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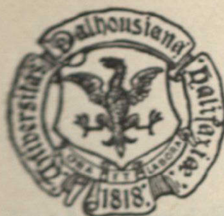

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THE ENGLISH CHARACTER AND CANADIAN CONDITIONS

IN VIEW of the recent correspondence and articles on the subject of the Englishman in Canada, I think that the first question which naturally suggests itself to an Englishman who has been in Canada for many years is: Is the immigrant Englishman, after all, inevitably a fool ?—and, if he appears such to Canadians, why?

We all remember—and, no doubt, many of us still possess —Mr. Racey's cartoons of the Englishman, which appeared in the *Montreal Star*. They were genuinely funny and deservedly popular; but, in sober fact, has that type of Englishman ever existed, save in imagination? I believe him to be as purely fictitious as the time-honoured conception of him by the French caricaturists—the tall emaciated, horse-featured person, with staring eyes, protuberant teeth, and long side-whiskers.

Still, there can be no doubt that those drawings crystallized, in an exaggerated form, a certain prevailing sentiment, that the Englishman, or, at any rate, the Englishman as exhibited in Canada, is what we may briefly designate as an "ass."

Perhaps, then, it may not be without interest to study awhile this strange creature—who, after all, has attained a position in the world hardly commensurate with the above designation—his nature, habits, customs, and antecedents; and endeavour to discover why, as a new addition to the population of the Dominion, he is in general looked upon with suspicion tempered with derision; for, that such is the prevailing attitude towards him seems fairly well established by the

Toronto Globe correspondence, Sydney Brooks' observations in *Harper's Weekly*, and the thoughtful and painstaking article by Mr. Hamilton in the *National Review*. By the way, too, it may be considered whether there are not some lessons to be learned from him.

Probably, in order to understand him and his attitude towards the world and towards Canada, it will be well to go back some little way in history, for the Englishman of to-day is the product of forces which date back some hundreds of years, while the Canadian, in contrast, may be justly described as the child of this present age.

The rise of England from the condition of a bankrupt hanger-on of France in the period of the Restoration, at the conclusion of which the people took the government into their own hands, to its present position as a world power, seems to have proceeded with the steady inexorability of the action of some blind natural force.

I say "blind" advisedly; for no one who studies English history in any detail will accuse England, in either its government or people, of ever consciously possessing either a consistent aim or a logical policy. Time after time, blunder, accident, ignorance, or unreasoning popular emotion, which ought to have brought national humiliation in their train, have eventuated in the gain of either prestige or territorial expansion, or both.

I suppose that never in the history of the world has a nation come to honour through, or rather in spite of, the rule of such a series of amateurs and opportunists. Examine any great department of national activity, and the tale is the same.

For instance: The English are a fighting race. In their love of fighting *per se*, they are, even to-day, much more akin to the primitive Norseman than to the modern North-American Caucasian. Private T. Atkins on campaign does not dream of "la gloire," or of territorial gains as the outcome of his efforts. The mere actual brutal joy of fight is what he lusts for; and yet to call England a military nation would be to provoke a smile.

Is there on record a single war in which England has shown herself prepared;—where the significance and size of the struggle have been understood, or in which any adequate precautions against absolute disaster have been taken in advance? I believe not. And yet, in spite of these invitations to catastrophe, thanks to a blind instinct of endurance and pugnacity, she has, generally at vast waste of men and treasure, managed to "muddle" her way to eventual success.

Politically the same spirit is in evidence. Nominally a kingdom, actually a republic, or rather, a democracy, she is ruled by a Prime Minister and Cabinet who have absolutely no existence, even in name, under the law. Her Constitution, which the people proudly cite as the bulwark of their liberties, is a bewildering mass of vested right, tradition, and legal decisions, which has never been reduced to writing, and is so vague and uncertain in its details that probably no two parties, or even individuals, could be found to agree absolutely upon its scope, meaning, or applicability. Yet probably nowhere in the world do the governing exercise their functions with such full and complete consent of the governed; and certainly nowhere in the world is so perfect a personal liberty combined with such absolute safety of human life and property.

In commerce, all markets over which she exercises control are flung freely open to the competition of foreign trade, fair or unfair, on exactly the same terms as her own, while in foreign markets her products have to scale a tariff hedge. Her Department of Commerce or Board of Trade is placed under the presidency generally of an amiable peer or gentlemanly politician, who has had as much practical experience of trade, its needs and principles, as he has of housekeeping or engineering.

Yet, with it all, she has the vastest foreign commerce of the world, and one that still grows and continually expands; for a recent quarterly trade report shows an increase of sixteen millions sterling in exports and of five millions in imports over the previous corresponding quarter, while during the last ten

years, the tonnage entering the principal ports of the kingdom has increased to a surprising extent—Bristol, 40 per cent; Hull, 60 per cent; Liverpool, 66 per cent; Manchester, 432 per cent; and Southampton, 77 per cent.

In ecclesiastical affairs there is the same apparent defiance of reason:—a national Church in which every rate-paying Englishman is legally entitled to exercise privileges of membership regardless of his beliefs, and which is yet devoid of the power of self government; under the rule of the majority in a Parliament which is quite likely to be ignorant of its needs or doctrinally hostile to its tenets; its bishops appointed by a Prime Minister who may be an agnostic, or, for the matter of that, a Buddhist or Mahommedan; its rectorates and vicariates largely in the gift of private persons or secular corporations who are at liberty to sell, give, bequeath, or loan their rights, —and, in spite of all these things, an establishment which commands the admiration of the world for the liberality of its position, the scholarship and executive capacity of its episcopate, and the devoted self-sacrifice and earnestness of its officers.

Now, what is the explanation of all this? How is it that the political system, the army, the church, the commerce of the country, indeed, the very nation itself, do not all disintegrate and fall to pieces in a welter of confusion and distress, as logically and reasonably they might be expected to do?

I believe the answer lies in the very decided racial peculiarities of the Englishman himself. In other words, I believe that what is holding England together and keeping her in her position to-day is the English character, which therefore must be, though intangible, a thing of much permanence and much strength.

This character is not a growth of yesterday, nor even of the day before yesterday. When the Feudal System went down to its blood-stained grave in the Wars of the Roses, for the first time in the history of the Island every man had the same master, the King.

No longer a congeries of practically separate and often mutually hostile communities, owning allegiance to this Earl or that Baron, but, roughly speaking, a single land under the domination of a single power, England at last had opportunity to commence the slow process of welding its separated parts into a homogeneous whole.

Had the crown been on the head of a less capable politician than the fourth Edward, this wholesale removal of the local rulers would probably have resulted in a chaos of anarchy; but Edward, who, under the veil of lightness and profligacy, concealed an exceedingly astute brain and a far-seeing grasp of affairs, managed to centralize authority in the Crown so thoroughly that, reaping where he had sown, the seventh Henry was able to build up that irresistible royal tyranny which the eighth Henry used —and, indeed, absolutely required—in order to uproot the Papal jurisdiction and the power of the monastic orders from the land.

The Feudal System was dead, the pre-eminence of the Catholic Church and its monasteries a thing of the past. But among a sturdy, rude, strong-affectioned people, made more than usually conservative by their insular exclusion from the interaction of continental traffic and commerce, it may be possible sometimes, with sufficient leverage, to suddenly uproot an ancient institution, but never possible to absolutely and instantaneously destroy the spirit and sympathies on which that institution fed.

Therefore, the feudal spirit lived on, in a gradually more and more diluted form, and is quite unmistakably alive at this present day, forming one very important ingredient in English character. In the same way, the unquestioning faith and profound reverence for holy things, of which the opulence and magnificence of the Church had been both symbol and stimulus, was not rooted out when the convents and cathedrals fell from their former glory.

On the contrary, the spirit of religion, hardened, as it were, and intensified by persecution and counter-persecution, embittered by burnings and beheadings on the one side, hang-

ings and harrowings on the other, seared itself indelibly into the very groundwork of the national character, coming to the surface every now and again in different shapes and disguises, as the worship of ideal righteousness in the Puritans, as the spiritualization of every-day life in the Wesleys, as humanitarianism in the days of Wilberforce, or as a longing for more definitely ecclesiastical order and belief in the so-called "Oxford movement" of the nineteenth century. It is still there, and, if the signs of the times may be trusted, will next reveal itself in a passionate insistence on the essential brotherhood of man, expressed in legislation of a more or less socialistic tendency.

