barley; 22,000,000 bushels of oats; 4,500,000 bushels of peas; 10,718,783 bushels of buckwheat and 10,500,000 bushels of potatoes, the total value being about $28,300,000. If we bear these figures in mind we shall see at a later stage that the growth of agriculture after the introduction of the railway was nothing short of remarkable.

The necessity of an efficient postal service early occupied the attention of the British Governors in Canada. Haldimand caused a trail to be cut to connect New Brunswick and Quebec, and another along the Madawaska and St. John Rivers to the settlement on the Bay of Fundy. In 1787 Lord Dorchester inaugurated a postal service by foot messenger along this route which was used even in winter for the transportation of the English mails, it being calculated that "six mails a year would pay for the service." In the same year a monthly steamship service was established between London and Halifax, but appears to have been very inefficient, as sometimes a period of four months would intervene between the writing of a letter in Quebec and its delivery in London. The irregularity and slowness of the service in Canada itself called forth loud protests from many merchants who were forced to employ private runners to carry their mail. In 1811 Mr. George Heriot, then Post-Master General, investigated these complaints and his report is descriptive of local conditions:—"The mail is carried from New Brunswick and vice versa by two couriers, one setting out from Quebec and the other from Fredericton once a month in winter and once a fortnight in summer. The distance is 361 miles; the cost of conveying the mails £240. There is one courier once a week between Fredericton and St. John, N.B., eighty-two miles at a cost of £91.5s. There are two packets weekly across the Bay of Fundy between St. John and Digby, thirty-six and a half-miles at £350. There is one courier twice a week between Digby and Annapolis, twenty miles, and one courier between Annapolis and Halifax once a week, 133½ miles. From the commencement of the present year a communication by post has been opened from Montreal to Kingston. The courier goes once a fortnight and has a salary of £100. A post to York is proposed for six months or during the close of navigation. The post between Quebec and Montreal is despatched twice a week from each of those towns. Eight pence is charged for postage on a single letter from Quebec to Montreal. There are on the road between Quebec and Mont-

real about twenty-seven persons whose houses are seven or eight miles distant from each other and who keep four or five horses each, not of the best description, and small vehicles with two wheels of a homely and rude construction hung upon bands of leather or thongs of unmanufactured bull's hide by way of springs. They will with much difficulty contain two persons, in front of which a man or boy is placed to guide the horse. The rate at which they go when the roads are favourable is not much more than six miles an hour. The roads are generally in a very bad state as no proper measures are taken for their repair."

Owing largely to the energy of Sir George Prevost, who feared war with the United States, many improvements had been made by 1822. Prevost maintained that mails could be sent from England to Quebec via Halifax as quickly as by way of New York, and urged that the Canadian route be adopted to "obviate the risk (the mails) are now exposed to in passing through American territory." The ocean service was improved and mail ships were run between Quebec and London every five or six weeks. In 1851 the control of the postal service was confided to the Canadian Government, and a uniform rate of three pence per half ounce was adopted. Among other changes made were an extension of the road system and an improvement of the stage service. The result of this energetic action was an immediate increase in the postal traffic. In 1852, before the Grand Trunk Railway was in operation, the Canadian Post Office handled 3,700,000 letters at a cost of $376,191.00. Eight years later when the Trunk line was running this number had increased to 9,000,000 and the expenditure, exclusive of half a million dollars in mail subsidies, was about $550,000.00. In 1876 the Post Office handled over 39,000,000 letters and about 29,000,000 papers. The growth of Canadian trade and commerce during the last thirty years is illustrated by a comparison of these figures with those for 1904 when 259,190,000 letters and over 27,000,000 post-cards were delivered.

A valuable indication of the efficiency of transportation before the railway era is found in a study of rates. High rates prevented heavy movements of freight. Before the war of 1812 it cost $7.00 to ship a ton of freight from Liverpool to Montreal. Inland rates were higher, the rate from Montreal to the upper end of Lake Ontario varying from $20.00 to $27.00 a ton. During the war itself it cost £200 to ship a 24 lb. cannon from Montreal to Kingston and £676 to ship an anchor weighing 74 cwt. the same distance. Steamers plied daily between Montreal and Quebec in 1832 and the cost of cabin passage on deck was about $7.30. Keen competition tended to lower the rates on this route, and at one time the first cabin rate was seven shillings and sixpence and the steerage rate only sixpence. Accommodation between Montreal and Prescott was afforded by steamboat and stage. It took nearly two days to accomplish this journey. The rate from Kingston to Prescott was fifteen shillings and from Kingston to York £2. The through trip from Montreal to York in "bateaux" cost £3 15s., and this class of accommodation was the most popular with the poorer classes of immigrants. The first class rate from Albany to Montreal via water and stage was £4. The advent of the railway not only effected more rapid transit but also served in many cases to reduce rates on the water routes.

In both Canada and the United States the construction of systems of roads preceded that of the railroad. When the treaty of Versailles was signed, the United States had practically no system of land transportation. The roads were local and the waggons slow and very uncomfortable. The postal and passenger services were inefficient, while there was no long-haul freight traffic owing to the character of the roads and to the high rates. It cost five dollars to haul a barrel of flour 150 miles and three dollars to ship a cord of wood twenty miles. In 1790 the construction of turnpike roads began, subsidized by the State Governments. These roads were well made and greatly facilitated through traffic.

In the eighteenth century the roads in Canada were of three kinds:—the post roads owned by the Crown and passing in front of the seigneuries; the "chemins de ceinture et de traverse" belonging to the Seigneurs and running in the rear of the farms, parallel to the royal roads; and finally the "cross roads" connecting the Royal and seigneurial highways. The condition of these roads was deplorable, and Carleton was compelled to enforce the "individual responsibility" of proprietors and tenants to keep the post roads in repair. These roads were thirty feet wide and the cross roads maintained by joint labor were twenty feet wide. It was not until Sydenham's time that much improvement was effected, owing to the passive resistance of the French-Canadian to enforced labour. By 1850 good roads ran over the Province in all directions. Not all of them were well made, but most of them were useable for stage traffic which had greatly increased.

When classified according to their mode of construction, the early roads in Canada fall into five different classes, the "bridle roads," the "winter roads," the "corduroy" roads, the common or graded roads, and the turnpikes.

The bridle roads were made solely for the use of horsemen, before carriages had been introduced into the more unsettled parts of the country. By their aid the people found their way to religious ceremonies and transported their grain on pack horses to the neighbouring villages. They were made simply by clearing away the branches and trunks of trees so as to allow a horse to pass through the bush.

The winter roads were very important. The Canadian winter with its snow and frost was a blessing to the farmer, giving him a firm, smooth road over which heavy loads could be drawn with ease. Most of the heavy freight was not moved until the winter unless the water routes were accessible. It was in the cold weather that the lumbermen and builders transported their supplies and the farmer carried his crops to market.

The " corduroy " roads were made by placing tree trunks side by side and consequently could be constructed only where there was an abundance of timber. As these trees decayed with time and moisture the roads required constant repair and a great amount of valuable timber was wasted. It was not an uncommon thing for one of these roads to be destroyed in a single season by frost. In many places they actually delayed progress, as they were used as an excuse for delaying the construction of more durable highways. At their best they were rough, very slow and damaging to vehicles, " any attempt at speed being checked by immediate symptoms of approaching dissolution in the vehicle." The effect on the driver and his passengers appears to have been equally disastrous, the " poor human frame being jolted to pieces."

The common or graded roads were marked out by fences in the more settled and open districts, and in the woods by wide clearings. They were properly drained and bridged and an attempt was made to reduce steep hills. Although they did not possess an artificial road-bed, they were very serviceable except for the heaviest traffic. Their construction was expensive, however, as they were laid out in straight and direct lines with the idea of overcoming rather than going around obstacles in their path.

In the more settled parts of Canada the construction of the turnpike with its artificial road-bed began with the opening of the nineteenth century. The materials composing the road-bed varied. Gravel was used where convenient. In many districts plank roads were used after the Union, but unless they rested on a bed of sand were a failure owing to the expense of the frequent necessary renewals. The most satisfactory road-bed was of macadam, although in many places Canadian traffic was not heavy enough thoroughly to consolidate the materials used in its construction. The best roads of this kind were those outside of Montreal and Quebec. In Upper Canada the turnpikes were controlled by Joint Stock Companies in the main and were kept in a miserable condition.

Before the war of 1812 the four principal roads in the provinces followed the routes taken later by the railways. The first, connecting Lower Canada with the Maritime Provinces, began at Point Levis, running thence to Temiscouata, whence it ran to Fredericton which it connected with St. John, terminating at Halifax, after traversing a total distance of 718 miles.

The second road followed the route taken later by the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways, running from Quebec via Montreal, Coteau-du-lac and Cornwall, to Kingston and thence to York. From York it ran to Michillimackinac by way of Fort Erie and Detroit, a total distance of 1,107 miles.

The purpose of the third road, which ran from Montreal to the international boundary line en route to Boston, was later accomplished by the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway. The other road 28 miles long connected Laprairie with Isle-aux-Noix.

The war of 1812 gave a great impetus to the development of Canadian transportation. In 1817 a stage service was established between Kingston and York. By 1841 nearly 6000 miles of post roads had been opened in the Upper Province, including among others the Hamilton and Dover Road, the Rice Lake Road, the Main North Toronto Road, the Chatham Sandwich Road, the highways between Cornwall and Bytown and Amherstburg and Sandwich.

On these roads the conveyances were the calêche and the post chaise. The charge was high, varying from six and a half cents upward per mile. The first stages in Upper Canada, running between Queenstown and Fort Erie, charged four cents per mile. The original rate from Kingston to York by stage was $18.00, more than the present return first class fare from Montreal to Toronto. The fare between York and Niagara was five dollars. On the roads near Montreal and Quebec moderate rates were charged and a considerable traffic maintained. In the Upper Province however the roads were controlled by Companies who not only charged

excessive tolls but kept the roads in a poor condition of repair. "There is no stronger instance of the patience and law-abiding disposition of the people," says a contemporary writer, "than their toleration of so great an imposition as most of the toll roads of Upper Canada."

The question of the efficiency of a public service leads to-day to a study of the attitude of the government to that service. In Lower Canada proprietors were required by law to open and maintain roads in front of their land. The cross roads and larger bridges were made by joint labour. The appointment of labour was determined by the "grand voyer," an official appointed by the Crown, whose duty it was to make two tours of inspection annually to see that the roads were kept in good repair. In 1832 his office was taken over by a Board of Commissioners. After the Union the care of the roads was entrusted to the municipalities which were given power to enforce labour upon all public highways. The apportionment of labour had a property basis, while the minimum time to be worked by anyone was two days. The local governments were vested with limited powers of expropriation, and were also empowered to levy local rates for the maintenance of their own roads.

The policy of subsidizing public works was early followed by the provincial governments. In 1804 Upper Canada appropriated the sum of £1,000, as aid to road construction. This sum was increased to £1,600 in 1806, and a few years later to £3,000. At the opening of the war in 1812 £6,000 was granted, and this was raised to £20,000 in 1815. Between 1830 and 1840 £228,000 was devoted to the same purpose. Prior to 1861 the total amount spent by joint stock companies controlling roads in Upper Canada, including general and special grants by the legislature and municipalities, did not exceed $6,000,000. In the Lower Province State aid to road construction did not begin until the close of the war of 1812. Between 1815 and 1817 the sum of £63,600 was appropriated to this purpose. In the three years following 1829 the grants totalled £120,000. Prior to the Union, Lower Canada spent

about $1,034,120 on roads and between 1840 and 1860 this sum was increased by about $2,000,000. In this matter, as in railway and canal enterprises, the conservatism of the French-Canadian offered no competition to the progressive spirit of the Upper Province. Excluding the value of statute labour and its commutation, and also the municipal expenditure on common roads, the total amount expended by the two provinces prior to 1860 was less than $10,000,000, or less than the aid granted by the Provincial Government for the Construction of the Grand Trunk Railway.

Canada played a prominent part in the early history of the world's ocean shipping industry, both in ship-building and in the traffic that early developed between England and America. Extensive ship-yards at Quebec were owned by Canadians, whose names are synonyms of enterprise and ability in the history of shipping. The "Columbus" and the "Renfrew," ten times larger than any other ships then afloat, were built at the Timber Yard on the Island of Orleans. The first ship to cross the Atlantic by steam, the "Royal William," was built in Quebec and Montreal, sailing from Quebec on the 18th of August 1833. In 1840 the first regular steamship service between England and America was established by Mr. Samuel Cunard, a Canadian, residing at Halifax. His pioneer ship, the "Britannia," sailed from Halifax in June of that year. The first Allan liner, the "Canadian," made her maiden trip in 1854, and five years later the Allans inaugurated a fortnightly mail service between Quebec and England.

The Canadian harbours were considered superior, although little attention was paid to the development of Montreal as a port until after Confederation. Halifax and Quebec were celebrated then as now for their natural facilities. "Halifax Harbor is considered one of the finest in the world," writes a contemporary traveller, "and is calculated to afford anchorage for upwards of a thousand vessels of the largest class."

Quebec was the great national port and enjoyed a greater trade than did Montreal, owing to the fact that the dredging

of the St. Lawrence and of Montreal Harbour had only been surveyed by 1840. The lighting of the channel was very imperfect, there being only ten lighthouses between Montreal and Anticosti, a distance of 580 miles.

