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# UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCCUPIED WITH SUBJECTS OF CURRENT THOUGHT

FIRST QUARTER, 1890

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# UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW

*OCCUPIED WITH SUBJECTS OF CURRENT THOUGHT.*

*The Issue of the First Quarter will contain, among other articles, the following:*

**THE NATIONAL SENTIMENT IN CANADA**—By John George Bourinot, C.M.G., LL.D., Clerk of the Commons, Parliament of Canada.

**THE CANADIAN SUGAR COMBINE**—By W. J. Ashley, M.A., Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto.

**BROWNING'S "SORDELLO"**—By W. J. Alexander, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of English Literature, University of Toronto.

**AUTOCHTHON** (Poem)—By Charles G. D. Roberts, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, Windsor, N.S.

**PROPOSED MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN UPPER CANADA, 1794**—By Thomas Hodgins, M.A., Q.C., Master in Ordinary, Toronto.

**NEW WORK IN PSYCHOLOGY: I. Method; II. Psycho-Physics; III. Psychometry**—By J. Mark Baldwin, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, University of Toronto.

**TITLES OF HONOUR IN CANADA** By J. D. Edgar, M.P., Toronto.

**BI-LINGUAL TEXTS: A RESUME OF THE DISCUSSION.**

**THE MORPHO-MANIAC: IS THE PHYSICIAN RESPONSIBLE?**

**NOTES AND COMMENTS.**

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[OVER]

THE Editors of the UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW feel that the scope of their publication may fairly be judged by the attractive and varied Table of Contents which they are enabled to present to their readers. No similar publication exists in Canada for the free discussion of questions that naturally invite the attention of the scholar, the journalist, the politician, the specialist and the man of affairs. The REVIEW is conducted by University men, and while appealing primarily to a constituency composed of their fellow-graduates, is not intended to occupy a limited field, but will endeavour to interest all who wish to be informed upon the leading questions of the day. The contributors to the present number are specialists in their own departments, and are well qualified to write authoritatively on the subjects they have chosen. Their utterances are the outcome of practical experience and a wide acquaintance with the various phases of the issues presented for the consideration of the reader.

A valuable contribution to our historical material is, "Proposed Municipal Corporations in Upper Canada, 1794," by Thomas Hodgins, Esq., M.A., Q.C., Master in Ordinary of the High Court of Judicature for Ontario. During a recent visit to England, the writer was permitted to inspect the original documents in the Imperial State Paper Office. He has noted the Despatches that passed between the first Governor of Upper Canada and the Colonial Office in 1794. The reader is thus present at the inception of the earliest Municipal Institutions in what is now Ontario, resulting in the complete local self-government characteristic of our system. A question of the present is propounded for solution in "The Canadian Sugar Combine," by W. J. Ashley, M. A., Professor of Political Science in the University of Toronto. The legislator and the economist are occupied largely with the consideration of mercantile combinations and Trusts. An enquiry into their *modus operandi* and effects, with the assistance of the modern economic method, is therefore seasonable. Of much interest to all Canadians is the retrospect and accompanying forecast by Dr. John George Bourinot, C.M.G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, embodied in his article "The National Sentiment in Canada." Confederation is no longer an experiment. The capacity for self-government already exhibited by Canadians is a hopeful augury for the continued co-existence of the various elements of our population. Such is the opinion of one whose views derive authority from long experience with the work of our Federal Parliament, enlarged by historical investigation. Marked by the same hopefulness for the future of Canada, and by the same spirit that animates its people, is the Poem with which the Number opens, "Autochthon," by Charles G. D. Roberts, whose work in the leading English and American Magazines has attracted attention to the strong individuality and national sentiment displayed in recent Canadian literature. The death of Robert Browning has caused to be instituted a renewed critical estimate of his writings. The paper contributed by Professor Alexander, of Toronto, one of the leading Browning scholars, is a thoughtful study of "Sordello," that enigmatic masterpiece of the poet's youth, much criticized nowadays but little read. A vigorous note on the attempt to found an artificial Social System in our Dominion is written by J. D. Edgar, Esq., M.P., in "Titles of Honour in Canada." "New Work in Psychology," by Professor J. Mark Baldwin, the recently appointed successor to the chair of the late Professor Young, will attract much attention as an exposition of the new method of research in that department. The obscure new study of "Psycho-physics" receives at his hands a careful statement of its field and objects. The responsibility of the physician in aiding the growth of certain insidious vices of modern fashionable life is discussed professionally in an article on the "Morpho-Maniac." A *resume* of the discussion now in progress anent the Schools in Eastern Ontario is presented in "Bilingual Texts." In "Notes and Comments," short discussions of current topics will be found. An early announcement will be made respecting the Contents of the next number.

TORONTO, February, 1890.

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*First issue*

# UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW

FEBRUARY

1890

FIRST QUARTER

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## AUTOCHTHON

*I am the spirit astir  
To swell the grain,  
When fruitful suns confer  
With labouring rain.  
I am the life that thrills  
In branch and bloom;  
I am the patience of abiding hills,  
The promise masked in doom.*

*When the sombre lands are wrung,  
And storms are out,  
And giant woods give tongue,  
I am the shout;  
And when the earth would sleep  
Wrapt in her snows,  
I am the infinite gleam of eyes that keep  
The post of her repose.*

*I am the hush of calm,*  
*I am the speed,*  
*The flood-tide's triumphing psalm,*  
*The marsh-pool's heed.*  
*I work in the rocking roar*  
*Where cataracts fall;*  
*I flash in the prismatic fire that dances o'er*  
*The dew's ephemeral ball.*

*I am the voice of wind*  
*And wave and tree,*  
*Of stern desires and blind,*  
*Of strength to be;*  
*I am the cry by night,*  
*At point of dawn;*  
*The summoning bugle from the unseen height,*  
*In clouds and doubt withdrawn.*

*I am the strife that shapes*  
*The stature of man,*  
*The pang no hero escapes,*  
*The blessing, the ban;*  
*I am the hammer that moulds*  
*The iron of our race;*  
*The omen of God in our blood that a people beholds,*  
*The foreknowledge veiled in our face.*

CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS,

King's College,  
Windsor, N.S.

## THE NATIONAL SENTIMENT IN CANADA

SOME years ago the serenity of that useful institution in London which has been founded in the interest of colonial development and imperial union, known as the Royal Colonial Institute, appears to have been for a moment sadly disturbed by the title of a paper which I had the honour of contributing to its proceedings. Taking then as always a natural pride in the progress of my native country, and having an unswerving confidence in her ability sooner or later to take a high position among the communities of the world, I endeavoured as far as I was able to show what the sagacity of her statesmen and the energy of her people had already achieved in the course of a few decades of years, and to indulge in some sanguine predictions of the bright future that was evidently in store for the Dominion. The audience was composed, as is usually the case at meetings of this Society, of many distinguished gentlemen, who were quite ready to admit the truth of all the paper set forth in praise of Canada and to wish her in eloquent terms every success in peopling and developing the northern half of this Continent. But some of these gentlemen—not Canadians, of course—as I have said, had their mental equilibrium affected because this paper bore the title of "The National Development of Canada." From the comments that were passed on words written innocently, one would have imagined that a serious blow had been levelled at the integrity of the Empire. My representative on this occasion, the Honorary Secretary, now Sir Frederick Young—for I was not in England at the time—considered the matter of so much gravity that he explained that I was not only a true Canadian but a loyal supporter of imperial connection. Whether the title was apt or not, it certainly conveyed the exact meaning of the essay, and on numerous other occasions since then it has been used without

objection in many English periodicals, even in that standard old organ of Church and State, the *Quarterly Review*. What I meant then as always was explained in the few words which Sir Frederick Young read from a letter which was written at his own request to soothe the lacerated feelings of the Society: "We have already made such great progress that Canada possesses many of the attributes of a nation, and the time is fast approaching when statesmen must decide whether these national elements are to resolve themselves into the empire at large or into a separate power." These explanatory words appear to have satisfied the super-sensitive members of the Society and there is little doubt that they retired to their clubs and homes in the proud consciousness of having placed Canada in its proper place, and given some additional guarantees for the security of the British Empire. If I refer to the subject again it is because there are perhaps some persons even now ready to take exception to the use of the word "national" in connection with Canada. One can hardly believe it, however, in the face of the fact that we have made such progress of late that we have already a "National Policy" as the emanation of the wisdom of a political party now in power for many years—a "National Policy" which is essentially Canadian in its scope and intention and places English commercial interests on the same footing that it places those of any other country that is foreign in the real sense of the term.

The words which were read at the Colonial Institute may be considered the key-note of this paper. No one who considers the political development of Canada within a century and less, but must recognize that there has been a Destiny shaping her ends steadily in the direction of national advancement. In the early autumn of 1792, the first representative assembly of the new province of Upper Canada held its first session on the banks of the picturesque Niagara River in a humble wooden building which has long since disappeared. In the same year, in the month of December, the French Canadians found themselves represented for the first time in



a legislative assembly which was formally opened in an old stone building, long known as the Bishop's Palace, in the neighbourhood of Prescott Gate. By this time, the province of New Brunswick was regularly constituted but it was still without representative institutions. In Nova Scotia the first legislative assembly came together in 1758, or 34 years before a similar legislature met in Canada. Prince Edward Island was separated from Nova Scotia in 1769, and its first house of assembly was called together in 1773. In those days the total population of the five provinces did not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand of whom at least one hundred thousand were French Canadians and Roman Catholics. Of this population probably fifty thousand were United Empire Loyalists who had adhered to king and country with true fidelity and courage during the war of independence in the old Thirteen Colonies. Quebec, Montreal and Halifax were the only places of importance in British North America. Newark, now Niagara, was an insignificant village which did not long retain its dignity as a political capital, but soon abdicated in favor of York, which, in those days, showed no evidence whatever of the remarkable prosperity that it was to exhibit as Toronto in the closing days of this century.

The establishment of representative institutions in British North America may be justly considered the first decided move in the direction of that political development which was eventually to create a federation full of vigor and hope. It stimulated the political energies of the people at large. For many years a great contest, we all know, was waged in the several provinces, and especially in Lower Canada, for the extension of political privileges and the establishment of popular government. When the constitution of 1792 was given to the two provinces, Lieutenant-governor Simcoe, who opened the first legislature at Newark, declared it was intended "to make the new constitutional system an image and transcript of the British Constitution." But this promise must seem illusory when we proceed to review the practical operation of the political system that lasted from 1792 to 1840. While

it was certainly a recognition of the political rights of the people, at the same time it was wanting in the most essential element of the English constitution—the responsibility of the executive to the parliament. The provinces were excited for years by a contest between an executive authority, nominated by and dependent on the crown, and the representatives of the people's house who systematically asserted their claim to control the public finances, and to have a voice in the administration of public affairs, in accordance with the principles of the English constitutional system. The difficulty in all the provinces was gravely complicated by the antagonism shown to the assemblies by the legislative councils, nominated and controlled by the executive. This contest for popular rights, which was fought out in British North America during the first half of this century, stimulated the mental vigour of the people and brought forward many statesmen of large breadth of view and great constitutional knowledge—statesmen who distinguished themselves in a momentous era of constitutional agitation, which was never practically settled until the concession of responsible government after the union of the Canadas in 1840. It is an interesting fact that, in those times of intense political conflict, the French Canadians who, for one hundred and fifty years, had been subject to an autocratic system of government—resembling in its essential features the government of a province in France—displayed as much insight into the principles of political freedom and as complete an appreciation of local self-government as if they and their fathers had been born and bred under the influence of English institutions. The inhabitants of the old English Colonies were never more powerful advocates of the rights of a people in an English community to govern themselves in all matters of local concern than were the leading men of the French Canadian race who were not even permitted under the French regime to appoint municipal councillors and meet in public assemblies for the transaction of business of mere ordinary concern.

The union of 1840 was the next important move in the political progress of the Provinces that now constitute the Dominion. The report which bears the name of Lord Durham, but which really was written by a man equally astute, Charles Buller, thoroughly exposed the causes of the rebellion of 1837-38 and explained clearly and emphatically the principles that should guide the government of England in their policy towards a people who so fully recognized the value of local freedom. The publication of this document was soon followed by the union of 1840 and the concession of responsible government in the complete sense of the term in the next few years. The provinces were at last given a real "image and transcript" of the British constitution—not a mere semblance like that which won the encomiums of the first governor of Upper Canada. It is true responsible government was not granted in a single day or even in one year, but it soon worked itself out the moment the British government agreed to its leading principles in the famous despatch written by Lord John Russell, when colonial secretary in 1839, to Mr. Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham. By 1848 all the provinces were practically in possession of a system of parliamentary government as understood in England. The people's house had full control of the people's purse, and chose a committee of their own to carry on the administration of public affairs. From 1841 to 1867 the provinces increased in population and wealth, in intellectual vigour, and in all the elements that go to constitute national strength. Not a year passed without some additional recognition being given to the imperial authorities of the ability of the people of the provinces to manage every matter affecting their local interests. Year by year it loosened its control over its dependencies and taught them to cultivate that self-reliance and self-confidence without which no community can ever become great and prosperous.

Then followed the federal union of the provinces as the natural sequence of their political progress. The difficulties between the French and English sections of the old province

of Canada were no doubt the prime moving cause that led to the Quebec conference of 1864 that brought about the union; but it is also quite certain that below the declared motives of the conference lay deep in the minds of Canadian statesmen the conviction that the future integrity and security of Canada, as a separate and progressive community on this continent, depended on bringing together all sections into a union which would give the central government control over all matters of general or national import, and at the same time leave the provincial organizations such powers as are necessary to carry on their administration of local affairs with efficiency. For years such a union had been urged by the most thoughtful men of British America, and its necessity was shewn most forcibly as years passed when every effort to have railway communications and intercolonial trade proved futile on account of the impossibility of reconciling the diverse interests and rivalries of the provinces. Commercial reasons had powerful influences on the consummation of the Canadian federal union just as they had in bringing about "the more perfect union" of the American States. It has been truly said by a sound constitutional authority\* that "the consolidation of the industrial interests of the United States has proved to be the strongest bond of the federal state"; and the founders of the Canadian Confederation at once recognized the necessity of bringing the provinces into commercial as well as political union in the earliest possible moment. If there were any doubts before on the subject, the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1864 was a significant warning of what lay before the people of British American Colonies if they continued isolated much longer from each other. The necessity of being in a position to organize promptly and decisively measures of self-defense was shown them by the Fenian raids. The threatened invasion of New Brunswick in the spring of 1866 had no doubt some considerable influence in reconciling the people of that province to the

\* Von Holst's Constitutional Law of the United States (Mason's translation), p. 136.



scheme of the Quebec conference which they had hesitated to accept for several months. So it happened that out of the very circumstances which were apparently calculated to do much injury to Canada her people learned lessons of wisdom and self-reliance, and were stimulated perhaps more rapidly than otherwise would have been the case to carry out their scheme of national development.

The imperial government, in conformity with their policy since 1840 towards their self-governing colonies, responded heartily to the wishes of the people of the provinces; and although there were a few statesmen and publicists who believed that this change was but another step towards colonial independence they regarded the aspirations of the people as natural to communities full of political life, and gave a willing support to the formation of a New Dominion in America, which was far to surpass in all the conditions of greatness that Old Dominion, recalling the name of the famous English Queen in whose reign English adventurers first sought the mysterious West and laid the foundations of the supremacy of England on the seas. Never was a great revolution effected more quietly than this federal union of Canada; and yet it involved the destiny of half a continent, and placed an insuperable barrier to the ambition of the great Power to our South.

Twenty-two years have passed since the consummation of the federal union of 1867, and the results that have been achieved are such to attract the attention of the world. The Dominion of Canada now comprises a country with an area only little less than that of the United States, including the vast territory of Alaska, and possessing an acreage of fertile lands in the North-West beyond that owned by our neighbours. It is true we have not the rich tropical regions of the South, with their cotton and sugar, and orange groves. Ours is a Northland with a climate in many respects like that of the Eastern, Middle and Western States. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island represent Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Quebec

invites comparison with the climate and scenery of New Hampshire, Vermont and eastern New York. Ontario fairly evokes a contrast with the fairest districts of Western and Northern New York and of Ohio. The province of Manitoba and the district of Assiniboia are more fertile than Minnesota and the Dacotahs. In the Territories of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and even probably on the banks of the Mackenzie and Peace Rivers, there are opportunities for mixed farming, for the raising of large herds of horses and cattle, that cannot be surpassed by Texas or the great Territories of the United States. The western lands of the Republic are being rapidly settled and exhausted, but in the great North-West of the Dominion, whose productiveness was only made known to the world as it were yesterday, there is room for many millions of souls, and for the settlement of numerous states as prosperous and populous as Wisconsin, Michigan or Minnesota, and offering, it is claimed, great advantages over the Dacotahs in climate, in fertility of soil, and in the quality of grain. A railway which, for rapidity and perfection of construction, for superiority of equipment, and for the comfort and convenience it offers to tourists can hardly be surpassed, now carries the traveller across the continent to the beautiful shores of Burrard's Inlet, where a city of ten thousand souls, with a spacious park, electric lights, blocks of fine warehouses and elegant residences, waterworks and other necessities of civilized communities, has grown up within three years, and is destined to be, its founders believe, a great emporium for the tea, silk and other products of China and Japan. In every province of Canada there is now a perfect network of railways which owe their construction mainly to the large subsidies in money and land given them by the Dominion and Provincial governments. The Dominion owns a system of canals superior to those of any country in the world. Cities like Toronto and Ottawa are increasing at a rate hardly exceeded by the most enterprising American communities, and one in the far west, the capital of Manitoba, has now a population of between thirty and forty thousand souls though

it has only sprung into existence since 1870. The government of Canada has exhibited a surprising amount of energy and enterprise in completing those great public works, which are absolutely essential to the development of the whole country, although in doing so a large debt has been accumulated. Of this debt, however, the people do not appear to make any loud complaints, since it is clear to them that it is intimately connected with the progress of the Dominion. If Canada is to hold her own in competition with the United States it is only by affording such facilities to capital and population as will induce them to come into the country and develop its various resources. Manufactures have grown up in every section under a system of protection to Canadian productions which resembles in essential respects the system still in operation in the United States although less burdensome in the weight of taxation and less vexatious in its operation and details. Not only has a valuable system of manufactures been thus artificially stimulated but what is still more valuable in many ways, a considerable intercolonial trade has been developed as one of the most useful results of confederation. But the great hope of Canada lies in the opening up and settlement of the rich territories of the North-West. The history of the West of the United States is now repeating itself in the Canadian territories. One of the serious weaknesses of the provinces of the Dominion for years has been the steady efflux of their people into the American union where the great manufacturing and industrial enterprises of the country have afforded opportunities for regular employment which, until quite recently, could not be found in the relatively less enterprising and wealthy communities of British America. But now, with the rapid development of a great manufacturing industry and the consequent exhibition of larger enterprise in every part of the Dominion, and with the opening up of the North-West, the reasons that formerly existed for this unfortunate emigration of our best men may be considered practically at an end. In the United States the same movement of people seeking

new homes has been going on for half a century and more, but happily for their prosperity it has been from their own East to their own West. It is only recently that the Canadian people, or the world outside, have known that the Dominion has a western region fully equal, if not superior in some respects, to that of the American Commonwealths. Now the bone and sinew of Ontario and the older provinces have opened up farming settlements, and built prosperous towns and villages from the head of Lake Superior to the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains and are even crossing those natural barriers into the rich valleys and table-lands of British Columbia. Like the New England migration to the West, the Canadian settlement from the English-speaking provinces is the most valuable that could be possibly made in a new country. Each band of settlers takes with it the practical knowledge best suited to the country, and forms a nucleus around which the European immigrant, ignorant of the best methods of farming under a condition of things quite new to him, finds it to his profit to establish himself. The man from Ontario takes with him an intimate acquaintance of an excellent municipal system and a capacity for local government, which are invaluable in the organization of new territories and provinces which are being carved out of that great western region from which Canada now expects so much. The history of Ohio, Indiana, and of many a western State which owes all the sound elements of its prosperity to the New England migration is now being repeated on the banks of the Red, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers of the west. In fact the tide of national development is now slowly and steadily forcing itself to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Five millions of people now inhabit this country where, a century ago, the total population did not exceed a quarter of a million. These people on the whole enjoy an amount of prosperity which may compare favourably with that of their progressive American neighbours, who have so long received the bulk of British and European emigration. The system of government is well adapted to develop their industries and



teach them self-reliance. Each province enjoys a system of self-government which gives it control of all those provincial and purely municipal affairs which naturally and conveniently appertain to a local administration. These affairs are administered by a lieutenant-governor, and executive council, a legislature, and municipal councils, all acting within a sphere of well-defined functions. Over all the provinces is placed a central government which has control of all questions of national import like commerce, defence, fisheries, and public works of Dominion interest. The control of the North-West Territory is exclusively in the hands of the Dominion authorities, who may carve out new provinces and establish therein all the machinery of government. The arrangement of the tariff is a matter entirely within the control of the Dominion Parliament, and the Imperial authorities no longer claim the right to interfere in any way even though the taxation may weigh heavily on certain classes of British manufactures. The volunteer forces of Canada are fully equal to the internal defence of the country, and now in times of peace the presence of a fleet and a few troops at Halifax is the only visible evidence of British supremacy in Canada.

The ability of the united provinces to cope with internal difficulties, and to do their full share in case of foreign aggression, has been clearly proved in the North-West region, where a nascent rebellion was crushed in a few weeks by the intrepidity of the Canadian volunteers, whose rapid march for thousands of miles at a most inclement season into a wilderness country is among the most remarkable achievements ever performed by relatively inexperienced troops. All these facts are so many evidences of the national development of a country whose political history as a British dependency goes back only to the latter part of the eighteenth century. To all intents and purposes Canada possesses many attributes of a sovereign independent State. England only retains the appointment of a governor-general as the head of the executive authority in the Dominion, and the right to disallow acts of the Canadian Parliament whenever they may interfere

with matters of exclusively imperial jurisdiction. Canada cannot directly enter into and perfect treaties with foreign powers—that being an act of Sovereignty—but her right to be consulted and represented in the negotiation of treaties immediately affecting her commercial interests has been repeatedly recognized within the last thirty years. The Canadian Parliament cannot alter the written constitution, known as the British North America Act of 1867, except by the authority of the British Legislature from whom that instrument emanated; but the Act gives power to the several provincial legislatures to amend their respective constitutions within certain limitations. The decisions of the Canadian Courts are not final as there is an appeal to the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—the Supreme Court of the Empire in certain cases; and even this reference is only allowed with certain restrictions for it is not the practice to refer mere abstract questions of law to this Committee. The Canadian Parliament has even successfully withdrawn criminal cases from the jurisdiction of the Imperial Court\*—another illustration of the determination of Canada to assert its independence in all matters of Canadian concern.

A still stronger assertion of the legislative independence of Canada, within the constitutional limits of the British North America Act of 1867, can be found in the history of the Copyright Act,† which was passed by the Canadian Parliament in the session of 1889, and which conflicts with Imperial legislation passed on the same subject previous to 1867, and applicable to the Colonies. It is emphatically asserted by the Dominion government, in its correspondence with the Imperial authorities, that “as regards all those subjects, in respect of which powers were given to the Canadian Parliament by the British North America Act, the true construction of that Act is that the Canadian Parliament may properly

\* See Dom. Stat., 51 Vict., c. 43. Bourinot's "Federal Government in Canada," p. 68, note. Can. Sess. P., 1889, No. 77.