The Baronage and the Church, who had overgrown their functions and become oppressions instead of safeguards, having been disposed of, there yet remained one other force to be met and conquered before the English people could stand on their own feet as a nation and manage their own affairs, and that was the Crown. The Crown fell; but too abruptly and with too much violence to suit the conservative sense of the nation. The result was the Restoration which, after all, shews itself only as an eddy on the course of the river, and with William the Third the people came into their own forever. Though the Crown, as a political factor, is now extinct, there still, again, remains the spirit of reverence for Royalty and position, which is shewn not only in the retention of names and symbols of facts long since dead, but in that peculiar frame of mind which permeates the fabric of English society from the bottom to the top. I mean what is generally known as "snobbery."

Snobbery—an unpleasant word—is, after all, merely the respect for the position rather than for the man who fills it. True, a lord may, as any other man, be personally an undesirable citizen, paretic, perhaps a liar or a cad, but still theoretically he is a better man than a commoner, and the old reverence for place, as distinguished from personality, holds yet; and among the majority of Englishmen he will be accorded a respect and a primacy which, untitled, he would have to shew very remarkable qualities to attain.

This state of mind, sometimes carried to fantastic lengths that appear simply nauseating to the citizen of a newer country, where all men are supposed to be born equal, is, on the other hand, exhibited in a diluted form in that exceedingly attractive characteristic of the Englishman, his generous admiration of, and ready homage to, any man whom he conceives to be a better man than himself in whatsoever particular it may happen to be,—a generosity of appreciation which, I may say, appears to me to be rather lacking in the characteristics of both Canada and the United States.

I very well remember once in my young days witnessing a foot-ball match, which after a most exciting and breathless struggle was finally won by a splendid kick made from nearly half way up the field. After the battle was over, and the two teams were straggling, sore and muddy, to the pavilion, I saw one of the losing side, an "honourable," that is, a lord's son, clap on the shoulder the young giant, a local butcher, who had made the winning kick with the remark, "By Jove, old man, that was a damned fine kick of yours: do you always kick like that?" There was not the slightest shade or intention of patronage in the act. It was merely a spontaneous tribute to the superior kicking powers of the one from the other who would not, as a social question, have recognized his existence at all.

This spirit is in sharp contrast with the real hostility and bitterness which seems to animate, all too frequently, the contestants in any team rivalry in Canada or the United States, and particularly with the common tendency to belittle the prowess of the adversary by ascribing their success to luck or unfairness.

For nearly a century after the accession of the Third William, in spite of the vague belief generally prevalent that the political stability of England was thenceforth established beyond serious menace, as a matter of fact, the return of the exiled Stuart family, through the agency of a French invasion and with the accompaniment of upheaval, ravage, and desolation, was an exceedingly vital and pressing every-

day possibility. In fact, any one who examines the details of that period cannot but be struck with astonishment on observing by what narrow margins and through what trivial causes the threatened attack was time and again averted. This distressing uncertainty involved the necessity, not only of much precautionary harshness, but of what we now consider a ruthless savagery in the repression and punishment of purely political offences, which not only makes terrible reading, but has left its lasting effects on the national character; for there is little doubt that the long stress of this period with its massacres and man-hunts, its spies and assassinations, is largely responsible for a certain toleration of roughness in methods where repressive justice has to be meted out, a somewhat careless use of the heavy hand and a want of regard for the sensibilities of others—though never for their rights, when recognized as such—which has given rise to the tradition of "British brutality."

Again, from the moment that the star of Napoleon was plunged in final eclipse at Waterloo, there has been a century of profound peace and safety within the borders of the country. Remember that Sedgemoor, at the beginning of James the Second's reign, was the last actual battle fought on English soil, and that since the beginning of the XIXth. century there has not been even the remote possibility of invasion; and yet, all the time, in one quarter of the world or another, England has been incessantly at war, but always, as the borders of the Empire extended, further and further away from the seat of government and the centre of power. Is it any wonder that so many generations of perfect security have had an enervating effect on the imagination and bred the conviction that the island, because unassailed, is unassailable; and also—on comparing this immunity with the bloody ruin that has devastated pretty nearly every other country in the world at one time or another during this period—the belief that the island is not only absolutely secure, but *the only* absolutely secure place of refuge in either hemisphere? —and hence, in conjunction with the deep religious sense of the

people, a simple unquestioning faith in its everlasting and divinely-ordained superiority over all other lands whatsoever.

This extended era of invulnerability is also, I conceive, largely responsible for another very noticeable characteristic called in the country itself " playing the game,"—that is to say, in any competition or contest, or even in the natural vicissitudes of fortune, having as the main object, not winning and its resultant benefits, but the most scrupulous observance of all the laws and proprieties, written or unwritten, which govern the struggle.

It is easy to see that in a long-settled, thoroughly secure society, where life and limb, property, and liberty are so perfectly safe-guarded as never to be at stake, that intense desire to *win*, by whatever means, bred by a recent necessity of *having* to do so in order to eat, or to live, will tend to give way to a more civilized frame of mind in which the contest itself will be of more importance than the result of it.

Apropos of this, I notice in a recent American study of England, entitled " England and the English," the author, in summing up at the end of the book, picks out this peculiar trait as the one that struck him with the greatest force and admiration; and I also recall that an American Rhodes Scholar, the year before last, when asked by a reporter what thing he found most strange to him in Oxford life, replied that it was the realization that he was living among three thousand men, everyone of whom would rather lose a game than win it unfairly.

It is, of course, a question whether this scrupulousness, this anxiety about methods rather than results, is not a positive disadvantage in any form of international competition; but, at the same time, it exists, and must be allowed for in any consideration of English character or action.

Before passing from the English characteristics which may be referred directly to historical causes, there is one which, as it affects only a class rather than the whole nation, I have so far omitted, and that is the tendency of the peasant families to remain attached to one particular neighbourhood or plot of ground for generation after generation.

This—to a Canadian—bewildering dread of, and distaste for, any change of location was no doubt originally the natural outcome of the absence of roads and of barriers in the way of traffic and transportation, and was also partly attributable to the ancient manorial system, by which the labourer was born to his holding, having to pay head money to his lord for licence to remove in search of trade or hire; but it must certainly have been much intensified, and still more deeply impressed on the rustic character by the events of the closing years of Edward the Third and the reign of the Second Richard.

After the Black Death had swept away, it is estimated, half the population of the country, and rural labour had grown so scarce and valuable that men were for the first time tempted to move about and offer their services in the highest market, statute after statute was hastily enacted by a bewildered and frightened government to check this alarming migratory tendency, forbidding the labourer to leave his parish, and even providing that he should be imprisoned, whipped, and branded in the face as a penalty. It is impossible to believe that such drastic repression of initiative, lasting throughout a generation, could pass without leaving a permanent and indelible influence on the class affected by it.

A great deal has been written at various times as to the influence of geographical position on character, and in the case of England the mere detail of its being an island has been cited to account for any or all of the national peculiarities, at the writer's fancy. I believe, however, that an entirely unwarranted importance is wont to be attached to this fact.

Naturally, isolation of any kind, political, geographical, or linguistic, whether caused by living on an island, speaking an unintelligible tongue, or an addiction to peculiar religious practices, will have a certain influence on national character; but it will be merely an intensitive one. It will deepen and make more permanent the racial features, not originate new ones; and almost inevitably it will, through its interruption of the natural traffic with neighbouring communities, tend to

promote a distrust of foreigners, a want of broad-mindedness, and a serene ignorance of outside affairs, which is well expressed by the word "insularity;" but, as a matter of fact, the insularity of Englishmen differs not a whit from the insularity of Americans, of Mahommedan Arabs, or of Australian Bushmen, and therefore it can hardly be cited as a distinguishing characteristic of the English.

This is clearly proved by the fact that the Scots and the Welsh, who inhabit portions of the same island, do not in the least resemble the English in character.

The only way in which the circumstance of England being an island has had a definitely constructive influence on the national type is through the effect that this fact has had on her history, which is, as I believe, the overwhelmingly predominant factor in the formation of national character.

Another contributory influence, to which certainly an undue importance is generally assigned, is that of descent from a particular stock.