The first steamship on Lake Ontario was the "Frontenac" built at Ernestown in 1816 at a cost of £15,000. Ten years later there were only seven vessels on the lake and altogether these had cost about £39,500. Many important towns developed an active trade with the St. Lawrence and also with New York *via* the Erie Canal, before the American railway system had been extended to the lakes. Many of the lake ports were fitted up with stone piers and an extensive trade was carried on between them, which by 1840 gave employment to about fifty steamships and a large fleet of sailing vessels.

With the development of the carrying trade on the lakes, care was taken to determine safe routes of navigation and to build seaworthy craft. Owing to the violence of lake storms only the most substantial materials were used in the construction of the latter. Some of the passenger steamers were well equipped and even luxuriously furnished. The first steamship on Lake Ontario in 1840 was the "Great Britain," which is described as of "great dimensions," and containing as "many conveniences as a fashionable hotel. The cabins are long and broad and furnished in the most sumptuous manner—that appropriated to the use of the ladies has sofas, mirrors, and every other luxury."

To ensure the safety of navigation the Canadian and American governments established lighthouses on the lakes at an early date. Much attention was also given to the improvement of harbours by the construction of stone piers and breakwaters.

Much traffic found its way from the lakes through the canals to the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. Before turning to a discussion of the canals, we will consider briefly the conditions on the rivers prior to the introduction of railway competition.

The first steamboat on the St. Lawrence was the "Accommodation," built by Mr. John Molson in 1809. The "Accommodation" left Montreal with ten passengers on board on Wednesday, November 3rd, 1809, at two o'clock in the afternoon and arrived at Quebec at 8 a.m. the following Saturday after a journey of sixty-six hours. The fare was $8.00. At Quebec the boat was inspected by the usual crowd of citizens and a local paper printed the following description: "The boat received her impulse from an open double-spoked perpendicular wheel, on either side, without any circular band or rim. To the end of each double spoke a square board is fixed which enters the water and by the rotary motion acts like a paddle. The wheels are put and kept in motion by steam which operates the vessel. And a mast is to be fixed in her for the purpose of using a sail when the wind is favourable, which would occasionally accelerate her headway."

During the next twenty years very little progress was made. In 1829 the "Lady Sherbrooke" and the "Chambly" were two of the principal steamboats on the river. Both vessels were "paddle wheelers," 145 feet in length and of fifty feet beam, the former drawing two feet of water and the latter six feet.

By 1840, however, considerable advancement had been made, especially on the route from Montreal to Quebec. All sailing vessels bound for Montreal were towed up the river by steamboats belonging to the "St. Lawrence Steamboat Tow Company," the towage charges varying with the size of the vessel towed.

A ferry service was inaugurated between Quebec and the south shore at an early date, the vessels being propelled by horse power in the manner in use in Holland and in some parts of England at the time. "These animals," writes Stevenson, "are secured in small houses on the decks of the vessels and the effort they make in the act of walking on the circumference of a large horizontal wheel produces a power which is supplied to drive the paddle wheel of the ferry boat

in the same manner as the motion of the wheel in the treadmill is applied to the performance of different descriptions of work."

The steamboat, however, did not immediately displace the older forms of conveyance on the St. Lawrence, and the "bateaux" and Durham boats continued to come in for a large share of the heavy traffic. The "bateau" was a large flat-bottomed skiff "sharp at both ends, about forty feet long and eight or ten feet wide in the middle, from which the boat curved slightly upwards to each end. It drew, even when laden, only about two inches of water and was propelled by oars or by sails in a fair wind. Their sharp curved ends enabled them to be dragged up the rapids by oxen and windlasses aided by poles, though sometimes they were unladen and carried across short portages."

The Durham boats were flat-bottomed barges with a keel or centre board and a rounded bow, while their carrying capacity was equal to ten times that of the "bateau." In 1835 there were eight hundred of these boats and about fifteen hundred bateaux engaged in the St. Lawrence traffic above Montreal, Lachine being their starting point for the West.

In the timber trade, which at this time was very large, the log raft was commonly used. Very strongly built, it was furnished with masts and sails and steered by means of oars. Upon it wooden houses were erected for the accommodation of the crew and their families. These rafts had a surface area of from thirty to forty thousand square feet and varied in value from £3,000 to £5,000. At Quebec they were broken up to be made into timber for export.

In these years when the rivers were the chief routes for the transportation of heavy freight, the many natural impediments to the navigation of the St. Lawrence were a standing menace. The force of St. Mary's current prevented ascending steamboats from making more than fifty yards headway in a quarter of an hour. The navigation of Lake St. Peter was never attempted after dark by large vessels.

The Cascades and the Coteau Rapids were passable by the bateaux alone. Lachine Rapids were a source of constant dread to mariners and were descended by the bateaux and Durham boats alone, which were then sold at Montreal.

The necessity of avoiding these difficulties resulted in the construction of canals. In this work Canada kept pace with the United States. In 1810 the Erie Canal Commission was appointed with Clinton at its head, and fifteen years later the canal was completed from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, at a cost of $5,700,000. Until railway competition was introduced this canal was a financial success. Canal building, however, did not begin in earnest in the United States until after the war of 1812, and then the chief motive was to find a cheap outlet for coal from the anthracite fields to the Atlantic coast. New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland supported those projects, which were designed to give them a through water route to the West. Many of these early ventures were failures even before the advent of rail competition and in spite of liberal subsidies from the federal government.

The history of Canadian canals before the Union demonstrates the jealousy and incapacity of the provincial governments. The value of the railway was not quickly realized in Canada, and enormous sums of money were invested in canals some of which have been rendered of little use by the construction of railways. In 1819 Mr. Robert Gourlay wrote a letter to the Niagara "Spectator," in which he urged the construction of ship canals on the St. Lawrence large enough to admit ships of two hundred tons burthen. Twenty years later a British engineer urged the development of the St. Lawrence route as the most important work for the advancement of Canada. "With the aid of some short lines of canal formed to overcome the natural obstacles presented by the Falls of Niagara and the rapids of the St. Lawrence, these great lakes are converted into a continuous line of water communication, penetrating upwards of 2,000 miles into the remote regions of North America, which, but for these valuable provisions of nature, must in all probability have

remained forever inaccessible." Although this was written after the value of the railway had been demonstrated in both England and the United States, it expresses the general trend of opinion in Canada at the time.

The early canals of Canada may be divided into three groups: The Chambly Canal, designed to connect the St. Lawrence with the Hudson *via* the old Richelieu and Lake Champlain route; the Rideau system, connecting Lake Ontario with the St. Lawrence by way of the Ottawa River; the St. Lawrence system, including the canals at Lachine, Beauharnois, Cornwall, Williamsburg, and the Welland Canal.

The Chambly Canal has been claimed by some writers to have been the first Canadian canal. The claim needs qualification, as this canal was begun in 1831 and was not completed until 1843, so that as a project the Lachine Canal antedates it. The idea of a canal to connect the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain by the Richelieu was proposed to Haldimand in 1775 by one Silas Deane, and subsequently in 1791 and 1796 to Dorchester, who conceded the military and commercial value of such a work. Many schemes were propounded to effect this connection, among them being canals from Longueuil to St. Johns, and from Caughnawaga to St. Johns. The scheme finally adopted was the cutting of a canal at Chambly and the raising of a dam at St. Ours. The professed object of this work was to compete with the Erie Canal and to develop the Ottawa lumber trade with New York and the Eastern States.

In 1818 an act was passed incorporating a company to build the canal. The company found itself unable to procure the necessary capital, and five years later the province was authorized to begin construction at St. Johns. Work was not commenced until 1831, but even then the parsimony of the Legislature and the political troubles of 1837-38 prevented completion before 1843. In 1867 it was still a small canal, only large enough to allow the passage of bateaux and small steamboats, its locks being only 120 feet long by 24 feet wide. The total cost of the canal before

Confederation was $480,816. The St. Ours dam, which was constructed to deepen the water in the Richelieu and so to increase the value of the canal, was completed in 1849 at a cost of $144,553.

The Rideau system was designed to connect Montreal with Kingston by an inland route. It was built as a military precaution, the result of the War of 1812. In 1824 the government of Upper Canada refused to undertake its construction, even with Imperial aid, and two years later the work was commenced by the Royal Engineers. A preliminary survey was completed in 1826 by Colonel By and Mr. John McTaggart. The estimated cost of construction was $507,000. The canal was opened for traffic in 1832, though not completed until two years later. In 1856 the control of the Rideau was handed over to the Canadian authorities. The canal was 132¾ miles long and had forty-seven locks, 134 feet long by 32 feet wide, which admitted vessels of 125 tons burthen. Its cost had amounted to £1,000,000 by 1865.

The Carillon and Grenville Canals on the Ottawa River, which form part of the Rideau System, were built by the Imperial Government, which retained control of them until 1853. There were originally three in number, built on the same scale as the Lachine Canal. These canals have not been used for passenger traffic since the Union, owing to the early construction of the Carillon and Grenville Railway which was originally designed as a section of the North Shore Railway between Montreal and Bytown.

The other lock on this system, that at St. Anne's, was finished in the summer of 1843. Its dimensions were 190 ft. by 45 feet, and it allowed the passage of vessels drawing five and a half feet of water.

The St. Lawrence canals are the most important in Canada. Their necessity was foreseen at an early date. In 1701 Dollier de Casson, Superior of the Sulpician Seminary at Montreal, commissioned one Catalogne, a French engineer, to dig a canal to Lachine, but, owing to the death of the priest, the work was stopped at an early date. In 1717 another

attempt was made, but after $4,000 had been expended, the project was abandoned because of a necessary rock cut at Lachine. In 1803 the idea was broached to the Government of Lower Canada, with the result that £4,000 was appropriated for the removal of dangerous impediments in the rapids. In 1815, when the Rideau project was being urged by the Imperial authorities, the Government of Lower Canada voted the sum of £25,000 for the construction of the Lachine Canal, but the work was not commenced during the next four years. In 1819 a company was incorporated with a capital of $750,000 to build the canal, but as at the end of two years no progress had been made, an act was passed in 1821 authorizing the construction of the canal at the public expense, and a Board of Commissioners was appointed to supervise the work. Under Mr. Burnett, the engineer in charge, rapid progress was made, and in 1824 the canal was opened for traffic although not completed until the following year. Expert opinion pronounced its construction as "equal in merit to any canal in the world."

In its early years the canal was used mainly by the Durham boats and bateaux on their return to their points of departure, whereas formerly they had been sold after descending the rapids. By 1829 the canal had cost £130,000. It was between eight and a half and nine miles long and accomplished a total rise of 44¾ feet by means of six locks, built in red sandstone. These locks were 100 feet long with a surface width of 48 feet, and the depth of water was five feet. Shortly after the Union the enlargement of the canal was undertaken. The depth was increased to nine feet throughout, and the surface width was made 120 feet. These alterations were completed in 1848 and increased the cost of the canal to about $2,000,000, which by 1865 had risen to over $2,500,000. The new ship canal was commenced in 1875 and is eight and a quarter miles long. Its breadth is 152 feet from Lachine to Cote St. Paul and 200 feet for the rest of the distance. The greatest depth is fifteen feet.

The Beauharnois Canal was the first lock canal in Canada, overcoming the Cascade, Cedar, and Coteau rapids. It was promoted by Haldimand for commercial and military purposes. Construction was begun in 1779 and completed four years later. It was forty feet long and six feet wide, and was intended to be used by the bateaux alone. Between 1800 and 1804 these dimensions were increased so as to allow the passage of a "brigade" of six bateaux, and to admit the Durham boats, which could carry a cargo of 350 barrels of flour. Before the construction of the Erie, Vermont and Northern New York took advantage of this canal to ship their exports *via* the St. Lawrence. Hundreds of thousands of barrels of flour and bushels of grain thus passed down the St. Lawrence and out to sea in the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries. A new canal was completed in 1845 and was situated about nineteen miles from Lachine. It was eleven and a half miles long and had nine locks with a total lockage of eighty-two and a half feet. The locks were two hundred feet long and forty-five feet wide in the chambers. The depth of water was nine feet. The cost of this canal was over $1,250,000 and the charge for maintenance varied from $6,000 to $7,000 per annum.

The Cornwall canals were projected soon after the war of 1812. Work was commenced by citizens of Brockville to whom the construction of the Rideau system had brought serious financial losses. In 1832 the government appropriated £70,000 for the work and appointed three commissioners to supervise it. The surveys were completed in a short time and construction was commenced in 1834. Owing to the rebellion and other political troubles, the canal was not completed until twelve years later. It was eleven and a half miles long and cost £328,615. Its six locks were each 200 feet long and 55 feet wide at the surface. By 1867 the canal had cost about $2,000,000.

The Williamsburg Canals with a total length of twelve miles were opened during the years 1846-7, after three years

had been spent in their construction. They are now used mainly for the movement of upward freight, as passenger steamers can both ascend and descend the rapids at these points. These canals are built on the same scale as the Beauharnois Canal and cost about $1,225,000.