† See the able report on the Copyright Act by Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice. Can. Sess. P., 1890. No. 61.

legislate without any limitation of its competency excepting the limitation which Her Majesty can always impose by disallowance, and excepting also the control by Imperial legislation subsequent to the Constitutional Act of 1867." Canadians are not likely to take exception to views which are in perfect consonance with their right of control over all matters of Canadian concern; and, in referring to the subject here, I wish only to show how, year by year, Canada is ever asserting her powers of self-government, even if in doing so she takes away, in a measure, from the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

With the record of the past before them, Canadians look forward confidently to the future of their country. The same spirit of energy and hopefulness that has heretofore animated them in developing their wide domain in the face of the great attractions offered to capital and population by their enterprising neighbors is certain to enable them to hold their own on this continent and to give them eventually a foremost position among the nations. In view of such honourable achievement it would be strange if there is not a growing national spirit in all centres of thought and activity. We see it in the constant use of the word "national" applied to every movement that is essentially Canadian and in the pride that is taken in every Canadian success. We see it in the larger aspirations and the higher patriotism that are animating a large body of our people and especially of the young men proud as they are of their parentage, at the same time are beginning to feel a natural gratification in the reflection that they are Canadian. It cannot be denied that there is much yet to be won in this particular—that a feeling of colonial dependency clings to some of us—that we still think the insertion of an article in an English periodical or the praise of the *Times* or the *Athenæum* as beyond any encomiums we can receive from a purely Canadian source, however high it may be. These are, however, natural feelings which must ever linger among us; they are inseparable from the pride which we must always take in that England from whom we, like all

the world, have received the noble heritage of a free government and a noble literature. Such an attachment and respect for England should always be in our hearts whatever our future may be; but there should not be a readiness to ignore Canadian thought and Canadian merit simply because they are not English—to depreciate Canada because it is not England. Canadians have no reason to be ashamed whenever they are brought in any way into competition with Englishmen in this country; and whether it is a question of hard work or of intellectual struggle they are not the ones behind.

No fact perhaps more clearly shows the growth of the national idea among Canadians than the work which is being done by the literary men of Canada. The French Canadian writers have until recently been chiefly noted for the interest that they have taken in their own country which has so attractive a record from which to draw inspiration for history, poetry and romance. The best history in some respects that has been written by a Canadian is that by Garneau, but its very scope and spirit are not Canadian in the real sense of the word, but simply provincial or sectional. A wider national spirit appears to be slowly growing up among French Canadian writers and they are even grasping the idea that Canada should mean a great country stretching between two oceans, having diverse nationalities, but animated from one end to the other by a national impulse, originating from and sustained by a feeling of common interest. The English Canadian writers are certainly, as a rule, Canadian in spirit and truth,—as ready to recognize French Canadian as English genius and none are more so than the poets of whom Canada has reason to be proud. The collection of Canadian poems recently issued in London,\* gives a fair idea of the strong Canadian or national sentiment that is making itself felt in the Dominion. Curious enough, however, let me observe here, it ignores the most spirited poem that was ever written by a Canadian. I refer to "Our Fathers," by Joseph Howe, in

\* *Songs of the Great Dominion*—Selected and edited by W. D. Light-hall, M.A., of Montreal.

which he pays a noble tribute to the pioneers who laid the foundation of our country's greatness, and which should certainly be placed at the head of those verses quoted, as embodying the spirit of "a new nationality." We would indeed be unworthy Canadians should we forget all we owe to the Past and its heroic men.

"Not here? Oh! yes, our hearts their presence feel;  
Viewless, not voiceless, from the deepest shells  
On memory's shore, harmonious echoes steal:  
And names, which, in the days gone by, were spells,  
Are blent with that soft music. If there dwells  
The spirit here our country's fame to spread,  
While every breast with joy and triumph swells,  
And earth reverberates to our measured tread,  
Banner and wreath should own our reverence for the dead."

The patriotic fervour that distinguished the poems and speeches of the eminent poet and statesman, whose eloquence always stirred the hearts of his countrymen and who, more than any other man, gave to Nova Scotia political liberty, has not died away in these days but finds itself living in the poems of Mair, Roberts, Sangster, Kirby, Lighthall, Wilfred Campbell, "Fidelis," Bliss Carman, Lampman, and many others who show a deep love for Canada, its history, its scenery and its national movement.

In Canadian contributions to American and English periodicals, in pamphlets, in historical writings, and in the columns of the press the same key-note is touched from time to time, and we see a disposition to encourage a national feeling and give Canada a higher position in the world. It is true there are exceptions, and I have now in my mind a brilliant writer who has for years made Canada his home and might have associated his name to all time with the country of his adoption had he chosen to sympathize with the natural aspirations of her sons in their struggle for national life instead of indulging in melancholy criticisms of the present and gloomy visions of the future.

But it will here be urged that there can never be a united national sentiment in a country where there is steadily growing

up a powerful French Canadian nationality, adhering with remarkable tenacity to its language and institutions, and having distinct interests which may constantly clash with those of English Canada and bring about eventually in the opinion of the pessimists a war of races like that which sullied the pages of our history previous to 1840. No doubt there are some persons narrow-minded and sectional, I must believe, who would see French Canada in the position of inferiority occupied by their compatriots who live on the banks of the Mississippi with its devious bayous, by the Lakes of the Atchafalya, or

“On the Acadian coast and the prairies of fair Opelousas.”

Regret it as some may, the die is cast. The time has long since passed when that gradual amalgamation of the two races that is now going on in Louisiana, or which happened long ago in England, can take place in Canada. From the day the Quebec Act was passed, down to the present, the French Canadian has been firmly established in the country he first won from the wilderness, and has received guarantees for the preservation of his national characteristics which cannot now be disturbed by ill-timed attacks upon the institutions he values most highly. Canadians must calmly and honestly accept things as they are, and labour earnestly in a spirit of compromise to reconcile all the jarring elements of this confederation just as they have been successfully reconciled among the mountains of Switzerland. It is not strange that jealousies and rivalries at times arise between the two races that inhabit Canada but the time is passed, we all should hope, when differences of race and religion can be stimulated into the bitterness of word and deed that existed previous to 1840, which was a turning point in the history of Canada; for from the moment Canadians, irrespective of nationality, were granted a full measure of self-government, and the French Canadian felt he had all the rights of manhood, the statesmen of all races and sects and opinions have laboured to build up a new England on this continent with a sincerity and zeal that have already produced encouraging results. The

existence of a federal union has given the French Canadians complete control of their own province and the right to maintain their special institutions, and as long as its principles are maintained we have the best possible guarantee for the harmony and integrity of the dominion. Their best men know that absorption into the United States would be a death-blow to their influence as a French Canadian people, and the history of their compatriots in Louisiana would be eventually reproduced in their own case. They are ready to work out their own destiny in unison with their English co-workers in the dominion, and no sagacious man amongst them asserts so impossible or suicidal a scheme as the foundation of an independent French nationality on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The brilliant leader of the opposition in parliament only voiced the sentiments of his compatriots, conservative as well as liberal, when he said quite recently in the presence of a large English audience in the city of Toronto: "If there are any amongst my fellow-countrymen who have ever dreamed of closing themselves into a small community of Frenchmen on the banks of the St. Lawrence, I am not one of them. It would be an act of black ingratitude if, after we had sought from England the privileges and rights of British subjects, we are now to reject the responsibilities of such subjects. If having sought the protection of Britain to grow strong, we were, when strong enough, to attempt to stab the friendly hand, and refuse to cast in our lot with those who are fellow-countrymen of ours, and whose birthright we claim as our inheritance. When confederation was established it was not intended that it should be based upon the humiliation of any one race; that any one should give up its characteristics; but it was expected that though every nationality might retain its individuality, yet that all would be actuated by one aspiration and would endeavour to form one nation."

Looking then at the present condition of things in the Dominion, the great area it occupies and the wealth already won from the earth and the sea, the self-reliance of the people, the truly Canadian spirit that is abroad, the hopeful

and spirited utterances of French as well as English Canadians, we can quite understand why so much interest is taken in the future destiny of this country and why there is a feeling of unrest increasing in Canada. It is because we have already attained so large a measure of self-government, and have even assumed the attributes of a semi-independent nation, that leagues have been formed in the principal centres of thought and action to place the relations between the parent state and its dependencies on a more secure foundation. The idea of an imperial conference of representatives from all parts of the Empire is now under consideration, and ere many months pass, in all probability, we shall see what immediate prospect there is of reconciling the diverse opinions on the subject, and reaching some common line of action. It is not necessary to review the arguments that are being heard from day to day in support of the principle of federation, but we can clearly see that the one which most forcibly influences the minds of the advocates of this grand conception is the rapid national development of the dependencies and consequently their increasing tendency to isolation from the parent state. It is even urged by many thoughtful men, that the empire cannot keep together many years longer, that its dependencies must eventually become independent but nations unless all sections are enabled to unite on a basis which will preserve the system of local self-government which each community now possesses, and give them, at the same time, the rights of full citizenship, and a voice in imperial affairs. No doubt there is much force in the argument that is drawn from the rapid political development of Canada, and other dependencies of England. In endeavouring to turn the current of this development in the direction of imperial consolidation, the federalists of the present day may be aptly compared to Pownall, Shirley, Otis and other sagacious public men who advocated during the last century a similar scheme in the common interest of Great Britain and the Thirteen Colonies. The ill-advised, though perfectly legal, measures of the British government, we know, were not the primary cause



of the rising of the old Colonies. As we carefully review their history we can see how events had been steadily shaping themselves for the assertion of their independence, and that the temper of a people brought up in the perfect freedom of a new country, and in the possession of self-government, practically uncontrolled by the power or authority of the imperial state, was ready to assert itself in a very decided way the moment it was considered their rights and privileges were in jeopardy; and that the largely sentimental tie which bound the greater portion of the people of the parent state was found to be very frail when it came to the vindication of what they believed to be their liberties, as a free community, or to the resenting of real or fancied wrongs. The mistakes that were made last century by English statesmen can never be repeated in these days when there is such a perfect understanding of the relations that should exist between the parent state and its self-governing dependencies; but at the same time there is obvious danger of falling into the equally perilous error of neglecting the signs of the times and making no effort to divert the stream of colonial development in a direction of greater strength and security to the whole Empire. Colonial development should be made to harmonize with imperial unity. The strength of Canada should mean the strength of England.

When we come, therefore, to consider the efforts of Federation Leagues to create an imperial feeling throughout the dependencies of the crown, the stern rebuke which meets every mention of annexation to the United States as "the manifest destiny" of this country, the national or Canadian sentiment that is gaining ground from Cape Breton to Vancouver—a sentiment which the patriotic utterances of Mr. Laurier show us has as strong a hold on the French as on the English Canadian mind—we cannot fail, in view of such facts, to see that there is a current of human thought steadily running through the minds of the Canadian people and drawing them gradually, to claim larger responsibilities commensurate with their national growth. But that time is still

far off, in all probability. Canadians have yet a great work before them in developing and peopling the vast region of the North-West, whose prosperity is naturally associated with their dearest hopes and aspirations. A few years must see a momentous change in the country which stretches to the Pacific Ocean; and with the success of its bold plans of internal development, with an ever-increasing trade with all the world, with a population of ten or fifteen million souls animated by lofty impulses, the Dominion will be hardly content with that position of inferiority in the Empire which the advocates of imperial federation are so earnestly pointing out from time to time. Let us hope that out of the chaos of opinions there will be evolved some feasible plan which will enable all the communities of the Empire to meet and organize for the security and advancement of their common interests. Let us hope we shall yet see Canada, to quote a phrase of the Premier of Canada, "A nation within a nation"; that is to say, actively exercising all the attributes of a nation as a part of the British Empire. The development of the Dominion, as the years pass by, must assuredly bring with it a sense of national ambition which will require recognition, and the Canadian who has won so noble a heritage for himself in the rivalry with the ambitious Power to the South will claim to be as worthy of a share in the councils of the world and in the work of national activities as the man who lives in Scotland or England. Every thoughtful Canadian is already commencing to feel a sense of responsibility as he surveys the present position of his country and the tendency of the events that are shaping its destiny. If this change does not take the direction of strengthening the Empire, of a union of equal, self-governing communities, united in a powerful federation which will almost realize in grandeur the poet's dream; at least Canadians must always hope and trust that, with the assumption of larger responsibilities as the logical sequence of the position they have won for themselves on this continent, they will be able to maintain with the parent state such an alliance—a solemn league and

covenant, in fact—as will be a source of strength to them both, and at the same time give conclusive evidence of their gratitude to the parent to whom they owe so much.

But it is not necessary to continue longer in what some may consider a vein of mere visionary speculation. The present position of Canada has many advantages, and it would be mere folly to entertain any scheme that would immediately threaten and eventually sever the ties that now bind us to England. For the present, and some time to come, Canadians must pursue with energy and hopefulness the work in which they are engaged, of establishing more firmly the foundations of their federation, of harmonizing and reconciling sectional difficulties, of making the prairie the scene of never-ceasing industry, of securing the principles of sound government, respect for law, electoral purity, the sanctity of the home, and intellectual culture. Confident of their ability to hold their own on this continent, and to win for themselves a high place among the nations, the Canadian people will perform the duties that lie nearest to them and demand their best thought and energy, and will look forward to the future with that tranquility which is the natural outcome of self-reliance and self-government.

“Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done !

Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate,

Tho' faint souls fear the keen, confronting sun,

And fain would bid the morn of splendour wait ;

Tho' dreamers, rapt in starry visions, cry,

Lo, yon thy future, yon thy faith, thy fame !

And stretch vain hands to stars, thy fame is nigh,

Here in Canadian hearth and home and name ;—

This name which yet shall grow

Till all the nations know

Us for a patriot people, heart and hand,

Loyal to our native earth,—our own Canadian land.”\*

\*“An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy,” by Charles G. D. Roberts.

JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.

## THE CANADIAN SUGAR COMBINE\*

MY purpose in the present paper is to examine one, but that one of the two most important, of the combinations dealt with in the recent Report. With two preliminary remarks, I will plunge into the midst of the subject. The first is, that I began to examine the subject was strongly against all such combinations of trades, and that I had been strengthened in that feeling by a recent vigorous article on American and Canadian Trusts and Combines by Professor Andrews, of Cornell, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. The second is, that while I shall put before you some considerations which may lead us to take a more charitable view of the Sugar Combine than is usual, I do not wish to be regarded as defending every sort of combination; for though there are forces at work which tend naturally in the direction of such methods of industrial organization, these methods are obviously full of dangers to the community. It must be remembered that I am here dealing only with a small part of a great subject.

Let me first ask your patience while I give you an outline of the external history of the Canadian association; and then we will turn to some of the economic considerations which the subject suggests.

It appears that it is the practice with the vast majority of retail grocers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec to buy their wares not directly from the various producers, but from middle-men, known as "wholesale grocers." All these wholesale grocers, with, as far as I can learn, only four exceptions

\*The following paper was written in the Spring of 1889, to be read before a small private society in Toronto. It is based upon the Report of a Select Committee of the Canadian House of Commons, dated 16th May, 1888. The writer regrets that he has not the leisure to investigate the subsequent course of the Combination; but it is hoped that the paper may still be of interest as analysing very recent phenomena.

out of eighty-eight—two firms in Montreal, and one each in Quebec and Toronto—have united in making, and in maintaining, since April, 1887, a certain agreement with the Canadian sugar refiners; who, owing to the present tariff, possess what is, practically, a monopoly of the Canadian market. They pride themselves, in selling to retail grocers those grades of sugar which form the staple demand in that commodity, to make neither less nor more than a fixed advance on refiners' prices. In return, the refiners promise to charge such wholesale grocers as wish to buy from them, but will not conform to the arrangement as to the prices just mentioned, a price higher, by a certain fixed amount, than that which they charge to grocers in the combination; and also to refuse to allow them the ordinary trade discount: so that sugar costs the non-combiner some 30c. per 100 pounds more than it costs the combiner. "There is no evidence" says the Report, "of any combinations among the refiners to fix uniform prices at which they should sell." The Report does not point out, as it might, that so far as this is true it is not due to any superior sense of public duty on the part of the refiners, but to the fact that circumstances already give them the advantages of a combine. There are but four refineries in Canada—the Canada Sugar Refinery at Montreal, the St. Lawrence refinery, a refinery at Moncton, New Brunswick, and another at Halifax. The first of these has much the larger capital, plant, and production; the refineries at New Brunswick and Halifax are at some disadvantage in the trade of Quebec and Ontario on account of their distance; and I am informed that the Moncton sugar is regarded as of inferior quality. At the time of the enquiry, when the St. Lawrence refinery was temporarily idle, owing to a recent fire, the Canada Sugar Refinery supplied, said the President of the Company, perhaps two-thirds of the total output of sugar in the Dominion. One large retail grocer told me that in his opinion 75% of the sugar used in Toronto was supplied from this refinery. Now it is beginning to be remarked that the existence of possible competitors by no means always implies actual

competition in prices. When one undertaking has got possession of the greater part of the market, smaller manufacturers will usually prefer to benefit by the prices it fixes, rather than invite extinction by an attempt to undersell it. Accordingly we find that the Canada Sugar Refinery practically fixes the prices for the whole country; indeed the plan actually followed is this, the Secretary of the Wholesale Grocers' Combine goes to the office of the C.S.R. once a week, receives its price list, and then telegraphs it to the wholesale grocers all over the country as the standard upon which they are to make the advances agreed upon. The result is that sugar is purchased at uniform prices at any particular time by all the wholesale men in the combine, and again sold by them at any particular time at uniform prices to all retailers. But, even with this explanation, the remark in the Report is scarcely accurate; for there does exist an understanding among refineries to cut down production in equal proportions, if the production exceeds the demand, *i.e.*, to prevent a glut in the market and an excessive fall in price.

The object of the combine was to fix a uniform price at which the wholesale men should sell to retailers. Such an agreement they would have found it impossible to maintain had they not obtained the assistance of the refiners. The refiners agreed to sell only on the more favorable terms to those grocers whose names appeared on a list furnished to them by the secretary of the combine. This gave the combine an easy means of inflicting penalties on those who would not abide by their agreement, *viz.*, by striking them off the list. The four firms who either refused to join or have since withdrawn from the combine, have to balance the pecuniary advantage of selling their sugars cheaper than the other firms in order to secure trade on other articles, against the pecuniary disadvantage of having to pay more for their sugar. Besides this, the combine have struck off their list a number of dealers partly wholesale partly retail, or very large retail, in deference, as they seem honestly to say, to the remonstrances of the great mass of the retailers, who urge that all retailers

should be on the same footing. And, to add to the dark picture, the consumer, the idol of orthodox economists, has suffered from higher prices,—probably to the extent of a cent a pound.

But now let us penetrate a little farther back, and seek the causes that led to the combination being set on foot. The reason of course was that the wholesalers thought they were not making sufficient profit on their sugars. This is an opinion which dealers often entertain with respect to their wares; but in the case of sugar there were peculiar circumstances which seemed to justify the belief. What is known as *cutting prices*, i.e., selling at a price which barely covers original cost, was a growing feature in their trade. Whether this was due chiefly to the competition of the wholesale grocers with one another, or to the pressure of the retailers it is hard to say. Probably it began with the retailers. It is the frequent practice of certain grocers, especially, as I learn, in some of the large stores in the artisan quarters of the town, to offer sugar at an unusually low price; either on condition that some other article, usually tea, should be bought at the same time, or else merely in the hope of attracting custom. It is obvious that, if they have to pay the same price for their sugar as other grocers, one of four things must happen. Either they must be content with a smaller profit than other grocers, which is not likely; or they must succeed in making so large a business as to be able to turn over their capital more quickly than other grocers, which is seldom likely to be the case; or the other articles must be either inferior in quality or dearer than those sold elsewhere. Doubtless one or other of these latter alternatives often results, but neither is safe; and therefore such a grocer will generally turn his attention to getting his sugar cheaper. The same sort of motives will induce wholesale grocers to meet him half way,—to agree to sell sugar at some especially low rate, on condition that he will purchase other goods from them. The next stage is reached when our enterprising store-keeper's cheap sugar gets to be heard of by neighboring grocers. They turn round on

the wholesale men, and demand to have their prices also reduced. As a large retail grocer, doing what we might describe as a highly genteel trade, and certainly under no special temptation to cut prices, said to me: "I say to the traveller, 'Look here, So-and-So is selling his sugar at such a price; he must have got it cheap somewhere, and I intend to have my sugar cheap too.'"

Such then was the condition of affairs; what my friend described as 'a go as you please,' which seems to be the politer Canadian equivalent for 'the devil take the hindmost.' This feature of the question is somewhat inadequately touched upon in the Report. It says that "the alleged demoralization of the sugar trade was but the same condition of this trade as had existed for many years owing to the custom of selling sugar at a low rate of profits." But no serious attempt was made during the enquiry to show that this unhealthy cutting of prices was not, as the combiners alleged, an increasing evil. Indeed, there are reasons for believing that evils of this sort will in the absence of combination go on increasing. There is a marked tendency for the number of stores to increase more rapidly than population. One effect of the present position of the artisan class, and of the facilities for elementary education, is to tempt the sons of artisans to try to lift themselves into the class of shop-keepers. The same tendency shows itself in the country, where, as I am informed, a quite unnecessary number of stores are started by the ambitious sons of farmers, only to meet with speedy failure. Stores increasing faster than population, the competition among them becomes keener, and the temptation increases to bribe customers by offering them some staple article at a very low price. The same effect is produced by the increasing aggregation of large masses of consumers in towns. With many rivals within a stone's throw, and a large trade possible if he can but attract it, it is no wonder that the grocer looks around for some attraction to offer.

The sacrifice which the retailer could shift on to the wholesaler, the latter could not escape. As before explained, one



refinery practically commands the market; and it fixes its prices according to the fluctuations in the prices of sugar in America and Europe, so as to be just below what might prompt dealers to import. Under these circumstances the suggestion that an agreement should be made between refiners and wholesalers came from the latter. If ever they had threatened, as they told the commission, not to buy and sell sugar at all, unless the refiners would help them to put a stop to cutting, it was a threat they were not very likely to carry out. But evidently there was a very keen dissatisfaction among most of the customers of the refiners, and it was natural that each of the refiners should be willing to make the arrangement we have described.\* Besides, however large might be the market commanded by the Canada Sugar Refinery, if it had refused to make terms with the wholesale grocers, the latter would probably have come to terms with the three other Canadian refiners and have left it in the lurch. It does not appear that the refiners have made use of the combine to secure higher profits for themselves. It was alleged by some of the witnesses that they had taken advantage of it to lower the quality of the sugar; but no evidence was offered in support of the charge.

The witnesses examined in opposition to the combine were all either wholesale or retail grocers. The wholesale men, whom we will call Messrs. A and B,† both of Montreal, took up the position that they had a *right* to cut sugar if they pleased, and that the refiners had no right to charge them any more for their sugar because they would not agree to maintain uniform prices. Says Mr. B, "I maintain the right to conduct the business I have to do with as I think proper" (p. 29); and again, "I have been a long while in business: longer than any of these gentlemen who came to me; and to

\*As one of the hostile witnesses said "the merchant has no longer the necessity of worrying the refiner on the prices he pays him." P. 18.

†It is not necessary to introduce the actual names. They can be easily ascertained by anyone who will take the trouble to consult the Report.

be put at the disposal of any committee who might come into my house and say, 'We will fix the price of this thing' \* \* \* was one of the reasons why I distinctly opposed it. \* \* \* I also had a long experience giving me to understand that matters of this kind never came to anything. There are always ways of defeating it." (p. 30.) If he once believed it innocuous, he no longer deems it so, but rather "a conspiracy of a most unlawful and outrageous character." "If any British subject had been in the middle of Africa and had been treated in connection with a matter of this sort as we have been treated, it would have been crushed at once by a British fleet sent for the purpose" (p. 32),—a fine figure of speech, which reminds one of Shakespeare's reference to the sea coast of Bohemia.

The other dissentient wholesale grocer, Mr. A, took up the same ground, and expressly said it was to "the principle of the thing" that he objected,—to his being dictated to as to the price at which he should sell his goods. Indeed he readily confessed that the arrangement did not secure the wholesale man more than a fair profit (p. 17-18; cf. also the evidence of a retail grocer, p. 63). He maintained, however, that while they were justified in making an agreement among themselves, they were not justified in making one with the refiners. "The refiners exist by the protection which they receive from the people." "The guild have the right to do their business as they see fit, and the refiners have not that right." (p. 18, cf. p. 24.) He sometimes refers to the consumer,—not that he believed the consumer had as yet been injured, but he thought he might be. "There is nothing to prevent these sugar combinations, which are satisfied with five per cent. to-day, not being satisfied with fifteen per cent. next year." But he frankly told the committee that it was not in the consumer he was interested, or in the question of right or wrong (pp. 19, 20). What he objected to was, his not being allowed to go on cutting prices, a procedure which he thought would be more for his advantage than agreeing to the rates of the association.

"Q.—Is it not better for a business man to have a decent profit, so long as it is not too much, than to cut and slash into trade? A.—If I thought that were a better way of doing business, I should be a member of the guild.