In spite of the reams that have been written—and will, I suppose, continue to be written—to show that any and all of England's peculiarities are traceable to her Anglo-Saxon origin, the fact remains that Nature is, under our very eyes, every day showing us the fallacy of this assumption.

Take, for instance, four average immigrants into Canada, an Englishman, an Italian, a Hungarian, and a North German. Here are four absolutely distinct and unmistakable types, with the capacities, prejudices, and racial characteristics of their respective nationalities;—but consider their grandsons. Will you be able to tell them apart by their speech, their habits, their costumes, or their ideals?

The chances are fifty to one that the members of the third generation will be in every case typically and thoroughly Canadian, all ready to sing "The Maple Leaf for Ever" on the slightest provocation, with identical views on the subject of "Britannia Rules the Waves" and the desirability of a Canadian fleet, the same capacity for hockey-playing, and very likely all smoking the same brand of tobacco.

Again, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of men in Canada to-day of as pure and unmixed Anglo-Saxon descent as the bluest of blood in the British Isles. Will the son of such an one, or even the man himself, sympathize with, or suffer the more gladly idiosyncrasies of a newly arrived Englishman? From experience, I say, No! This ought to suggest that "blood," *per se*, has little or nothing to do with national character. The truth is, moreover, that England is not now, and for over a thousand years has not been, distinctively Anglo-Saxon. The Celtic substratum, the Danish conquest, the Norman deluge, the Hebrew colonies, continuous Scotch and Irish immigration and intermarriage, and the religious and political persecutions on the continent of Europe, which from time to time sent crowds of shivering exiles flying to England's shores for safety, have all done their respective parts in enriching the strain, and building up the *personnel* of the nation; but where the Anglo-Saxon sources gain their preponderating importance is in the fact that the political genius of that stock embodied itself in institutions which have affected profoundly the history of the race, and hence its character.

Racial peculiarities, apparently more distinctive and fully as powerful, yet not so expressed and continued, have withered, leaving hardly a trace behind, except perhaps here and there an atavistic tendency in a few individuals. In fact the Anglo-Saxon genius is not only persistent but jealous, it prefers to have no rivals. The Saxon parish has outlived the Roman Catholic monastic jurisdictions; the Witena Gemôt, developed into the House of Commons, is even now threatening to abolish the House of Lords, the successor of the Norman *Magnum Concilium*. Thus it is, and in this sense only we may truthfully speak of ourselves as an Anglo-Saxon nation.

Apart from history, and yet essentially bound up with it, is the second really great factor in the production of English character,—that indefinable, indefinite thing, which for want of a better name I shall have to term "atmosphere," a com-

pound of tradition, instinct, locality, memories, beliefs, and ideals. That this "atmosphere," intangible as it may sound, is yet a very real and living force will be admitted by any Canadian who has spent even a few months in England, or by any Englishman who, having lived outside of his own country for any length of time, returns to it again.

It is this immaterial agency which makes it hard—almost impossible—for the young Englishman who spends a couple of years on this side of the Atlantic to go back and settle down again comfortably in his old groove. His home may await him there, his old friends and companions be just as glad of him as ever and unchanged in their affection; but the man himself is different; he has learned to breathe a different air; and he finds, after a few weeks in the old atmosphere, a sense of oppression, of clogging uneasiness in his mental lungs, a loss of individuality, as it were, that drives him forth again to a rougher, less finished, and more sparsely populated land where he can draw fuller breath.

In exactly the same way the mountaineer sickens in the plains, and the native of the seashore is ill at ease when ringed about by inland hills; or, as has been frequently noticed, those who inhabit an old much-lived-in house, of sombre or sinister history, are themselves likely to develop a corresponding phase of character, so strong is the influence of locality.

If the "atmosphere" of England acts thus upon those who venture into it from the outside, imagine its effects on those born, bred, educated, and living their lives in it. Consider the child of a country labourer, taught almost before he is able to walk to gaze with awe upon the Squire—not because he is Mr. Brown, and a rich man, but because he is the Lord of the Manor; and to salute the clergyman—not because he is Mr. White, a blameless parish priest and very respectable theologian, but because he is the Parson. Educated at a common school with others of his class, not allowed to do some things—they are for his betters; punished for doing others—those would only be done by his inferiors;—for there every man has superiors to whom he must give

respect; no man is so low but that he is born with inferiors from whom he expects to receive it,—he grows slowly and surely an integral part of his surroundings.

Here, on this down, a mile away from the school, perhaps in sight of his own door, a battle was fought between the Romans and British, or between the Saxons and the Normans; and you can see yet under the rolling wheat the long low mounds where the bodies of the slain were buried.

In that castle yonder lay Richard Cœur-de-Lion or Edward the Black Prince for a night; they will show you his very gauntlet there yet. In the little village church is the battered stone figure of Sir Ralph the Crusader, with legs crossed on his faithful hound, carven shield, and hands in the patient attitude of prayer upon his breast; or on the floor a brass of one of Elizabeth's vagrant sea-captains, come home to rest forever in this quiet spot. Do you wonder that history becomes for him a real thing, felt rather than learned, a living pervading force, and that he feels himself one with those who have gone before, a true " son of the soil "—but of *this* soil—not of any other soil?

His father is a labourer, so was his grandfather, and *his* grandfather. The boy will be one too. He does not ever dream of holding land of his own. How could he? The Squire and Lord Black own all of it as far as you can see.

Move away? Why? Here he knows everybody; everybody knows him. He will be reasonably sure of work and what he considers comfort as long as he keeps his place (in both senses). Besides, all the special knowledge he has unconsciously been acquiring ever since he was born,—what an extra inch of water in this particular brook in March portends,—at what date exactly the oats must be sown in the field on the sunny side of that hill,—which gap in the hedge leads to the securest spot to set a night line,—which public-house brews an ale smoothest to his palate,—where is the most delectable location in the parish for sunning himself on Sunday afternoons, and so on,—all the minutiæ, so baldly trivial in relation, yet so intimately important to the grooved

mind of the rustic-by-descent,—all form so many spider-web cords, Lilliput chains, to hold him acquiescent where he lives, marries, breeds, dies, and is buried, to form at last part and parcel of that soil he has lain so close to all his nights and days.

But take this man, lure him away with heavily gilded advertisements of an oversea Eldorado, and place him on a new quarter-section in the Northwest, where the climate, the soil, the surroundings, the people, the customs, and even speech, are all strange—consequently (for him) hostile and full of bewilderment. No cosy village "pub"—in fact no beer at all—no village dispensary, no ivy-covered church tower, no squire's wife or parson to send port wine when the children are sick, no thatch-roofed cottage with wide brick fireplace, no allotment patch, no flower garden, no anything that he can make head or tail of; but, instead, a hundred and sixty acres of virgin soil (uncleared), a raw board shanty with an iron cooking stove, a desperate loneliness in the midst of a boundless plain, or else the keen inspection of neighbours whom he does not understand; and then—is it surprising that he gains ridicule by his failure to adapt, or makes himself unpopular by bewailing his exile, and comparing his present surroundings with his past, to the disadvantage of the former? Yet, though this man suffers, his children gain.

Or consider the son of a tradesman, born and brought up in a town. His town is sure to have some history. Perhaps the Yorkists and Lancastrians disputed under its walls, or Cromwell's cannon made breaches in them. Here likely enough is a shapeless stone, once a Roman monument, or a treasure of Tudor architecture; there, possibly, a house in which one of the immortals first saw the light.

The boy goes to a school, not the Common (Board) School, if his parents can by any possible self-denial scrape together the wherewithal to save him from that—in their eyes unworthy—fate, and send him elsewhere, probably to some large or small private school where he imbibes more prejudice than he does commercially useful knowledge, and

begins his lifework of acquiring the little meaningless ways and arbitrary customs that are to mark off his particular class from those outside of it, fortifying his soul with a vast scorn for common-school boys, and for all others apparently not so well off as himself, and meanwhile cultivating a devout admiration of, and an ape-like tendency to imitate as closely as possible, those immediately above him in the social scale.

Yet at the same time he will probably be well disciplined, and learn what he does learn very thoroughly; he will have to obey, not only his masters but his seniors, to take punishment, just or unjust, in silence; and, as he grows older, to accept and use some responsibility in regard to his fellows, both in discipline and games, bound ever more and more closely within the limits of narrow dictates as to what is and what is not "the thing."