The Welland Canal connects Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, avoiding Niagara Falls. It is twenty-eight miles long, running from Port Dalhousie to St. Catharines. At the time of Confederation it overcame a rise of 330 feet by means of twenty-seven locks, which varied in length from 180 to 200 feet. The necessity of this canal may have been seen by the French settlers who held old Fort Niagara before the British occupation. The great impetus to its construction came from the war of 1812. In 1821 the Government of Upper Canada appointed a commission which reported favorably on the project in 1823. In the following year a company was incorporated with a capital stock of $150,000 to carry out the work of construction, the cost of which was originally estimated at $104,000. In the same year work was commenced with the object of constructing "a boat canal combined with an inclined railway instead of locks, and with a tunnel through the summit." After a few months work this project was abandoned for an open canal with locks. In this year the capital stock of the company was increased to $800,000, part of the new issue being subscribed in Upper Canada and the balance in the United States. A limit of £75,000 was placed on the amount of capital to be sold to American investors, the object being to retain control of the canal in Canada. This, coupled with the hostility of the Lower Province and the aloofness of England, made it difficult for the company to obtain funds, so that in 1826 the provincial government was forced to advance a loan of $100,000 and in the following year to take £50,000 of the company's stock. Reassured by this action the Lower Province subscribed £25,000.

In 1828 the Company's engineers estimated that a sum of £90,000 was still required for the completion of the canal, and by an appeal to the Imperial Government secured £50,000.

The canal was opened in 1829, when two ships, the "Anna Jane" and the "R. H. Boughton," both drawing seven and a half feet of water and of twenty-one and a half feet beam, sailed through from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie.

As completed in 1829 the canal had forty wooden locks, each 110 feet long. Improvements were found to be necessary, and upon application to the Legislature the company received a grant of $100,000 and was given permission to increase its stock to $1,500,000. Two years later, in spite of a bitter and almost violent opposition, the government made a further grant of $200,000 and in 1833 and 1834 subscribed for $230,000 additional stock, stipulating at the same time that it should have the power to nominate three out of the four directors. In 1833 improvements were begun under government control which made the route to Lake Erie more direct by using the Grand River as a feeder. This proved later to be another mistake as the water supply of this stream was not nearly sufficient for the purpose.

In 1837 the Government decided to make the canal a public work and to complete it as such. Money was voted to buy up the outstanding stock and to bring the canal under public management. With the union of the two Provinces the canal became public property. From this time on the improvements were made in a systematic and capable manner. The work was stimulated by a new "Canadian" spirit and also by the promise of the Imperial Government to guarantee loans made for the improvement of navigation. It was decided to lower the whole summit level of the canal so as to make Lake Erie the feeder, a work of the greatest difficulty which was only completed in 1881. The old wooden locks were replaced by twenty-seven new ones of stone one hundred and fifty feet long with a depth of twenty-seven and a half feet in the chambers. The canal was made fifty feet wide and nine feet deep throughout. The enlargement of the locks was completed by 1845 and the widening of the canal itself by 1865. Prior to Confederation the canal cost about

$8,500,000. Of this some $2,000,000 was wasted by the bungling of a private company.

There remain to be mentioned the smaller canals which were built in this period through local influence rather than national necessity. In 1798 the first "Soo" canal was constructed by the North-West Fur Trading Company of Montreal, but was burned by the Americans in 1814, and was not renewed until after Confederation.

Two canals were built at an early date to improve the navigation of Burlington Bay, at the south-west corner of Lake Ontario. The Desjardins canal, which Cost $300,000, was rendered practically useless by the construction of the Great Western Railway. The Burlington Bay Canal was simply a cut across the sand bar in front of Hamilton Harbor, and was designed to give that port an outlet to Lake Ontario. By 1865 this cut had cost $433,000 but was one of the few paying canals in Canada, showing a net revenue of $15,718 in 1855 and of $17,240 in 1863.

The Trent River Navigation consists of a series of water stretches designed to connect Lake Huron with the Bay of Quinté *via* Lake Simcoe. This work has never been a success. Although commenced in 1837, construction was delayed for a long time, and even to-day the canal is of little use save for local purposes.

The Grand River Canals were an attempt to make the Grand River navigable as far as Brantford. The funds necessary for their construction were advanced by that town, which later foreclosed its mortgage in 1865. Like the Desjardins Canal this project has proven a financial failure. Superseded by the railroad, it has been used only for the heaviest of freights such as coal, lumber, salt and gypsum.

Other canals projected in this era were the Murray Canal, the St. Peters Canal, a canal to connect Toronto with Georgian Bay via the River Humber, Lake Simcoe and the Holland River, and finally the Ottawa Canal designed to connect Lake Huron with the Ottawa River by way of the French River and Lake Nipissing.

This closes a brief survey of early transportation in Canada. By 1840 the superiority of the railway had been demonstrated in Europe and America. Canada's delay in adopting it was partly due to the fact that the country was not yet ready for it. By 1841, however, its political troubles were calmed and responsible government was enjoyed. With the Union Canada entered on an era of great industrial prosperity. "One of the most lightly taxed and favourably situated countries in the world, it offered great inducements to the influx of capital and immigration." The repeal of British protection, involving the loss of the Corn Laws, cast the Colonies on their own resources and developed in them a new spirit of self-reliance. The Provinces could now engage in trade as they saw fit and "subject to a tariff fixed by themselves." They were left free to foster home enterprise, and transportation came in for the lion's share of attention. The railway was needed in Canada to open up new country and to facilitate transportation in those districts already settled. It also served to attract large sums of capital to the country and created a great demand for labour. Trans-Atlantic steamship lines established shortly after 1850 greatly increased the trade of Montreal and Quebec, while the creation of municipal corporations stimulated local enterprise and gave rise to an increased demand for rapid communication. With the advent of the railway Canada entered on a new era.

GEORGE V. COUSINS

JOHN BROWN

WHEN Old John Brown was needed here
God clouded Uriel's eyes,
Took from his mind remembrance clear,
And gave a babe's disguise:
"Go forth, Archangel spirit pure,
To work the change I doom,
Suffer all pangs that men endure,
And glorify a tomb;
Strike terribly; strike not in hate;
Be not by helpers led;
Follow the soul, though mortal fate
Ordain the body dead;
All who oppose thee, all who aid,
Stand equal in My sight,
Predestined ere the world was made
To serve the wrong or right,
Whose battle must be endless fought
Even by My design,
That from the strife be endless wrought
The Powers which are Mine."

When old John Brown was but a child
His soul's immortal flame
Could not to praise be reconciled
Whilst gibe and scorn and shame
Were portioned to the friendly black
He deemed of equal worth,
So young his justice did attack
The wrong he found on earth.
"Blow ye the trumpets, blow
The gladly solemn sound,
His victory nations know
To earth's remotest bound."

When Old John Brown was yet a youth,
His heart, like Gideon's sword,
Whose trenchant edges knew not ruth,
Was steeled to serve the Lord;
His best beloved all he vowed
To flinch not from the way
Of war against the strong and proud
Whose hands were swift to slay.
His sons' dear blood they shed,
They knew not what they did,
Since they had never read
The purpose which God hid.

When Old John Brown on Kansas' plain
Lay watching stars by night,
The mighty midnight-wheeling wain
Brought round the sign to fight:
"Up, men!" he sprang, "God's signals call
To strike far stronger bands,
Nor can the Gates of Hell appal
When He holds up our hands."
Blow ye the trumpets, blow
The gladly solemn sound;
God signals even so
Us cumberers of the ground.

When Old John Brown, amid his dead,
On Harper's Ferry's day,
Was asked to yield, the greybeard said:
"Do now the worst ye may;
My cup is drunk; Jehovah comes;
Deliverance shineth nigh;
My spirit hears avenging drums,
And here I wish to die;
For Masters as for Slaves
God sent me to my deed,
Up from our equal graves
Shall rise His perfect seed."

When Old John Brown, sore cut and thrust,
Lay chained within the cell,
He faltered never in his trust
That God had led him well:
" Me from eternity He sent,
And thither now He draws,
Since all my speck of Time was spent
In His most urgent cause;
And if a longer life
He did to me assign,
My part were still the strife
To serve His great design."

When Old John Brown knew friends had planned
By force to set him free,
He told them: " Though this jail did stand
With open doors for me,
Here would I wait the hangman's rope,
And welcome true the fate
Which works far more exceeding hope
Of Glory's endless weight."
Blow ye the trumpets, blow
The gladly solemn sound
For that supernal glow
Which made his name renowned.

When Old John Brown came forth to die
With iron-circled wrists,
Nigh noon, he cast a friendly eye
About Potomac's mists;
His accents blest Virginia's air,
Her pleasant hills and shore,—
" This country looks to me more fair
Than all I'd seen before."
It seemed he heard a choir
Of angels purely sing,
And loved their bright attire
Of raiment and of wing.

When Old John Brown's dead body came
From off the gallows' tree,
A Nation felt his soul of flame
Astir from sea to sea;
Then armies sprang from Pity's wrath,
Patience and fear were gone,
And millions hasted in the path
His soul went marching on.
Blow ye the trumpets, blow
The gladly solemn sound,
May that great spirit go
Marching the whole world round!

When Old John Brown comes clear to thought
My soul is overjoyed,
And strange is then a vision wrought
In space and ether void,
Where naught is seen, and naught is heard,
And naught is felt or known,
Except the wonder of the Word,
And shining of the Throne,
Till hidden trumpets blow
The gladly solemn sound,
And thrilling portents flow
Through the abyss profound.

Then " Old John Brown " pure strains invoke,
And angels multiply,
And all who, guiltless, bare the yoke
On earth come marching by;
They halt; then armies shining bright,
With statesmen true beside,
And women who upheld their fight
Stand with the glorified,
And rescued children play,
And warrior chiefs arise,
And friendly Blue and Grey
Smile beneath wondering skies.

When Old John Brown's great name is called,
  Then all glow newly glad,
And Lincoln's face beams disenthralled
  From all that made it sad,
While high the heavenly choir acclaim
  That ever-dauntless soul
Who scorned all anguish and all blame
  In marching to his goal;
    Then louder trumpets blow
      The gladly solemn sound,
    And one in humble garb and low
      Stands forth in fetters bound.

'Tis Old John Brown, anigh the Throne,
  Till, O surpassing bright!
To Uriel's stature hath he grown,
  And Archangelic light;
High in his grasp the brand he bares
  More great than Gideon's sword,
He waves it wide, and loud declares:
  " Follow, who fear the Lord!"
    Then all the host as one,
      While solemn trumpets sound,
    Glad in eternal unison
      March with the Leader found.

EDWARD WILLIAM THOMSON

EUGENE LE ROY

LE NOM même d'Eugène Le Roy est peut-être inconnu à la plupart des lecteurs de cette Revue, et si j'étais sûr qu'il en fût ainsi, je ne songerais pas à m'en étonner, car en France même Le Roy est loin d'avoir obtenu la notoriété à laquelle son talent littéraire et la haute portée sociale de son œuvre devraient lui donner droit, semble-t-il. Mort il y a deux années seulement, après une longue vie de près de soixante-dix ans tout entière consacrée au travail, il a laissé derrière lui une demi-douzaine de romans ou recueils de nouvelles dont trois au moins sont des chefs d'œuvre, et pourtant il n'est guère connu, en dehors du milieu local de ses compatriotes dont il a pour toujours fixé dans ses livres la façon de sentir originale comme les aspirations les plus profondes, que d'un petit cercle d'amis, de lettrés, de curieux, qui s'intéressent à la description de la vie populaire, peut-être aussi au travail de propagande républicaine et d'organisation paysanne que quelques convaincus, comme Le Roy lui-même, ont récemment essayé dans certaines provinces un peu arriérées de France.

De cette obscurité, de cet oubli relatif dont les admirateurs de Le Roy souffrent pour lui, il serait aisé de trouver les raisons. D'abord, Le Roy a toujours été un modeste, l'homme le plus simple et le moins personnel qu'il soit possible d'imaginer. Il n'a jamais été capable de parler de lui-même, et d'aider à son succès par l'adresse ou l'intrigue. Sa vie tout entière s'est écoulée en province, à la campagne, dans une quasi-solitude, loin des centres où l'on fait des amitiés utiles, où se préparent les réputations littéraires. Surtout, plus que cet isolement, la nature même des sujets qu'a traités Le Roy, la catégorie de gens à laquelle s'est appliquée son observation consciencieuse, étaient peu propres à lui assurer un public

nombreux, à éveiller autour de son nom, parmi la masse de ceux qui lisent, cet intérêt que vient ensuite aider la réclame des éditeurs.

Les écrivains qui comme Flaubert, Daudet, Balzac, se sont attachés à la peinture des milieux bourgeois, plus encore ceux qui, tels Hervieu ou Paul Bourget, ont tenté de décrire les classes privilégiées qui mènent la haute vie, la société aristocratique dont la moralité déconcertante a déjà en elle-même quelque chose de l'attrait du fruit défendu pour la foule des gens à convictions mal assurées, ces écrivains sont sûrs d'avance, lorsqu'ils publient un livre, d'être lus et discutés, sinon de plaire. Le Roy, lui, n'a jamais mis en scène dans ses romans ou nouvelles que des paysans ou des miséreux. De ses deux plus beaux livres, l'un, le Moulin du Frau, sorte d'épopée simple et grandiose de la vie paysanne au XIXème siècle dans une province de France à la sauvage beauté, nous décrit la vie, toute unie, toute calme, riche pourtant de charme pittoresque non moins que de vie intérieure, d'une famille de meuniers établis de père en fils, dès avant la grande Révolution, dans un vieux moulin à eau à l'ancienne mode, flanqué d'une bonne vieille maison périgordine à toit aigu, bâtie sur la pente d'un coteau:—l'autre, Jacquou le Croquant, est l'histoire d'un gueux périgourdin, rendu orphelin dès son bas âge par la cruauté du seigneur du lieu, réduit par l'injustice sociale à mener en plein dix-neuvième siècle, dans cette région boisée de la Forêt Barade où les journaliers agricoles ne trouvent point à gagner leur vie tant la terre y est pauvre et les salaires minimes, la vie d'un de ces Jacques du temps passé, d'un de ces Croquants du Périgord si férocement réprimés par l'amiral Coligny et Henri IV.