Q.—But so long as the consumer does not suffer? A.—I have told you that my objection to this is on a business stand, not on the moral right or wrong of the agreement; that as a business man I claim that it is not in favour of our business, and therefore I object to it." (p. 20.)

And in answer to a leading question of the chairman, which gave him a last chance to take up an unselfish attitude.

"Q.—As a business matter, you make more by being in a sugar combination than by being out of it? A.—I claim that it is better to be out of it, and therefore I object to be (forced?) into it.

Q.—It does ensure you a profit. A.—*It might pay me to do my sugar business without a profit.*" (p. 23.)

The opposition was joined by many of the retail grocers, especially in Quebec and Montreal. Three reasons for objecting to the combine were brought forward by them: 1, that they had to pay more for sugar; 2, that they were hindered from dealing directly with the refineries; and 3, some of the petitions just remember to mention that the consumer also has now to pay a higher price. Most of them felt that it was not wise to insist on this last point, for if the consumer paid more it meant that the retail dealer shifted over to him the increased cost, so that in that respect he had little to grumble about. We may readily conjecture that the source of the irritation of some of the retail grocers was the same as of Mr. A,—the fact they were hampered in their efforts to secure trade by cutting prices.

The second grievance, that the combination prevented them from dealing directly with the refineries, was urged chiefly by the Montrealers. They were especially touched by the exclusion, because, having their business near the great refinery, it would pay them to deal directly when it might not pay most retailers elsewhere. It does not appear that any

considerable number of retailers had, prior to the combine, been in the habit of buying from the refiner. It has been explained to me, by the grocer to whom I have before referred, that in the days before the combine, sugar was "cut so low" by the wholesale men that there was no inducement to the retail men to go to the refinery; it was only after the combine had been formed and the combiner's prices had gone up, that it became profitable to deal directly with the refiner. I have no doubt that the exclusion bore hardly upon a small number of large storekeepers, or men who were partly wholesale, partly retail; but it may be noticed that the demand that they should be excluded came, in the first instance, from the great mass of the retailers, and not from the wholesale men. When the list was first drawn up, the refiners caused to be put upon it the names of all those persons who had been in the habit of buying from them in any considerable quantity. Whereupon the associations of retailers remonstrated, and it was to satisfy them that the refiners and wholesale men removed the names of all retail dealers from the list.

It will be objected, and with truth, that the exclusion of the storekeeper from dealings with the producer means that there shall remain a class of middlemen perpetually quartered upon the public, a class which might conceivably be dispensed with. But it must be noticed that such a class had come into existence long before the combine: it is the natural product of modern methods of carrying on business; and when the public is aroused to get rid of them, as by such a movement as the Cooperative Societies, in England, the public is apt not to stop there, but to get rid of the retail storekeeper also. And it is clear from the evidence that the great body of retailers were just as anxious to retain *their* position between the public and the wholesale men. The retail associations had sent deputations to the wholesale men remonstrating with them for occasionally selling tea and sugar to family customers. Said one of the witnesses: "I did not individually object,"

but yet he joined the deputation on the subject "in order to give a sort of weight to it." (p. 85.) Said another: "*my idea is that the retailer should have control of the consumer.*" (p. 61.) What this might mean is curiously illustrated by an example referred to in the evidence. The Grey Nunnery in Montreal is apparently supplied direct by the wholesaler. Its consumption is doubtless so considerable that it is convenient to buy in large quantities: nevertheless, the retail grocer feels aggrieved that it is not obliged to come to him and pay him retail prices.

No retail grocer from Toronto was examined—probably because they had tried to form a combine themselves. It was organized at the same time as the wholesale combine, in the spring of '87, with the object of securing uniformity of retail prices, and preventing underselling. The informant, of whom I have already spoken, attributed its break-up, after weathering the fruit season of '87, to the influence of the *Globe*. "You see the *Globe* wanted to attack the N.P., and so it took up this combines business, and made a great row about it, and some of the men who wanted to get out of it, made that an excuse." "Well, what is your opinion of the wholesale combine, as it is now?" I asked as I came away. "It suits me all right—it makes business easier, now I know that nobody can get sugar cheaper than me. Tho' of course the *consumer* pays the higher price. But personally I am a free trader and against the N.P., and I think there ought to be free competition in everything." His fervour as he made this confession of faith was perhaps a little suspicious. I am afraid he had an impression that Political Economy enjoined competition as a moral duty, and that it was expedient to conciliate one who was both a professor and a consumer.

Having seen what the facts are in the case of the sugar combine, let us try to see how they might present themselves to an economist. There are one or two initial misconceptions as to the position of the economist which it may be well to clear out of the way. They are so evident that I must apologize

for touching upon them at all; and I would not do so, had I not found that opinions, that few would assent to when nakedly stated, exercise a more or less unconscious influence when left in comfortable vagueness at the back of the mind. In the first place then, no modern economist of repute teaches that absolutely free competition—either between individuals or between nations—is a rule which ought to be observed at all times and places—or even that it has necessarily a claim to be observed at any particular time or place. The modern economist deals with the force of competition in two connections: either as an abstract assumption used for a particular purpose, or as the means best employed in certain cases to reach certain results. First as an assumption: orthodox economists believe that it is useful to obtain certain generalizations, called “laws,” about rent, wages and prices. They argue that it is impossible to take into account all the varying motives which influence men; that it is better to take one great motive, confessedly of infinitely more importance than any other, and follow out its consequences; and then they say that, though the result may not exactly fit every individual case, it is on the whole and roughly speaking true; so that we may, at any rate, use it as a standard of comparison. Take for instance the question of rent. They say that, given free competition, supposing the landlord insists on the highest rent anyone will pay, and the tenant pays as little as he can get the landlord to take, and there are other persons offering to let land, and other persons ready to take the farm if one man will not, and there is no combination on either side, *then* the rent will be all the surplus produce over and above cost of production (including such average profits as will keep farmers in their occupation). But economists do not say that there *ought* to be this competition. As individuals they would doubtless in many cases, as in England, think that a landlord is acting in a commendable manner if he does not take all he can; and even as economists they might point out, as did Mr. Mill, in the case of Ireland, that the results of unrestricted competition had certain disadvantages.

Secondly, economists point to free competition as the means to be employed in certain circumstances to reach certain results—or, rather, as the means which will secure those results *if they are desired*. Thus, to take an example which no one I think will controvert in the form I state it: In a new colony, in which agriculture is for the time the most profitable occupation, *if* what the state wants is the largest possible increase of wealth in the present and near future, *then* free international competition or “free trade” (the colony devoting itself to agriculture and selling its corn for the manufactures of countries which, for the time, have advantages in manufacture), will usually bring about that result. But the economist does not commend free trade or free competition absolutely: he only points to it as the means which will tend to a certain end. If the nation does not desire that end, or *does not desire it so strongly as it desires other ends*, that particular plan is no longer appropriate. Competition therefore—the unchecked pursuit of self-interest by isolated individuals—is, to the economist, like the forces of nature, in itself neither good nor bad; and he studies its effects just as he would study the effects of non-human natural forces.

Like us, the lightning fires  
Love to have scope and play;  
The stream, like us, desires  
An unimpeded way;

Like us, the Libyan wind delights to roam at large.

Streams will not curb their pride  
The just man not to entomb,  
Nor lightnings go aside  
To give his virtues room;

Nor is that wind less rough that blows a good man's barge.

Nature, with equal mind,  
Sees all her sons at play;  
Sees man control the wind,  
The wind sweep man away;

Allows the proudly-riding and the foundering bark.

So is it with competition. It gave England, forty years ago, cheap cloth and cheap cotton; it gave it also a huge,

miserable and discontented working population that brought it to the verge of a social revolution. It gives us to-day, in London, fashionably-cut trousers at \$2 the pair; and on the other side the sweating system.

But economists did not always hold this view. Partly owing to various practical evils around them due to governmental action, partly owing to the philosophy of the time which believed in a *law of nature* which, transcending all human institutions, worked out its beneficent results when men were left to themselves, Adam Smith and most of his successors down to about 1848, believed not only that free competition was the best way to arrive at certain ends, not only that *if* there were free competition certain results would follow, but also that there *ought to be* free competition. Not only that if there were free competition, wages and prices would be so and so, but that they ought not to be regulated by anything else. Thus, even among thoughtful people of the middle class who were not manufacturers, there was a sort of idea that workmen merely in agreeing together not to work except at a certain wage, were doing something morally wrong. As has been wittily said, they felt "as if an attempt to alter the rate of wages by combination of workmen was like an attempt to alter the weight of the air by tampering with barometers."\* With all reasonable economists this feeling has long ago passed away. But the result of all this insistence for almost a century upon the idea of free competition has been to create an impression in the public mind that any interference with competition is itself wicked. Even when particular classes and individuals make an exception for themselves, they are honestly inclined to believe that the rule holds good in the case of everyone else. Traces of this idea, from which scientific support has long been withdrawn, are still continually cropping up—for instance, in Mr. Wallace's bill, as originally presented to the Dominion Parliament, when it proposed to declare guilty of a misdemeanour every person who made agreement with any other

\* Stephen, Hist. Crim. Law, iii. 211.



person for "*restricting competition* in the production, manufacture, sale, or transportation" of "any commodity which is an object of trade"!

Recognizing, then, that competition is in itself neither good nor bad, but may be either, what are the evil or beneficial features of the sugar combine, as it now exists? The first result is an increase of roughly one cent per pound in the price of standard white granulated sugar. This sugar is not much used by the working classes, who use yellow sugar instead. We probably should not err in supposing that the Ontarian bricklayer, who according to the tables of the Bureau of Industry, earns about \$500 a year and whose cost of living is, according to the same authority \$300, represents the poorest class of those who are regular purchasers of this sugar for family use. I am informed by a competent housewife, that with a couple of children of school age a family would get on well enough with two pounds a week. The combine means to them, therefore, an increased expenditure of 100 cents a year = \$1, *i.e.*, an increase from \$400 to \$401, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. The burden on the skilled-artizan class would be much heavier of course than upon classes enjoying a larger income—for the consumption of sugar by no means increases in the same proportion as income. A family of the professional class, spending \$2,000 a year, and consuming the lavish amount of four pounds weekly, would find its expenditure increased by one tenth of one per cent.

Secondly, it has prevented some four or five wholesale grocers who refused to join the combination, from getting rich quite so soon as they otherwise might. The Report says that "thus establishments, which, in some cases, are the growth of half a century of toil and honourable dealing, and rich in valuable experience and public confidence, are threatened with extinction." The evidence seems hardly to warrant this appeal to our sympathies. One of the large firms that have stood out declares that its sugar now costs it \$1,000 a year more than before; while the combiners reply that it cannot prove an increase of more than \$500. But it was not so much of the

loss on sugar that this firm complained, as of its no longer being able to "cut sugars" and so attract business.

This leads us to a third result and one not quite so clear on the surface. There can be no doubt that there is a tendency under unrestricted competition for businesses carried on with large capitals to drive lesser undertakings out of the field. It is unnecessary to point out why this is so, or the way in which it is taking place all around us. But, evidently, the practice of *cutting* assists this tendency in the grocery business, both wholesale and retail. A wholesale grocer with a large capital can better afford to sell sugar at a sacrifice and so to win custom than a man with a smaller capital; and the same is true in the retail trade. So far, therefore, as uniformity of prices has been secured, the average wholesale man and the average retailer have been to some degree protected against the big man. To those who see one of the greatest dangers of modern economic development in the destruction of the trading and manufacturing middle class and the growth on its ruins of a few colossal businesses, the tendency of the combine will, in this respect, seem conservative in the best sense of the word.

Fourthly, by making it difficult to offer an attraction in cheap sugar, it has put some slight obstacle in the way of the excessive undue multiplication of little shops.

Fifthly, the arrangement has introduced greater steadiness in the business of wholesaler and retailer, with the result of lessening jealousy and suspicion all round. Nowadays we are very apt to worship the consumer; with but little thought of the worry and laceration of spirit, and of the vulgarization of business, which is involved in the perpetual effort of the retailer to win custom by outselling his fellow. But the benefit does not stop with the dealer himself. I know not how the business of wholesale grocers is conducted, but I imagine they employ a considerable number of men, and some of these probably find themselves in the enjoyment of more regular and continuous employment than if their masters were still cutting one another's throats.

But I must confess, finally, that there does seem some force in the argument that though the wholesalers have not obtained too high profits as yet, the combination may possibly enable them to exact too high a price by and by. If *all* the wholesalers should combine, this might take place: though they would find it inexpedient to make any very considerable increase of price, as it would certainly lead to the diminution of demand in a much greater ratio. If I have spoken somewhat slightly of Messrs. A and B in the earlier part of this paper, in the conviction that they have possibly received from others more than their due share of commiseration, I will make my apology to them by expressing the confident anticipation that they will save us by their enterprize from this contingency. Even as things are now, it almost pays a man to import his sugar. If prices went up very little more, without any change in the existing tariff, it would become profitable.

After these criticisms it will be seen that in my opinion it is impossible wholly to condemn or wholly to praise the sugar combine. The economist will stand by, and see what takes place.

W. J. ASHLEY.

## BROWNING'S SORDELLO

**S**ORDELLO is certainly not the greatest work of its author: it is as far from being popular as any poem well can be; it is little read even by professed admirers of Browning, and yet it is perhaps oftener referred to than any other of his works. The name *Sordello* is familiar to those whose acquaintance with its author goes no further. When *Sordello* is mentioned, the outside world smile knowingly. Is not this the enigmatic poem over which those foolish enthusiasts, the admirers of Browning, racked their weary brains, while the poet himself sat sphinx-like and impenetrable, pleased by the vain efforts of his adorers over difficulties which either (so the philistine thinks) he might have solved with a word, or in regard to which his own ideas were no clearer than theirs? It mattered not which alternative were true; in either case the admirers were equally ridiculous. And now that Browning himself is gone, the incredulous outside world thinks that the solutions, if there be any, are buried forever with the poet.

The philistinism of the philistine is especially apparent in his taking for granted that there is any necessary absurdity either in the position of the reader who tasks himself to penetrate obscurities while the author is at hand to explain them, or in the position of the author who neglects or refuses this explanation. Such an assumption reveals defective perception of the nature of poetry. All high art consists in the embodiment of a great conception in as adequate and clear a manner as the medium employed (whether colour, or marble, or language) may permit. The true artist surpasses not merely in the greatness of his conception, but in the power of giving that conception expression. Grant, for the moment, that Browning is a true artist and that as he asserts in the preface to his *Selections*, he has done his utmost in

the art to which his life has been devoted, then it follows that in his poems his ideas have received the most adequate embodiment which he is capable of giving them. It is true he might have made this or that point clearer, but the clearness would be attained at the cost of exactness and completeness. He must, inevitably, have narrowed the original conception, and lessened that complexity which is of its essence. Shakespeare might have written a prose analysis of the character of Hamlet and thereby have rendered many points in the play clearer; but it would have been at the expense of complexity and many-sidedness, in which the very excellence of the characterization lies. There is an infinite significance in the highest art, a significance therefore which no analysis can unfold; just as no description of an actual acquaintance can perfectly reproduce our perception of his individuality. The artist uses for the expression of his ideas the most adequate form which his chosen medium offers. To say that a poet might explain what he means, by writing letters to enquiring readers, is to say that a letter is a superior to poetry as an instrument for the utterance of his thoughts. That, indeed, in his secret heart, the philistine believes.

It must be noted, further, that there are special objections to an artist writing commentaries on himself. I do not refer so much to the fact that a man, though a good artist, may be but a poor critic,—have great synthetic, yet little analytic power. I refer rather to the fact that the author's commentary will at once be accepted as adequate. We read what Hazlitt, or Kreyssig, or Dowden has to say to Hamlet, and may find their ideas suggestive and helpful for deepening our insight into the drama. But we assume that, whatever of truth these analyses may contain, they are all of them inadequate. We turn again to the text to form our own conception. But an analysis by the poet himself would replace the play, or at least narrow our conception of it. It would, perhaps, seem mystical nonsense to some, if I should add, what is undoubtedly true, that a great work of art possesses a significance beyond the author's intention or consciousness.

The keenness and breadth of his vision enables him to produce a picture, the significance of whose details he himself does not fully perceive.

It was Browning's task, then, to embody his conceptions as well he could, in his chosen medium of poetry, leaving it to his reader to meet him half way and to interpret the conception in accordance with his own individual capacities and needs. Browning's reticence was therefore justifiable. He, indeed, erred on the other side. It seems a pity, for instance, that the subtle picture of loyalty and personal magnetism contained in *The Lost Leader* should have its truth, as a typical presentation of human nature, marred by its application to the special case of Wordsworth, where to most of us, it seems manifestly unfit and misleading. Doubtless Browning himself expressly states\* that Wordsworth's deflection from the popular side merely afforded the nucleus around which the conception developed; but the ordinary reader will, notwithstanding, persist in narrowing the broad truth of the typical picture to the limitations of the special case. And, even for those who are guilty of no such misapprehension, this peep into the poet's laboratory must mar somewhat the enjoyment of the perfected product.

It may be objected, however, either that Browning did not make every effort to present his conceptions clearly, or that these conceptions were but hazy in his own mind. As to the second alternative, it is a matter which each reader may test for himself. In fact, careful students of Browning find that lucid and trenchant thought lies behind the most puzzling passages, that their obscurity arises from the rapidity of the writer's mind, the condensation of his expression and the profundity of his ideas. As regards the former alternative, one does sometimes suspect that Browning with quiet humour threw out conundrums for his perfervid disciples to guess, or, secure of his position and his audience, neglected to take the

\* In a letter which appeared Vol. I., of the Prose Works of Wordsworth, edited by A. B. Grosart. It is quoted in Rolfe's Selections from Browning.

trouble of meeting his reader half way. But that this should be the case in the great body of his work is incredible. No one who has learned to know something of the man, can for a moment suppose that he, with his ardent and earnest temperament, should have played at hide and seek in the deliverance of a message which he considered to be of the highest import to humanity. Especially in the case of *Sordello*, written when the poet was as yet young and unrecognized, must we suppose that he clothed it in the best form which his subject and genius would allow. Twenty-three years later, lending an ear to the complaint against its obscurity, he attempted to rewrite it in a more popular style; but, naturally, except in isolated passages, he found the task an impossible one. The conceptions that had crowded his mind and interested him a quarter of a century before, had been embodied in such language and imagery as seemed to reproduce them best. He could not reshape the form without changing the idea. In truth, form and substance are inextricably involved: the higher the form and the more original the conception, the more indissoluble is the connection. It evinces but a shallow perception of what literature is, to ask why Browning did not write like Tennyson, or why Carlyle's style is not as smooth as the style of Hume. The intellectual propositions contained in Carlyle's works might indeed have been couched in commonplace English; but in that case Carlyle would be as unnoticed as others who have given utterance to similar ideas. It is the emotion with which he regards these ideas, the earnestness with which he preaches them that did give him power and distinction; and how were these emotions and this earnestness otherwise to become apparent than through style?

Difficult Browning's style undoubtedly is, and difficult especially in *Sordello*. In this poem there are passages and allusions which have, perhaps, baffled every reader. But *Hamlet*, too, has difficulties which have defied a much more prolonged and searching scrutiny. In the case of *Sordello* as of *Hamlet*, we can understand and appreciate the work as a whole without



comprehending the exact bearing of every part. But those who through careful reading have attained even a general conception of *Sordello* must be few, nor are they ever likely to be many. In its artistic framework there are enough defects to prevent its ever winning that hold on the world which a great and perfect poem, however unsuited to the general reader, inevitably gains. Notwithstanding, the genuine student whose homage for Browning's genius has been won by other works, will always turn to *Sordello* because of the light which it throws on the mind and method of the great master. Apart from this, for those who enjoy the bracing effect of close contact with a puissant spirit in its most energetic moments, for those who prefer a stimulus to thinking rather than a train of thought fully worked out, there will always exist a fascination in this amorphous poem. The popular mind is right too in specially associating Browning with *Sordello*. No other single work is more characteristic of his genius or so full of his peculiar ideas. Amidst much that is unpleasing, and unattractive in form and expression, are found many passages which afford typical and striking examples of Browning's special poetic gifts. It may not be uninteresting, therefore, to give some account of this little-read poem—a popular and inadequate account necessarily; to attempt to indicate some of the main features, and to smooth some of the chief difficulties is all that can be done within the limits of a single article.\*

In 1840 when *Sordello* was written and published, Browning was but twenty-eight years old. Life spread before him full of unwonted promise. Possessed of an energetic character, a powerful intellect and an imagination of extraordinary vigour, he was full of vitality, of sensitiveness to external nature and interest in the world of man. He did not, however, plunge into the existence before him as so many poets have done, unthinkingly. A strong bent towards philosophic inquiry and psychological analysis led him to examine his own capacities,

\* A full analysis will be found in my *Introduction to Browning* (Gum & Co.); see also Nettleship's *Essays on Browning* (Macmillan), and Dean Church's article on *Sordello*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, February, 1887.

ideas and impulses—to frame an ordered conception of his function and aim in the world, of his relations to his fellow-men and the universe in general. The deeper insight into truth which results from the successful pursuit of such inquiries is, in Browning's opinion, a mark and part of poetic gifts of the highest order. This he tells us at the close of the third book of *Sordello*, where for two pages he abandons his theme, takes his readers into his confidence, and explains the motives and aims which actuate him in writing the present poem. The function of the highest poet is not to titillate the intellectual or emotional palate, but to communicate, by means of his art, this deeper insight to which he has attained. In this spirit—in the fulfilment of this high office, and in the service of mankind *Sordello* is written. It is to contain, accordingly, the truth thus far apprehended by Browning—his whole philosophy.

Browning, however, is not primarily a philosopher but a poet. Hence his natural impulse is not to draw out his ideas in a series of abstract statements, in a reasoned system, but to embody them in a concrete picturesque form. He does not lead the minds of the readers from a series of generalized observations to certain conclusions; but he makes them perceive certain truths through picturesque representations of individual yet typical situations and characters. The artistic method is the more effective and, for the poetic thinker, the only method.

"It is the glory and good of Art,  
That Art remains the one way possible  
Of speaking truth, to mouths like mine, at least.  
How look a brother in the face and say  
"Thy right is wrong, eyes hast thou y. t art blind,  
"Thine ears are stuffed and stopped, despite their length,  
"And, oh, the foolishness thou countest faith!"  
Say this as silvery as tongue can troll,—  
The anger of the man may be endured,  
The shrug, the disappointed eyes of him  
Are not so bad to bear—but here's the plague,  
That all this trouble comes of telling truth,  
Which truth, by when it reaches him, looks false,

Seems to be just the thing it would supplant,  
 Nor recognizable by whom it left—  
 While falsehood would have done the work of truth.  
 But Art—wherein man nowise speaks to men,  
 Only to mankind—Art may tell a truth  
 Obliquely, do the thing shall breed the thought,  
 Nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.  
 So may you paint your picture, twice show truth,  
 Beyond mere imagery on the wall,—  
 So, note by note, bring music from your mind,  
 Deeper than ever the Andante dived,—  
 So write a book shall mean beyond the facts  
 Suffice the eye, and save the soul beside.”

—*The Ring and the Book*, XII, 838 ff.

It is evident that Browning could most easily give utterance to the ideas within him by choosing as the theme of his poem a situation somewhat similar to his own. He accordingly selects the story of Sordello, an Italian poet of the thirteenth century, mentioned by Dante in Canto VI of the *Purgatorio*.<sup>\*</sup> The historical accounts of this individual are confusing and contradictory. Some authorities suppose that there were two men of this name, one a poet, the other a man of affairs, at one time governor of Mantua. To us it does not matter. Browning treats the historical facts of Sordello's life with great freedom and moulds them to his own purpose. Yet we can see how the hints and statements of tradition have developed in his mind the character presented in the poem. In depicting Sordello's environment, history is of more importance, and is more closely followed. Browning, a student and man of learning as well as a poet, had thoroughly imbued his mind with the events and characters of the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle, in the midst of which he places his hero. It is not, however, his purpose to give any further picture of the times than is needful for understanding the development of the central personage. "The historical decoration" he says in the letter prefixed to the edition of 1863, "was purposely of no more importance than a back-ground

<sup>\*</sup> In the notes on the passage in Longfellow's translation, the traditions in regard to the historic Sordello are collected.

requires; and my stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul; little else is worth study." Unfortunately, Browning, always awkward in relating a series of external events, is here more awkward than usual. He indicates the back-ground by a series of disconnected allusions. Each of these is a picture of remarkable vividness and power. But it is "history read by flashes of lightning"—the connecting thread is hard to find. The consequent suddenness of the transitions, and the lack of mediating links give an air of unreality to the whole poem. Another defect in the artistic structure lies deeper—the analytic treatment of the theme. Browning is always, in a certain sense, analytic; but he usually disguises this. We get at the analysis through hearing the characters themselves talk. But here the poet frankly takes us into his psychological laboratory, dissects a soul for us, and shows the springs which move it. He is conscious of the defect in his method, but defends it on the grounds of necessity.