A similar fate, only more rounded in its thoroughness, awaits the boy of wealthier or more aristocratic parents, who goes to one of the great Public Schools of England, and then on to the University. From the first moment of his entering the—no doubt—famous portals of his school, to the day, perhaps some ten years later, when he graduates from Oxford or Cambridge, he will have been mingling utterly and incessantly with the past and its great ones, historic places, illustrious names, ancient customs, obsolescent learning; rules and regulations hoary with antiquity have surrounded him, bound him, and woven themselves into his very being. He says, "Joan of Arc drove *us* out of Orleans." "*We* sank so many ships at Trafalgar," or "*We* won the battle of Omdurman." And he means it, too. He was there. He was a part of it all, in everything but body.

Similarly, commencing his school life—whatever his social position—as a fag, he learns and re-learns the lesson of obedience, of respect for seniority, apart altogether from merit, and for the traditions of the place, of responsibility, and self-repression, and how very many are the things that "no fellow *can* do—you know;" until the unwritten law that

rules him is stronger and more intricate than the written code. For I am sure that the average young Englishman would sooner be known to have committed an offence against the decalogue than to have broken one of the strands of this intangible intricate network of authorless but authoritative social convention.

Moreover, it should be remembered that there are no ragged edges of civilization in England. Nowhere is Nature still in the act of being subdued and broken in to human sway. All of the country that ever will be cultivated has been cultivated, most of it for centuries, some of it for milleniums. It is a sleek land, fatted, clipped and shaven; all its buildings, even the meanest, of enduring stone or brick; and enriched, not only by the industry and accumulation of hundreds of years of peace at home, but by a steady stream of loot from abroad in hundreds of years of war beyond its borders.

"What a country to sack!" said Blücher, mentally licking his lips at the prospect; and so it is, for it never has been sacked or ravaged. Growing up in this opulent garden, the young Englishman takes it all as a matter of course, knowing nothing else, and very naturally supposes that all civilization—all habitations of civilized people worthy the name—must be of the same type and hall-marked with the same peculiarities.

Turn this young man loose in a small and ambitious town in Western Canada. Is it strange that he is irritatingly incredulous as to its high state of civilization and the refinement of its people? What can he judge by, at first, except externals?

A row of irregular, hastily constructed wooden cottages with a board sidewalk in front of them do not represent a street, as he understands the term. A barn-like structure with plain glass windows hardly expresses his idea of a church. A raw two-story verandah'd frame building, with the proprietor-porter-clerk sitting shirt-sleeved and tilted back in a chair, chewing tobacco too lustily to rise and greet a guest,

does not appeal to him very forcibly as a hotel, even though there may be a surreptitious bar locked up in a secluded closet in the basement.

He finds out eventually, of course, that one can be just as comfortable and refined in a wooden cottage as in a brick semi-detached villa, that the spirituality of a church service is not necessarily in direct ratio to the antiquity of the building, and that one can pay just as high rates at the frame hotel, and spend as much money over the concealed bar, as if it were a famous hostelry in which Queen Elizabeth had slept.

But, in the meantime, without having the faintest intention of hurting that fierce local pride which is the mainspring of every new community, or of outraging the patriotic sentiment of his neighbours, he will very likely have made a few candid comparisons or asked some dangerous questions, which will be remembered against him as long as he remains there, and, unfortunately, against every other Englishman that comes that way.

I remember seeing a great man cover himself with ignominy in just this way. The enthusiastic sportsmen of a small town of some six hundred souls had evolved a golf club. I was one of them, and among the lot of us I do not think there were more than three who had ever played the game before. However, with boundless confidence we had worked some rough and rocky pasture into what we fondly supposed to be a fairly good nine-hole course. The great man—who is also one of the lights of St. Andrew's Golf Club in Scotland,—came among us, on his hurried way through the country. Of course the President of the Golf Club insisted that he must come and see our links. He did see them. He looked round slowly with an air of surprise at the scrub and rock, and then said thoughtfully, "Ah, yes, very nice, very picturesque, but—er—where are your *greens?*" He was standing on one—the best of the lot, which we considered a perfect triumph of engineering skill—at that very moment! He left next day, but I believe that even yet the local impression is that he is a person of no discernment and much over-rated.

I may say that I still recall too, with amusement, my own bewilderment when I first landed in the Maritime Provinces, and discovered that city people actually and really lived in wooden houses—even people of wealth and position. To be perfectly candid, I had, up to that time, never in my life seen wood used as a material for human habitations, and had not supposed that it could be so used in a civilized country, nor had anyone ever thought to mention such an obvious fact to me. Pure ignorance;—of course, but even to this day I retain an uneasy suspicion that I may have displayed a want of tact in blurting out my astonishment.

Similarly, the young Englishman is even more confused, perhaps, by the absence of, or difference in, those little social conventions, the hundred-and-one minute local *nuances* of voice, expression, accent, behaviour, dress, and attitude, of which he has spent so many years in consciously or unconsciously acquiring a knowledge, so that he may be able to "place" a stranger and treat him accordingly. All the familiar guide posts of conduct are absent; but, scattered about his heedless steps are the entirely different and equally invisible local usages, of whose very existence he has no suspicion, and over which, consequently, he is apt to trip promptly and often.

Suppose him, for instance, to find himself sitting at the dinner table of the hotel suggested above, in the company of a man without a collar, who is eating peas with a knife. Bringing his altogether erroneous and inadequate range-finder into play, he probably determines this person in his mind as an agricultural labourer or thereabouts, and will in consequence and—according to his own social code, rightly—be highly indignant to be addressed by him as " young feller," and told, rather than asked, to " pass the beans." You can imagine him to display some little haughtiness, perhaps even deafness, at the request.

Next morning he himself, very likely flying in the face of every business and social instinct of the community by wearing puttees, or a golf cap, or a red waistcoat, will go to the local woollen mills in quest of a job, and there discover

his yesterday's acquaintance in the manager to whom he has to make his application. Will he be invited to accept a position with the firm? The balance of probability inclines against it, I fear. But he will have a few remarks to make about Canada to the next man he meets, which that man will very naturally resent and not improbably repeat. And so it goes.

I think I have said enough to show that the surroundings, physical and mental, among which an English boy grows up are such as tend to produce a very inelastic and definite character—definite in virtues, and exceedingly definite in deficiencies—a character, the resultant of the historical influences which have evolved it, and eminently suited by its orderliness, its tenacity, its suspicion of all abrupt change, and respect for tradition, its conviction of Divine approbation, its invincible complacency, to form the centripetal force of the English nation, and hold it on its course in spite of the anomalies, contradictions and discrepancies of its social, legal, political, and military systems.

For, as has been before pointed out, it is just the orderly people who can keep order amongst themselves without any rigid executive; and without doubt the perpetual weakness of England's government is a splendid tribute to the political strength of the people themselves, just as the obsolete tangles of their legal system is a monument to their law-abiding nature; for, wherever in history you find a strong autocratic ruler or government, you are likely to discover a weak or politically incapable people as the ruled.

[In this connexion it would be an interesting study to estimate just what decrease of the capacity for self-government in the United States is indicated by the tremendous concentration of power in the central government, now proceeding under President Roosevelt.]

And yet this character, so eminently suited to its surroundings at home, may prove—in fact, certainly does prove—full of predilections and idiosyncrasies which, until time and friction more or less severe have reduced them, render its

possessor about as comfortable in Canadian surroundings as the proverbial square peg in the round hole.

Not only do custom and character both militate against the Englishman on his first entrance into the Canadian arena. There are other things which tend to set him mentally apart from his new compatriots.

First, there is his ignorance. By this I do not mean mental incapacity. In fact, man for man, boy for boy, I should be inclined, as the result of many years experience in teaching, to rank him rather above than below the Canadian in this respect.

I refer to his complete and fundamental want of acquaintance with everything that he ought to know before he comes across the Atlantic. Canadian History for the average Englishman stops short with, "*They run!*"—"*Who run?*" —"*The enemy!*"—"*Then I die happy.*" "Laura Secord," "Chrysler's Farm," "Chateauguay," are names that do not thrill him, for the simple reason that he has never heard of them. He knows more about the siege of Troy than about the Northwest Rebellion, and the *Patres Conscripti* are more real to him than the Fathers of Confederation. Canadian geography is covered with the same veil of thick darkness. A grown-up man of the better class asked me on board ship, as he was on his way out with his whole family to settle, if Nova Scotia was not the capital of New Brunswick. [To which province ought I to apologize for repeating this?] I have received through the mail from the office of the Librarian of Cambridge University a letter addressed Nova Scotia, U.S.A. The idea of lunching in Quebec and running over to Winnipeg or Vancouver for an afternoon call, and similar exhibitions of a want of familiarity with facts, are so frequent as to have become a commonplace of the humorists.