Les héros de Le Roy, les personnages habituels de ses livres sont, en dehors des prêtres et des nobles de campagne, des bûcherons, des bergères, des charbonniers, des vignerons, des artisans de métiers divers, les gens du peuple enfin, et du peuple des campagnes, celui de tous le plus méconnu, auquel on rend le moins justice, toute cette immense humanité anonyme d'humiliés et d'offensés qu'a su animer d'une vie si

puissante Tolstoï, auquel Le Roy fait plus d'une fois songer par la sincérité profonde du cœur et l'ampleur du talent. Voilà une France bien différente, n'est-il pas vrai, de cette France brillante et frivole, toute adonnée à la recherche du plaisir, à laquelle nous a habitués le roman à la mode, et que tant d'étrangers, animés d'intentions plus ou moins bienveillantes à notre égard, se plaisent à considérer comme représentant réellement la France moderne, peut-être parce qu'ils n'en voient eux-mêmes point d'autre au cours de leurs séjours dans le Paris amuseur et cosmopolite ou de leurs excursions rapides et inattentives le long de nos routes. Un souffle plus frais, Dieu merci, quelque chose comme le modèle d'une sérénité nouvelle, nous vient du pays des Pierres, des plateaux arides, des forêts, des fertiles vallées qu'a décrites et aimées Eugène Le Roy. Et si nous trouvons chez lui à un haut degré les qualités par excellence de l'artiste qui s'inspire du peuple: un sentiment exquis de la nature, en étroite harmonie avec son patriotisme local, l'amour des humbles, une compréhension profonde de l'âme populaire, aidée d'un secret instinct de l'histoire, de la vie héroïque et légendaire du Périgord dans le passé, nous découvrons encore dans son œuvre quelque chose de plus, qui lui donne une portée plus générale, même une valeur historique et sociale. Ses romans paysans sont un tableau des tentatives faites par le peuple depuis la Révolution pour compléter son affranchissement commencé alors, de ses luttes pour la conquête d'un peu plus de liberté et de justice, et dans toute la littérature française je ne connais personne qui ait su voir et faire aimer, comme Le Roy, avec un accent d'entière sincérité, avec la force d'un instinct extraordinairement pur et droit, les qualités sérieuses, l'effort tenace vers le mieux, l'inlassable optimisme de la France républicaine et paysanne.

Comme Guillaumin, le romancier rural du Bourbonnais, Le Roy appartient à ce groupe d'écrivains provinciaux,—on pourrait presque dire cette Pléiade, tant ils sont aujourd'hui nombreux, avec la même variété attrayante dans leur génie qu'il y a de différences et de contrastes entre les diverses

régions de notre France—qui, peu connus souvent en France, à peu près ignorés à l'étranger, ont circonscrit leur observation à des milieux particuliers qu'ils étaient d'autant mieux à même de bien rendre qu'ils en étaient eux-mêmes originaires. Ferdinand Fabre a peint dans ses romans la dévotion rustique et populaire dans les Cévennes méridionales, Emile Pouvillon a décrit la vie des paysans languedociens et gascons Eugène Le Roy, lui, écrivain et bourgeois campagnard, n'est jamais sorti du Périgord. "Aller à Paris! je n'y ai jamais pensé", dit-il lui-même quelque part. Le pays qu'on aperçoit dans ses livres, c'est le pays de plateaux calcaires, parcouru de rivières alertes, avec, à l'horizon, les premières pentes du massif central, pays dont la plus grande beauté est dans l'éclat de ses prés toujours verts, qui s'étend au nord-est de Périgueux, dans la direction du Limousin. Plus au sud, c'est la forêt Barade, le lieu de naissance et le théâtre des exploits de Jacquou, Croquant et justicier, qui, une nuit, à la tête des paysans révoltés, donna l'assaut au château de l'Herm, le repaire du méchant comte de Nansac. Cette forêt, en partie défrichée aujourd'hui, et que traverse maintenant la ligne du chemin de fer de Périgueux à Brive, a inspiré à Le Roy ses plus belles pages: jamais, à aucune époque de notre histoire littéraire pourtant si riche on n'a mieux su rendre la poésie des grands bois, leur mystère, leur prodigieux silence. Pour s'en rendre compte, il suffit de lire, dans Jacquou le Croquant, le chapitre où l'auteur raconte l'enfance misérable du pauvre Jacquou, abandonné à lui-même dans la vaste forêt solitaire tandis que son père est en train de mourir aux galères et sa mère occupée à gagner, par un travail épuisant pour une femme, les quelques sous qui la font vivre, elle et son enfant.

Cette campagne du Périgord, si grave que les plus beaux jours d'été semblent impuissants à la dérider, conserve aujourd'hui encore son aspect de l'époque féodale. La pauvreté des habitations paysannes, leurs murs décrépis, l'air d'abandon qu'elles ont souvent reportent au long passé d'oppression et de misère des anciens serfs du sol. Au bord

des ravins boisés s'élèvent des bâtisses massives, qui tiennent de la grosse ferme et du château, fortes métairies dont l'aspect guerrier étonne: encore aujourd'hui le parler populaire les désigne du nom de repaires. Fières et misérables comme des Dom Quichotte, les gentilhommières vacantes montent leur garde inutile au sommet de toutes les collines: même la jovialité tapageuse des nobles campagnards périgourdins, ces hobereaux que la pauvreté, la mort, les départs ont fait disparaître du pays dont ils étaient jadis les maîtres, n'anime plus désormais cette nature, dure comme la race paysanne qui s'y perpétue.

Toute la vie traditionnelle et paysannne de la région est aujourd'hui concentrée dans les longues foires qui se tiennent périodiquement dans les bourgs, bâtis le plus souvent sur une hauteur, au pied des murailles d'un ancien château, dans une situation inexpugnable. Deux sortes de réminiscences y survivent surtout dans la mémoire des gens: celles de la domination anglaise, des luttes héroïques pour la libération du sol pendant la guerre de Cent ans, et celles de la fièvre révolutionnaire et patriotique qui s'empara du pays en 1789, car, lorsque la Révolution éclata, le Périgord fut l'un des premiers à y adhérer. C'est dans la rue sonore et babillarde, long passage entre des boutiques ouvertes, d'un de ces bourgs périgourdins, de Montignac, la patrie du moraliste Joubert, que se trouve la maison où a vécu et travaillé Eugène Le Roy.

Un essayiste parisien, admirateur de Le Roy, ayant eu la curiosité du Périgord par ses livres, a fait le pèlerinage de Montignac, et le récit qu'il a donné de son voyage permet de se représenter l'entourage immédiat de l'artiste. Imaginez la demeure d'un notaire d'autrefois: un escalier à rampe de bois sur lequel s'embranche, à mi-hauteur d'étage, un deuxième escalier qui s'en va zigzaguant dans l'ombre; un couloir qui zigzague aussi—ces vieilles demeures sont tracées au hasard, comme les chemins entre les champs,—puis, dans le fond, une pièce très spacieuse, ouverte sur la vallée, claire, mais rendue un peu grave à la vue par la sombre armée des livres qui recouvrent ses murs, par la table laborieuse et les paperasses:

Balzac, sinon la réalité, vous a montré un tel intérieur. Imaginez, dans ce décor, un homme âgé, presque un vieillard, qui, agitant sa barbe et sa crinière de lion blanchi, vous dévisage avec des yeux extraordinairement limpides et jeunes: tel apparut à son visiteur Eugène Le Roy.

La première impression, très vive, fut confirmée par la conversation amicale, d'intérêt passionnant, qui s'engagea entre les deux hommes: Eugène Le Roy réalise à la perfection, moralement et même dans son extérieur physique, le type du républicain de 1848, c'est-à-dire des républicains les plus vrais, les plus sincères, les plus dévoués à leur idéal désintéressé, qu'il y eut jamais en France. Fils de gens simples, il passa sa vie dans les grades subalternes de l'armée, puis dans les modestes fonctions de percepteur à Montignac. C'est sans doute pendant les longues années vécues en compagnie des soldats français—il fut longtemps adjudant dans un régiment d'infanterie—que se fortifia chez Le Roy ce chaud patriotisme, inséparable chez lui de l'idée républicaine, qui transparaît à chaque page de ses livres. Plus tard, dans sa tranquille carrière administrative, les loisirs provinciaux ont entretenu la fraîcheur de son esprit, la vivacité de ses goûts, l'agilité de sa plume. Il a gagné sa vie, élevé ses enfants, produit sans hâte deux ou trois chefs d'œuvre.

Mais Le Roy est si simple, si complètement dégagé de cette affectation, de cette vanité qui malheureusement sont trop souvent la rançon de l'originalité littéraire, qu'il ne parle jamais de lui-même dans ses écrits: c'est bien moins aux événements de sa propre existence qu'il cherche à nous intéresser, qu'à la vie même de sa province. Cela ne veut pas dire que dans ses livres on n'aperçoive pas l'homme derrière l'auteur. Bien au contraire, dans l'éloge enthousiaste et répété que font les campagnards de Le Roy de la vie en plein air, de l'existence libre et saine du propriétaire paysan à qui le produit de son travail assure l'indépendance, dans l'ardeur des convictions républicaines et démocratiques qu'il leur prête, on reconnaît aisément ses goûts à lui, ses propres aspirations. Ses personnages mènent la vie qu'il

n'a cessé de considérer lui-même comme la plus belle: la vie de l'homme indépendant, sous le soleil, point riche, mais n'ayant besoin de personne. A ce point de vue, le Moulin du Frau, en même temps qu'il est un magnifique tableau de la vie des campagnes du Périgord depuis l'époque du règne de Louis-Philippe jusqu'à nos jours, peut être considéré comme une espèce d'autobiographie élargie de Le Roy. A la fin du livre, la mort du meunier Sicaire, qui s'éteint doucement, sans souffrance, à quatre-vingt-quatre ans, au milieu des siens, par un beau jour d'été périgordin, pendant qu'un de ses petits-neveux chante auprès de son lit la Marseillaise, et après qu'il a demandé au père de famille, son fils adoptif, de venir l'avertir dans sa fosse au cimetière, le jour où les derniers Prussiens auront quitté l'Alsace, c'est la mort de Le Roy lui-même: c'est dans de telles pensées et dans ce cadre d'intimité familiale, que s'est achevée sa vie à Montignac, il y a moins de deux ans. L'horreur de Le Roy pour la vie enfermée, malsaine, éloignée de la nature, que notre civilisation moderne impose à tant d'hommes, se révèle dans la donnée fondamentale du Moulin du Frau: Hélie Nogaret, un jeune paysan qui a ambitionné, comme tant d'autres de ses pareils, de poursuivre une carrière libérale, s'aperçoit après quelques années qu'il fait fausse route, et quitte joyeux les bureaux de la préfecture de la Dordogne pour revenir au Frau apprendre auprès de son oncle, le meunier Sicaire, le métier que ses ancêtres ont fait de père en fils. Il épouse une paysanne, sans le sou comme lui, mais aimante et bonne ménagère, et c'est là, dit-il, la meilleure affaire qu'il ait faite de sa vie. Ensemble ils élèvent sept enfants, dont leur père, de propos délibéré, fera, non des messieurs, mais des meuniers et des travailleurs de la terre, sauf un seul, que les hasards de l'existence poussent dans l'état militaire, ce que ne regrette pas son père, un peu chauvin comme Le Roy lui-même, car, ainsi qu'il l'exprime pittoresquement en son langage paysan: "Il faut qu'il y en ait pour monter la garde, à seule fin que les autres travaillent tranquilles."

Dans ce thème si simple, que Le Roy a développé d'une manière à lui personnelle, lente, calme, en bon écrivain provincial pour qui les journées sont longues, commencent de bonne heure et ne sont point interrompues par les multiples dérangements qui accablent les gens des villes, il a su faire entrer sans effort la vie du peuple d'une province de France au dix-neuvième siècle. Il conte avec une verve plaisante, sans se presser, avec une abondance de détails, une minutie de renseignements qui à elle seule suffit à faire comprendre que lui-même a dû mener la vie de ceux dont il parle. Nul parisianisme, je l'ai dit, nul sacrifice à la mode dans ce style: Le Roy ne vise jamais à l'effet littéraire. L'amour instinctif, profond, de la terre périgordine, un sens fort des impressions champêtres reçues dans l'enfance, qui sont peut-être ce qui attache de la façon la plus solide et la plus durable un homme au pays où il est né, font sans doute le meilleur de la savoureuse originalité du Moulin du Frau. Dans le portrait de l'avocat du procès Pasquetou, dans celui, à mourir de rire, du sorcier de Prémilhac, qui guérit un garçon meunier de ses rhumatismes en l'enfermant pendant une demi-journée dans un four de boulanger encore à moitié chaud, il y a des qualités de description pittoresque qui n'ont rien à envier aux meilleures pages de Daudet.