"I should delight in watching first to last  
His\* progress as you watch it, not a whit  
More in the secret than yourselves who sit  
Fresh-chapleted to listen. But it seems  
Your setters-forth of unexampled themes,  
Makers of quite new men, producing them,  
Would best chalk broadly on each vesture's hem,  
The wearer's quality; or take their stand,  
Motley on back and pointing-pole in hand,  
Beside him.

In *Sordello*, then, we have the biography of a poet—a born poet.

"Yourselves shall trace  
(The delicate nostril swerving wide and fine,  
A sharp and restless lip, so well combine  
With that calm brow) a soul fit to receive  
Delight at every sense; you can believe  
*Sordello* foremost in the regal class  
Nature has broadly severed from her mass  
Of men, and framed for pleasure, as she frames

\* *Sordello's*.

Some happy lands, that have luxurious names,  
 For loose fertility ; a footfall there  
 Suffices to upturn to the warm air,  
 Half-germinating spices ; mere decay  
 Produces richer life ; and day by day  
 New pollen on the lily-petal grows,  
 And still more labyrinthine buds the rose.  
 You recognize at once the finer dress  
 Of flesh that amply lets in loveliness  
 At eye and ear, while round the rest is furled  
 (As though she would not trust them with her world)  
 A veil that shows a sky not near so blue,  
 And lets but half the sun looks fervid through."

He is not merely a poet, but a poet of the highest rank, with the insight therefore, which, as already indicated, Browning assigns to such. His poetic power is but one side of him ; like Goethe he regards it as an outlet for his personality ; not like Pope, as the end of his existence. Moreover, he had that Shakespearian breadth of imagination which enables him to enter into and sympathize with all forms of life and activity. A many-sided spirit of this stamp, in seeking to adjust himself to his environment,—to find his purpose and function in the universe, naturally encounters nearly all the problems of human life and destiny. The way in which Sordello met them, and the effect of experience, of contact with external facts, form the substance of the poem.

That the spirit of his hero might have full play for natural development, and that the effect of its collision with the outer world may be the more startling, Browning isolates Sordello during his youthful years. He dwelt in—

Goito ; just a castle built amid  
 A few low mountains ; firs and larches hid  
 Their main defiles, and rings of vineyard bound  
 The rest. Some captured creatures in a pound  
 Whose artless wonder quite precludes distress,  
 Secure beside in its own loveliness  
 So peered with airy head, below, above,  
 The castle at its toils, the lapwings love  
 To glean among at grape-time.

Here, without instructors, without companions, almost wholly cut off from the world, his poetic spirit is developed through communion with nature. This isolation preserved a freshness and freedom of mind which could not have been maintained in contact with the turbulent and blood-stained life of Italy at that time, but on the other hand rendered all-predominant the egotism natural to his powerful and self-conscious spirit. He knew nothing of the claims of others, or of self-sacrifice. The only link that bound him to his fellows was the felt need of recognition,—in other words, of fame. Of his own greatness he was fully conscious; but to display that greatness, and to confirm it, he needed spectators—the world of men. He knew nothing of his own antecedents or prospects, and the imaginative dreams in which he lived, never led him to inquire. He took for granted that his position corresponded to the splendid capacities which he felt within himself. He supposed himself a future king, at least, and thus equipped with all external resources, intended to live the life of an ideally perfect man, an Apollo—to enjoy all pleasure, master all knowledge, to be a ruler and a poet—to realize in his own person all the varied activities of mankind into which, in virtue of his poetic imagination, he had already sympathetically entered.

None of us, however, can fully attain our ideals. In early manhood we surrender this or that cherished ambition. The material means at our command—position, wealth, physical strength, time—are not sufficient. We cannot at the same be discoverers in science, great statesmen, and great capitalists. We must choose our line and follow it. Much more, when Sordello reached manhood and learned that he was the son of a poor archer, a dependent without resources or position, did he find it needful to renounce somewhat of his gigantically ambitious schemes. He could not win glory on the way he had hoped; but poetic power was still his, and through this he resolved to gain the homage of mankind.

Now it will be noted that this desire for homage was not a sufficient motive to stimulate Sordello's highest creative

power. For to strike out original conceptions, to enlarge the scope of poetry, to unfold new truths to men, is not, Sordello (as many others) found, the road to popular favour. He took the easier and more profitable path; wrote in the traditional style and uttered the well-worn platitudes current in his day. But the genuine poetic spirit within him revolted at this slipshod work; and fame, though it came abundantly, did not satisfy the cravings of his spirit. How could it? This fame was merely recognition of his poetic power; but he was conscious that this endowment formed but a small part of his nature—that he had capacities for all forms of activity, though precluded by external circumstances from realizing them. He had fondly cherished the hope that he could force recognition of this many-sidedness by depicting every variety of character in his poetry. He had supposed that when men saw, realized there the ruler, the statesman, the thinker, they would perceive that the poet himself was a potential ruler or statesman. They did no such thing; to the world he remained but a poet,—a mere thinker and writer whom the men of action despise. Thus he passed many years in this unsatisfactory attempt, until at length disgusted with his first essay of actual life, he retired once more to the unbroken calm of Goito.

But reaction came. Most thinkers and students,—men whose life is passed amidst ideas and abstractions, have experienced at times a sense of the unreality and unsatisfactoriness of their life and felt a sudden thirst for active life, for contact with men, for concrete experience. It is a mood illustrated in the story of Faustus as told by two great poets, Marlowe and Goethe. This mood now seized Sordello with an intensity proportioned to the sensitiveness of his nature and the variety of his powers. He had mistaken thus far, he feels, the aim of life. Happiness, not fame, is to be sought for; and happiness is to be found in action—in real experience.

Hitherto, however, Sordello had in as far as possible shunned all real experience, fearing lest it should render him one-sided, and unfit him for claiming through his poetry an acknowledgment of the perfection and roundness of his nature. He

dreaded, in short, that one-sidedness which arises from concentration on any one department of human activity. So Darwin's almost exclusive devotion to scientific pursuits resulted, as he states in his autobiography, in the paralysis of his æsthetic faculties. Undoubtedly every action we perform, much more every course of action we follow, develops one part of our nature at the expense of the rest. Through his dread of this, Sordello had lost—mistakenly, he now feels,—the best years of life. Real activity would have brought happiness; and, moreover, it would have deepened his insight into men and things,—would have rendered his conceptions more definite, and have afforded that harvest of novel truth which Browning thinks every great poet should reap.

This new impulse towards real life is confirmed by a sudden change in his fortunes. He becomes betrothed to Palma, daughter of Eccelino da Romano, who by her father's retirement, had become the nominal head of the Ghibelline party. He thus finds put into his hands, in some measure, that power and scope for which in early youth he had longed. But experience has taught him to use these, not to win recognition from mankind, but to afford an outlet for his activities and desires. Having learned that the shortness of life, and limited physical powers forbid him to realize all experiences in himself, he determines to realize them through making other men act. In virtue of the high position which his new fortune has brought him, he is able to use men as instruments to embody his conceptions. He will be the centre, the soul, the impelling energy, and men shall be the body to carry out his will.

In the thirteenth century, the busy world of Italy, in which Sordello proposes to become an actor, afforded no pleasant picture of humanity. With terrible vividness, Browning, in his fragmentary way, depicts its horrors,—the baseness, the intrigues, the hatred, cruelty and carnage which polluted the lovely scenes and artistic splendour of that favoured land. Sordello, since he is now to use men, examines all



this with a closeness and interest which egoism had never permitted before. He is struck by the degradation and misery of the bulk of mankind, upon which the power and happiness of the few are built. He perceives that the masses are too wretched and too undeveloped to embody his conceptions. His instrument must be improved before he can use it. He thus arrives at the truth, that his own happiness,—the realization of his own personality, is inextricably connected with the well-being of his fellow-men. He and they are really one. The tie that unites us with society is so close that it must be regarded even by intelligent egoism.

Thus Sordello had found that the first step towards carrying out the plan of life which he had proposed for himself, was to improve the condition of the people at large. But how? That is a question which the inexperienced poet finds it difficult to answer. Nor can the men of action, the leaders of great parties, help him to a solution. They have never even given it a thought. Guelfs and Ghibellines are not, apparently, divided about any great principle. Everyone seems bent only on the blindest and narrowest self-seeking. Yet in Sordello the need of action has been awakened; his interest in mankind, once roused, gathers strength. His egoism is yielding before contact with human life.

At length he frames an ambitious scheme for the social and political regeneration of Italy. But no sooner is it formed than he reluctantly abandons it; for observation convinces him that the populace are not sufficiently advanced to profit by it. Then comes home to him the truth that the development of mankind must be gradual. The institutions and refinements of advanced civilization are worse than wasted on a barbarous people. Each advance must be but a step, and the nature of that step must be determined by the condition of society at the time. Slow progression is the law of man's nature.

What then, Sordello asks himself, is the advance possible to my age to which I may contribute? His thoughts naturally turn to the great struggle which was rending Italy

asunder. He was himself through Palma, closely connected with the Ghibellines, who supported the claims of the German Emperor. This party seemed to be identified with foreign domination, and the aristocratic supremacy of the few. The Guelfs, on the other hand, were in league with the Pope and Rome, and seemed rather than the Ghibellines, to represent the elements of spiritual and political progress. To be sure, the distinction was, as it were, accidental; the parties were not themselves aware of it. Notwithstanding, Sordello felt that his new-born sense of the claims of humanity required that he should throw his influence on the Guelf side.

Now the real head and the moving spirit of the Ghibelline party in Italy was Taurello Salinguerra. He had for many years acted as lieutenant to Ecelin, the nominal head, and was now acting as adviser to Palma. The Emperor, however, had placed a badge in the hands of Taurello with the power to confer it on whom he would, together with the office of Imperial vice-gerent in Italy and the leadership of the Ghibelline party. To win Taurello over, seemed to Sordello the way to secure the triumph of the Guelfs. "Talking was his trade"; to persuade Taurello was plainly the duty which the time and the occasion imposed upon Sordello.

His lofty arguments and aspirations fell on unreceptive ears. How could they avail to change the life purpose of Taurello, a sage and practised man of the world! Yet this was what Sordello, in his inexperience and his craving for great results, had hoped would be the effect of a single speech. Notwithstanding, Taurello is struck by the enthusiasm and power of the poet; he knows him to be the betrothed of Palma; the idea suddenly strikes him that this is the man on whom to confer the imperial vice-gerency, while he himself remained, as formerly, the real leader of the party. No sooner thought than done; he throws the Emperor's badge about Sordello's neck. Then comes a revelation from Palma of a secret which she had recently learned. Sordello is in truth the son of Taurello, supposed to have been killed in infancy.

Thus Sordello is clothed with all those external advantages for which he had longed ; position, power, and wealth are his. But Sordello himself has changed. The old ideals have passed away ; new aspirations are strong within him. The acceptance of these advantages involves the renouncing of the Guelf cause—the neglect of that one step for the advancement of humanity which lies in his power. Shall he sacrifice the people to his own aggrandizement ?

Then follows a long internal debate,—the keen struggle between old egoism and new-born altruism. Sordello in his search for light reviews his past life. Each aim pursued, each part of his life seemed justifiable in itself ; but yet he is conscious that he has not made as much of his life as many inferior men have made out of theirs ; and this arises from lack of a single predominating aim which might have given unity and concentration to his efforts. The objects to which men of less comprehensive spirit devoted themselves,—wealth, pleasure, power,—good, or apparently good, as they may be, were too narrow and inadequate for the wide preceptions and impulses of Sordello. In the absence, then, of any sufficient external object, might it not be true that his object was himself,—the full realization of his own individuality ? Indeed, it strikes him that this self-realization is the true end of every individual, but that inferior spirits require some external stimulus to draw them on to action,—to force them unconsciously to develop themselves.

But if self-realization is his end, why should he sacrifice himself for the people ? True, he has found that he is so closely connected with the rest of mankind, that the full development of his own nature depends on the development of theirs,—that they are, as it were, a part of him. Then why sacrifice for one part of himself (*viz.*, the people), the other part (*viz.*, his individual existence) ? Again, should he renounce individual ends and succeed in rendering the Guelfs triumphant, the advantage conferred upon men would be exceedingly small, while his personal sacrifice would be tremendous.

At this point Sordello feels himself endowed with a new power of penetrating the mysteries of things. He sees that good and evil are mere modes of time; they have no absolute reality. Evil exists in this world in order that the soul may develop itself in the struggle to overcome evil, and may thus be prepared for a new and higher phase of being. The soul, being eternal, has infinite desires and aspirations which this finite world cannot gratify. Sordello had made the mistake of trying to satisfy these infinite aspirations within the limits of this life. He had attempted to get more out of this world than the world can yield. He had thus wrecked himself—lost, in a great measure, the advantages which the present life is intended to afford. This fatal mistake, however, arose from his very superiority to other men,—from the depth of his insight and the breadth of his nature. Must then a man of his type degrade his soul to the pursuit of objects which, he perceives, are unworthy of it; or where is a motive to be found sufficient to bring spirits like his into harmony with the present world of time? Sordello finds no solution for the difficulty; but an instinctive feeling of right, although he can assign no sufficient motive, leads him to reject the Emperor's badge. He sacrifices himself to the people, and then dies, exhausted by the intensity of the internal struggle.

Such, in brief, is the story of Sordello. His life, says Browning, was a failure, through which not only Sordello suffered, but also the world at large.

"What he should have been,

Could be and was not—the one step too mean  
 For him to take—we suffer at this day  
 Because of: Ecelin had pushed away  
 Its chance ere Dante could arrive and take  
 That step Sordello spurned, for the world's sake:  
 He did much—but Sordello's chance was gone.

\* \* \* \* \*

Had he embraced

Their cause then, men had plucked Hesperian fruit  
 And, praising that, just thrown him in to boot  
 All he was anxious to appear, but scarce  
 Solicitous to be. A sorry farce  
 Such life is, after all!

In what did he fail, the reader asks, what step should he have taken, what was the cause of his failure? The answer does not lie on the surface, but may be gathered from the general tenor of the poem, and is confirmed by Browning's utterances in other works.

In the first place, Sordello's life was not a complete failure. It was a constant progress towards higher ideas, towards a closer grasp of truth and reality, a better plan of life. Experience was not thrown away on him. With the ideas expressed in Sordello's final soliloquy—as to his past life, the aim of man, the relativity of good and evil, and so on, Browning would entirely agree. The final action of rejecting the imperial badge, he would approve. That which was lacking was a sufficient motive for that action and a sufficient object to have served Sordello as the goal of life.

Now, the truth attained by Sordello in this final debate, is truth as may be attained by the unaided human spirit. But it is inadequate. Were it not so, religion would be superfluous and revelation needless—which is by no means Browning's opinion. It will be noted that among the influences that work upon Sordello, there is no reference\* to religion, although it must, inevitably, be considered, if only to be rejected in framing a philosophy of life. It is indeed there, in Christianity, that Browning finds a solution for Sordello's difficulty. The Christian religion furnishes a motive sufficient to bend the proudest spirit to the meanest duty. God is an object for infinite love, and in Christ he appears in a form capable of inspiring infinite love. The man who accepts this manifestation of the divine, and is inspired by this love, has his line of action laid down both by precept and example,—and more important still, has a motive for action, never failing and never insufficient. "Ah, my Sordello," says Browning, taking up the thread of the soliloquy, to insert in Sordello's system this keystone truth:—

\* There is a single slight reference which has no bearing on the matter in hand.

"Ah, my Sordello, I this once befriend  
 And speak for you. Of a Power above you still  
 Which, utterly incomprehensible,  
 Is out of rivalry, which thus you can  
 Love, tho' unloving all conceived by man—  
 What need! And of—none the minutest duct  
 To that out-nature, naught that would instruct  
 And thus let rivalry begin to live—  
 But of a Power its representative  
 Who, being for authority the same,  
 Communication different, should claim  
 A course, the first chose but this last revealed—  
 This Human clear, as that Divine concealed  
 What utter need!

The lack, then in Sordello's nature, is the lack of love, of devotion to something outside himself; and the object which can sufficiently awaken love in such a spirit as Sordello's, must be divine. So needful is love that even inferior natures who had fixed their devotion on unworthy external objects, surpassed Sordello in the race. Had this principle of love been implanted early in Sordello, he would have forgotten himself and his self-realization, and have plunged into real life for the service of men. He would, thus, have fitted himself for what was evidently his natural function, that of a poet. He would, through real experience, have attained to novel truths, and these, again, in obedience to the spirit of love, he would have imparted to his fellow-men. He would have been a great and earnest poet like Dante, and, like him, would have elevated men to higher truths and nobler ideals.

In more general terms, the problems presented in *Sordello* may be stated in the following way: The philosophic conception of the ultimate end of man as being self-realization—the complete and harmonious development of his whole nature—has, along with the accompanying gospel of culture, found wide acceptance. It is a principle which is confirmed by the extent of its possible application, offering as it does a satisfactory theory of the end of all life, of all existence, of God himself. Practically, however, it is not unobjectionable. The gospel of culture is found, in experience, to have

a tendency to produce selfishness, indifferentism, and diletantism. The common sense of mankind tells us, moreover, there must be a limit to self-culture, that in the pursuit of it we must not sacrifice others. Indeed, the instinct of duty goes further, and often demands that we should renounce the completeness of our own development for the sake of our fellow men. Where must the line be drawn? Where must personal considerations end and altruistic begin? Browning answers that the theory of self-realization is true only if we take into account the whole of the soul's existence, and not merely its life on earth. But it is the worst of folly to strive after perfection within this short span of being. Though self-realization or perfection is the ultimate end to which the soul approximates, it is best attained when not directly sought. Just as happiness, we know, rarely comes to those who make it their aim, but often to those who do not. The man who aims directly at perfection, develops a character in which one of the main elements is lacking,—love. He neglects, moreover, the work which every man, great or small, has to do in this world—that contribution which it is the duty of the individual to bestow towards the general advancement of the race. On the other hand the man who, through the supreme motive, the attraction exercised by the character of the perfect Man who was also God,—who, in loving devotion to His precepts and His example, takes up his allotted task in the service of others, and strenuously applies himself to it—this man undergoes the best discipline for the perfecting of his own nature, and unconsciously adopts the best method for attaining the ultimate end of his existence. He has both done his work in the world and developed his spirit for the work of a new and loftier sphere.

So much as regards the thought—the substance of the poem. As regards form and art, we have space to add but little to what has already been incidentally said. On this side *Sordello* is manifestly defective. Notwithstanding all the detail in which *Sordello* himself is described, he never comes

before us as a real and palpable character. He is, for the most part, a bloodless phantom, conjured from oblivion to exhibit and voice some of Browning's own ideas. Taurello is the only strikingly successful creation in the poem. Of Ecelin, Adelaide and Naddo, we get most striking and suggestive hints, but their portraits are not worked out. There is the same allusiveness (if the word may be permitted) and lack of completeness in the historical and descriptive details. They are not welded together. Nor do we pass easily and naturally to and fro between picturesque details and abstract thought. Sometimes the concrete incident and description are wholly wanting, and sometimes given in a fulness which violates the unity and proportion of the poem. The poet, in truth, has not got far enough away from his abstract thought, and hence is not successful in rendering it objective,—in accommodating it to characters long since dead, and an era of history very different from his own. But however defective the picturesque setting is as a whole and as an embodiment of the abstract thought, in fragments it is admirable. Perhaps one cannot do better than quote, in closing, one or two passages which illustrate at once the excellence and the defects of Browning's descriptive powers.

Take, for example, the following description of Sordello's walk across the marshes of the Mincio, amidst the awakening life and brightness of a Spring morning:—

The woods were long austere with snow : at last  
 Pink leaflets budded on the beach, and fast  
 Larches, scattered through pine-tree solitudes,  
 Brightened \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Forth wandered our Sordello. Naught so sure  
 As that to-day's adventure will secure  
 Palma, the visioned lady—only pass  
 O'er yon damp mound and its exhausted grass,  
 Under the brake where sundawn feeds the stalks  
 Of withered fern with gold, into those walks  
 Of pine and take her! Buoyantly he went.



Again his stooping forehead was besprent  
 With dew drops from the skirting ferns. Then wide  
 Opened the great morass, shot every side  
 With flashing water through and through ; ashine,  
 Thick-steaming, all alive. Whose shape divine,  
 Quivered i' the farthest rainbow-vapour, glanced  
 Athwart the flying herons ? He advanced,  
 But warily ; though Mincio leaped no more,  
 Each footfall burst up in the marish floor  
 A diamond jet ; and if he stopped to pick  
 Rose-lichen, or molest the leeches quick,  
 And circling blood-worms, minnow, newt or loach,  
 A sudden pond would silently encroach  
 This way and that.

Or a description of the same marsh turned by an earthquake  
 into a lake :—\*

A presage shuddered through the welkin ; harsh  
 The earth's remonstrance followed. 'Twas the marsh  
 Gone of a sudden. Mincio, in its place,  
 Laughed, a broad water, in next morning's face,  
 And, where the mists broke up immense and white  
 I' the steady wind, burned like a spilth of light  
 Out of the crashing of a myriad stars.

Or the picture of his Daphne drawn by the imagination of  
 Sordello in his youthful "Apollo" days :—

How the tresses curled  
 Into a sumptuous swell of gold and wound  
 About her like a glory ! even the ground  
 Was bright with spilt sunbeams ; breathe not, breathe  
 Not !—poised, see, one leg doubled underneath,  
 Its small foot buried in the dimpling snow,  
 Rests, but the other, listlessly below,  
 O'er the couch side swings feeling for cool air,  
 The vein streaks swoln a richer violet when  
 The languid blood lies heavily ; yet calm  
 On her slight prop, each flat and outspread palm  
 As but suspended in the act to rise  
 By consciousness of beauty, whence her eyes  
 Turns with so frank a triumph, for she meets  
 Apollo's gaze in the pene-glooms.

\* An historical fact.

W. J. ALEXANDER.

PROPOSED MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN UPPER  
CANADA, 1794

make  
n of

DURING a visit to England last summer, I was enabled to inspect and read in the Imperial State Paper Offices, all the Government Despatches sent to and from Upper Canada between the years 1791 and 1800. Nearly all of them contain valuable historical information of the proceedings of the early Executive Government of Upper Canada, and are of great public interest, especially as we are now approaching the centenary of the establishment of this Province. Scarcely any of the despatches of those early days have been published, for Ontario has not yet awakened to much interest in her Historical Records, and in this want of interest she stands almost alone on this continent. The United States, and nearly all the States of the Union have made or are making collections of their historical Archives. Canada, Quebec and Nova Scotia commenced their collections many years ago, and have published several volumes of valuable historical papers, and have set an example that it would be worthy of Ontario to imitate.

Among some of the Despatches which I was enabled to copy in the State Paper Offices, the following will be found interesting as shewing the policy and efforts of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada to establish local Municipal Corporations in this Province. Though possessed of many statesmanlike qualities, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, when arguing in support of his policy in this matter, showed that he was plainly influenced by that want of trust in the people which was characteristic of the governing powers of the period of his administration, and especially of the Imperial colonial administration. He tried to soothe the official powers, and make his proposal acceptable, by recommending that the first councillors should be nominated by the Crown,

and that the election of their successors should be made "*as little popular as possible*," so that the proposed Corporations might "tend to the support of the *aristocracy* of the country."

Though opening with this timid argument, he was in advance of his time in the proposal to give the Municipal Corporations maritime and police jurisdiction, as well as "sufficient powers for giving efficacy to all internal regulations, and by these means of promoting the welfare of the community, without any of those monopolies which exist in European Corporations."