Canadian politics is a sealed book to him. He is generally surprised to find that such a thing exists at all. Canadian National Sentiment is a subject of which no one has ever warned him. The Canadian social system and its deceptive differences from the English is a possibility that has never entered his head.

So the Englishman has a great deal, a very great deal, to learn when he arrives; and, after he has got over his first astonishment at this fact, he will be willing, even anxious, to learn; but unfortunately the Canadian attitude is, too often, rather that of soreness and derision at his want of knowledge without giving him the opportunity to redeem it, than an anxiety to instruct him. Besides this ignorance pure and simple, another thing that is liable to set the Englishman somewhat apart from his Canadian fellows is the difference in his ideals.

The Englishman, though he generally tries—and manages—to conceal it, is by way of being romantic and rather sentimental underneath the surface. The Canadian is emphatically neither. So the Englishman, though he values the effects of money, and what can be got with it, very much indeed, yet has not that single-minded respect for the dollar, as a dollar, which the Canadian exhibits; and he will often prefer comfort, or independence, or some other desideratum to its equivalent in coin. Consequently the Canadian regards him as a poor business man, and is apt to despise him accordingly.

The Englishman again likes to separate his work from his play, his business hours from his home life, and in this home life he prefers a certain amount of privacy,—a wall or a hedge, physically, and, socially, the right to amuse himself as he likes and associate with whom he will.

The Canadian on the other hand is willing to talk business at any hour of the day and night and in any place. Also, he apparently finds it conducive to his happiness to lead his life under the frank and close inspection of his neighbours' eyes. Privacy plays no part in his existence, and the person who shows a taste for it is immediately suspected of arrogance, and conformably treated. The result of this publicity of private life in Canada is that a great deal more respect is paid to externals here than in England.

I suspect the Englishman to be more deeply religious than the Canadian, and I know him to be much more inter-

ested in religious matters, but he probably does not go to church so often, or belong to so many Young Peoples' Societies. In fact, the secularization of the churches in Canada into semi-charitable, semi-social clubs tends to keep the Englishman out of them altogether, while the imperative insistence by such avowedly political organizations as the W. C. T. U. on the salvation of the community by the keeping of the letter of total abstinence rather than by the spirit of Temperance, is apt, combined with the universal disregard of the prohibitory laws, to give him an entirely false idea that Canadians are rather pharasaical in their virtue. In the same way, the attention paid by Canadians to clothes rather than manners, and to what a man says rather than what he does, strikes him with surprise.

The noisy and official patriotism is another form of this spirit which he probably finds strange and even distasteful at first. I have yet to meet an Englishman who is not zealous for the honour of his flag, and who would not, simply and as an act of duty, die for it if the call should come; but at the same time, he is not accustomed to waving it over school-houses and hotels, or to engaging in patriotic exercises in its honour; nor does the loud self-laudation that rages throughout the land on Empire Day strike him as altogether seemly. Not that he doesn't feel these things—quite the opposite—the absolute conviction of them is part of his very nature; only, he is not used to shouting them at the top of his voice; and it may take years of residence in the country for him to appreciate the political necessity of a little noise sometimes, to prevent the strident scream of the Eagle from filling his children's ears, and deafening them to the voice of their own past and the call of their own future.

As the patriotism of Canada approximates rather to the United States variety than to the English, so Canadian humour is definitely of the North-American brand, and often unintelligible to the Englishman; while to say that English humour is frequently a subject of derision rather than mirth to the Canadian is merely to state a truism.

The Englishman who comes to the country with the impression that he can maintain the reputation of a wit by means of the aged pun and the primitive practical joke is not uncommon, but he is liable to be speedily disillusioned, and not without some friction; but he will learn ere long, no doubt, to appreciate the Great American Joke, and the spirit of exaggeration which constitutes its basis.

He will discover, too, what an important part exaggeration plays not only in humour but in business and every-day life, and will find that, in order to convey a given meaning, he must emphasize statements and put his adjectives in the superlative, to allow for the discount which will inevitably be made by his hearer. To the literal and prose-speaking Englishman, these poetical flights come with a shock and cause him at first, quite erroneously, to suspect a national want of veracity.

Even the conventions that govern hospitality show him that he is in a strange country. I know not which is really more admirable, the freedom and completeness of the English kind, or the readiness and easiness of the Canadian. But the fact remains that Canadians admit strangers very much sooner to their houses and families than the English, and, of course, mean correspondingly less by doing so.

An Englishman, invited to a Canadian home to dinner on very slight acquaintance, is very apt to overrate the attention, and act the candid family friend, as he would be entitled to, without offence, under similar circumstances in his own country, thereby unwittingly irritating or displeasing his hosts.

That simple little phrase, "Come in and see us any time," is also a trap for the ignorant. In England it is used in the sense of, "We don't know you well enough to fix a date yet, but still we may get to know you later," or something of that sort, in fact a sort of polite semi-dismissal; but in Canada it bears its literal interpretation; and before discovering this, a man may well offend people whom he is particularly anxious to be better acquainted with, by leaving them severely alone and waiting for a more definite invitation. These doubtless

are small matters; but, in my experience, the smaller the matter the greater its power to irritate a sensitive society.

In his article in the *National Review*, Mr. Hamilton acknowledges very frankly this sensitiveness of the Canadian, and attributes it very largely to resentment at that traditional mental attitude of the immigrant Englishman, the idea that, merely because he is an Englishman, he will be welcomed with open arms and looked up to as a superior being,—as one of the owners, so to speak, of the country.

I am inclined to think that this frame of mind is not so prevalent now as it may have been twenty years ago, but at the same time what I have said will explain the attitude. I have tried to show how his historical imagination is liable actually to make him one of the original conquerors in his own mind, while his massive ignorance of what has transpired in the country during the last 150 years keeps him from being able to thoroughly realize its present standing as a separate nation, with its own habits, modes of thought, and speech which deserve, and indeed demand, as much respect as those of any other country. Even though the attitude is explicable, it is none the less unpalatable, as I know from personal experience. Still, let me suggest an analogy.

I am told that the inhabitants of the Channel Islands regard England as their property, and not themselves as an appanage of England. The Channel Islands are all that remain of the ancient Dukedom of Normandy. The Dukes of Normandy conquered England and annexed it to their domains (ann. 1066 *et seq.*). The Dukedom has grown smaller and smaller, while England has grown larger and larger. But still the Dukedom must continue to possess the Kingdom, since there has never been any official reversal of the relation between them.

Does the Englishman " rile " when this view is presented to him by a Jerseyman? Not noticeably. In fact he is liable to laugh. But does the Canadian " rile " when the Englishman talks as if he thought England " owned " Canada? He does. Yet the one theory is just as properly a subject for

mirth as the other. Or again, suppose a Frenchman to protest to an Englishman that the criminal procedure of England is ridiculous, that English society is hypocritical, that English women are ugly, flat-footed, figureless monsters, and that the Island only holds India by the consent of France. Would the Englishman throb with indignation? Would he refuse to speak to the Frenchman again? I very much doubt it. He would either be perfectly certain that the Frenchman didn't know what he was talking about, and treat him with good-humoured ridicule, or else he would gravely set to work to examine on what arguments these statements were based, and try and disprove the conclusions.

But imagine an Englishman talking in such a strain about Canada to a Canadian. Where would you find a room big enough to hold the two of them afterwards? Yet I believe the Englishman is just as passionately devoted to England and as jealous of its good name as the Canadian is to Canada. Here, it seems to me, Canada can learn of the Englishman. She needs his certainty and consequent lack of sensitiveness in her national make-up.

In this chaos, or rather mosaic, of races and creeds, which is gradually coalescing and developing into a nation, the Englishman's respect for law and order and the literal truth, his seriousness and deep feeling of responsibility, his practical common sense and capacity for compromise, his fairness and love of "playing the game," his ideality and deeply ingrained zeal for righteousness—all these ingredients Canada must keep and use to assist in the building up for herself of a national character and type in whose hands the keys of a glorious destiny may safely be placed.