Un trait bien caractéristique de la disposition intime d'Eugène Le Roy, c'est le goût des réflexions morales et sentencieuses, tout un côté rêveur et contemplatif de sa nature qui le fait s'égarer souvent en considérations générales où un critique sévère pourrait bien trouver parfois quelques longueurs, mais auquel nous devons aussi tant de pages charmantes d'humour et de malicieux bon sens populaire. N'oublions pas que Le Roy est du pays de La Boétie, de Montaigne, de Fénelon, de Joubert: quelque chose de la finesse spirituelle, de la sagesse avisée de ces moralistes existe, semble-t-il, jusque chez les plus humbles fils de la race périgordine, dont Le Roy est sorti. Mais ce que ni Montaigne, ni Fénelon, n'ont vu et ne pouvaient guère voir, Le Roy l'a vu et l'a su faire vivre de cette vie supérieure qu'ont seules les créations spon-

tanées de l'art populaire: les mœurs traditionnelles, les vieilles coutumes, le mode de sensibilité spécial, produit de l'atavisme, des petites gens du Périgord dont l'existence continue de s'écouler, dans ce siècle de changements rapides, comme celle de leurs ancêtres, toute unie, toute simple, réglée par le soleil, les saisons, les travaux de la campagne. A l'occasion d'un séjour qu'il fait à Hautefort chez une de ses tantes, Hélie Nogaret nous décrit ce vieux bourg, si caractéristique des bourgs périgordins, avec ses maisons groupées en désordre au pied des hautes murailles de l'esplanade du château, et la place pierreuse, en pente raide, où jadis, lors des foires de la St. Roch, les ours des saltimbanques grimpaient, à la grande joie des enfants, sur le vieil ormeau tricentenaire planté au temps de Sully. Puis ce sont les fêtes populaires, ces amusements traditionnels des paysans qui à l'amateur éclairé de folk-lore apprennent tant du passé et de la sensibilité profonde d'une race: le jugement de Carnaval (le mercredi des Cendres), les processions de la Saint-Jean, celle de la Saint-Rémy, à Auriac, où se célèbre chaque année une fête religieuse si analogue aux touchants pardons de cette vieille Bretagne qu'elle donne à penser que ceux-ci, leur pittoresque local mis à part, représentent bien moins une forme spéciale de la dévotion populaire dans cette province, qu'une coutume religieuse générale de l'ancienne France.

Le Roy aime tout de son Périgord, même la cuisine, renommée à juste titre: aussi, soit qu'il nous parle de ces vôtes ou assemblées annuelles des villages, où il nous promène avec lui à loisir, comme pourrait le faire un vrai paysan, soit qu'il nous raconte une noce à Brantôme, il nous décrira complaisamment de longues ripailles, ces plantureux repas qui sont encore aujourd'hui, dans les provinces, une tradition bien française. Cette manière lente, lourde, de conter, celle d'un paysan disert qui aime à prendre son temps pour raconter son histoire, paraît d'abord un peu massive à qui lit pour la première fois un roman de Le Roy, mais on s'y fait à la longue, et elle plaît. Elle est d'ailleurs allégée et emportée, cette narration lente, par l'allure vigoureuse, alerte et débridée,

du style de Le Roy, de ce style plein d'expressions locales, imagées, pittoresques, et pourtant toujours soutenu par un sentiment exact de la syntaxe du français le plus sûr. Mais c'est en vain, il me semble, que j'essaie en ce moment de donner une idée de l'inépuisable richesse poétique et pittoresque de cette espèce de Livre d'or de l'année rustique en Périgord qu'est le Moulin du Frau. C'est que l'auteur a mis dans ce livre le résumé de l'expérience de toute une vie : on y trouve à la fois la fraîcheur de l'âme enfantine, toute la fougue de la jeunesse, et la maturité de pensée d'un homme fait. La poésie secrète des souvenirs d'enfance, l'espèce de raz de marée des sentiments qui envahit l'homme qui sur le déclin de l'âge regarde en arrière la vie et entreprend de raconter ses mémoires, choses minimes, connues de lui seul, qui font tressaillir le cœur, Eugène Le Roy a su manier et exprimer tout cela avec une maîtrise dont la foule avide de lectures faciles ou de romans mondains ne se rendra point compte.

Telle est l'œuvre admirable de l'écrivain paysan dont on a pu dire très justement qu'il a écrit une suite modeste aux Jours d'Hésiode, aux Géorgiques de Virgile. Mais les romans d'Eugène Le Roy doivent-ils être considérés seulement comme un régal littéraire pour les délicats charmés de cette simplicité rustique qui sans effort atteint ou dépasse l'art des plus raffinés, comme des chefs d'œuvre de psychologie paysanne, où l'observation ethnique est si précise, où l'on sent si bien l'homme en communion étroite avec le sol qu'il habite qu'on pourrait en quelque manière voir dans des livres comme le Moulin du Frau, comme Jacquou le Croquant, le testament moral d'une race? Ou bien n'ont-ils pas, ces romans, une portée plus générale, n'apprennent-ils pas quelque chose de plus à celui qui les lit dans un esprit de sympathie pour l'auteur et ses humbles héros, quelque chose qui leur donne une valeur historique et sociale? A cette question je n'hésite pas à répondre par l'affirmative. Et en présence d'un homme d'une aussi absolue sincérité, d'une droiture aussi entière que Le Roy, il n'est besoin pour y répondre, pour deviner d'avance, avant de l'avoir compris

en lisant ses livres, quel sera l'évangile politique et social d'un tel apôtre—car Le Roy est non seulement un artiste, mais un penseur et un apôtre—, que de se demander quels ont été, depuis qu'il a cessé d'être un enfant, les sentiments les plus profonds de son âme, quelles sont les passions qui ont dominé sa vie.

Ces passions sont au nombre de deux: la république, l'amour du paysan. Dans son œuvre nous apercevons en raccourci, d'une part l'histoire, réduite aux proportions d'une seule province, le Périgord, mais significative pourtant pour la France entière, des longs efforts, plusieurs fois déçus par de cruels échecs, par lesquels s'est affirmée et finalement établie en France l'idée républicaine; d'autre part une vue d'ensemble des revendications que la fraction la plus déshéritée de la France paysanne n'a cessé de faire entendre depuis plus d'un siècle et fait encore entendre aujourd'hui pour obtenir une plus juste répartition du sol.

J'ai dit que Le Roy est un type authentique du républicain de 1848. Pour lui l'histoire de France commence réellement à la grande Révolution; son patriotisme est celui des volontaires de 1792, sortis des masses populaires pour s'opposer à l'invasion. Les personnages principaux de ses romans, romans historiques en quelque manière, sont des gens qui incarnent les vertus républicaines de lutte pour une idée, de dévouement au bien public; l'époque à laquelle il les situe, c'est 1815, 1830, 1848, c'est-à-dire l'époque des crises successives par lesquelles s'est manifestée dans l'histoire de notre pays l'importance grandissante du peuple, qui en France a été si long à faire son éducation politique. Jacquou le Croquant a pour centre le récit d'une révolte de paysans périgordins qui, peu après la chute définitive de Napoléon, brûlent le château d'un noble persécuteur et malfaisant. C'est la description de l'époque des ultra-royalistes, où les nobles revenus d'exil réclamaient des fers, des bourreaux, des supplices pour le peuple devenu jacobin et indévot. Ce livre, si plein de pitié humaine pour ceux qui souffrent, est un livre symbolique, et Jacquou le Croquant n'est pas

seulement Jacquou, mais tout le Périgord de jadis, en révolte à l'assaut des châteaux, en lutte rancunière et forcenée contre les féodaux.

Sicaire, le meunier du Frau, est le type achevé d'un de ces hommes qui dans toutes les provinces de France ont lutté ardemment pour la République avant et après l'avénement du second empire, et que la génération actuelle en France ne comprend plus, et traite avec un insuffisant respect, sans doute parce qu'elle ne se rend plus compte de ce que c'était que d'être républicain avant 1870. Le grand-père de Sicaire était un volontaire de 92; un de ses oncles fut tué à Jemmapes; lui-même est arrêté au moment du coup d'Etat de 1851, et conduit à Périgueux, les menottes aux mains, entre deux gendarmes, victime de ses convictions républicaines. Moins de quatre ans auparavant, cependant, ç'avait été un enthousiasme universel à Périgueux à la proclamation de la République: légitimistes, républicains, libéraux, prêtres, riches, pauvres, tous s'unissaient pour l'acclamer. Les pages où Eugène Le Roy nous décrit cette époque extraordinaire, où l'on plantait des arbres de liberté dans tous les villages, où fit fureur la gravure du Curé patriote, les buffleteries croisées sur sa soutane, et l'arme au bras devant une mairie, sont parmi les plus vivantes de son livre: elles respirent la joie et l'ardeur que seuls les convaincus ont en partage. Et plus tard, un des plus grands bonheurs de la vieillesse du meunier sera d'assister à la belle fête patriotique de l'inauguration à Périgueux, en 1873, de la statue de Daumesnil, l'héroïque défenseur de Vincennes: "De ce rassemblement, dit le vieillard, d'hommes venus de toutes les parties du Périgord, paysans, ouvriers, artisans, messieurs, qui sans se connaître fraternisaient ensemble, se dégageait la pensée d'une France républicaine qui nous consolait et nous faisait espérer des jours meilleurs."

Peut-être ai-je un peu longuement insisté sur ce caractère patriotique et républicain de l'œuvre de Le Roy, mais il en est l'essence même. Une œuvre de ce genre nous fait mieux comprendre, nous permet de résoudre dans une certaine

mesure ce problème difficile même pour les historiens qui en ont fait l'objet spécial de leur étude: pourquoi et comment la France est devenue républicaine. C'est que derrière les défaillances individuelles des hommes, derrière les insuffisances qui sont celles de tout régime, présent ou passé, elle nous fait voir et toucher du doigt des réalités politiques profondes: l'aspiration de tout un peuple vers une forme de gouvernement qui semble lui offrir une plus grande somme de liberté.

L'autre passion dominatrice de la vie de Le Roy, ça été l'amour du paysan. Cet homme, ce stoïque qui s'est contenté pour lui-même d'une vie médiocre, austère, ce penseur dont toute l'œuvre respire une si belle sérénité, ne se résigne pas à l'injustice dont souffrent autour de lui tant de déshérités. La misère du paysan périgordin est une tristesse qu'il n'accepte pas; il ne peut admettre que dans ce Périgord, auquel s'attache presque dans le monde entier un renom de bonne chère et d'abondance joyeuse, il y ait encore actuellement, plus de cent ans après la Révolution, tant de malheureux. Et à ses yeux la cause du mal est dans le développement excessif des grands domaines; le remède, dans une meilleure distribution de la propriété foncière qui assurerait à chaque habitant des campagnes, aux journaliers, aux métayers, aux manœuvres d'aujourd'hui, une portion du sol cultivable—il y en a assez pour cela—suffisante à lui procurer le bien-être dû au travail. "La grande propriété, dit-il, est le fléau du paysan et la ruine d'un endroit." Autant la condition du paysan propriétaire, qui ne relève que de ses bras et de sa volonté, qui tire de son fonds sa vie et sa liberté, est heureuse, autant celle du paysan mercenaire, esclave de la glèbe, est incertaine et misérable.

Non sans doute qu'on puisse appeler Le Roy un socialiste, au sens parlementaire de ce mot: il se contenterait, j'imagine, de la solution qui est actuellement apportée à un problème semblable en Irlande, où de la disparition graduelle du landlordisme va résulter bientôt une nouvelle classe sociale de fermiers autonomes propriétaires du sol. Il s'en distingue surtout, des socialistes, en ce qu'il est loin de considérer comme un idéal, ainsi que beaucoup d'entre eux, l'exode en

masse des paysans vers les villes, pour aller y grossir l'armée ouvrière. La dépopulation des campagnes le désole, et l'ambition actuelle du cultivateur de devenir facteur, employé ou domestique à Périgueux ou à Paris, lui semble non pas un progrès social, mais un recul en arrière, car pour lui le travail le plus noble, le plus beau de tous, le travail sacré par excellence, c'est le travail des champs.

Le Roy est un démocrate rural qui veut reprendre où elle fut laissée l'œuvre interrompue de juillet 1789: la répartition des domaines. Sa formule, c'est: la terre au paysan. Son ambition, c'est de constituer une solide démocratie rurale de paysans possesseurs ayant leur vie et leur indépendance assurées. Cette ambition, comme ses convictions républicaines, est en rapport étroit avec son patriotisme, un patriotisme robuste, mais éclairé, et plus fort que tout, car Le Roy aime la France comme le paysan aime sa terre. Parlant dans le Moulin du Frau de la bataille de Coulmiers, où les mobiles de la Dordogne firent si bonne figure, il exprime l'idée que la levée en masse, et l'énergie individuelle de chaque Français, bien dirigée, aurait pu, à cette période de la guerre, sauver le pays. Quoiqu'on puisse penser de cette opinion, le remède qu'il préconise aux souffrances présentes d'une partie de la population paysanne serait pour la France la meilleure garantie de sa sécurité dans l'avenir au cas d'une nouvelle tentative d'invasion étrangère, car n'est-on pas en droit de dire qu'une France défendue pied à pied par des millions d'hommes dont chacun possèderait le morceau de sol qu'il occupe, serait inexpugnable?