The reply of the Duke of Portland, the Colonial Secretary, pronounced a decided negative on the Lieutenant-Governor's local government scheme, in language which was paternal and rather supercilious in tone, and shewed in bold relief the autocratic policy, which was a dominating influence in the Imperial Colonial Office in those early days of colonial government. Official disfavour was also pronounced against some of the popular and democratic organizations at home,—or as the Duke called them, "corporations and separate jurisdictions of all sorts,"—in these words: "Some there may be which we permit to continue here only because they already exist, and are interwoven with other parts of the government, but which perhaps, if we had a choice, we should not now be disposed originally to introduce."

Viewed from the stand-point of modern experience it may be safe to say that by the establishment and operations of a system of Municipal Government, the people are taught to govern themselves, and to be actively instrumental in administering the laws. The advantages of this may be readily estimated by those who are acquainted with the manners and practical character of our people, and have observed the growth of public responsibility in those who have been called upon to assist in the public business of municipalities, and in dispensing or enforcing the law. And it may be readily anticipated that the constant performance of the functions of Municipal Government will become the means of binding the people together in one national and solid union, as the

law of William I. described it under the system then prevailing, *ut fratres conjurati*; while it must obviously improve the social and moral condition of the community by making them realize the responsibility of governing themselves; and then recognize the principle that national unity and obedience to the laws are the foundations, as well as the efficient powers and authority, of a sound government.

The Lieutenant-Governor's proposal was to establish Municipal Corporations at Kingston and Niagara,—he having reported in a prior despatch (in which he had sketched the policy and influences which controlled the Legislature during the first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada) that in 1792 there were “no villages in Upper Canada.” His Despatch is as follows:—

No. 13.

KINGSTON, Upper Canada,

December 21, 1794.

MY LORD DUKE—In the present situation of the affairs in the country, I beg to offer for your grace's immediate consideration, some important objects which will be affected by the arrangement under contemplation between His Majesty and the United States; these objects relate wholly to civil government.

A principle on which I have considered this government as most wisely established, and which I have never lost sight of in its administration, has been to render the Province, as near as may be, a perfect image and transcript of the British Government and constitution.

In the pursuance of this object and in order to give weight and respectability to the Legislative Council which His Majesty and Parliament had constituted as a branch of the government, I thought it proper, having divided the districts into counties, to create Lieutenants, selecting them, where practicable, from the legislative councillors, and giving to the lieutenants as nearly as circumstances would admit, the appointments or recommendation to the magistracy, and the nomination of officers of the militia, as stated in the circular letter I beg to enclose to your Grace.

The towns of Kingston and that on the river Niagara, from their situation, must be places of great resort. I therefore beg to submit to your Grace that I think it would be for the public interest and the King's benefit, that these places should be incorporated, and named the cities of "Kingston" and "Niagara." I should propose that the corporation should consist of a Mayor and six Aldermen, Justices of the Peace *ex officio*, and a competent number of common councillors, to be originally appointed by the Crown; and that the succession to vacant seats, might be made in such a manner as to render the elections *as little popular as possible*; meaning such corporations to tend to the support of the aristocracy of the country.

I should propose that these Corporations should have maritime jurisdiction, if such shall either at present or in the future be necessary to take place on the Lakes and River St. Lawrence. The whole jurisdiction of Lake Ontario might well be divided between Niagara and Kingston and the intermediate port of York. The St. Lawrence might be divided between Kingston and Cornwall or New Johnstown. Erie might be divided between Niagara and the post to be taken near Long Point. From thence the jurisdiction of Long Point might extend to the Isle Bois Blanc, and from thence that of Chatham might begin and terminate at Cabot's Head (Penetanguishine), or Gloucester, and should comprehend all the maritime jurisdiction beyond that on Lakes Huron and Superior and the North-West Territory.

It appears to me that a vigilant Police is most necessary on the borders of these two countries; and perhaps it may be necessary to enact stricter laws on the subject of criminals of a certain description finding refuge in His Majesty's dominions and those of the United States, and applicable to particular spots. The Straits of Niagara and the port of Kingston are the general places at which strangers enter the Province, and where people leave it. It seems, therefore, that establishing a corporation at each of these places, with adequate jurisdiction, may be of public service in these respects.

I have to observe, that these proposed corporations should have the rights of suing and being sued, and sufficient power for giving efficacy to all internal regulations, and by these means of promoting the welfare of the community, without any of those monopolies which exist in European Corporations.

The basis adopted for an equal representation of the people of the Province, was its population, ascertained by the militia rolls. This principle, liable from its own nature and the situation of the country to fluctuate, will in a more particular manner become unequal should Detroit be relinquished to the United States.

It therefore appears to me seasonable that I should request your Grace's directions on what established principle the extension of the number of representatives should hereafter take place. And it may be worthy of your consideration whether in the present peculiar instance, it may or may not be proper to give the right of electing members to the proposed cities of Niagara and Kingston which certainly will add to their respectability. Both should include a competent tract of ground, and for all purposes the former should include Queenston, where some projectors mean to build largely the ensuing year, and the town of Newark.

In respect to existing circumstances, it appears to me of consequence that Niagara should be incorporated as soon as possible, were it only to preserve its name in the King's Dominions. It is the policy of the United States solely to call themselves *Americans*, not only with the view to melt down in that general name every part of their confederation, but to enforce, when time shall suit, their principle that all colonies connected with European Governments and depending upon them, are foreign, and invaders, and that they themselves only are the natives.

Having no Chief Justice \* and being at a distance from the

\* In a prior despatch, dated 21st June, 1773, the Lieutenant-Governor, thus refers to the removal of Chief Justice Osgoode from Upper to Lower Canada: "I cannot but lament the very severe loss that His

Attorney General, I have thought proper at the present crisis, to offer these ideas to your Grace, in hopes that should they be deemed worthy of attention, charters of incorporation with such powers should be forwarded to me from England, before the meeting of the next Session. And I am to observe to your Grace that as by the Act of Parliament the ensuing session will be the last of the present House of Assembly, it will be prudent to pass every bill that may be necessary before it be dissolved, as it will not be probable that a more loyal or better disposed set of men will be again re-assembled.

I have etc.,

(Signed) J. GRAVES SIMCOE,  
*Lieutenant-Governor.*

The reply of the Colonial Secretary deals with various matters, and then disposes of the Lieutenant-Governor's argument in favor of Municipal Corporations in the following words :

No. 7 (Extract). WHITEHALL, 20th May, 1795.

Neither the plan of creating Corporations nor Lieutenants of Counties is at all eligible in the present situation of Canada. What it might be prudent to concede to an earnest desire of the people is one question. What it is expedient for Government to bring forward or propose is another. Both the measures seem very unfit to be encouraged by the parent state in a dependent colony. The Legislative power being given up to an Assembly of their own, it is only through the Executive power, vested in the person having the Government of the Province, that the sway of this country can be exercised. Every kind of authority that is not inconsistent with the Constitution given to the Province, ought, therefore, Majesty's service, in respect to the Province, will suffer by the removal of Chief Justice Osgoode, to Lower Canada, and which I shall most sensibly experience personally and as far as respects the public service in my laborious office. I cannot but rest upon you in confidence that the successor to this important duty will be a British lawyer accustomed to the forms of the British Bar, of undoubted loyalty, and of approved integrity."

to be concentrated in his hands. Whereas the evident tendency of both these measures is to fritter down his direct power and to portion it out among corporations and lieutenants, who on many occasions may be disposed to use it in obstructing the measures of Government; and in all events will require to be courted and managed in order to secure the right direction of the influence thus unnecessarily given them.

I have entered, purposely, more at large into these proposed measures, because I have observed that your adoption of them arises from an idea that by assimilating the modes of the Government of the Province to the modes of the Government of England, you will obtain all the beneficial effects which we receive from them. Whereas to assimilate a colony in all respects to its mother country is not possible, and if possible, would not be prudent. The one may have many institutions which are wholly inapplicable to the situation of the other. Some there may be which we permit to continue here only because they already exist, and are interwoven with other parts of the Government, but which, perhaps, if we had a choice, we should not now be disposed originally to introduce.

Such, in the opinion of many, are corporations and separate jurisdictions of all sorts; others there are which may be objectionable in a colony as tending to lessen the authority which the parent state ought to possess over it, as long as that relation subsists between them. Of this description I conceive to be all subordinate powers created in the colony, beyond those which are absolutely necessary for its internal police. The power of the person having the Government is the power of this country, but such subordinate powers as are proposed are not ours, and we have no connection with them or direct influence over those who exercise them. They are rather means and instruments of Independence. I can see no ground that will authorize me to encourage the further prosecution of either of the measures in question.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) PORTLAND.



Thus the whole scheme was negatived. But since the time of these Despatches a more liberal and enlightened policy has enlarged the power of the people in municipal,—as well as colonial,—self-government; and, although it took fifty years from the establishment of the Province (1791 to 1841), to construct a uniform system of municipal government, the people were being gradually trained for it by an occasional grant of local powers.

In 1793 the first attempt at local government was made by an Act (33 Geo. III., c. 2) which provided that the inhabitant house-holders of each parish, township, or place should meet annually and elect a town clerk, assessor, collector, overseers of highways, pound keepers, and town or church-wardens.

From the Journals of both Houses it appears that the Bill for this purpose was introduced into the Legislative Assembly on the 20th June, 1793, and after passing through the usual stages was sent to the Legislative Council on the 29th June as a "Bill to authorize the appointment of proper officers in the several districts throughout the Province, and within the respective divisions thereof for the better preservation of good order, and the more regular execution of the laws." The Legislative Council converted the title into a preamble and intituled the measure, a "Bill to provide for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers within this Province," under which title it was assented to on the 9th July, 1793.

The Act constituted the town-wardens "a corporation to represent the whole inhabitants of the township or parish," and that they should sue, prosecute, or defend all presentments, indictments or actions, for and on behalf of the inhabitants of the said parish.\*

\* The Act further provided (s. 7) that "as soon as there shall be any church built for the performance of divine service, according to the use of the Church of England, with a parson or minister duly appointed thereto, then the said inhabitant householders shall choose and nominate one person, and the said parson or minister shall nominate one other person, which persons shall jointly serve the office of Church-warden, and that such town-wardens, or church-wardens and their successor shall be a corporation," etc., as in the text.

Various amending Acts were passed subsequent to this Act of 1793, a summary of which will be found in the "Second Report of the Commission on Municipal Institutions" (pp. 14-21), presented to the Legislature of Ontario, in 1889. A comparison of these Acts and the Despatches given above, with the present Municipal Act, will enable the reader to contrast the policy of our time with the policy of a century ago, and then to acknowledge that the public men, by whose efforts the enlightened and beneficial change has been effected, have deserved well of their country.

THOMAS HODGINS.

## NEW WORK IN PSYCHOLOGY

## I. METHOD

THE present half century seems to be bringing a new colouring into human interests everywhere: a colouring which has appeared, it is true, in patches in the history of thought and action ever since the light of the eleventh century threw over Europe the grotesque shadows of the scholastic era, but which, in our day alone, has become the prevailing medium of our vision. So prevailing, indeed, has the new method become, and so customary to us that it is only by historical study that we are able either to see that it is new, or to work ourselves into that degree of intellectual sympathy for the old which the earnest endeavour and unflagging patience of the heroes of philosophy in the past rightfully demand for all time. To say that this is the age of science is only to repeat what is now trite and what no student either of philosophy or of history needs to be told. It is the age of science because it is the age of devotion to science and of results in science. But, it is a very different thing to say that this is the age of scientific method. Former ages have seen devotion to science and results in science, but we venture to say that no former age has, as an age, realized a scientific method. We say, as an age, because it is human thought and life as a single organism or development that we wish to characterize, its sweeping tendency and not its eddies—its colour and not its spots.

In characterizing our time by the word scientific, as regards method, we mean to say something which is true in philosophy, politics, literature, as well as in the investigation of nature; and to dwell only on the department of thought in which such a method has been, and is, most difficult to realize. In philosophy it is not fully realized; and yet we believe that

any class or school of philosophic thinkers, who do not face toward the scientific east are steering up-current and will be lamentably absent, when science and philosophy enter a common barge and circumnavigate the knowable universe. For it is a part of the same conviction as to scientific method, that neither science nor philosophy will ever succeed in circumnavigating it alone. However painfully this advance may have been won and however loudly the dogmatists may deny its justification, it is sufficient here to signalize the fact that philosophy has in the present half-century thrown open her doors to the entrance of critical and empirical methods, and that the results already accruing are evidence of the bigness of her future harvest.

In general philosophy what has been called scientific method is better known, in a two-fold way, as empirical and critical. Retrospectively what we now have to rejoice in in philosophy is due about equally to two traditions, represented by Hume and Kant. The burden of current idealism, as far as it is worthy of consideration in our time, is to purify and conserve the work of Kant. And the burden of empiricism, under the same restriction, is to refute Kant with the only weapons which he himself considered of worthy temper. The battle is drawn at these close quarters and round them both is thrown a common ring of scientific procedure.

In psychology the modern transformation comes most strongly out. Here we find an actual department of knowledge, handed over to a new class of men for treatment, so remarkable is the demand for scientific method. It is no longer sufficient that a psychologist should be familiar with general philosophy and its history, or capable of acute logical criticism of systems; it is necessary if he would deal successfully with the new problems and gain the ear of the advanced philosophical public, that he should reason from a basis of fact and by an inductive procedure. In short, he must not bring his philosophy, as speculation, into psychology, but must carry his psychology as fact in its connection with physiology, ethnology, etc., into general philosophy.

To illustrate this change, and its effects on general theories, recent discussions of the idea of space may be cited in comparison with its earlier and more speculative treatment. The articles of Prof. James in *Mind*, the treatment of Wundt, Bain, Spencer, differ so essentially from the argumentation of Kant and earlier writers that it is almost impossible to find common ground between them. No one, among those who accept Kant's results, depends in our day very largely upon his reasons: the question is shifted to an altogether new field. The physiologist has as much to say about it to-day as the psychologist, and the speculative philosopher must yield precedence to them both. The examination and detailed exposition of this topic may be profitable on some future occasion; it is cited in this connection only to illustrate these general remarks, and as one of a dozen illustrations which might be drawn from points of current discussion.

The whole tendency of the day in philosophy may be expressed by a chemical figure as a "precipitating" tendency. We are endeavouring, and successfully too, to throw all questions which are capable of such treatment to the bottom as a precipitate—a psychological precipitate—and are then handing them over to the psychologist and physiologist for positive treatment. As long as our data remained in a solution of ninety parts water, it was difficult to handle them scientifically. While admitting the utility and necessity of ontology in its place, we claim that its place must be better defined than formerly it has been, and that whenever we can secure a sediment, a residuum, a deposit, apart from a speculative solvent, this is so much gain to positive science and to truth.

One of the ideas which lie at the bottom of the so-called "new psychology" is the idea of measurement. Measurement, determination in quantity and time, is the resource of all developed science, and as long as such a source was denied to the psychologist, he was called a scientist only in his function of description and classification; not in the more important functions of explanation and construction. And

the justification of the application of measurement to psychological facts has come, not from theoretical considerations, for they were all opposed, and still are in many of the sacred books of the new idealism; but from practical attempts to do what philosophy declared to be impossible. That is, experiment has been the desired and only reagent; but once discovered it will not again be lost to this new chemistry of philosophy. It is true that theoretical justifications are now forthcoming of the application of experiment to consciousness, but they are suggested by the actual results—as all theoretical explanations should be—and were not in sufficient currency to hinder the influence of Kant's ultimatum, for example, that a science of psychology was impossible.

By experiment in this connection, is meant experiment on the nervous system with the accompanying modifications it occasions in consciousness. Efforts have been made in earlier times to experiment upon states of consciousness directly. Descartes deserves credit for such efforts and for the intimation he gives us, in his theory of the emotions, of an approach to mind through the body. But the elevation of such an approach to the place of a recognized psychological method was not possible to Descartes, Kant, or anyone else who lived and theorized before the remarkable advance made in this century in the physiology of the nervous system. And even as it is, many questions, which will in the end admit of investigation from the side of the organism, are still in abeyance till new light is cast upon obscure processes of the brain and nerves.

A little further reflection will shew us, that the employment of experiment in this sphere proceeds upon two assumptions which are now generally admitted and are justified as empirical principles, at least, by the results. They are both assumptions which the physical scientist is accustomed to make in dealing with his material, and their statement is sufficient to exhibit their elementary importance, however novel they may sound to those who are accustomed to think

and speak of mind as something given to us, quite independent of its organic basis. The first of these assumptions is this: that our mental life is always and everywhere accompanied by a process of nervous change. This is seen to be necessary to any method which involves the passage from mind to body or the reverse by the interpretation of effects. Which is cause and which effect, the mental or the physical change, or whether they both are effects of an unknown cause, is immaterial—to consider such a question would be to introduce what we have called the “speculative solvent.” It is sufficient to know that they are always together and that the change in one can be indicated in symbols which also represent the change in the other. The second assumption is based upon the first, viz., that this connection between mind and body is uniform. By this is meant what is called in general induction the uniformity of nature. Any relation sufficiently stable to admit of repeated experiment in the manipulation of its terms is in so far uniform. Experiment would be useless if the relation it tends to establish were not stable, since the result of such experiment would give no antecedent likelihood as to the result of others under similar circumstances. Experimental psychology, therefore, rests upon the assumption that a relation of correspondence—be it co-existence or causation—once clearly made out between a mental and a nervous modification, it must hold good under any and every repetition of the same experiment.

These two assumptions made, we have at once the possibility of a physical approach to the facts of consciousness. The result is a relative measurement of such facts in terms of the external stimulation of the nerves, in regular and normal conditions of the activity of attention.

Further, it is apparent that such a means of experimentation may become available either under artificial or under natural conditions, according as the nervous stimulation is due to our external excitation or arises from some unusual condition of the organism itself. All cases of brain or nervous disease, on the one hand, offer opportunities for boundless observation, the unusual mental manifestations being changes due to

the organic disturbances of disease. Here nature has arranged and actually performed the experiment for us; the only difficulty being the physiological one, that the cerebral disturbances are almost as obscure as the mental states which they are used to explain. All such cases of abnormal mental changes are classed together under the name of abnormal psychology. It includes all questions which relate to nerve physiology and pathology, illusion, hallucination, mental disease, hypnotism.

On the other hand, experiments may be arranged for the normal stimulation of the sense organs—skin, muscles, special senses—under artificial conditions as explained, in part below. On these lines modern experimental psychology falls into two great departments. As the normal properly precedes the abnormal, it is well to consider the line of researches based upon external experiment first, confining ourselves in this paper to a more or less cursory view of results already established.

## II. PSYCHO-PHYSICS

In attempting to give a succinct account of the growth and main results of what we have called external experimental psychology, we must forewarn the reader that it is with very modest and, it may be, minor facts that we are concerned. Here we have a characteristic of the new method. Any fact in natural science is valuable for its own sake; and it is only after there has been a vast accumulation of such facts, that broader principles may be inferred from them. The problems we are called upon to consider are such preliminary applications of experiment, and their full value for mental interpretation is only now beginning to be apparent.

We have already stated that the two conceptions of quantity and time, or duration, may be made applicable to facts of consciousness, thus giving us means of relative measurement. According as we are dealing with one or the other conception—according as we are aiming at determinations in quantity of sensation, or in the duration of mental



states, we may class experiments under two great divisions. All investigations into the quantity or intensity of sensations, go to constitute *Psycho-physics*, and all which aim at time determination go to make the science of *Psychometry*. Both of these branches of enquiry, it should be borne in mind, deal with the normal consciousness through simple excitations of the sense organs.

Psycho-physics deals with the measurement of the intensity, as it is popularly called, the quantity or mass, as the psychologist uses the words, of sensation. The conception of intensity needs no further explanation: it is simply the difference between the light of one candle and of two or more, the sound of a bell near and far. It is a property of all sensation. The problem which presents itself is to reach a formula for such intensities in terms of the amount of stimulus required at the end organ to produce a given increase or decrease in conscious intensity. To illustrate, suppose a candle illuminates my page to a certain extent; how many candles would illuminate it enough to enable me to see twice as distinctly, or as distinctly at twice the distance? Is there any general law of the ratio of intensity of external stimulus to intensity of internal sensations, which will hold good for all the senses? Or is there a different law for each of the senses? Or again, is the entire case simply a matter of subjective estimation, varying with the mental and bodily conditions of the individual.

These questions were at one time hotly discussed, but have now been practically answered by the establishment of a single law of relation between stimulus and sensation, which holds good for those of the senses found to be most easily accessible, has been partially proved for other classes of sensations, and is under judgment in default of sufficient experimentation for a remaining group of sense-experiences. Before entering more particularly into details, however, it is well to define and explain several terms of current use among physiological psychologists.

By *excitation* (or stimulus) is meant the external force which excites a sense organ, whether it be of sufficient

intensity to produce a sensation or not. The feeblest sensation which we are able to experience or feel from any sense is called the *perceptible minimum*; the theoretical point at which such a sensation, when further enfeebled, disappears from consciousness, the *threshold of sensation*; and the amount of excitation which is just sufficient for the perceptible minimum of sensation, the *threshold excitation* for that sense. For example, air vibrations are the excitation for sensations of sound, the feeblest sound which it is possible to hear under determined conditions, is the perceptible minimum, and the number of units agreed upon—bells, notes, etc.—which are needed to produce this perceptible minimum makes the threshold excitation for this sense. Further, the amount of excitation needed to raise or lower the intensity of a sensation by the smallest amount which can be distinguished and the corresponding difference in the sensation, are called the *smallest perceptible difference* in excitation and sensation respectively. Thus, if 1 unit be the threshold excitation for sound and an addition of  $\frac{1}{3}$  unit is necessary to produce any perceptible increase in the sensation, then  $\frac{1}{3}$  is the smallest perceptible difference of excitation for sound.

With these definitions in mind, we may turn to the problem of finding a law of measurement for intensities of sensation. The preliminary question as to a standard of measurement is already answered in the resort to experiment, viz., the standard must be a scale of excitation values, determined by physical measurement, as pounds, velocities, etc., etc. Given a threshold value of each excitation, we may double, treble, . . . . it, endeavouring to find some law of increase in the corresponding sensations whereby a corresponding internal scale may be erected. The first step is seen, therefore, to be the discovery of the perceptible minimum of each sense, which may serve as zero point on the sensation scale, its exciting stimulus being the unit point on the excitation scale. This brings the investigator to an actual research on all the sense organs in turn—experiments to determine the minimum of sight, hearing, touch, etc. The methods by

which this is done are simple. Any device by which excitation may be lowered or heightened gradually below or above the threshold may serve the purpose. For touch and the muscular sense small balls of cork may be used—differing so slightly in size that when placed, say on the back of the hand in succession, the difference between the last one which is felt, and the next which is too light to be felt, is as small as possible. By running the series in the reverse order, from weights too small to be felt to others barely felt, and by an equation and average of errors, the point is determined where the excitation produces the smallest perceptible sensation.

As simple as this procedure seems, the conditions are so complicated in some of the senses as to occasion great embarrassment. The eye, for example, is found to have a "natural light" of its own, arising from mechanical movement, friction, or chemical action, from which it is never entirely free, and the smallest perceptible sensation of light must always include this natural factor. The conditions of the body before the experiment also cause great variations, as is seen in experiments on temperature and smell sensations. The threshold value for temperature is much higher or lower, for example, according as the earlier state has been one of higher or lower temperature. The following table exhibits the results of Fechner's experiment on the perceptible minimum :

PERCEPTIBLE MINIMA.

Touch.....	Pressure of .002— .05 gr.
Muscular Sense.....	Contraction of .004 mm., right internal muscle of the eye.
Temperature.....	$\frac{1}{8}^{\circ}$ Centigrade (normal heat of skin $18.4^{\circ}$ ).
Sound.....	Ball of cork 1.001 gr falling .001 m. on g ass, ear distant 91 mm.
Light.....	Cast on black velvet by candle distant 8ft. 7in.

Space does not permit an examination of each of these determinations, and it is not necessary ; for the actual numerical values are not of great importance. The fact that there is a minimum under normal conditions and its determination

with sufficient accuracy to give ground for further inferences, is all that the theory requires. For that reason we pass on without giving other and later results even where Fechner has not been confirmed by other experimenters.