His rigidity, his anxiety about social standing, his respect for position rather than for personality, his worship of the obsolete and the fetishes of the remote past, his carelessness about the feelings of others, his want of sympathy and tact—all these will, and in fact do, disappear in this country, just as the ivy which mantles a sheltered tower dies if you take it away and plant it in the midst of a wind-swept plain.

But where the onus of the mutual misunderstanding seems to me to lie largely with Canada is in the fact that she has never made a serious attempt to explain herself to England and the English in the only way that it can possibly be done,—that is, through a literature.

There have been books written on Canada; articles, poems, and stories written about Canada; but of what nature and by whom? Well,—almost inevitably drawing attention, not to the average type of Canadian civilization, or the new nationality that is springing up, but to the picturesque aspects of its frontier-life or of conditions long passed away—the romance of the Esquimaux, the legendary lore of its Indians, its logging camps, fur-trading stations and gold mines, the lifeless desolation of its far-northern winters, or the ice sports at some winter carnival.

Where any interpretation of its people, any description of its communal life, any statement of its hopes, aims, or fears, has been attempted, it has been almost invariably by travelling Englishmen or Americans, who have spent but a short time in the country, sometimes, even, only a few days.

There come to my mind as recent samples, a choice tissue of inaccuracies emitted by an English literary gentleman on the subject of Canadian Universities last year, and Mr. Foster Fraser's "Canada As It Is," an impressionist volume of such understanding and comprehensive sweep that it omitted the Maritime Provinces from consideration altogether, [except for a photograph of a residence at Kentville.] There is no doubt, too, that, in default of any more accurate presentation, the British public accepts Sir Gilbert Parker's picturesque but utterly misleading romances of the *habitants* as the plain unvarnished truth. In fact, apart from Mr. Hamilton's article in the *National Review* already referred to, the only really informing presentation of genuine Canadian thought and feeling which I can recall is that contained in Sara Jeanette Duncan's "Imperialist."

The Englishman is wanted in Canada; but for his sake and for the country's sake he should know something of

Canada before he comes. He must be warned, instructed, and prepared. The glittering advertisements which have been scattered broadcast for so many years by immigration agents have wrought untold harm for both sides.

Tell the Englishman the truth, the solemn, sober truth, without frills or exaggeration, that Canada is not a colony but a nation; that he is coming practically to a foreign country where he must be prepared to learn, not to teach, to admire, not to find fault, and to sympathize, not criticize; that it is a new land where he will have to look out for himself, to follow different ways and, probably, work harder than before; that he will be without many of the interests and alleviations to which he has been accustomed all his life; but that, in return, his children shall have the opportunity to grow up independent instead of dependent, citizens not servants; that there will be fewer men above him and fewer below; that there are material and social possibilities—not ready-made gifts—which may reward thrift, sobriety, and steady honest work, in a manner absolutely impossible in the older country, where privilege has been pre-empted for generations.

Tell him these things, loud, insistently, and often, for he is slow to accept a new truth. Write him books, articles, pamphlets; paint him pictures; sing him songs of things as they really are, instead of as they were sixty years ago, or never have been.

Perhaps he will come in smaller numbers: but he will come in a different spirit and with different hopes and feelings, to share in, perhaps to help and hasten, that white and wonderful future of which we are already daring to dream, and even—now and then—to prophesy.

MOREBYE ACKLOM

FRENCH NOBILITY IN CANADA

THE first colonization of Canada was a modern crusade, a reaction from the levity, vice, and corruption then prevalent in France. Many willingly and generously devoted themselves to realizing the intention expressed in the commission granted to Jacques Cartier, " For the increase of God's glory and the honour of His reverend name."

The first noble families who settled in Canada were those of Tilly, d'Aillebout and Repentigny. When de Tracy arrived, he brought in his suite a number of young nobles who were seeking an adventurous career; Frontenac did the same; their example was followed by other Governors.

The first regiment of regulars arrived in Canada in 1665; it had seen honourable service, and was known as the Carignan-Talières, being commanded by Colonel de Carignan. Its officers were all men of noble birth. The Government encouraged these veterans to settle in the country. The lands along the Richelieu River were divided into seigniorial grants, and were given to these officers, who in turn portioned out holdings to the soldiers, who became their tenants. Sorel, Chambly, St. Ours, Varennes, Verchères and Contrecœur were settled in this way. While retaining the names of their original proprietors, few continue in the possession of their descendants.

Canada owed feudalism to the Cardinal de Richelieu, as set forth in the charter of the One Hundred Associates, but it existed free of the abuses that rendered it odious in the Mother Country. Most of these seigniories were simple fiefs with the exception of Talon's Seigniory of Des Islets, which in 1671 was created a barony, and later an earldom. In 1672, the Seigniory of St. Laurent, on the Island of Orleans, the

property of François Berthelot, King's Councillor, was made an earldom; in 1681, that of René Robineau, Pontneuf, was made a barony. In 1700, three seigniories on the south bank of the St. Lawrence formed the barony of Longueuil. The seigniors were given the right of *la haute, moyenne,* and *la petite justice.* Baronies and earldoms were alone given the right of *la haute justice* or jurisdiction, and were permitted to set up pillories and gallows bearing their coat of arms. The right of *la haute justice* was rarely exercised; I have not succeeded in finding any case recorded, but Garneau says that in the rare instances in which it occurred it was performed so fairly that it never aroused resentment.

The seignior held by the tenure of *foi et homage,* and the habitant by the inferior tenure of *en censive. Foi et homage* were rendered to the Crown, or other feudal superior, whenever estates changed hands. The act must be performed without sword or spurs, bare-headed, with one knee on the ground. Repeating his lord's name three times, he must promise to pay the seigniorial or feudal dues. If a seignior sold his property, a fifth of the price passed to his feudal lord.

En censive consisted in the obligation of making payments in money or produce, or perhaps both. Known as *cens et rentes,* these charges were usually absurdly small. A common one at Montreal was a *sous* and half a pint of wheat for each arpent. Tenants were not bound to military service. The *lods et vente* provided a considerable source of revenue for the seignior. The *censitaire's* land passed freely to his heirs, but, if sold, a twelfth of the purchase money went to the seignior. The *censitaire* was obliged to grind his corn in the seignior's mill, bake his bread in the seigniorial oven, give one fish in every twelve, and work for his lord one day, or more, in the year. The seigniories were finally abolished in 1834.

Most of the Canadian seigniors suffered extreme poverty. The mother of Varennes de la Verendry was left a widow with nine children. She owned three seigniories, of which Gabelle had but one settler, Tremblay six, and Three Rivers seventy-one. "I pray you grant no more patents of nobility unless

you want to multiply beggars," wrote the Intendant Champigny; and again, "They could not get credit for a single crown piece." Then later, "It is pitiful to see their children, of whom they have great numbers, passing all summer with nothing on them but a shirt, their wives and daughters working in the fields."

Yet Louis XIV declared that Canada contained more of his old nobility than all the other French colonies together. The line of demarcation between the *gentilhomme* and the classes beneath him always remained perfectly distinct, and whatever his varying fortunes he never forgot his pride of birth. In wild adventure, savage freedom, and forest warfare the noble was an acknowledged leader.

France at this period was swarming with landless nobles, and it became the fashion for many of these scions of impoverished aristocracy to seek a wider sphere of action in the New World. No reasonable doubt could exist concerning the claims of many of these gallant adventurers to the very bluest of blue blood. The Chevalier de Vaudreuil, described as "a cadet of Gascony, who will not often receive letters of credit from his own family," came out in 1687 as an officer of Marines, was later appointed Governor of Montreal and then Governor of New France. He died at the Chateau of St. Louis, after thirty-eight years of service. The Vaudreuil family remained prominent in the colony until the end of the French dominion. During French Canada's death struggle a Vaudreuil served as Governor of New France.