J'espère avoir suffisamment montré quelle est dans la littérature française moderne la grande signification d'une œuvre telle que celle d'Eugène Le Roy. Elle nous fait connaître la vie française des provinces, ignorée des étrangers, si différente de la vie factice et de surface du Paris cosmopolite. Une étrange émotion, je ne le cache pas, mêlée d'une fierté patriotique, s'emparait de moi quand, relisant avant d'écrire cet article les romans et nouvelles de Le Roy, je songeais à l'extraordinaire personnalité de ce sous-officier sans culture,

que ses parents, faute d'argent, ne purent envoyer au collège. Vraiment, que faut-il penser d'une race paysanne qui produit de tels hommes? N'est-il pas comme un symbole des dons exceptionnels, souvent contradictoires à force de richesse, du génie français? Il a été trop intelligent pour ne pas découvrir dans l'histoire le rôle nécessaire de la violence—ce n'est pas, hélas, par la douceur que se fait le progrès—, et d'autre part il a su nous présenter, dans sa famille comme dans ses livres, le modèle d'une France sage, vertueuse avec facilité, aussi souriante dans sa vie du foyer qu'énergique au jour de la révolte. Cette France existe, n'en doutons point: dans les livres de Le Roy, mieux que nulle part ailleurs, on goûte la noblesse et le charme de ses vertus traditionnelles, les qualités sérieuses et bonnes de sa population. Et je m'estimerais heureux si quelqu'un de mes lecteurs, témoin plus tard au cours d'un voyage du dur labeur du peuple des campagnes, pouvait se sentir incité à de l'estime et à de la sympathie pour lui par le souvenir de celui qui a tenté d'évoquer dans ces pages la vision lointaine d'un homme et d'une race.

HENRI LEBEAU

THE BIBLE AND THE CRITIC

OUR present needs include, among other things, a clearer conception of what criticism has done for the Bible; of the particular respects in which it has failed; and of the direction or directions in which we may reasonably anticipate new developments. We need a far more ample and comprehensive perspective of it, a more generous and intelligent attitude towards it, and a more eminently courteous, critical, and candid temper in approaching it. The virtue of perfect candour is a need deserving special mention since the lack of it is one of the most frequent and serious hindrances to moral and intellectual progress. Nothing is more inimical to truth, nothing more reprehensible than the obtrusion into theological and metaphysical discourses of the element of diplomacy; the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not, the mark of the minion but never of the man. Some attempt will be made to minister directly or indirectly to each of these needs, which will be constantly borne in mind in the course of a brief elucidation of the problem of the salient factors of our modern critical attitude towards the Bible and of their religious bearings, which is the immediate purpose of this article.

In stating our problem thus, it is assumed with Mr. John Morley, that we are all of us critics to day, that is, that we are actuated by that noblest and most imperishable element in Protestantism, in virtue of which we stoutly refuse to have our religious and metaphysical thinking done for us in water-tight compartments, and dispensed in the divers parts and parcels of ecclesiastical and denominational makeshifts and formularies inspired for the most part by conditions which no longer prevail. By our modern critical attitude towards the Bible is meant just what my readers will, so long as they are willing to grant the general principle of its upward move-

ment and development throughout. To define the extent of the operation of this principle within more precise limits, at present, is unnecessary and indeed undesirable, since each individual, from the ultra-conservative to the extreme rationalist, would protest equally that his attitude alone is eminently critical.

The problem will become clearer, perhaps, if prefaced with the following series of Biblical questions, and if note be taken of the vast divergence of standpoint implied in the spirit of the answers habitually given by us and our ancestors of a century ago respectively: a divergence well-nigh comparable to the difference between ancient and modern history. How long ago did the first man live? What was the nature of the first language spoken on earth? At what stage of development do we find the Hebrew language in the earliest records? What kind of affinity subsisted between the different languages of the East, after the origin of the myth of the confusion of tongues? What were the earliest relations of the Hebrews and the Phœnicians? What were their chief arts, crafts, and customs when we first read of them in the Bible? What was the nature of the original script in which the earliest portions of scripture were written? What were the degrees and the character of the civilization attained by the earliest Semitic nations referred to in the Bible? And what, last of all, was the nature and extent of their dependence upon each other?

Though we shall have occasion to answer some of these questions in more detail as we proceed, this is unnecessary at present. All that is required for our immediate purpose is to indicate the spirit in which they were habitually handled a century ago. " Read your Bible " was the kind of answer given, and very properly, no doubt, since there was almost nothing else to read. What the Bible does not teach about such things, it was contended, is not worth knowing, was never intended to be known, never can be known. What the Bible contains is the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, the sum-total of all truth—in short, all we need to know to appreciate the stages which mark the course of Revelation.

Though there was much truth in this, much more was left to be desired; a single century has been enough to almost completely reverse such opinions and prove the justice of my contention. A century ago the most learned were not in a position to answer any of these questions adequately. Being wholly ignorant even of the nature of the alphabet in which the earliest portions of scripture were written, being blissfully unconscious, for reasons which will become clearer as we proceed, of the various species of error involved in the transmission of the text, or at any rate of all its older portions, during a succession of centuries, they were quite incapable of forming a reliable judgement as to the purity and authenticity of the source from which they, necessarily, drew their premises. Moreover their conclusions, being almost invariably based upon a single premise, a single source of information, the Bible alone, were so many illustrations of the logical fallacy of the single instance: and their premises being in almost every case particular, or limited, the conclusions drawn from them could not possibly have had a universal or permanent character. But they were also limited in another direction: they failed to grasp the principle clearly, which is now self-evident to us, that a pre-requisite for a true judgement on the value and significance of the work of any writer is an accurate and just conception of his predominant motive and purpose.

They failed to perceive that no Biblical writer ever arrogated to himself the function of solving such intellectual problems for his contemporaries, much less for us, as are involved in these questions. No doubt most of the *odium theologicum* of recent years can be traced to the persistence of popular religious and metaphysical fallacies, associated, rightly or wrongly, with the names of distinguished teachers of a century or more ago, the strength of whose principles and piety often ran in inverse ratio to their logical acumen and insight. Fortunately for us we have succeeded in weaning ourselves of many of their fallacies. The extension of our knowledge of the Bible, which has been increased a thousand-fold in recent years, both in quantity and quality, has carried us far

beyond the narrow intellectual horizon of their day. Their mechanical theory of inspiration, with its assumption of what "their" Bible *must* mean, has been relegated to a silent oblivion, and consequently the Bible, which is now *intelligently* regarded as one of the most sovereign pieces of the world's literature, has begun to assume for us a host of new and infinitely greater values.

In virtue of our wider knowledge, our truer perspective, and our more impartial and objective modes of thought, we can often solve Biblical problems to-day far more thoroughly and comprehensively than has ever been the case since the dawn of history. This may sound presumptuous, but it is better to be candid and face the facts than to assume an attitude of sanctimonious ignorance and morbidity, which is generally the cloak of conceit. Of course the *Laudator temporis acti* or the type of man who stopped reading thirty years ago, is still in our midst, and persists, from time to time, in chiming in, often in good faith. Is not this the presumption of science falsely so called? How have you come to hold this higher vantage ground of which you self-styled Higher critics boast? Can you furnish substantial grounds for your bold assertion that you are really wiser about some Bible questions than the Biblical authors themselves? How has your knowledge been increased a thousand-fold above even that of our immediate ancestors? The only real difficulty which confronts us in answering these questions is the lack of space incidental to every magazine article, which always renders it extremely difficult to treat a great subject comprehensively, thoroughly, and with dignity. Our modern critical attitude towards the Bible—and this is the real question at issue, including as it does all those previously raised—is mainly the product of three factors, ultimately reducible to one, that is, to a three-fold extension of our knowledge. This extension is due to three discoveries, which, regarded as organised branches of learning, constitute the three new sciences of I. Comparative Philology, II. Archæology, and III. History.

I. SEMITIC COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, OR THE DISCOVERY ON THE BASIS OF LANGUAGE OF (i) THE PRINCIPAL LINGUISTIC—AND IN SOME MEASURE ETHNOLOGICAL—AFFINITIES SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE ISRAELITES AND THE PEOPLES OF NORTH-WESTERN ASIA WITH WHOM THEIR OWN HISTORY WAS ONCE ORGANICALLY RELATED, AND (ii) THE RELATIVE ORDER AND SEQUENCE IN WHICH ALL OF THOSE NATIONS KNOWN TO US TECHNICALLY AS SEMITES MOUNTED THE STAGE OF HISTORY.

The principle of the uniformity of nature which is the creed of the scientist is an axiom of fundamental importance to the philologist, with whom it takes the shape of the assumption of a unity or affinity of varying degrees between each of the members of any great family of languages. Early in the 19th century Bopp, the real father of the science of comparative philology, discovered for the first time proofs of this principle in regard to the Aryan languages. But he was far from being the original discoverer of the principle on which he erected his science, for long before his day the great Orientalists of the 18th century had demonstrated the fact of a like unity underlying all those languages, known to us as Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Geez or Ethiopic: the first essays, in fact, in this direction were made as long ago as the 10th century, by the great Jewish grammarians, who, while working under the stimulus of the superb philologists of Arabia, discovered the ultimate unity of Hebrew and Arabic. It might be inferred perhaps from the myth of the confusion of tongues that the generations ante-dating that myth knew something of the ultimate unity of all Semitic speech; but whatever may have been the actual state of knowledge possessed by those people, it is quite certain that neither the Hebrews, nor the cognate Semitic nations have ever since had a clear knowledge of their mutual affinities whether racial or linguistic. The 18th century Orientalists had in fact made a completely new discovery of far reaching consequences, which called for the invention of a term to give it concise and accurate expression. Necessity has ever been

the mother of invention, and to her our term Semitic owes its origin. It was first used simultaneously by two Göttingen professors in the year 1780, and though not entirely free from objection, it derived a certain propriety from the fact that some of the nations included in it are traced to the eponymous hero Shem, in the 10th chapter of Genesis, hence the term Shemitic, which in its Latin form became Semitic. It has a much wider connotation to-day than ever before. It is now used to designate all those nations, ethnologically related, whose progenitors were reared in a common cradle, probably in the heart of Arabia, lisping their mother tongue, the *ex hypothesi* proto-Semitic speech, which is now no longer known to us except in its more or less direct and collateral descendants, the Hebrew, Phœnician, Punic, Moabitish, Babylonian, Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Geez or Ethiopic languages and dialects. Thanks to Bopp to whom belongs the honour of having laid the first foundations of Comparative Philology, in some respects the Queen of Sciences, philology has been transformed from being the mere plaything of the irresponsible dilettante, into one of the most serious, fruitful and corrective of comparative sciences. Whenever we are fortunate enough to possess linguistic data of sufficiently wide distribution, the laws of comparative philology are found to be as universal and inflexible in their operation as the laws of any science. Their perfect mastery involves a more protracted, patient, and exacting mental training than the laws of any other science, and demands for their full appreciation and use the possession of the most exquisite mental balance and insight. It is true that the presence of acunæ often render philological deductions inconclusive, and at times impossible, but this is a limitation from which no science can be completely absolved, least of all a comparative science; and it is one which is likely to be more and more remedied as the science grows out of its teens—which is still very largely the condition of the comparative philology of the Semitic languages—and as its hand-maid archæology grows more scientific.

It is now generally recognized that comparative philology is of supreme importance to the Biblical student, and is quite indispensable for any advanced research of permanent value on Biblical problems. One of the first pre-requisites for a truly scientific reconstruction of Biblical history, not to speak of ancient Semitic history, is the acquisition of an accurate knowledge of the main linguistic and racial affinities of the tribes and nations of the Old Testament, and of their relative sequences and synchronisms. But this is just the kind of knowledge which we are unable to obtain from the Old Testament itself, except in a very inadequate and distorted shape, since the Biblical writers themselves sometimes reveal a tendency to conceal and obscure the facts. Here then is one of the main values of this factor. Without its aid it is quite impossible to form more than the vaguest notions as to the radical significance, and the course of the evolution of the majority of the most common and characteristic ideas and ideals of Hebrew and Semitic religion and civilization. From it we have discovered the highly significant fact that the Arabic language is substantially a thousand years older than the earliest form of Hebrew and Phœnician known to us; and that the Hebrews and Phœnicians were far more closely akin to one another than they were to any other Semitic tribe or nation, unless we except the Moabites; and that probably at one time they were substantially the same people, speaking the same language, with differences of inflection and vocabulary no greater than those which distinguish any two prominent Yorkshire dialects, spoken in adjacent villages, and consequently that they participated, at one time, in precisely the same class of psychological, ethical, and religious traits. And lastly we have discovered, among many other things, that the people of Israel was one of the youngest members of the group to which it belonged. "Between the origin of the different races of South-Western Asia and the appearance of the people of Israel had rolled unnumbered millenniums; hence there is no room for serious discussion over historical traditions said to be possessed by Israel regarding these primitive times."

II. The new science of Semitic Archæology or the discovery, classification, and interpretation of the long buried, or partially submerged, civilizations of the Semitic world.

Since it is only quite within the last two decades that this subject has begun to assume the proportions of a science, it is inevitable that the significance and bearings of archæology, not to speak of Semitic archæology, which is our real concern, should be very imperfectly understood by the general reading public. Before proceeding to the consideration of the real scope and function of our special branch of this subject, out of which the science as a whole originated, a few preliminary and general observations will not be out of place.