So far we have gained two points, *i.e.*, the zero on the sensation scale and the unit value, a positive known quantity from the table above, on the excitation scale. We now cast about for means to graduate both scales in an ascending way by relatively equal values.

It is a common fact of experience that excitations and sensations do not sustain the ordinary relation of cause and effect to each other. Two candles do not illuminate a page twice as much as one; two violins, pitched in the same key do not double the sound of one; and as intensities increase, it is a matter of ordinary observation, that very little variations are brought about by well marked changes in the stimulus. This result of general observation recurs to us as we advance in the consideration of the values on our scales, for we would expect from this rough judgment of daily life, that larger increments would have to be made the higher we ascend on the excitation side to produce regular equal increments on the sensation side.

This is confirmed by a further research undertaken on all the senses in turn, an experimental determination of the amount of increased excitation necessary to produce the *smallest perceptible difference* in sensations of the same kind. Let us suppose a given excitation for pressure, then increase it slightly until it is judged greater than before, determine the ratio of the increment to the former excitation, repeat the experiment with a much larger excitation, making the same fractional determination and compare the results. It is found that the fractional increase in excitation necessary to produce a perceptible difference is constant for each sense. But this means that the absolute increase is not constant, but becomes greater as the intensity of the initial excitation becomes greater. For example, if the initial excitations in two experiments be 6 and 9 grammes, a relative fractional

increase of  $\frac{1}{3}$  would be in one case an absolute increase of 2 and in the other of 3 grammes.

There are three general methods of determining the smallest perceptible difference for any sense, due in their formal statement and description to Fechner. I will state these methods briefly in view of their importance in any work of this kind. They are known as the methods, 1. of *smallest perceptible differences*, 2. of *true and false cases*, and 3. of *mean errors*. There is a fourth, of especial importance in researches on sight: that of *mean gradations* (Plateau); but it is not necessary to speak of it farther.

1. *The method of smallest perceptible differences* is most direct. It consists in adding to a given excitation until the difference is barely perceived. The difference between the initial and the resulting excitation is the first determination of the quantity required. A plainly-perceived difference is then added to the same initial excitation, and reduced till no longer perceived. This gives a second determination. The averaging of these two results is the correct value, which we will call DE, (difference or differential of excitation). Its ratio to the first excitation is expressed by the fraction  $\frac{E}{DE}$ .

The relative degree of sensibility for any sense, it will be observed, is inversely proportional to the amount of excitation required to give the smallest perceptible difference in sensation, *i.e.*,

$$S \text{ (sensibility)} = \frac{DE}{E}$$

2. *The method of true and false cases* consists in comparing two excitations (say weights), the subject of the experiment judging them to be equal or not. The number of true and false judgments is recorded and the ratio between them indicates the approach of the difference of excitation to its minimum value. The relative sensibility again varies as the actual difference between the excitations varies, and also directly as the number of true judgments (in relation to total cases), *i.e.*,

$$S = E \frac{S}{N} \quad \begin{array}{l} (= \text{total cases.}) \\ (= \text{true cases.}) \end{array}$$

3. *The method of mean errors* consists in comparing two stimuli (weights, etc.) and judging them equal, then in taking their real difference, positive and negative, in a great number of cases, adding these differences without regard to signs, and dividing by the entire number of cases. The mean error is thus arrived at. The sensibility is inversely proportional to the mean error, *i.e.*,

$$S = \frac{1}{D} \quad (= \text{mean error.})$$

Proceeding by one or all of these methods, we establish the smallest perceptible difference of excitation for each of the senses. The following table gives these values as they are now established, subject to revision for certain classes of sensation, especially sight, when the conditions of experiment can be made more free from error :

SMALLEST PERCEPTIBLE DIFFERENCES.	
Touch.....	1/3
Muscular Sense.....	1/17
Temperature.....	1/3
Sound.....	1/3
Light.....	1/100

The values given, it may be well to repeat, represent the amount of a given excitation which must be added to that excitation to be felt in consciousness. For example, if the eye is already stimulated by a light which represents 1,000 candles, at least 10 candles (a fractional increase of 1/100) must be added to produce any perceptible increase in the intensity of the light. Any number less than ten could have no effect on consciousness whatever. And so with the relative values given for the other senses.

Now to revert to the problem which originally concerned us,—it will be remembered that the two determinations already arrived at for all the senses are only steps in a process of measuring the intensity of sensations in terms of external stimuli. So far we have determined the smallest perceptible

sensation (giving us the starting points on our scales) and the smallest perceptible differences of excitation as we proceed upward in the graduation of our scales. The results of this second research may be stated in general language thus: *in order that sensation may increase by successive equal additions, their excitations must increase by a constant fraction of the excitation itself, i.e., by additions which are not equal, but which increase as we ascend the scale of intensities.* For example, the successive additions to a sound, to be barely perceived would require the following series of additions to the stimulus:

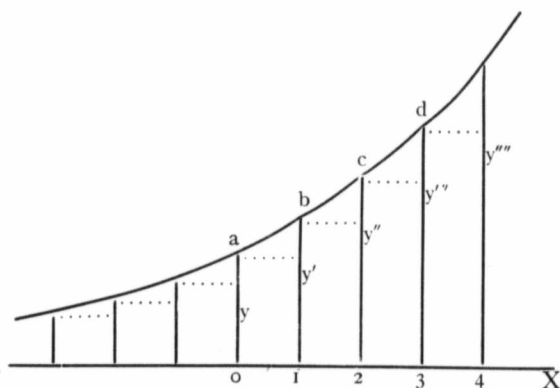
$$\frac{1}{3}, \frac{1 + \frac{1}{3}}{3}, \frac{1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1 + \frac{1}{3}}{3}}{3}, \text{ etc., or } \frac{1}{3}, \frac{4}{9}, \frac{16}{27}, \text{ etc.,}$$

and the actual excitations would be the series:

$$1, \frac{4}{3}, \frac{16}{9}, \frac{64}{27}, \text{ etc.}$$

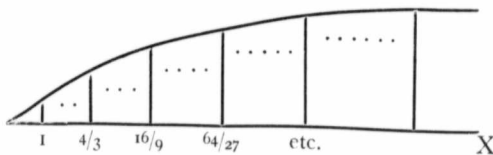
This general principle is called the *Law of Weber*, and may be stated in a variety of ways, of which, perhaps the easiest to carry is this: that in order that sensations may increase in intensity in an arithmetical series, their excitations must increase in a geometrical series. The law may be exhibited in a linear way to the eye in the following diagram (1.):

(1.)



Let X represent a series of sensations 0, 1, 2 etc., increasing by a constant quantity from the zero point 0; let the upright lines represent at each point the excitation necessary for the sensation of that intensity. Now by drawing the dotted lines parallel to X, it is seen that the succession additions made to the vertical are not equal, but grow constantly greater, *i.e.*, for hearing,  $y' = y + y/3$ ,  $y'' = y' + y'/3$  etc. Having erected these vertical lines by the law of increase given in the table, the curve abcd etc., may be plotted through their extremities, being the "curve of excitation."

(2.)



The same relation may be shown in an inverse way, in (2) above, in which the scale of increasing excitation is given on the line X, the vertical lines representing the sensations increasing by a constant quantity. The curve connecting the extremities is now the "curve of sensation," and is the obverse of the preceding.

A further mathematical expression has been given to this law by Fechner. As we shall see below, it is open to some criticism; yet it is ably defended, and whatever may be its fate as a mathematical deduction, the law of Weber as given above will not be involved.

Assuming, says Fechner, that the smallest perceptible differences in sensation are equal for any value of the excitation (an assumption which has no proof), and that very small increments of sensation and excitation are proportional to each other, we may throw Weber's formula into the following equation (DS being increment of sensation, DE increment of excitation, and K merely a proportional constant):

$$DS = K \cdot \frac{DE}{E}$$



in which all the quantities have been determined in the tables already given. Now considering this a differential equation, we may integrate by our calculus and reach the form :

$$S = K. \log E, \text{ or}$$

*the sensation varies as the logarithm of the excitation*,—the celebrated logarithmic law of Fechner.

Considered under its more general form, as indicated in the principle of Weber, this law has an unequal application to different sensations. For sight, touch and hearing, it is fully established ; for taste and smell, it is still in doubt, by reason of the mechanical difficulties which these senses offer to experimental research. It applies under restrictions to our estimation of linear distance, to our perception of the passage of small periods of time, and to our discrimination of local positions in the skin. In all cases, however, its application is restricted within upper and lower limits of intensity of sensation. When too intense, the organism fails under the stimulus, reaching the limit of its vibratory responsiveness, and when too faint, either the organism does not excite a conscious reaction, or the attention fails to discriminate the sensation.

With so much in the way of exposition of Weber's law before us, it may not be out of place to indicate the principle criticisms which have been urged against it, both in its general result and in the method of research which it involves. To say that it has been criticised is to express very mildly the state of discussion which the last twenty years have seen, especially for a period after the publication of Fechner's great work.

Both of the two assumptions made by Fechner, that the perceptible differences of sensation of the same sense are equal for all intensities of stimulus, and that the increments of sensation and excitation are proportional, are called in question. The results of late physiological work tend strongly in favor of the first assumption and it is probably safely established. The second, with the application of the calculus of differentials, is so plainly subject to criticism that even its strongest advocates only attempt to justify it by the

results. Really it is only infinitely small quantities that we are able to consider differentials or proportional to each other; while by the law of growth, arrived at by Weber, they are shewn not to be proportional. This argument adverse to Fechner's formula, is ably presented by M. Delboeuf. Another objection is brought, also, to the doctrine of "threshold." It is claimed that there is not a constant threshold for any of the senses, but that the minimum of sensation varies with the condition of the organism, the concentration of attention, etc. If this criticism should be shewn, however, to be valid, it would still be possible to establish a table of variations or a co-efficient of "personal equation" for individuals, and still preserve the principle of Weber. The objection formerly drawn from the fatigue of the organ under prolonged experiment, is now met by the principle called by Fechner, the "parallel law": if we perform the experiments at very close time intervals, we may consider the degree of exhaustion as approximately the same for any two successive excitations. Any modification, therefore, which either excitation undergoes from the element of fatigue, is corrected in the ratio between that and the other excitation. For example, the smallest perceptible difference  $DA$  above an excitation  $A$ , reached by adding a new excitation  $B$ , is expressed by the fraction  $\frac{B}{A}$ ; but any modification which

affects both  $B$  and  $A$  to an equal degree does not alter their ratio.

The objection that Weber's law is as yet of very limited range loses its force in the presence of recent work. The senses to which it applies are the most accessible: but efforts are every day more successful in making the apparatus of experiment available also for the more delicate and involved sensations. It should be remembered that all research in physiology requires patient and prolonged experiment; indeed it is remarkable that so much positive work has already been done in this connection.

The philosophical significance of Weber's law is the ground of main interest to us. That it is an established law of the relation of mind and body as respects sensation, that it confirms the general assumption that there is a universal and uniform connection between the mental and the physiological—these points we are constrained to admit, whatever be our more particular interpretation of the law itself. As to its meaning for our theory of the mind, and whether it has any such meaning, there is more room for difference of opinion, and three distinct interpretations are commonly held among psychologists. Each of these is advanced in answer to the question which Weber's law obviously suggests, *i.e.*, why is it that the relation of cause and effect does not hold between sensation and excitation: why is sensation proportional to the logarithm of excitation and not to excitation itself?

The first of these interpretations, that of Fechner, is that Weber's law represents the ultimate principle of connection between mind and body: that they are so constituted as to act upon each other in a logarithmic relation. It is of necessary and universal application wherever mind and body are brought into organic connection. In short, on this view the law is strictly *psycho-physical*. This interpretation has been very generally discredited, principally because it forbids all further research or explanation. Nothing is ultimate which may be explained, and if physical or mental reasons can be given—as the other two theories hold they can—for the disproportion between sensation and stimulus, then the assumption that it is ultimate is gratuitous. Fechner supports his view by two considerations, first, that the physiological theory, as stated below, is inadequate, and second, that the law holds in cases of nervous exhaustion. The latter point is met by the consideration that in cases of extreme exhaustion the entire series of stimuli is intensified by a given amount throughout, and when the exhaustion is not extreme, it corrects itself by the "parallel law" spoken of above.

Again, it is held, especially by Wundt, that the law is strictly *psychological*, that is, that the disproportion between

sensation and excitation is due to the perception or discrimination of the sensation. On this theory it is not the real sensation which is experimented upon, but perceived sensation; and in the process of taking the sensation up into our apperceptive life it is modified as to its intensity. For example, the single fact of attention to a sensation changes its intensity; what effect might not the direction of the mind to it as is required in the above experiments, have upon it? In answer to this interpretation it may be said that it can never be critically established since we have no means of getting at the true worth of sensation except as it is interpreted in our attentive consciousness. By intensity we mean intensity to us, in our intellectual life and to speak of the intensity of sensations *in any relative way*, apart from the apperception and comparison of them is to become unintelligible. Wundt, however, has an ulterior end in view—the support of his doctrine of apperception—and he himself admits that he would not exclude the physiological interpretation.

The third interpretation, which is probably the true one, makes the disproportion spoken of purely *physiological*. According to the advocates of this theory, the law of cause and effect does hold in this case, as in all others, but a part of the internal cause is lost in the transmission by the nerves, so that the true excitation at the brain centre is less than at the peripheral organ, and is in direct proportion to the intensity of the sensation which it causes. Briefly stated, the following facts tend to support this view: 1, the phenomenon of nervous arrest would lead us to expect a diminution of the stimulus between the organ and the brain; 2, nerve action is dissipated in heat; 3, force is lost in the exciting of the internal organ, hence, by analogy, we would expect the same in the stimulation of the centres; 4, the general parallel between electricity and nerve-action would indicate resistance to be overcome in the one case as in the other; 5, on general grounds a loss of force may be expected in an extended or complicated mechanism.

While not expressing a dogmatic opinion, yet a decided preference for the last view seems justified by the facts; although Wundt has been recently reinforced by reliable results, of which a monograph by Grotenfeldt\* may be particularly mentioned.

With this hasty and imperfect exposition the recent work, technically known as Psycho-physics, may be left. At the end of this article we append references to the more important authorities, where abundant information on points necessarily omitted here may be gathered. We now turn to the second great class of problems which arise from external experiment, *i.e.*, those which are concerned with the duration of mental states, and whose investigation constitutes Psychometry.

### III. PSYCHOMETRY.

It is only within the last thirty years that anything like exact and scientific efforts have been made to measure the time or duration of mental states. The necessity of some such measurement first arose in astronomy where the most exact determinations of transit and other periods must be made. A source of error in such observations was early seen to be time taken up by the transmission of the excitation of the retina to the brain and the time taken by the impulse given to the hand to record the event, to travel from the brain to the hand. This element of personal equation in astronomical work is elevated to a distinct problem in Psychometry and its conditions are extended to include all mental states which have the physical basis necessary to the employment of physiological experiment. Psychometry is therefore "the science of the duration of mental states."

Before the rise of experiment in this connection, desultory treatment had been given to the comparative rapidity or slowness of our "ideas"; such questions, as to whether all "ideas" were successive or some simultaneous, speculations on the cause of the rapidity of dreams, etc. But being only general descriptions of fact and depending on individual experience and

\* Das Webersche Gesetz.

testimony, such observations were almost useless in general mental theory. With the positive work now done in Psychometry, it is quite astonishing how many side lights are thrown on other questions and to what unexpected uses time determinations may be put.

Proceeding upon the assumption already made and established in Psycho-physics, we observe that any period of time which is occupied jointly by a physiological and a mental process, and which may be recorded by physiological movements on a time-registering apparatus, will involve as one of its factors the time of the mental process considered for itself. If then we have means of measuring the time taken by the physiological process alone, we may by subtraction find means of reaching the mental time. Now these conditions are realized in every instance in which we perform a movement in response or reaction to a sensation from without. For example, suppose I hear a word and then write it; the sensation of sound is the central link in a chain of nervous processes beginning in the ear and ending in the hand. From the ear the stimulus is transmitted to the brain, and from the brain the command to move is carried to the hand; between these two processes, the third or mental fact, sensation and volition, has taken place. Now such a chain of events involving any two sensations, and a conscious event connecting them is called a "simple reaction," and the time that it takes the "simple reaction time." The determination of this time is the first problem of Psychometry.

The simple reaction time is determined for any sense with its reaction in movement (for example a sound and consequent movement of the right hand) by connecting the hand movement with a very delicate clock (chronoscope or chronograph) in such a way that there is an instantaneous stoppage of the clock upon the movement of the hand. This is arranged by directing the person experimented upon to press an electric button when he hears a signal (say a bell stroke). Now let the bell stroke emanate from the clock as it reaches a certain indication upon its dial—and our experiment is ready for trial.

The experimenter stands ready to press the button—the bell sounds—he presses—the clock stops. The dial face now indicates the time which elapsed between the actual sound of the bell and the movement of the hand. Now calling the time taken up by the nervous process to the brain *sensor* time (S), the time occupied with the nervous process from the brain to the hand *motor* time (M), and the time of the mental event between them, *perception* time (P), we can express the simple reaction time (R) in this equation :

$$(1) \quad R = S + P + M,$$

in which S and M are purely physiological.

This determination has been made by a great many observers upon three of the senses, sight, hearing and touch, with remarkable uniformity of result. It varies with different classes of sensations and individuals from  $\frac{1}{8}$  -  $\frac{1}{5}$  sec.\*

Recent experiments of Helmholtz and Dubois-Reymond have determined the velocity of both sensor and motor nerve transmission, so that we may substitute known values for S and M in the formula given above, as follows :

$$S + P + M = \cdot 15 \text{ sec. (about).}$$

$$S + M = \cdot 06 \text{ sec. (about).}$$

$$P = \cdot 09 \text{ sec. (about).}$$

The word "about" indicates variations for the different senses. For all the senses the general law will hold that the purely physiological time (S+M) is less than half of the entire reaction time.

Having the simple reaction experiment arranged, we may vary the conditions in a variety of ways and thus arrive at the most favorable mental attitudes for quick reactions. In the simple experiment, the excitation (sound above) was expected, but the exact moment of its occurrence was not known. If this exact moment is given to the "subject" by a preliminary signal, the reaction time is diminished. Again, if neither the kind of excitation nor the time of its occurrence is known, the time is greatly increased. From these two variations we

\* The writer's time is  $\frac{1}{8}$  -  $\frac{1}{7}$  sec., after considerable practise.

gather that the state of the attention has a great influence upon the reaction. As we would expect from our ordinary experience, when the attention is taken unawares a longer time is required to respond actively to external influences.

Another exceedingly important influence is practise. This is due to the artificial conditions of all experiment, and the increased facility we acquire by personal adjustment. We react a thousand times daily under less artificial circumstances, and since the reaction time is diminished by practise, it is probable that our customary, habitual, responses to stimuli of sense are more quickly performed than the most favourable experiments would indicate.

Having now reached what may be called the "mental" time ( $P$ ) the question arises: how is this to be divided between the perception or apprehension of the sensation and the volition to respond by movement. Two methods of experiment have been devised for breaking up this period into its elements. The first consists in experimenting on cases of very close physical association—as between hearing and speech, right hand and foot, etc., where the reaction is almost automatic and the will element is practically ruled out. The subject agrees beforehand to repeat any familiar word spoken to him as soon as he hears it. Experiments of this kind led Donders and Jaeger to the following principle: the relative times of perception and volition depend upon the degree of physiological association between the receiving and reacting organs; when this association is close the mental time is largely taken up with perception, when loose, it is nearly all occupied with volition.

The other method, that of Wundt and Baxt, consists in repeating the excitation one or more times before the voluntary impulse for the reaction is given. Thus the perception element is repeated and the difference between this time and the simple reaction time is the time due to the additional act of perception. For example, let two equal and moderate excitations, say bell strokes, follow each other quickly, the reaction being made only after the second; we then have



the equation (here  $p$  represents the perception of the first stroke, which carried no volition with it):

$$(2) \quad R' = S + p + P + M.$$

Now, repeating the experiment with only one stroke, we have as before:

$$(1) \quad R = S + P + M.$$

Subtracting (1) from (2), we have:

$$R' - R = p,$$

Here  $R'$  and  $R$  are readings from the clock. This gives a numerical determination for  $p$ . The volition time will then be  $P - p$ .

From this latter experiment a curious result follows if the successive excitations are of very different intensities. If the more intense follows in fact it is, nevertheless, heard first, and the less intense, really first, follows after; or they may appear to be simultaneous though really successive. This is the case in general whenever the attention is strongly drawn to the second stimulus and follows from the principle already spoken of, that the attention, when concentrated, diminishes the reaction time. This will be the case in general whenever the diminution in the reaction time of the second exceeds the real interval between the two. The same phenomenon is experienced often when one is awakened by a loud noise. He hears the noise after he awakes though it was the noise that awakened him. It simply means that because of the dormancy or preoccupation of attention in dreamland, the reaction time of the sound is lengthened into his waking consciousness, while the shock to the nervous apparatus was sufficient to rouse him from sleep. This reversal of the terms of a succession by the attention has important bearings upon the association theory of causation, which will doubtless occur to the reader. It shews also the dependence of the order of associated states in memory upon the movements of attention in the first experience rather than upon the order of external events. The fact is also important in astronomical observation; a new excitation to the eye, such as the appearance of

an expected star on the meridian, is anticipated by the attention and given a reaction earlier than its true position would confirm.

The distinction between perception and reproduction, that is between the conscious form of a direct intuition and that of a memory picture, is very artificial, inasmuch as reproduced images enter in all our perceptions and influence their time. We have dealt heretofore with simple perception as if this influence did not exist, but a moment's reflection shows that it should be taken into account in all time measurements. In the experiments of which I have spoken, in which attention plays a part, that is, in which the subject knew before he experienced the excitation, its nature and quality, the reaction time was diminished, for the reason that it was possible to call up a memory picture of previous experiences and hold it before the attention, in such a way that the voluntary impulse could be set in play almost immediately upon the discharge of the sensor centres. For example, if the subject expects the stroke of a bell, he recalls the sensation of a previously heard stroke and the organs are in readiness to respond. So what we have called perception time really results from a diminution due to reproduction. The true time for perception must be obtained by experimenting with excitations entirely unexpected and the differences between the reaction time in this case and that of an expected excitation of the same nature, due to the influence of reproduction simply, is sometimes half the true perception time.

The problem then arises to determine the reproduction or simple association time, that is, the time which elapses between the full perception of a first image and that of a second which the first suggests. To do this we must first determine the time of a complete association reaction, that is, the time which elapses from (say) the hearing of a word, as *storm*, and the utterance of a closely associated word, as *wind*. The association must be spontaneous with the subject and the original word a monosyllable and very familiar. The uniformity of result is surprising considering the variety and indefiniteness

of our customary associations. Our equation is now (A representing the new element due to association):

$$(3) \quad R' = S + P + A + M$$

Reacting again for the word alone without the associated image, we have

$$(1) \quad R = S + P + M$$

By subtraction,  $A = R' - R$ , hence value for A.

The average of experiments gives this value about  $3/4 - 4/5$  sec.

These results hold only for close associations established by long habit, especially those dating back to childhood or early life. A third process upon which experiment has been employed is that of discernment, that is, the act of *distinguishing* between given images and indicating the distinction by *choice*. The excitation, say a red light, is agreed upon and is exhibited to the subject indiscriminately with another, say a blue; the subject to react only when he sees the red. In this process, it is seen, two intellectual acts occur; 1, *comparison* of the visible light with the reproduced image in consciousness, 2, a *judgment* as to their identity or non-identity, and these imply 3, the act first of all of simple perception and 4, last of all the act of volition, as in proceeding cases. Letting 4 represent the whole distinction time, we have:

$$(4) \quad R' = S + P + D + M$$

Now reacting simply:

$$(1) \quad R = S + P + M$$

By subtraction,  $D = R' - R$

Thus arrived at, the time of distinction is found to be for two indiscriminate stimuli,  $1/20 - 1/10$  sec. I say for two stimuli, for the time is lengthened, as we would expect, when the possible choices are increased. For example, if we use three lights, red, blue and green, the time occupied in a true discrimination is longer, and it increases geometrically. Wundt experimented with the letters of the German alphabet, and Cattell with both English and German printed characters. Cattell finds that it takes about  $1/2$  sec., to see and

name a single letter, and that it takes longer to distinguish the German characters than the English.