The de Lobinières' nobility dates from the fourteenth century. At that time Guillaume de Lobinière was Bishop of Paris, and Jean, his brother, was Secretary of State to Louis VI, who ennobled him for his services. The origin of the de Beaujeu family dates to the eleventh century. In 1210, Guiscard, Sieur de Beaujeu, was embassador to Pope Innocent III at Rome. Humbert V, Sieur de Beaujeu, Constable of France, served Philip Augustus and his son Louis VII. Another de Beaujeu was Grand Master of Templars in 1288. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a member of

this family emigrated to Canada and became the owner of the Seigniory of Coteau du Lac, which still remains in the possession of his descendants. The de Beaujeus are said to have the richest collection of family documents in the Dominion. Until recently some of the St. Ours were still living upon the estate of that name. The de Fresnoys' nobility dated from the twelfth century; the name of Robert de Fresnoy appears among the hundred gentlemen of Francis I. The Tarieu de Laudinières also belonged to the ancient nobility. The de Bonnes de Misselles were of the same race as the illustrious Duke de Lesdiguères.

A worthy portion of the Canadian nobility was recruited from the *bourgeoisie* elevated in rank for services rendered to the Crown. The story of their achievements reads like a romance. Hardy, vigorous, habituated to savage modes of warfare, conversant with the Indian tongues, their influence was of immense value to the growing colony. Charles le Moyne, interpreter at Ville Marie, had a large family of sons who all distinguished themselves. Picturesque figures, Iberville, St. Helène, two Chateauguays, two Bienvilles, Serigny and Maricourt were all distinguished by brilliant exploits by land and by water. These young sprigs of Canadian nobility with their titles as long as to-day and to-morrow, their airs and graces, mimicking the Frenchmen who came out in the King's ships every summer, ruled hordes of savage retainers, and held in check the hardy bush rangers. Three seigniories owned by Lemoine on the south bank of the St. Lawrence formed the barony of Longueuil. There his son, the first baron, reigned like some great feudal noble. This settlement had a fort with four strong towers, several spacious dwellings, a guard-house and a fine church. There was a commodious farm-house in which there was a barn, stable, sheep pen, dovecote and other buildings. The baron had also a mill and brewery, and employed thirty workmen. This fine establishment helped to protect the neighbouring seigniories. This first baron distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec, and was Governor of Montreal. The third baron was killed

in battle, 1755. The French title virtually became extinct, though it has been borne by descendants of the last baron's daughter. In 1880, Charles Grant, great-great-grandson of Marie Lemoyne de Longueuil, petitioned the Crown to allow him to bear the title. Inasmuch as the favour did not involve the concession of any precedence or prerogatives the matter was not looked into very closely and the favour was granted. Like other hereditary honours, prior to the French Revolution, the title could not legally descend through the female line.

That model colonist, Pierre Boucher, was ennobled for his gallant defence of Three Rivers in 1649. The Boucher de Bouchervilles have given the country several distinguished men; patriotism, high personal courage, and literary ability have characterized the race.

Jucheron du Chesnay was given a patent of nobility for gallantry in defending Quebec against Phipps. The Aubert de Gaspés were ennobled for their services, and the title of Jacques Testard, Sieur de Montigny, rested upon forty wounds and thirty years of constant fighting. Out of a family of seven sons, six of the de Villiers perished in the King's service. Coulon de Villiers, dying of smallpox at the age of sixty, lamented piteously: "I to die in my bed like a woman! How sad a destiny for one who had often tempted death on a battle field, and I had hoped to shed the last drop of my blood for my country."

The Hertels, like the Lemoynes, were a family of heroes; the achievements of any one of them would have rendered a race illustrious. If their exploits did not rest upon reliable evidence they would seem incredible. At the time of the Conquest twelve of the Hertels were bearing arms.

Lettres de cachet were common in those early days. Sons of noble French families were banished in order to divert them from the fiery passions of youth, or to prevent them from shaming their own people. When they reached Canada they were often left destitute of means to make their way to the best of their ability. Some were sent to the plantations in Louisiana, others served as soldiers, became *voyageurs,* or

coureurs de bois, and in quest of adventure penetrated the savage immensity of the forest. Governors and Intendants were constantly complaining that these youths were a burden on the colony; they also proved a prolifie source of disorder. Many wild and mournful tales are related of them, yet some of these reckless gallants furnished grand types of incarnate will and energy. Usually they held a high ideal of honour and pride of birth; the most worthless young scrapegrace of them all would bear incredible hardships with buoyant cheerfulness, and was ready at any moment, gaily and generously, to risk his life for his faith and his King. The Western fur trade furnished an outlet for their energies, and also offered a prospect of freedom and boundless license. In pursuit of this trade the gentlemen rovers discovered the Ohio and the Rocky Mountains, explored the great West, founded Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans. "Saint Castin, Du Luht, La Durantaye, La Salle, La Mothe Cardillac, Iberville, Bienville, La Verendrye, are names that stand conspicuous on the page of half savage romance," says Parkman. "That refreshes the hard and practical annals of American civilization."

There were many types of gentlemen adventurers, all equally impecunious. Denonville complained, "Several of them have come out this year with their wives, who are very much cast down but they play the fine lady nevertheless." The Marquis de Crisasi and his brother the Chevalier, Sicilian nobles and models of knightly chivalry, had been compromised in their own country by taking the part of France against Spain, their immense possessions were confiscated, and they were sent out to Canada in command of troops. The Marquis became Governor of Three Rivers, an ill-paid and anxious post; his brother died of a broken heart.

In 1729, Beauharnais asked the Minister's advice concerning the claims of Gilles Le Roy, who refused to serve as a private because he was of noble birth. De la Glassonière, in 1748, recommended that a soldier named d'Estrades, claiming to belong to the same family as the Marshal of that name, be made an officer. The Sieur d'Orceval is a type of this class.

The petition of Jacques François de Bouchel, Sieur d'Orceval, forwarded to the Minister in 1735, sets forth that, having the misfortune to lose his father in 1730, he hoped to succeed as Lieutenant-General *des Eaux et des Forêts* of the Duchy of Valois, an office which was hereditary in his family, when his mother and younger brothers obliged him to sell it, promising that the Duke de Gusore would give him a commission in the army. Instead of that he was imprisoned in the Citadelle de Guise at Château Thierry, whence he was conveyed in a chain gang to the Islands. He was then sent to Canada, where he was left without resources. He asked for his recall to France, a pension of five hundred livres, and his personal effects which had been withheld by his relatives. Later, we find Hocquart, apparently in reply to commands received from France, declaring that d'Orceval will not be permitted to leave the colony.

Existence in New France was a strange mixture of frieze and homespun with velvet, brocade, and gold lace. Both in Montreal and Quebec were to be found refined coteries which were always polished, and occasionally brilliant. These people passed through careers full of action and stirring incident. They endured peril, privation, and misery with a gaiety bordering on levity; their existence was enlivened by thrilling excitement, softened by the graces of good breeding, and frequently consecrated by a higher purpose. Separation from their ordinary customs seems to have produced an impression of the transitoriness of all things that helped in rendering hardship tolerable. "To adapt oneself to present circumstances until carried away to something different was the general tendency," remarked Charlevoix. "They repaired their losses when able to do so, the troubles that could not be relieved were very soon forgotten. A small present interest blinded them to the future. This is the true savage spirit, and it seems as though one breathed it in the air of the country." The women of good birth equalled the men in courage and fortitude. The devotion of the religious orders is too well known to require description, the same may be said of Made-

leine de Verchère's bravery, and the high-heartedness of Madame du Drucourt. When an epidemic of the most virulent type was raging at Montreal, the daughters of the Commandant, de Ramézay, cheerfully aided the nuns in nursing the sick. A de Lobinière, a beautiful, penniless damsel, called by her contemporaries "*l'admirable quêteuse,*" begged from door to door in Quebec in order to secure the dower which would open the convent doors to her. In Louisiana, Madame Guyon carried for a great distance in her apron the remains of her husband, who had been hacked to pieces by Iroquois, that she might secure for them Christian burial.

The connexion between Canada and the French Court was close and constant. The first Marquise de Vaudreuil, Canadian born and educated by the Ursulines at Quebec, was appointed by Madame de Maintenon *Sous-Governante* to the royal children of France, the young Duke d'Alonçon being especially committed to her charge. Two ladies of the de Beaujeu family held at different periods important posts at Court. Young Canadians served in the Army and Navy, and many were sent over to be trained in the graces and accomplishments considered necessary for a gentleman. Those who had acquired fortune in the colony often returned to end their days in the Mother Country.