A science generally owes its initiation to the trained insight and reflection of a master mind: but several of the more important archæological discoveries, especially of former years, have been stumbled upon in the dark, more by good fortune than good management, by men of somewhat slender training and scholarship, who have frequently proved themselves very imperfectly qualified to measure the value of their own discoveries. In the hands of such men, who have often been actuated by high religious motives, archæology has been hailed by their ultra-conservative admirers as the especial monopoly of the anti-critical school, and regarded by them as a species of anti-critical Eldorado, as constituting, in short, a pious and effectual means of dissipating the various unpalatable and imaginary obstructions and aberrations of their critical rivals, with the result that, till quite recently, archæology has fallen into considerable disrepute among scholars who have not investigated the subject for themselves. Fortunately for the Biblical student things have recently taken a very different turn, and the field of Biblical and Semitic archæological discovery is being already rapidly surveyed and extended by men of trained philological and historical sense, whose primary aim is neither to condemn nor to vindicate *a priori* any particular set of theological or critical presuppositions, but merely to observe and record the facts accurately,

and to draw from them impartially the inferences which may be legitimately deduced. This method, which is after all the only honourable and rational course to pursue, has proved, as was to be expected, that neither the extreme critic nor his extreme opponent possesses an exclusive monopoly of the truth. Thanks to the labours of such men, archæology is being rapidly and securely established upon a purely scientific basis. "When it deals with the material remains of ancient life, it has much in common with the physical sciences, and pursues similar methods, whether in the acquisition of new data by excavation and exploration, or in classification and comparison of what is already in the laboratory or the museum."

By Semitic archæology we mean the discovery and interpretation by the aid of scientific methods of the long-buried, or partially submerged, civilizations of the Semitic world. That part of the subject of most direct value to the Biblical student consists of two classes of data: on the one hand, the myriad of monuments and specimens of workmanship, in clay, stone, marble, silver, gold, copper, and ivory, etc., of epigraphical or inscriptional value, executed by the more highly gifted and formative nations of Baylonia, Assyria, and, though in less measure, of Egypt, whose history has often been more Semitic than African: and on the other hand the numerous remains of the less highly civilized and progressive tribes and nations of all parts of the Semitic world, whose monuments often possess an even higher inscriptional value for the Biblical student, though they are generally less pretentious and imposing to the outward eye. These have been discovered in almost every Semitic nook and cranny hitherto explored. Semitic inscriptional monuments have proved more valuable for several reasons, in the reconstruction of Biblical and Semitic history and civilization, than the similar monuments of the Greek and Roman fields have proved for classical history. Without the illumination they shed upon many obscure times, and regions, the historian's task would be an impossibility. In virtue of the comparative absence among the Semites of continuous historical records of a literary kind, and their

predilection for a monumental medium for recording and perpetuating public and domestic events, and the peculiar genius of Semitic speech, with its writing—which is quite *sui generis*, often enabling the writer to say eloquently in a couple of words consisting of six or seven letters what we can often express, very imperfectly, in six or seven words—Semitic monuments possess an altogether pre-eminent value both for the philologist and the historian.

For instance, we are indebted to the monuments of those larger nations for the earliest form of comparative lexicons, and the earliest attempt at systematic chronology and synchronisms; while to take a single illustration from the other direction, and that a most important one, we are wholly indebted to some of the monuments of those smaller nations for our knowledge of the earliest forms of alphabetic writing at present known. In spite of the recent labours of Cypriotic scholars we are still in the dark as to the actual genesis of this script. Whatever it may have been, or whatever may be the ultimate issue on this point, there can be no doubt that its original discovery will ever be accounted one of the most splendid and epoch-making triumphs of ancient civilization. "To invent and bring to perfection the score or so of handy symbols for the expression of spoken words which we call our alphabet has proved to be the most arduous enterprise on which the human intellect has ever been engaged. Its achievement tasked the genius of the three most gifted races of the ancient world." The discovery from these monuments of the so-called Phœnician script, which is already known to us in the Semitic zone, alone, in over eighty more or less modified forms, and which is, in fact, the prototype from which all the alphabets of the world have been gradually evolved, is of interest to all who can read and write, and is of considerable importance to the student of Biblical records. There can no longer be any reasonable doubt that all of the older portions of the Bible were originally written in this script, or at any rate in one which was almost its exact fac-simile, and absolutely the same in principle.

The following points, which it is hoped will prove interesting, will suffice to illustrate its peculiarities as it appears in its earliest form; and as they have a direct bearing on the purity of the source from which most Biblical premises are drawn they have more than ephemeral value. (i) In the first place, with the exception of the three longest vowels, the signs for which were both originally and normally used as consonants, the consonants alone were written in this script. (ii) In the second place, since most of the inflections really depended upon the vowels, both long and short, of which the latter were far more frequent and variable in the spoken language, nearly all the inflections of grammar, not to speak of the subtler cadences of the music of speech on which all the nicer nuances and modulations of logic and rhetoric depended, had to be mentally supplied by the reader. (iii) In the third place, since each line of writing consisted of an unbroken sequence of consonants, utterly devoid, in the oldest scripts, of all divisions separating the different words, and of all marks of grammatical and logical interpunctuation and accent, every reader was compelled according to his inherent insight and powers of discrimination to mentally separate out and group up for himself the various lines of consonants into their constituent word and sentence groups. Sometimes he naturally found at his disposal a series of alternative groupings yielding ideas of various degrees of opposition or contradiction, according as he included or excluded the line or lines preceding or succeeding the one he was engaged on; though difficulties of this sort were not as frequent as the Western student might suppose. If the stone or medium of writing employed was at all weather-beaten or damaged, the task was one which often baffled the most acute reader. (iv) And, lastly, since this alphabet was apparently designed for monumental purposes, *i.e.*, for chiseling on stone or some hard surface, the consonants, being largely restricted by the exigencies of the case, tended to assume from the first highly similar shapes angular or lineal. Thus several of the consonants which later became quite distinct

remained nearly identical for centuries, being differentiated in some cases by only slight angles and curves, which tended to assume different aspects, at different times, according to the quality of the material employed in each particular inscription and the state of its preservation; others, too, distinct at first, became identical in the later history of the script.

Any one who has grasped these points will see how inevitable it was that a considerable amount of error should have crept into the older portions of the Old Testament, which must have been written and transmitted at the first in a script very similar to the type described, since for many centuries there was apparently no other alternative. In all probability a large number of corruptions, false-groupings of consonants, and consequently highly false renderings and interpretations —probably many more thousands than most people have any idea of—crept into the older portions of the Bible from the earliest times, and the continuous transmission and transcription for centuries of such a corrupted text, by the hand of scribes of various degrees of education, alertness, and fidelity, would almost certainly result in a continuous growth of error, irrespective of scribal presuppositions and predilections. But this is not all, since the errors were probably further augmented through the peculiar difficulties involved in the process of transition from the monumental or Phœnician type of script into its cursive or Aramaic descendant, which replaced the older Biblical script some time before the Christian era; and out of which was gradually evolved the progenitor of the script of our present Hebrew Bibles, which first made its appearance shortly before the time of William the Conqueror. The LXX itself bears ample testimony to many of these points. Archæological discoveries have enabled us to restore with high degrees of probability a number of Old Testament textual corruptions, and there is probably a great deal more to be done in this direction than has yet been attempted.

"The last two generations," writes Professor Driver, "have seen exhumed and reconstructed two entire civilizations (those of Babylonia and of Egypt), each beginning

in an almost incalculable antiquity, each presenting a highly organised society, possessing well developed institutions, literature, and art, and each capable of being followed with much circumstantiality of detail through a long and eventful history." "The general result of the archæological and anthropological researches of the last half-century," continues the same writer, "has been to take the Hebrews out of the isolated position which as a nation they seemed previously to hold, and to demonstrate their affinities, and often dependence upon the civilizations by which they were surrounded."

III. The new science of history, or the re-discovery of the historical method, and its application to Hebrew and Semitic literary and inscriptional remains, both secular and sacred.

Our modern critical attitude towards the Bible is due, in the last resort, neither to philology nor archæology as such, but to the introduction of the third, or middle term of the historical method. The function of this method is the correlation and interpretation of the data supplied by each of the former sciences combined with the sum-total of all related knowledge. Historiography, whose primary motive lies deep down in that passion for immortal fame common to all races, is a process which has been undergoing gradual evolution from the time of the earliest lispings of humanity. It comprises three stages or methods closely related and yet distinct. The first is that which culminated in the epical, heroical or descriptive method, *par excellence;* the next is the didactic, gnomic, parenetic, or pragmatic method which began to replace it when an age of reason and self-consciousness succeeded one of charming *abandon* and *naïveté;* and the third is the genetic or historical method proper, of our own day. Though essentially characteristic of our age, the honour of having first discovered and applied it belongs to Ibn Khaldûn, the great Moslem philosopher and historian of the 13th century, and one of the most original of thinkers. De Boer shows that Ibn Khaldûn, who wrote the first great work, "The

Philosophy of History " or " History as a Science," was the first to endeavour to derive the development of human society from proximate causes. The conditions of race, climate, production of commodities, and so on, are discussed, and are set forth in their effect upon the sensuous and intellectual constitution of man and society. In the course which is run by civilization he finds an intimate conformity to law. He searches everywhere for natural causes with the utmost completeness which was possible to him. His conception of the nature and function of history is thus summarised by De Boer: "So far as historical events are capable of being traced back to their causes, and historical laws capable of being discovered, history deserves to be called a science and a part of philosophy. Thus the idea of history as science clearly emerges. It has nothing to do with curiosity, frivolousness, general benefit, edifying effect. It should, though in the service of the higher purposes of life, determine nothing except facts, endeavouring to find out their causal nexus. The work must be done in a critical and unprejudicial spirit." Conscious of the fact that he was indicating the outlines of a new science, he expresses the hope that " Others will come after him to carry on his investigations (*i.e.* in regard to the history of his own race), and propound fresh problems with sound understanding and sure knowledge."

But the Christian church, unconscious of his work, slept on under the cloak of superstition and priestcraft for over five hundred years before its nobler minds awoke to realise for the first time this consummation for which our saint of Islâm had so devoutly wished; and their awakening has completely transformed our conception of the nature of both Bible history and the history of the Bible. In regard to the former we know now that the Old Testament writers were almost exclusively interested in " general benefit " and " spiritual edification," and consequently gave their undivided attention to the first two of those stages or methods which could scarcely be expected to yield history in any exact sense of the term. Being wholly

ignorant of the genetic method their writings, though replete with *historical data*, do not constitute history at all, strictly speaking. Since historical data, though one of the most important elements of history, by no means constitute the thing itself, it is highly inexact and misleading to predicate the term history at all of the Old Testament books, and can serve no good purpose. Learned Jews from time to time have given a hint of this. One Rabbi admitted unequivocally, in the early days of Christianity, that "In the Law," that is, the Pentateuch, "there is neither before or after," no sequence and subsequence, no real chronological order. This admission, which sounds so modern to our ears, affords a welcome confirmation from a stongly conservative direction of our modern critical conviction. The result is that to extract the quintessence of the history of the Old Testament and, what is more important, of Old Testament history, to penetrate to its actual background, to place ourselves in the position of sympathetic onlookers intelligently following the course of the evolution of the external and internal destinies of the people of Israel, in the light of their various antecedents and consequents, demands the submission of every single chapter and verse to a most impartial and searching analysis and investigation, followed up by the reconstruction of the whole, so far as such a process is now practicable, through the aid of the historical method, and the numerous synchronisms, and analogies of Semitic and universal history. The whole process is one that calls for the undivided attention of the greatest intellects of our time.

In dealing with the factors of our modern critical attitude towards the Bible, I have hitherto deliberately refrained from alluding in technical language to the nature and relation of the three integral stages or factors of Biblical Criticism to our three main factors; though in dealing with the latter frequent reference has been made to the subject matter of the former. Since the first two of these stages, known respectively as the Lower or Textual and the Higher or Literary Criticism, have nothing about them essentially new in principle, being as

old as the Bible itself, they require no further consideration here. But the case is very different with the third or culminating stage of Biblical criticism technically known as historical or historico-philosophical criticism, to which the former stages are merely ancillary; for being essentially a product of our own age, it calls for some consideration in connection with our third great factor, the historical method. These two, the historical criticism and the historical method, are obviously merely different aspects of the same thing. In stating the function of the historical method, we have said as much of historical criticism in that this latter aims also at the correlation and interpretation of the first two main factors of our extended knowledge, and the assured results of the Lower and Higher Criticism, combined with the facts and principles of all related phenomena and systems of thought and conduct, Oriental and Occidental. It is precisely here at the third stage of the science of Biblical criticism that the problems of evolution properly emerge; for it is here that it is first practicable to trace out the genesis and evolution of Hebrew and Semitic ideas and ideals as we find them enshrined in institutions, customs, and civil, criminal, and ritual codes. It is here that the purely speculative faculty finds its most complete and legitimate sphere of operation; and it is here, if anywhere, that the blame should fall for those extravagances and aberrations of the speculative mind which is often so unjustly and indiscriminately heaped upon the heads of the innocent Higher critics who enjoy, as such, but a very restricted scope for pure speculation. Though the historical criticism of the Bible has already yielded invaluable results, it is still in its infancy: most of the work hitherto undertaken amounting to little more, to borrow a figure from mining, than the work of a few brilliant prospectors in an expansive and largely unexplored region. Hitherto the principle of evolution has been consistently applied only in a few leading directions. But a science becomes justified of its title in exact proportion to its capacity to correlate and explain, in the terms of cause and effect, the whole of the phenomena lying

within its especial province. Unfortunately it has to be candidly admitted that historical criticism has hitherto proved a signal failure in one, at least, of the most important directions. It has completely failed to explain in evolutionary terms the genesis and nature of the specific antecedents of the sublime faith of the prophets of Israel. We still await the hypothesis which shall indicate and explain the specific antecedents of Yahwehism, and their causal nexus. To grant that evolution will prove powerless in the long run to provide an *intellectual solution* of this problem of problems would argue a degree of rashness and pessimism to which no thinker could possibly subscribe, for it would imply a complete distrust of human reason, the noblest element in personality, and would impede intellectual progress, if not indeed arrest it altogether in at least one important direction.