The time of the judgment also has entered into all our measurements heretofore, and it is impossible to isolate it as a distinct intellectual act for purposes of experiment. As an act in time it can be viewed only in particular cases and under prescribed conditions, and even then the time is to be considered relatively to that of other processes necessarily involved.

Trautscholt, has studied the time of the "judgment of subordination," from genus to species. A word is spoken and the subject reacts as he conceives a word in logical subordination to the given concept, for example, *animal-dog*. An element of association which it is impossible to eliminate, enters largely here. By the same process as before, we find the value of J (judgment) from the equation of the entire reaction, to be about 1 sec; that is slightly longer than that of the simple association. It varies also with the specific quantity of the logical terms. That is, (a) the time is longest when the subject is abstract and the predicate a more general notion (virtue—honesty); (b) shortest when the subject is concrete and the predicate particular (hound-Bruno).

Besides these and other positive results Psychometry has made additional important contributions to psychological science. It may be well, in closing, to indicate some of its more general bearings; resting satisfied, however, with their mere statement, since we have left no space for theoretical considerations.

The researches already mentioned have led to the determination of the *area* of consciousness—the sum of possible presentations held together in consciousness at the same time. It has long been a disputed point as to whether presentations are ever simultaneous. It has been shewn by Dietze that our sound consciousness can compass from 10 to 12 regular successive excitations by a single effort of the attention. The number of presentations for sight is probably much less—about 5 or 6. The most favourable interval between the

sound stimuli is .2 sec. When the number is greater, they are thrown into successive groups of 4, 5, or 6; shewing that the limit of a single attentive act has been transcended and consciousness adapts itself by a rapid shifting of its forces.

Again, as is readily seen, Psychometry has tended to the emphasizing and defining of the voluntary side of the mind, as apprehended through the attention. The results here alone more than pay for the entire work the researches involve. That the will is to-day the question of capital importance both in psychology and general philosophy, and that philosophers are hopeful and expectant of results in the theory of our active life as never before under the lead of speculation, is largely due, we think, to the new psychology. Realist and idealist are alike tying their cables to the conception of mental *force*, and when the International Congress of Psychologists in session in Paris last summer announced, among the topics which needed special and immediate investigation, the "nature of mental effort," it was only an official expression of what was in the hearts of us all. The experimental work described above has cleared up the problem of the attention in many of its conditions: its relation to the time-sense and the origin of the idea of time, its inseparable connection with muscular activity,\* its bearing upon intensities everywhere in mental experience, its influence in our perception of the external world and of space—indeed one can not arise from the study of physiological psychology as it now spreads out before us the data of which we have only noted a single division, without the overwhelming conviction that it is upon the theory of mental effort in attention with feelings of resistance that the general psychology of the future will be erected. Again, such experiments shew both the isolated character of mental states in their dependence on physiological states, and at the same time the clear necessity of a circumscribing, grouping and arranging consciousness of

\*A recent and important fact lately brought out is, that the reaction time is much shorter if the attention be directed to the reacting sense (hand) rather than to the receiving sense (ear).

which they are states: a unity, an individual active self, which the manipulation of single states does not impair. In dealing with what I have called internal psychology as open to experiment, viz., abnormal and diseased states of mind, this question of unity and personality becomes an open one: but from the work now spoken of we have the emphatic emphasis of a principle of activity by which alone single, successive, or simultaneous states have any meaning or significance in our mental life.

Finally, to bring this defective review to a close at the general point of vision or outlook at which it started, all the results of Psycho-physics and Psychometry are in themselves evidence of the fruitfulness of the new movements and promise of the largess of the future.

On the topics covered by this paper, the following works may be consulted. They are selected more as being accessible than as more important than others. The writer would be glad to answer any enquiries which may be addressed to him respecting further authorities, monographs, articles, etc., as far as he is able.

Ladd, *Physiological Psychology* (Scribners, \$3.50.)

Ribot, *German Psychology of To-day* (Scribners, \$2.00).

Wundt, *Physiologische Psychologie*, 3rd ed., chap. 8 and 16.

Fechner, *Elemente der Psychophysik*.

Delboeuf, *La Loi Psychophysique*.

Sully, *Sensation and Intuition*.

Muller, *Grundlegung der Psychophysik*.

*Philosophische Studien*, edited by Wundt, back numbers (very valuable).

*Mind*, back numbers.

Baldwin, *Handbook of Psychology*, pp. 114-115 (Holt, \$2.25), for additional references.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

## TITLES OF HONOUR IN CANADA

THE first attempts to establish a hereditary aristocracy in Quebec by France, and in Nova Scotia by England, were almost exactly contemporaneous. Cardinal Richelieu made provision for the erection in New France of Duchies, Marquisates, Counties, Viscounties and Baronies, but was content to begin the experiment with Seigniories. These were created by Richelieu, and his successors, to the number of twenty-nine, between the years 1626 and 1663. The first Barony, that of Orsenville, was erected in 1675, from the Seignioriy of Les Islets, and the Baron, M. Talon, was vested with the lordly rights of establishing prisons, permanent gibbets, and a pillory. In 1700, Louis XIV conferred upon Charles Le Moyne, the title of Baron de Longueil. This title is not extinct, for Her Majesty of England was, in 1881, graciously pleased to recognize the right of Charles Colmer Grant to this rank, as a descendant of the ancient Baron.

The seed planted by Richelieu struck root and flourished on the banks of the St. Lawrence, for, when the Seigniorial tenure was abolished in Canada, in 1854, it was found that there were 220 fiefs, or feudal estates, possessed by 160 Seigniors, who had 72,000 renters, or *censitaires*. These territorial lords were possessed of fifty or sixty thousand acres each; and the Seigniories were apportioned into farms of 90 acres, for which a ground rent of two *sous* per acre was payable with certain other dues. For instance, the *censitaire* was bound to have his flour ground at the Seignior's mill, where one fourteenth was retained as "grist." Then there was a fee upon alienation of the land of one twelfth of its value. The original Seigniors possessed the right to try in their domainial courts all felonies and misdemeanours, but their criminal jurisdiction was gradually discontinued, and was entirely superseded at the time of the Conquest.

The Seigniors of Quebec have modified the institutions of that Province, and have become an interesting part of its history. The Baronets of Nova Scotia took their origin in a shady commercial scheme, and have had no appreciable influence upon the Provincial destinies.

To Sir William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada, the Province of Nova Scotia owes its name. It was under his pressure that James I, in 1621, appointed him hereditary lieutenant of the colony of New Scotland, with extensive powers of colonization and settlement. The first two expeditions from Scotland to the new land cannot be described as successful, notwithstanding the attractive pictures drawn by Sir William of the region. He describes "the very good fat earth" and "the very delicate meadows," "with roses white and red;" yet he had to add an artificial bait to attract the wary Scot to the beautiful but distant shores. His royal master, ever since his accession to the English throne, had systematically replenished the royal revenues by the sale of titles. His most successful venture in that branch of statesmanship, was based upon the pretence of colonizing Ireland. The members of the new Order were known as Baronets of Ulster, and were, in fact, English land-owners, who were willing to pay £1,100 for the hereditary title. From 1611 to 1622, honours were, so to speak, "easy," and by their open sale the enormous sum of £225,000 was added to the royal exchequer.

Sir William Alexander had lost money by his expeditions, and carefully estimated that if a grateful sovereign would allow him to exploit the rich stream that might be made to flow from "the fountain of Honour," he would soon mend his broken fortunes. To this laudable end the Order of Baronets of New Scotland was created; and certain territorial rights in the colony accompanied the title. The conditions attached to each Baronetcy were the supplying of six men to the colony, and the payment to Sir William Alexander of "one thousand merkis Scottish money." It was made clear, however, that valued precedence was granted



to the new Baronets, "together with the appellation of Ladie, Madame and Dame to their Wyffs."

The death of King James did not put an end to Sir William's patriotic schemes, for Charles I issued a new charter on 12th July, 1625, confirming the institution of the Order of Baronets. It must not be supposed, however, that the ancient Scottish nobles accepted without protest the creation in their midst of a new and numerous Order, endowed, too, with imposing rank and dignity. So vigorous did the attack upon the Nova Scotia Baronets become, that the Ægis of a Royal Proclamation had to be thrown over them. In 1626, the King found it necessary to address his liege subjects of Scotland in these quaint words: "And thairfore we wairne all and sundrie the gentrie of this Kingdome that they either procure the said dignitie for thameselfis, or not repyne at otheris for doing the same;" and giving it to be distinctly understood that if they "doe in the contrair, thay sal be punist as contempnaries of His Majestie's inclinaioun, and disturbaris of the publick peace."

In a later royal missive, of 17th November, 1629, the King made more clear than ever how lofty a place he awarded the members of this favoured Order. He authorized "the Baronettis, and everie one of them, and thare heires male, to wear and carry about their nekis, in all time coming, ane orange tauney silk ribbane, whereon shall hing pendant in a scutcheon *argent* a saltoire *azur*, thairon ane inscutcheune of the armes of Scotland, with an Imperiall crowne above the scutchone."

The heraldic distinctions of the Order were unquestionably imposing; but the broad acres in Nova Scotia which were to sustain the baronies were "like the baseless fabric of a vision." The same royal hand which lavished the honours so freely in 1629, signed the fatal treaty in 1632, which ceded the entire territory of New Scotland to the French. Lord Stirling was compensated for his losses by a royal Warrant from Charles for £10,000 (which was never paid); but the poor Baronets only received their "orange tauney ribbanes", their

“scutcheon argent” and their “saltoires azeur” for themselves and their “heires male” for ever.

Hereditary honours were doomed in Canada when primogeniture was abolished in the descent of land. Titles of nobility in our fatherlands of Western Europe descended to the eldest son. To sustain its dignity the title required that the family estates should follow it. In the democracy of Canada primogeniture can never be restored, and without the support of that system, hereditary titles could not flourish.

There is a badge of Imperial Statesmanship which is to be distinguished from the mere ribbons of knighthood, and has been most sparingly bestowed upon Colonists. The rank of Imperial Privy Councillor with the title of “Right Honourable,” marks the highest class of the Sovereign’s advisers. So long as our present form of Union with Great Britain exists, it must be admitted that the placing of a Canadian Statesman in the list of Imperial Privy Councillors is an honourable mark of distinction, because it signifies a high office. Of all titles held by a Canadian Statesman, while Canada is a Colony, that is the one to which least reasonable objection can be taken. It, at least, is neither a remnant, nor a tinsel imitation, of the ancient Orders of Chivalry.

The Most Noble, Ancient and Illustrious Orders of The Garter, The Thistle, and St. Patrick, are too sacred to decorate the Colonial breast; and only one Canadian possesses the Grand Cross of the Bath. The fifth-class Knighthood of St. Michael and St. George has been found sufficiently satisfying for the Colonial appetite for honours; and, even in this inferior order, most of our aristocracy are satisfied to strut about with a ribbon of second or third class rank.

While all men of any prominence in Canadian public life are certain, sooner or later, to have the refusal of Knight-hoods, yet it is to be hoped that few will feel called upon to accept them in the future. It is one of the arguments against acceptance of such titles, that Canadian public men should look to the Canadian people for their rewards, and should not take them from Downing Street. Yet, it must be admitted,

we have more than one example of the most sturdy independence among Canadian Knights. No one, for instance, has ventured to accuse the gallant Knight of Kingston of lack of either freedom, or boldness, in his criticism of the *status quo*, when discussing the right of Canada to make her own Commercial Treaties. Sir Alexander Galt, also, when offered the honour of Knighthood, reminded the Home Authorities that he held pronounced views in favour of Canadian Independence; and accepted the title on the distinct understanding only that he would still be free to hold those views.

It is, perhaps, not generally known, that there exists a well settled rule, ever since Confederation, that Imperial titles are conferred upon Canadians only after being recommended by the First Minister of Canada. The Knighthoods, which seem to drop so spontaneously from the lap of the Queen, as touching marks of the Royal favour, are just as distinctly bestowed by the leader of the Dominion Government, as is any appointment to the Canadian bench, or any silk gown, which is flung to a party follower at the bar.

Certain titles were conferred early in 1879, many months after Sir John Macdonald had succeeded to office; and it was at the time, a source of wonder that the list contained the names of three Liberals. The explanation, which does not appear to have occurred to many, will be found in the fact, that Mr. Mackenzie had forwarded these names to the Home Government before he left office; and he could probably tell us, if he would, how strongly he was pressed by an exalted personage to make some recommendations of the kind.

The most valued result of a Canadian Knighthood is a certain social rank and precedence, at home and abroad. To Lady X it may be a satisfying honour to be taken in by the host at dinners, and suppers; but the eclat of the husband's title is rapidly diminishing among his neighbours. It is not seldom regarded in Canada as an artificial prop, which sustains the owner at a higher social level than he would otherwise find himself. It is an attempt to place him on a pedestal above our real leaders, the merchant princes, the financiers,

the large manufacturers, the foremost men in law, medicine, and science. It is a reward, in nine cases out of ten, of party political services; and, with the exception of occupants of the bench, and a few railway magnates and heads of colleges, it is never offered to any but party politicians. If the public services rendered are of conspicuous value to the country, they are never without the fullest recognition by the people, and no other sort of meritorious endeavour receives more honour than the work of the true statesman, who certainly requires no artificial social prop. It is an open secret that there are now living in Toronto, at least five men, who have been offered and have declined the honour of Knighthood. There is another instance, in the same place, where the *noli episcopari* was often and sincerely pronounced before the ribband was finally accepted. It is difficult to believe that the practice of bestowing such honours in Canada can be continued with success, when so many worthy men have felt neither the obligation nor the desire to accept them.

The time seems almost to have arrived, when the contumacious people of Toronto should be admonished on the subject of their refusal of titles. The Order of Baronets of Nova Scotia was never more grievously slighted in the days of Charles I, than has been the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George in the days of Victoria, at the good City of Toronto. Why should not the tide of Democratic sentiment be stemmed at once by the issue of another Royal Proclamation in the very language of the precedent established in 1626? It would run in these simple but expressive words:—"And thairfore we wairne all and sundrie "the gentrie of this citie that they either procure the said "dignitie for thameselffis, or not repyne at otheris for doing "the same; and that if thay do in the contrair, thay sal be "punist as contempnaris of Her Majestie's inclinaioun, and "disturbaris of the publick peace."

While the United States constitution prohibits citizens from accepting titles of honour, it must be admitted that they are generally fortunate in finding some military or judicial

rank, by which they may be distinguished. Whether it be that of Judge or Colonel, however, it designates the holder of a position, and is not simply a title of honour.

A citizen of the Great Republic, when abroad, can bear no arms, nor title, as a credential of social rank. He must be received or rejected upon his merits alone. He stands as the social equal of a foreign duke, for the reason that in his own country there is no higher rank than that of "gentleman."

Can it be of advantage to the Canadian abroad, that any, who care to enquire, must understand that there is here a select band of decorated colonists, holding social precedence over all who are not placed—so to speak—in the Downing Street herd-book of colonial thoroughbreds?

As an integral portion of the British Empire we must submit to the social decree, which places every insignificant member of the English peerage far and away above a Canadian Minister, or Chief Justice. It is at least possible for Canadian public sentiment to frown down all attempts to continue the creation of a petty aristocracy in our midst by the distribution of paltry titles, which are shared with the dusky Nawabs of Hindostan.

J. D. EDGAR.

BI-LINGUAL TEXTS: A RESUME OF THE  
DISCUSSION

WISELY or not wisely, the inhabitants of this Province have learned to look to Government for help in instructing their children in the common branches of knowledge. The state has accepted the responsibility, and on the whole, well and fairly has the obligation been discharged. The purpose of the State is not the education of its youth in any one subject or in groups of subjects. This is but the means. To fit for the ordinary vocations of life; to kindle the intelligence of its people; to place in their hands the keys to strength and fortune; to add to its citizenship with every generation an entire new body, prepared by the exercise of reason for self-government—this is the end and justification of the control of our schools we yield to the State. It is only yesterday, as it were, that we have heard of another duty of government in educational matters—for the future instruction in the public schools of Ontario, whatever the language of the district, must be in English subjects exclusively, and imparted through English speech alone. Pressure for uniformity comes from rather an unexpected quarter. We are in the habit of assuming that it is the vice of Government by *bureaux* to require, for the sake of routine, unvarying sameness of means. If the Department, then, in order to ease the laborious functions of administration sought, in spite of the special needs of individual localities, to compel singleness of method, such action, although censurable, could find a natural explanation in the growth of system. But the movement does not come from men who occupy themselves with educational topics primarily; it is a part of the programme of those who violently wish to mould a varied population into homogeneity in advance of the course of nature. The dislike to Bi-lingual texts which has been expressed on their behalf

is not founded on educational grounds; yet the question is, in the first instance, purely an educational one, and must be tried by the canons of that science. Incidental to the inquiry it may perhaps be also seen that their very aim is like to be frustrated by the measure they demand.

The problem known as the bi-lingual difficulty has arisen chiefly in the Ottawa and lower St. Lawrence counties of Ontario. Historically, the sequence is this: The first settlers used the English tongue: they avoided the lower and swamp lands, of which there are considerable areas in these districts, and gathered into communities on the higher lands. The French-Canadian, who followed in the wake of the lumber-camps, on the decline of that industry, took up the lands which had been refused by the more fastidious, because more opulent, British settler. The drift of population at once set in and the vacant areas rapidly filled up, and French-speaking communities were formed. The process was not one of displacement, but rather an intermingling of the two peoples settling in patches, chequer-wise. Now, that the unoccupied lands have been brought under cultivation, the French influx is much reduced and the equilibrium can be disturbed only by the differing ratios of the natural increase of the two peoples. As a consequence of the aggregation of the two races into separate communities the corresponding school-sections became French or English. The Commissioners found that in no less than thirty of the schools they visited every child whose name was entered on the roll was of French-speaking parents. "The present English schools," say the Commissioners, "have always been English since they were first established, and most of the French schools have always been French."

The condition of the French districts must be kept present to the mind while questions of method in their schools are under consideration. From the detailed report of the Commissioners, we have selected as a fair illustration the Township of Alfred. Results found in 11 schools are scheduled as follows:—476 pupils were on the roll; of this number 21 used

English, *i.e.*, English was the language of their homes. These 21 pupils were distributed over four schools with a total of 175 enrolled scholars. In these four schools, therefore, the English-speaking pupils were 12% of the whole. The remaining seven schools were entirely French. In the eleven schools referred to, twelve teachers were engaged in the work of instruction, two of whom were English-speaking; the others were French. The average of the salaries paid these twelve teachers was \$208.76 per annum, the highest salary being \$310; the lowest \$160 per annum.

Such salaries—all that can at present be offered by the supporters of these schools, who are new settlers clearing their farms and paying for their homes—do not attract to this field of labour trained English teachers who possess the knowledge of French necessary to carry on the work of instruction where the pupils are entirely ignorant of the English tongue. The supply, we are informed, is drawn from the Province of Quebec; hence the imperfect acquaintance on the part of many of the teachers with the language in which they must give instruction. The Commissioners make this part of their report:—

“English teachers say that they find their inability to speak French a serious hindrance in teaching French children who do not understand English. The teachers employed in these French schools should be able to speak French as well as English. A sufficient supply of English students willing to undergo the labour and expense necessary to fit themselves for teaching in these French schools, could not be obtained for the small salaries paid.”

From the point of view of the educationist the question may be thus presented:—When the children come to the schools with only a colloquial knowledge of the *patois* learned in the home and where the majority of the teachers themselves be French-speaking with, at best, an acquired knowledge of English, how proceed to efficiently impart an English education in the few terms in which all instruction must be compressed. The principle which obtains in educational method is to proceed to the unknown by using



the knowledge already possessed by the pupil. This in effect is the rationale of Bi-lingual texts.

If we are too near our own language difficulty to readily eliminate collateral matters and confine the discussion to the educational points involved, the study of a parallel case can help us to a right conclusion. In Wales the system in use for many years was to exclude the native tongue from the schools. The evidence gone into before the Royal Commission called forth vigorous protests against the unwise and illiberality of that course.

"In Welsh schools' says one witness, '(and by Welsh schools, I should say that I mean schools in the Welsh-speaking parts of Wales), the majority of the children come to school with absolutely no knowledge of English, but with a colloquial knowledge of Welsh. In my own school at Gwynfe I can say that at least eighty per cent. of the children admitted, ranging from four to ten years of age, came to me without any knowledge of English. The simplest phrases in English conveyed no meaning to them. They had the whole vocabulary yet to learn. I was at one time carried away by the feeling which then prevailed, that, at whatever cost, nothing but English should be heard in the school. I never permitted a word of Welsh to be spoken under any circumstances inside the school-room or even on the playground. \*

\* \* Permit me to give one instance of how this operated. On one occasion a boy in the second or third standard, a big lad of eleven years of age, came to school an hour late; he was accompanied by a sister, and a school-mate a year older; I called him up and asked him in English where he had been; the reply took my breath away. 'Please sir,' said he, 'I am dead.' 'You are dead?' I asked in surprise. 'Yes,' he said, 'I am dead on the road.' On breaking through my rule, and inquiring what he meant, I found that the poor boy had been ill on the road, and that neither he nor his sister nor school-mate could distinguish in English between having been ill and been dead. That, I think, was the last time I ever insisted on the rule to exclude Welsh from my school.'"

Q.—What is the effect of Welsh being ignored and passed over in the day schools?

A.—The result is injurious in many ways. In the first place, it lessens the child's confidence in himself, it makes him nervous, afraid to give expression to his thoughts, and doubtful of his own powers. In the second place, it instils into his mind a hatred of one of the two languages. Either he must hate the language of his home, which he is led to regard as a thing to be ashamed of, or, if he has any spirit in him

or the least spark of patriotism, it fills his youthful mind with a deep-seated hatred of the foreign language, in favour of which his legitimate mother tongue is placed in the position of a bastard. In the third place, again, it affects the light in which he regards school. He associates school with English and home with Welsh; these counteract each other where they should assist. In the fourth place, school is thus made a greater burden in the child's eyes than it need be; there is nothing, in fact, but the companionship of his school-mates to give him pleasure; and even this pleasure is limited by the restriction placed upon him and them to use only English whenever possible.

Q.—How does this question affect the teaching of the English language?

A.—The system of teaching generally pursued necessarily involves a training of memory and not of the intelligence; I might even say training the memory at the cost of the intelligence. The instance that I gave of the lad who believed that he was dead when he wished to say that he had been ill is not an isolated one. Children learn a number of English words, but these words convey no ideas to their minds. The teaching degenerates into a purely mechanical exercise. The child reads his book, his pronunciation of words may be correct, he may give an English synonym for any given word, but he actually knows nothing of it. It is only when the idea is placed before him in the familiar Welsh garb that he recognizes it. To the ordinary English child his reading book contains stories in simple language which amuse and interest him; to the ordinary Welsh child, on the contrary, most of his books are sealed books, so far as his intelligence is concerned; the words are mere dry symbols, presenting no idea to his mind."

"We do not," the witness continues, "want to teach Welsh as a class subject, but to utilize it. The children come to school without a knowledge of English. We want to use systematically the knowledge they possess as a key to the knowledge which they do not possess. We do not want to replace English but to help it. \* \* \* Our children now labour under a bi-lingual difficulty. We appeal for your help to turn this bi-lingual difficulty into a bi-lingual advantage."

"The Welsh language, under the present scheme, according to another witness, is a stumbling-block, but we propose that under the new arrangement it should be turned into an advantage."

The purely technical aspect of the question of Bi-lingual instruction may, with the material collected in the pamphlet printed for the Department, be left without anxiety to the fair decision of all who are conversant with educational science. For the other matters that have been introduced into the discussion a single consideration will suffice. The study of

English is required of the French schools as something more than the pursuit of an accomplishment ; and it is not the surface uniformity alone of a common language that is the sole or even the main purpose of the ordinance. The underlying real purpose is to bring a new section of the commonwealth into living communion with English modes of thought, into true sympathy with the nature of the institutions under which this people have chosen to live and in the modifications of which they are already permitted to bear their part. To them, without understanding, our polity can be only a lifeless form, our government no more than a troublesome overseer, our law but a fetich to be approached with careful formularies. We seek to incorporate strangers to our way of life into the body politic, and must proceed without harshness or seeming injustice, else the day of solid union may be protracted far beyond our desires.