Evolution there must have been, in some shape or other, and the solution of the problem along such lines should only be a matter of time. Men like Robertson Smith and Julius Wellhausen, two of the most gifted Biblical critics who ever lived, have accomplished little more than the work of brilliant pioneers, and consequently it was not given to them to do more than merely touch the fringe of the problem, though in doing so they have led us some way. Following their masterly lead, in a somewhat too slavish manner, the critics find themselves confronted to-day with a huge mountain, which it is impossible to scale, lying right across their path. As soon as they decide to abandon their mode of direct frontal attack and endeavour to circumambulate its crest by some other path or paths more devious for the time being, the solution of this problem will probably loom in sight: that is to say, we need to-day a completely new set of hypotheses to replace those of a former generation, which have been weighed and found wanting. In a lecture delivered last June on his experiments with helium, and the problem of the approach to absolute zero in temperature, Sir James Dewar said: "It was a source of pride that in the last thirty years chemists engaged in investigations like these had done more

than had been accomplished in the previous three thousand years." Though learned men and scholars readily endorse such statements as these, men are apt to demur at once to smilar statements made in regard to the progress of Biblical Science, where the difference is merely one of subject matter, the instruments being in the last issue precisely the same, the observation and discrimination of points of similarity and difference, and their interpretation by means of hypotheses.

The historical criticism, too, is little more than thirty years old, and since hitherto only a small percentage of the finest intellect of the world has been consecrated to its function, it is surely a great deal too soon to begin to speak of failures as final. Professor Driver writes in reference to the Hebrew race, "The spiritual intuitions and experiences of its great teachers retain still their uniqueness; but the secular institutions of the nation, and even the material elements upon which the religious system of the Israelites was itself constructed, are seen now to have been in many cases common to them with their neighbours. Thus their beliefs about the origin and early history of the world, their social usages, their code of civil and criminal law, their religious institutions can no longer be regarded as was once possible, as differing in kind from those of other nations, and determined in every feature by a direct revelation from heaven; all, it is now known, have substantial analogies among other people, the distinctive character which they exhibit among the Hebrews consisting in the spirit with which they are infused, and the higher principles of which they are made the exponent." The "religious institutions" of Israel having "substantial analogies" among cognate Semitic nations are probably in very large measure the reflex of inherited tendencies common to the Canaanitish group of which Israel was a member; and as such they are the product of evolution, differentiation, and modification due to special conditions. Neither Professor Driver nor any other distinguished Hebraist has attempted to indicate with any measure of success the specific antecedents of Yahwehism and their causal nexus, and herein lies one of the great limitations of their work.

Though it may sound presumptuous as coming from one of Doctor Driver's younger pupils, I do not hesitate to say that I have hopes that my own hypothesis of Phœnician religion will carry us at least one step further towards the solution of this tremendous problem. At a public lecture delivered last year, through the lack of a more suitable expression, and in spite of its sounding like a real contradiction in terms, I designated my hypothesis as Androgynistic Monotheism; but it behoves me to refrain from enunciating it, at present, in greater detail, and of indicating its exact bearings on the problem until I have ampler opportunity of consulting the works and monuments in the great libraries and museums of Europe, and of scrutinizing the phenomena more closely which have already come under my observation. Though I would state here that should my hypothesis prove valid, the results of Winckler and Cheyne, according to whom David was the creator of the Judean state through whose instrumentality "the worship of Yahwe became the officially recognised national cult of Israel, as well as of Judah," will require considerable modification, for in such a case even David would be too remote. In leaving these three great factors, which have so affected our view of the Bible, it is interesting to note from the standpoint of the history of learning that each of the three sciences to which they gave birth was intimately and inseparably associated, in its initial stages, with either Semitic data or Semitic learning or with both of them simultaneously.

A few words in conclusion on the religious bearings of the subject. The results of Biblical criticism are often stigmatised as negative and destructive; such of course they are as all truly educational and intellectual progress must needs be, if it is to possess any constructive and permanent value; consequently neither on these grounds nor on any general Biblical grounds can valid objection be brought against it. Jeremiah himself was commanded to pursue a negative and destructive process when he received his divine commission "To pluck up, and to break down, and to destroy, and to overthrow

in order to build up, and to plant " more securely, and fruitfully, and consequently more permanently than was ever the case before his day; and experience proves conclusively that his prophetic mantle has never ceased to fall, all too heavily at times, upon the shoulders of every genuine reformer. To appreciate Jeremiah's utterances it is necessary to put ourselves in his place, and to grasp his stand-point clearly. This in fact is a *sine qua non* in dealing with every writer. The justice and value of a judgement on any written work, Biblical or non-Biblical, depend upon the correctness with which the critic conceives of the predominant motive and assumed stand-point of the writer. Though it is manifestly unfair and inexcusable to condemn a writer for failing to produce results beside his purpose, the fallacy is of common occurrence among religious writers. If before pronouncing judgement on a Biblical thesis the reader would ask himself what are the ultimate stand-points conceivably adopted by the author in question, he would find that they are reducible to one of two options. There are ultimately two stand-points, motives, or methods by the use of which it is possible to measure such events as the great movements of Israel's history, which have exercised and still continue to exercise a most beneficent and world-wide influence. These are (i) the method of theology and (ii) the method of evolution, which I would briefly characterise as follows:—

(i) The Method of Theology. The exponent of this method postulates as a primary or first cause of all things a personal and spiritual force or power termed "God," regarded as independent of, and reposing behind, Nature, and yet at the same time the originator and sustainer of its operations. The more unusual workings of this power are termed " mysterious," a term which the scientist, as such, very properly ignores, or at any rate translates into "another term for our own ignorance." Since Hebrew mental development was prematurely arrested by a sequence of adverse political conditions just at the point when it was beginning to emerge from a condition which would normally have led to the habitual

conception of secondary causes, it so happens that this was the psychological mode in which the minds of Israel's great prophets operated, almost exclusively. Even to-day every Jew, Christian, Moslem, or Theosophist falls back inevitably on this mode of reasoning as soon as he becomes, for the time being, exclusively preoccupied with the contemplation of the whole circle of nature rather than with the details of its manifold processes. The specific difference between such various exponents of this method resolve themselves very largely into the difference of label by which each of them designates that "power" which for all of them has a very strong personal equation. This method, which is the only one possible from the stand-point assumed, is perfectly valid, as far as it goes, though it is only a semi-process. It is not unscientific as some would short-sightedly term it, but rather neutral or non-scientific, being in reality the correlative and complement of the method we have next to consider.

(ii) The Method of Evolution. A different motive and purpose lead us to the adoption of the alternative stand-point of the method of evolution, which is the one necessarily assumed throughout this article. As the former is not unscientific but non-scientific, so this is by no means necessarily, nor even normally, irreligious but rather neutral or non-religious. As soon as we turn from the contemplation of nature as a whole, viewed as the product of a mysterious personal agent, logic compels us to substitute secondary causes or natural laws in the place of a prime cause: that is to say, we invoke the aid of the general principle of evolution as the only possible means of arriving at a satisfactory interpretation of nature's manifold operations. Thus the exponent of the one method is completely absorbed, for the time being, in the observation and interpretation of the results which follow on the assumption of the unity and continuity, or the uniformity of nature: while that of the other is equally absorbed for the time being with the results which follow on the assumption of a creative and sustaining agent reposing behind nature.

Strictly speaking, neither of these methods can be substi-

tuted for the other. They are of value in so far as their respective exponents, or the same exponent, at different times, adopt, or adopts, as the case may be, an attitude of complete neutrality in regard to the alternative method by restricting himself exclusively during that time to his chosen field of investigation. Thus between religion and science there is no inherent antithesis, and it is only when teachers of science and religion ignore these distinctions that a sense of antithesis, rivalry, and incompatibility insinuates itself. It cannot be too clearly stated in Canada, at present, even at the risk of repetition, that these two methods are not in themselves mutually exclusive and destructive, but complementary or correlative and consequently indispensable within their respective spheres. Each constitutes a semi-process from the metaphysical stand-point; each has a real psychological basis; each rests in the last analysis upon its own basal assumption or hypothesis which is a sovereign law unto itself. They rest upon the two earliest and grandest hypotheses ever conceived by man, "the existence of God," and "the uniformity of nature." Since each of them is of immemorial antiquity and of universal distribution, we assume that they are ineradicable in some shape or other from the human mind, and rest upon a basis of reality. So essential to progress do they seem to have been in the past that it is no longer possible for us to determine, within precise limits, which of the two has ministered most effectually to the growth of civilization and culture.

The historical critic is essentially an exponent of the method of evolution. He is able to achieve success and propound judgements valid and acceptable to thinkers in proportion to his professional ability to eliminate from his mind while at work in his own proper laboratory any particular set of theological and ecclesiastical presuppositions. Though *qua* historical critic of Hebrew customs and institutions his subject matter happens to be of a highly religious complexion, it by no means follows that his method is properly or necessarily the method of theology, for in adopting this method, he has already *ipso facto* prejudged a large part of his subject

matter before investigating it in any exact sense of that term. Without any desire to disparage theology, I do not hesitate to state that the almost exclusive preference for the method of theology on the part of Old Testament scholars, which is largely due to incapacity to grasp these distinctions clearly, has arrested intellectual progress along Biblical lines more than it is possible to say. The popular view that because the Bible is used as a religious text-book it can only be adequately interpreted by the method of theology is an unwarranted, illogical, and pernicious assumption, and has done more to injure the Bible and obscure its sublimities than anything else. Since the fundamental doctrinal points of the unity and tri-unity of the God of the Jewish and Christian systems respectively, are and always have been almost exclusively a fixed quantity, the diminution or increase of which would rapidly lead to the dissolution of their respective churches, or at any rate to their assumption of a very different character, it is obvious, viewing the question in the abstract, that the method of theology has failed, and is bound to fail in virtue of its nature, to lead to one iota of progress in regard to the Bible, along purely intellectual lines.

Consequently a certain measure of the virtue of critical abandon or that objective indifference to the specific complexion and bearings of prospective results sought for by the Old Testament interpreter is a prerequisite for any real extension of our knowledge. In other words future progress lies exclusively in the hands of the exponent of the method of evolution, if anywhere, so far as this subject is concerned; and in prosecuting this method consistently and enthusiastically the historical critic is really subserving the highest interests of religion. Unless he is of abnormal mental constitution he is sure to have a sense for religious speculation somewhere at the back of his mind, for this has been the experience of all the greatest thinkers. But whenever he gives *ex cathedrâ* pronouncements, *qua* historical critic, by the aid of the method of theology, he is clearly abandoning his own proper function for that of another which, though it be of enormous practical concern to the individual and the

State, is not likely, viewing the matter in the abstract, to advance him one whit further *intellectually* than the stage of religious thought already attained at the time of the dissolution of totemistic society. He who elects to honour the one method at the expense of the other does so at high cost to himself and to truth, for in spurning either of these methods as used in their respective spheres, he is deliberately closing his eyes to a mass of phenomena which always refuses in the long run to be heedlessly brushed aside. To honour the method of theology and dishonour that of evolution, or *vice versâ*, is thoroughly illogical, and invariably brings its own Nemesis. The historical critic then is the man who clearly recognises these distinctions and their respective merits, and acts accordingly.

Our modern critical attitude towards the Bible, or in other words, the progress of Biblical criticism during the last century, is a matter of the highest importance to all of us in Canada who are actuated by the spirit of truth, progress, and liberty. Unless the members of the rising generation, many of whom no doubt are destined within a few years to become the intellectual and spiritual leaders and counsellors of this Dominion, are disposed to be fearlessly and patiently moulded in the fiery furnace of truth, during their formative years, with a view to learning how to adjust their minds to this ocean of new light, now pouring in from all directions, they will inevitably find to their sorrow, in mid-life, that they have lost their grip upon the reality of things, that they are playing idly with a mere shadow and travesty of the truth, that they have forfeited the confidence and esteem of those men and women whom they are most solicitous of helping in the great battle of life, and that they will be compelled in consequence to submit to the humiliation of being themselves led by those whom their commission bade them lead. Al-Hariri the Shakespeare of the Arabic mind said once in the inimitable manner of his native tongue : " Truly, the purity of the gem is shown by the testing, and the hand of truth rends the cloud of doubt."

C. A. Brodie Brockwell