## THE MORPHO-MANIAC

OUR modern civilized life has done more, perhaps, than anything else to encourage and promote liquor and drug habits, for where in former times the drinking of liquor was merely a pledge of good fellowship, it has now become necessary to use these stimulants and the much stronger drugs to give a false strength to the weaker ones in the rush of social and business life. The constant struggle for existence among the poor; and the equally constant round of dissipation and amusement among the rich combine to put a severe and continuous strain upon both. This the weaker ones must be prepared to resist or go to the wall. They have not the vitality to keep up physically nor the nerve force which, in their stronger-minded companions, acts as a spur to the physical powers when these are failing. Where the physical and nervous powers are both failing under the strain imposed, we find that a much stronger nerve stimulus is required to keep the body at work, and this, too, at a time when the nervous energy is itself in an exhausted condition; as the stimulus cannot come from within, the only resource is from without.

Now, our weaklings, in order to produce that condition of *bien faisance* which they so much desire, usually procure this foreign stimulus from one of two sources—either they abuse alcoholic liquors or indulge in narcotics. The former act as a direct irritant to the nervous system combined with a certain amount of hallucination which enables the victim to perform comparatively great feats of strength and argument, meanwhile totally unaware that his co-ordinating centres are functioning in anything but a proper manner. The narcotics, on the contrary, produce this feeling of *bien d'etre* by dulling the nervous system so that it is not affected by the ordinary sensory stimuli. Uneasiness and fatigue are replaced by a temporary sense of rest and comfort.

In considering the causation of this or any other vice, we perceive certain primary methods of initiation, and subsequent to or around these, subsidiary ones dependent upon the influence of the former on different classes of people. The primary ones are all that we need at present consider, and these are, first, the introduction and use of the drug by Chinese *habitués*. Their influence in the dissemination of the vice must be chiefly indirect, as both the teachers and their surroundings are decidedly repulsive and not calculated to affect the better classes of the people and their pupils must of necessity be drawn from the ranks of the sport, the thug and the courtesan; of course these are comparative gradations in the scale of society and merge one into the other and gradually into the higher stratas above them. A much more important factor is the perusal of literature concerning the habits and customs of eastern countries. These, fanciful as they are usually, lose nothing at the narrator's hands and the reader is thus pleasantly introduced into the realms of hash-eesh and opium; or perhaps more modern writers may dilate upon the virtues of a drug capable of transforming a rhymester into a Shakespeare or the literary hack into a man of letters or of mental entertainment in which the *habitué* enters an enchanted paradise. He walks through gardens whose beauty exceeds the luxuriance of the tropics. He listens to music such as Beethoven and Mozart would not dare dream of. What wonder then, that our weaklings on such mental pabulum are ready and eager to investigate these pleasures for themselves? What if a DeQuincey tell them that present pleasures are but the prelude to future torments so much the greater by comparison. Such reasoning has seldom any deterrent effect on human beings and especially on our weaklings, for the feebler the mind, in fact the stronger it is in the opinion of its owner. The strong mind fears itself where the weak one has implicit trust. They propose to themselves to taste of the delights of this elysium but if at any moment there is the slightest chance of the drug overcoming them they will by strong force of will abruptly discontinue its use. Large

numbers of these people are now residing in the opium or inebriate homes and lunatic asylums of the country.

The means of the vice are easily obtainable, and it is usually practised in secret and therefore does not proclaim itself in anything like the manner of alcoholic indulgence. So it is that it has such fascinations for our respectable weaklings and fashionable women. Besides this veil of secrecy which is always so dear to such persons, there is the added fascination of delicate and dainty surroundings. To the fashionable woman it is simply everything, that instead of a bottle unsafely concealed in some nook, there standing upon her table without suspicion whatsoever is her dressing case, one of the pretty cut-glass and gold-stoppered bottles of which contain not the perfumes but rather the curse of the East. Then in the form possibly of a pretty jeweled pencil is the hypodermic syringe whose tiny steel point requires just the amount of heroism which my lady possesses to plunge it into the delicate flesh which at this time might better be described as a sieve-like arm.

There can be no doubt that the surroundings of this habit have a great deal to do with its increase more especially among the classes mentioned, because it appeals to them in ways which have been ingrained as their life progresses. It is seldom the strong are seduced, but often the weak and effeminate, to these it is a matter of the senses and imagination, to both of which nothing appeals more strongly than the habit under discussion; of the secrecy of it there can be no doubt, and it is surprising the fiendish ingenuity displayed by the traffickers in the drug to assist their customers. A striking instance of this has been recently brought to my notice. In one of the ladies' schools in New York, some of the pupils were found using the drug; one of these was taken away and put under treatment in the endeavour to cure the habit, but it was found that, although constantly watched by the nurse, she, beyond a doubt, was obtaining morphine from some source which could not be discovered. The nurse, wishing to write a letter, took for the purpose a stylographic pen which

was on the patient's table; after several attempts to make it write, she undertook a closer investigation and was much surprised to discover that the pen was really a hypodermic needle.

Under such circumstances it can be little wondered at, that the habit is so readily contracted and still less, that with such fiendish methods for aiding the habitues, treatment should be of little avail.

And it is to the desire to test for themselves the alleged glorious effects of these drugs, and to produce in themselves that relief from fatigue and excitation of the mind of which they have read that we must ascribe the greater number of these victims, and worse than all this is the fact that the vice has now to a great extent become a fashionable one among certain female leaders of society. The neophyte now meets upon the threshold of that new world she is so anxious to enter, a fiend in the form of some kind friend who provides her with a pretty panacea for the weariness of dissipation. It is not necessary here to more than refer to the dangers which may arise from the people becoming generally addicted to these drugs, but I might point out the ease with which a legatee might be put out of the way by being initiated in this habit.

Although, as has been stated, the principal reason for the increase in this vice are those given before, yet it is necessary to deal with another alleged influence, that of the physician. This has been made on the basis that he uses large quantities of the drug as a medicament. Of course there is no denying that he does so use these drugs, and we may safely rest content that there will never be a demand made upon him not to. For if any one were disposed to make the attempt there would be such a cry raised, all over the civilized world, against him by those who had been relieved from pain themselves, or by endless numbers of people, members of whose families have been relieved from severest suffering, that he would be glad to withdraw from the light of so much publicity. This gives but a partial idea of the far-reaching effects which this drug has had in the hands of the physician.

And we are therefore immediately confronted with the statement that where such large numbers of people know of, have witnessed, or have felt the effects of this drug in this way, the physician's responsibility in the production or propagation of this vice must be appalling. Such reasoning as this is quite sufficient for the *hoi polloi*, and on just such a basis temperance fanatics have more than once started a crusade against medical men for the administration of liquors as stimulants to sustain life at a critical point.

There is also another and more contemptible way by which this responsibility is sought to be added to, and that is by a class who style themselves physicians, and who for purely commercial gain for trade purposes use this method to hurt their opponents, a method which would not be used by any other trader, which would be despised by the grocer who sands his sugar. And these under their motto *Similia similibus curantur*, are enabled to maintain a masterly inactivity and stand by with impassive countenance and the oracular silence of ignorance, while the patient dies, worn out by the tortures which if relieved would have left him with strength enough to recover.

This is the accusation, what is the defence? What is the actual position of the physician as a responsible factor in the increase of this vice? He should be, and is, perfectly aware—more so than any learned layman—of the dangers which may possibly occur, and knowing that if the patient is aware of the nature of the medicament, and knows that it will give him relief and oblivion, he may seek it—he is careful to conceal, as far as possible, all such knowledge from him.

We will suppose, that having prescribed a certain medicine for the relief of the pain from which his patient is suffering, he returns on the following day; what is the statement with which he is met in seventy-five cases out of a hundred? It is of this nature: "Doctor, I know you must have given me morphine, for, though the pain is all gone and I feel easy as long as I am perfectly quiet, the moment I raise my head from the pillow it aches terribly and makes me horribly sick



at my stomach." Does this look as if the physician was likely to create a habit? Is this patient liable to repeat the dose for the transcendent effects produced?

The physician does everything in his power to protect the patient, yet the latter may be aware of the nature of the medicine used, and it can only be in those cases, in which he is aware of it, that any danger may be expected, and this will be, not from its stimulant action, but, as stated before, from the knowledge of its dulling action on the nervous system, and from the oblivion it produces which enables the victim to fly so readily from those evils he has, to an after malaise and ruined constitution, which he does not consider.

If we allow this, is not the physician still to blame? He gives a prescription for morphine sufficient only for the present time and case, and the patient knows that, from such a bottle, with such a number, from such a druggist, he can obtain the oblivion he seeks; what is more natural than that he should go to the druggist and have it refilled?

Where is the physician's responsibility in this? He has used a medicine provided by a beneficent Creator for the relief of human suffering; he has endeavoured in every way to prevent repetitions of prescriptions without a written order; for many more drugs which may be used harmfully are sold constantly by druggists without warrant.

The State, of course, has regulated the sale of certain of the more active drugs from a legal or toxicological point of view, but what is the difference between a man suiciding in a day from strychnine or morphine or prolonging the death struggle for a year? merely one of degree; and the druggist who repeats a prescription for morphine without a written order commits a crime for which he should be held responsible. For, though he were to sell strychnine, he might not know that it would be used for suicidal purposes and not for foxes, but in selling opium he is perfectly aware that a habit is being formed which, although a trade gain to him, will eventually kill the purchaser, so that his crime comes in the category of murder. In this the physicians are powerless, and by a late

decision in the U.S. Courts, the State has kindly shouldered what vestige of responsibility he might have; by laying it down as a law of the land, that henceforth and forever the moment a prescription leaves a physician's hands to go to those of the patient it becomes the latter's property, and the physician has no more control over it morally, professionally, or commercially.

This being the case, the responsibility of supplying the means for this vice rests entirely with the druggist. It is for him to refuse to refill the prescription. It is for him to say whether he shall cross his hands or have them crossed, whether for so much per bottle he will sell his soul, whether for so much per bottle, he will commit murder.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

## THE UNIVERSITY FIRE

Beyond the individual losses which Professors and Lecturers suffered by reason of the disastrous fire which, on the evening of the 14th of February, destroyed the noble University College buildings, there is reason to believe that there will be little or no difficulty in replacing all, or nearly all that has been lost. The severest loss, at least to the graduates as a body, is what might be called the delocalization of association. What *has been* for them never *can be* again. The very inaptness even of the local habitation of their *Alma Mater* to modern requirements was a charm. All that remains to them is a cherished memory of what *once was*. But, after all, though this memory is all that remains to them, it is, at least, indestructible—beyond the reach of any agency, save death, to remove. In this connection it is interesting to recall what William Black, the novelist, wrote of the buildings years ago, in his delightful "Green Pastures and Piccadilly." Mr. Black says: "There was one point about Toronto which they did most honestly and warmly admire; and that was the Norman-Gothic University. To tell the truth, we had not seen much that was striking in the way of architecture since crossing the Atlantic; but the simple grace and beauty of this grey stone building wholly charmed these careless travellers; and again and again they spoke of it in after days when our eyes could find nothing to rest upon but tawdry brick and discoloured wood. There is a high tower at this Toronto College; and we thought we might as well go up the top of it. The lieutenant, who was never at a loss for introduction, speedily procured us a key; and we began to explore many curious and puzzling labyrinths and secret passages. At last we stood on the flat top of the square tower; and all around us lay a fresh and smiling country, with the broad waters of Ontario coming close up to the busy town. We went walking quite carelessly about this small enclosed place; we were chatting with each other; and occasionally leaning on the parapet of grey stone." Let us hope that the future abode of the University will be of such a character as to justify eminent men to speak of it in even more eulogistic terms!

## THE WORK OF RE-CONSTRUCTION

The work of re-construction we trust will go hand in hand with the work of restoration. The policy to be adopted in the present transitional, not to say critical, period of the history of the University, is one which

demands very careful consideration. The system to be inaugurated now will, to a great extent, be influential for a half-century at least. It is important, therefore, that the utmost be done to insure a union of the greatest beauty with the greatest utility in the new buildings. Among the most obvious improvements suggested by the experience of the past are, that the Library be housed in a separate fire-proof building of the most approved style. Indeed the isolation of what we might call "departmental buildings" should be followed wherever practicable. Thus, for example, the main building should contain the Lecture Rooms and Professors' private apartments. The Library and Reading Rooms should be in a separate building; and Convocation Hall, with the Executive Officers' rooms should be in a separate building likewise. A re-construction and enlargement of Residence should be at once determined upon. The University has entirely outgrown the present Residence. Proper facilities for physical culture should also be provided on a liberal scale. The students have long suffered in silence the want of a proper Gymnasium. Now is the time to incorporate such an institution among the other improvements contemplated. We see no reason why all these changes could not be carried out with the moneys likely to be placed at the disposal of the University. We believe that they will be, and that a new era of expansion and usefulness is dawning for the Provincial University. It only remains for the graduates to do their part: to restore the Library. The Province and the Board of Trustees have the other schemes already well advanced. The next few years promise to be of unusual activity in University circles.

#### WEATHER PREDICTIONS

There is no subject which is so thoroughly discussed, daily and hourly, by all sorts and conditions of people, as "The Weather." Whether it be used as an "opening" for conversation, or to convey the impression that the speaker is "weather-wise," the subject of local climatic influences is one that is in constant demand. There is no part of the daily newspaper which is turned to with greater regularity and expectancy than the space reserved for the "Probabilities." And how the Weather Bureau is abused if results do not square with the predictions of the observer! The general reader will perhaps be interested in knowing what percentage of weather predictions were fulfilled during the year 1889, in order that he or she may know how much reliance to place upon the word of "Old Probs" in future. The figures here given are taken from the Blue Book submitted to Parliament by the Minister of Marine, and may therefore be accepted with safety. The Dominion is divided into five Meteorological Districts: Lower Lake Region, Upper St. Lawrence, Lower St. Lawrence, Gulf, and Maritime. In 1889, the number of predictions issued from the Head Office in Toronto, was 6,808.

Of this large number, 5,259 or 77.2 per cent., were fully verified ; 996 were only partly verified ; 91.9 per cent. were verified fully and partially. The residents of the Upper St. Lawrence District are apparently the most fortunate of the inhabitants of the Dominion, for the highest percentage of "fully verified" predictions is recorded there, viz., 78.6 per cent. It is thus evident that the Weather Bureau may be relied upon. The percentage of verifications is quite large enough to satisfy the ordinary citizen that when the Probabilities mention "Rain" or "Local Showers" it will be wise and prudent to carry an umbrella, if for no other purpose than to scare off the rain !

#### THE RHYMING MANIA

Oliver Wendell Holmes ends his article in the March *Atlantic* by the following bit of delightful satirical verse, entitled *Cacoethes Scribendi* :

"If all the trees in all the woods were men,  
And each and every blade of grass a pen ;  
If every leaf on every shrub and tree  
Turned to a sheet of foolscap ; every sea  
Were changed to ink, and all earth's living tribes  
Had nothing else to do but act as scribes,  
And for ten thousand ages, day and night,  
The human race should write, and write, and write,  
Till all the pens and paper were used up,  
And the huge inkstand was an empty cup,  
Still would the scribblers clustered round its brink  
Call for more pens, more paper, and more ink."

Dr. Holmes is right ; the Rhyming Mania is abroad, and may not improperly be classed under the head of "zymotic diseases." But not only is this so, but we fear it is a symptom of a poetical paresis which is fast setting in. It is not proper, neither is it correct, to dignify current magazine verse by the name of poetry. That is, if we keep in mind what Emerson has said of the poet. In a striking passage in one of his Essays he says : "Poetry was written before time was ; and whenever we are so finely organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music, we hear those primal warblings, and attempt to write them down ; but we lose, ever and anon, a word or a verse, and substitute something of our own, and thus mis-write the poem. The man of more delicate ear can write down these cadences more faithfully, and these transcripts, though imperfect, become the songs of the nations." We hardly think the ubiquitous versifer can lay claim to the possession of so fine an organization as to breathe that pure spiritual ether in which Emerson says that the divine afflatus can alone be felt : at least, if he does so, it is but for a few moments at a time, if we may judge of the period of inspiration by the average length of his verses. Probably what we are forced to read in the magazines to-day are the substitutes for the word or verse which, as Emerson tells us, the poet loses ever and anon.

But how are we to account for this state of things? If we censure the modern versifier for not reaching the Emersonian ideal, we would do him an injustice if we were to overlook the qualities of the perfection to which he has brought his art, such as it is. The list of minor poets is large; and the choir is strong and tuneful. But the masters of song are few. As Stedman has said the present is "the twilight of the poets." It undoubtedly is "the age of Minnesingers." How is this to be accounted for? There is one reason which is suggested by a study of the history of literature. The student of literature will doubtless have noticed that an extreme development of any special literary characteristic almost invariably leads to a degeneracy in thought and power, which may or may not be, though it usually is not, accompanied with degeneracy of expression. This leads to a revolt of taste, and to the ascendancy of some other type. Thus the sentiment and passion of Byron, which gave way in his imitators to weak sentimentality and licentiousness, led to the final ascendancy of a pure and romantic school. The brilliant but artificial school of Pope found its antithesis in the poetry of Wordsworth. The classic school of Keats and Landor gave way to what an eminent critic, before quoted, has very felicitously called, the "composite, or art school," represented in its highest development by Tennyson.

But even now there are not wanting signs of a revolution in taste. The almost absolute perfection to which the Laureate has brought his art has given an undue prominence to mere literary finish. The poetry of the followers of Tennyson is chiefly noted for irreproachable form and style, and the cultivation of technical finish and variety. In these characteristics our modern verse is unsurpassed. But almost everything is sacrificed to the craving for the perfection of *technique*; and the Emersonian idea is lost sight of. Tennyson and Swinburne are finished masters of form and style. To the younger poets this is all in all. The literature of all ages is ransacked to give point to their effusions. The metrical forms of foreign languages are appropriated and initiated. Elaborate structures of musical verse are built up around fantastic ideas, dainty conceits, or trivial fancies. The result is a perfect flood of *Villanelles, Rondeaux, Ballades*, and the like; but the scaffolding is of more apparent importance than the building itself!

*Vers de Societe* is rampant and is driving all before it. Beautiful, clever, and metrically perfect, as all these are—and no one will deny them these qualities—one is tempted to think that they shew a diseased poetical temperament, or display a consciousness of impotence, or a *blase* indifference to the higher and more serious functions of the poetic art. These graceful notes embellish the score, and indicate flexibility of voice, but they are, at best, somewhat meretricious garniture or *fiorituri* which one listens to and likes, but which one would never applaud. In

a word: the poetry of the age is over-refined, and is becoming artificial. No wonder, then, that public taste should begin to regard with a degree of fairness and critical appreciation, that "poetry of the future," whose Apostle and Chief Minstrel is Walt Whitman—and whose utterances, style, and method are all in direct antithesis to that spirit which we have said characterizes the later Victorian poetry.

#### MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER

Among the proposed enactments of Sir John Thompson's "Bill to further Amend the Criminal Law of Canada," there was one clause, No. 6, which has, apparently, been unnoticed. This is doubtless owing to its being one of many changes contemplated by the Act above mentioned. It is one, however, which will assuredly come in for a good deal of discussion in the House. This addition to the Criminal Law of the Dominion, for such it practically is, relates to marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Hitherto there has been, we understand, no Canadian law against such marriages. The section in question reads as follows:

"Everyone who marries or co-habits with any person related to him or her, whether by consanguinity or affinity, more nearly than the fourth degree, computed according to the rules of the civil law, shall be deemed to have committed incest, and is guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to fourteen years imprisonment."

The deceased wife's sister's relationship to her brother-in-law is in the second degree of affinity, according to the rules of the civil law. The Canon Law of the Church of England, declared in the "Table of Kindred and Affinity," set forth in 1563, expressly forbids a marriage between persons so related. The Marriage Act of 1823, *i.e.*, 4 Geo. 4, c. 76 s. 14, incidentally and indirectly endorses the English Church Canon, No. 99, promulgated in 1604. This new enactment declares all marriages within the fourth degree to be incestuous, and to be a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment for fourteen years. This will include marriages between first-cousins, hitherto permissible. Whatever objections there may be, upon physiological grounds, for permitting marriages between first-cousins, and the objection is, one to be determined by considerations of environment as they affect each case, we cannot see why, except for reasons of expediency and sentiment, marriage with a deceased wife's sister should be made an offence punishable by imprisonment. Can the explanation be found in the preponderating weight of ecclesiastical influence, which, in one shape or another, seems to be endeavoring to mould the Civil upon the model of the Canon Law?

#### RECENT ANTI-MORMON LEGISLATION

So far as the influence of legislation can effect the question, Mormonism, at least as a polygamous institution, has received its death-blow in the United States. A recent decision of the Supreme Court of that

country, has affirmed the constitutionality of a law passed by the territorial legislature of Ohio, and which will be incorporated in the constitution of the new State. This law disfranchises every member of the Mormon Church, so long as he practices polygamy, because his Church "teaches as a duty what the Government denounces as a crime." Nor is this all. In Utah, the ancient stronghold of the Latter Day Saints, the Courts have decided that Mormon immigrants are ineligible for citizenship. Thus, in consequence of these decisions, and of the Edmunds Confiscation Bill and other anti-Mormon legislation recently passed by Congress, the Saints are flocking in great numbers into the Canadian North-West. Here, notwithstanding the honeyed words of welcome which the Governor-General addressed to them last summer, they are to feel the weight of the law. There is a clause in Sir John Thompson's new Bill, which is directed specially against the Mormons. It is to be hoped that it will be made very plain to the Mormon emigrants that obedience to the laws of the land is an absolute pre-requisite for citizenship in the Dominion.

#### THE SHIRE TROUBLE

Any one but a professed geographer might find it not easy to explain off hand, the points involved in the Shire dispute, which has aroused the ridiculous anger of the Portuguese. Zanzibar has long been the focus of all East African Travel. Whatever the point to be reached all roads seemed to run from the wicked Mahomedan little town of Zanzibar. The trail from the Coast to the Interior is white with the bones of travelers, for the two or three hundred miles of coast belt, that must be passed overland by slow marching stages, is the home of the dangerous African fever. Another way was found by the heroic missionary and explorer, Livingstone, in his voyage up the Zambesi. After a hundred miles of journey he came to the junction of another stream, and this from the north; following the windings of this latter water, now known as the Shire River, he found himself on the shores of an unknown lake. Lake Nyassa, the Shire, and the Zambesi form the great water route in Eastern Africa. Beyond the Nyassa again, and divided from it by an elevated plateau, demanding of the explorer cool, healthy marching for 250 miles, is Tanganyika, of noble proportions. By this route the two Nyanzas are reached with less fatigue and danger to health than by the old, murderous trail from Zanzibar. And this is not all; the watershed of the Congo, also one of the highways of Africa, lies on this same plateau. The Zambesi seeks the sea by four mouths. The port is the little Portuguese settlement of Quili-mane, situate on the Qua-Qua, whose upper reaches almost join the Zambesi at some distance inland. The Portuguese claim, by reason of their settlement, an indefinite suzerainty over the Shire district. English Missionary stations on the Shire and Nyassa, and the



out-posts of the African Lakes Company, likewise of English origin, are the only forces for civilization at work in the district. The English flag floats from the little steamer on the Shire, English produce is supplied by the trading Company, and at the Mission stations of Blantyre and Bandawe, is kept alive the sacred fire first borne to these regions by Livingstone. The interior is accessible by this route, and with the interior at reach the hideous traffic in war and rapine, carried on by the Arab slavers, can be stopped, and the arts of peace and civilization given to the Dark Continent. The interests of England are thus the interests of the civilized world and can not be abandoned to the shadow of authority claimed by Portugal without the power or the will to make good the pretensions.

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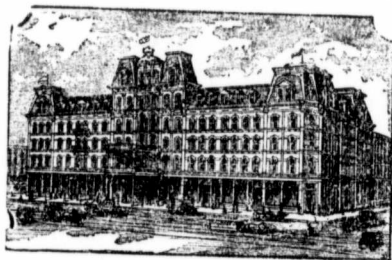
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