During the last days of the French power the corruption which prevailed in France unfortunately extended to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Some of the Canadian seigniors remained true to their ideals of honour, they were known as the "*Partie des Honnêtes Gens.*" Among them we find the names of Taché, de Beaujeu, La Corne, de Léry, and St. Ours, but many were corrupted by Bigot's example. Gambling and dissipation brought many a family to ruin. Children between fifteen months and six years were placed as cadets in companies, they came in for the distribution of provisions, pay being drawn for them. In his official statement (1751) Michel de la Rouvillières, Intendant of Louisiana, asserts:

"There is no question but that the Governor is interested for one-third in the profits made at the post of Tombec-

bec, where de Grand Pré commands, and that he has the same interest in all the other posts, nobody doubts it here. The Commandants at the posts are all Canadians who are his creatures, or who are kinsmen, his own relatives, or his wife's. * * * * * Madame de Vaudreuil deals here with everybody, and she forces merchants and other individuals to sell it at the price which she fixes. She keeps in her own house every sort of drugs which are sold by her steward, and in his absence she does not scruple to descend herself to the occupation of measurement, and to betake herself to the ell. The husband is not ignorant of this. He draws a handsome revenue from it, which is his sole aim and wish."

During the ominous days of the struggle that won Canada for England the bearers of the old historic names displayed the fiery, impetuous valour which had illuminated the early annals of their country. Misfortune and death, at that time, made withering havoc among the flower of Canadian chivalry. It was agreed among the two Powers that the Canadians who were willing to take the oath of fidelity should be allowed to retain their property; those who objected to doing so were obliged to sell their estates to the King of England. Though the arrangement was perfectly fair, it compelled many gentlemen to dispose of their estates at an enormous loss. Those whose loyalty no vicissitude of sway had power to shake returned to France, and there some of the ancient names still flourish in honour. When the fierce torrent of the French Revolution swept over France many Canadians paid the penalty of their loyalty with their lives. Two members of the Vaudreuil family defended Louis XVI at the Tuilleries. Chamilly de Lorimier, after giving the strongest proofs of his attachment to his royal master, was executed. Hertel de Chambly, the owner of immense estates in Cayenne and other French dependencies, perished on the guillotine, as did also Payen de Chavoy, the Count de Soulonge, Count de Tilly, M. de Senneville. Jean de Lautagnac and his sons were massacred at Versailles, September 9th, 1792.

Some of the *élite* of the Canadian nobility were lost (1761) in the ill-fated ship "Auguste," which was carrying them to France. Among the passengers were officers belonging to the best families, a number of ladies of rank, sixteen children, sixty soldiers and many servants. The vessel was wrecked at Cap Nord, Ile Royal. Only seven, among them La Corne de St. Luc, were saved.

The Canadian historians, Bibaud and Garneau, have declared, and Parkman has adopted their view, that the majority of the better class left Canada at the Conquest. However, facts do not seem to confirm this assertion. General Murray alludes to "the *noblesse* who are numerous," and in the records we constantly find the historic names. Many of those who went to France and Louisiana returned to Canada. For a time their lot was deplorable. Impoverished by famine, exhausted by long years of active warfare, the country was in a wretched condition. The great catastrophe had created a chasm between the present and the past. Cut off from the career of arms which until now had formed their chief occupation, it must have seemed to the Canadian seigniors as though the very foundations of the world had crumbled.

The first Canadian gentleman to accept employment under the English Government was M. Chassegrose de Léry, and since that epoch an unswerving loyalty has been a prominent characteristic of the colonial aristocracy. The valour that had won glory for France shed its blood just as readily in the English cause. The saying of M. de Salaberry has been echoed by others of his countrymen: "No man has made greater sacrifices for the King than I, for of four sons I have given three in his service."

It was fortunate that the English authorities were men of tact and discretion. General Murray's good sense and moderation effected wonders in conciliating the vanquished. The poor French gentlemen, many of whom worked on their own land, were often very shabby when they presented themselves before the Governor. Lord Dorchester showed his

kindly feeling by treating them with the greatest consideration, and thus won their hearts.

When the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, was serving in Canada, where he was exceedingly popular, an election took place at Quebec. National feeling ran high, and seemed likely to end in a riot. The Duke addressed the excited crowd: "Are you loyal subjects?" loud cheers. "Then let us hear no more about French and English, we are all brothers, the children of one father, the King. Three cheers for the King." Harmony was restored.

When (1775) war broke out between England and the American colonies, the Canadians felt that no tie of faith or language bound them to either of the conflicting parties. Sir Guy Carleton had only two regiments to oppose the enemy, according to the census of 1765 there were barely five hundred English in the country. Garneau remarks: "The English counted for little in the actual struggle on account of their small number; then the most part, either secretly or openly, sympathized with the Americans." The Indians, an important factor in colonial warfare, declined to participate in the struggle. At this crisis aid came from quarters where it could least have been expected. The Roman Catholic Church threw all the weight of her authority on the side of the Government, and the gentry flew to arms in defence of their native country. The Chevalier de Longueuil, a descendant of the heroic Lemoynes, served in the ranks; the influence of the Chevalier de la Corne de St. Luc and that of the de Lorimiers secured the services of the Indian allies.

In 1812, the Canadians rose almost to a man to repulse the invaders. Both seigniors and people proved themselves worthy of their ancestry. The heroic de Salaberry covered himself with glory. During the Rebellion of 1837-38 the gentry actively exerted their influence on behalf of the Crown. With the exception of the unfortunate de Lorimier, who perished on the scaffold, there is scarcely an instance of one of the historic names appearing among the rebels.

The Meuron and Wattville regiments furnished some noble settlers to Canada. These were formed mainly of French Legitimists who had been detained in England as prisoners of war, and were granted their liberty on agreement to serve against all Great Britain's enemies except those of their own country. Enrolled during the Napoleonic wars, in the Revolutionary struggle they fought for England. There were Swiss, Italians, and Piedmontese among them. Many settled in Canada. We may notice among these soldiers of fortune the names of d'Orsonnens (whose family laid claim to fabulous antiquity), Faucher, Montenach, Labrières, Desbartz, Genauds, and Matheys.

On an old map of 1798 of unclaimed lands near Toronto, a spot called "The Oak Ridges" is marked "French Royalists." Flying from the storm of the French Revolution these people had sought protection from England, and finally those who had been among the most brilliant ornaments of the French Court sought to sustain life in the backwoods of Canada. Among them were the Chevalier de Marsalais, Ambroise de Farey, who held the rank of a General. Augustin Boitu was a Lieutenant-Colonel. René August, Count de Chalus, derived his title from the domain and castle of Chalus in Normandy, associated with the death of Richard Cœur de Lion, and others equally distinguished. At balls given in Toronto by the Governor and others, the jewels of Madame de Chalus created a sensation, wholly surpassing anything of the kind that had yet been seen in Upper Canada.

These Legitimists were led by the celebrated Count de Puissaye, of whom Lamartine remarks: "This man was at once diplomatist, orator, and soldier;" while Thiers says of him: "With great intelligence and skill in uniting the elements of party he combined extreme activity of mind and body, and vast ambition." But apparently he lacked some gift that might have rendered his enterprise a success.

These people settled on sterile land near Yonge street, just above a spot known as the Ridges, but the colony proved a miserable failure. The colonists were soldiers, not farmers.

They could not get anyone to work for them, and accused de Puissaye of having deceived them. The Government was besieged by complaints from the different members of the party, who finally became discouraged and abandoned the enterprise. The only one who was adaptable to the requirements of a new country was Quetton, who had added St. George to his name because he had arrived in England on St. George's Day. He carried on an extensive trade with the Indians and built a handsome house in Toronto which is still standing. De Puissaye's house at Niagara can still be seen; it overlooks the Niagara River where the carriage road approaches the lofty bank. During the war of 1812 it was used as an hospital.

"The old order changeth, and yieldeth place to new." In the development of our constitution the heroic qualities have assumed different forms, which are, perhaps, of more practical utility. Patriotism, gathering strength from the great occasions of the past, may still glow with every potent and virile quality, while it contents itself with the less dramatic, but no less momentous, interests of the present.

BLANCHE LUCILE MACDONELL

THE RACE QUESTION

THE approaching tercentenary of the founding of Quebec makes, it may fairly be argued, any fresh presentation, however inadequate, of this *lutte séculaire*, as M. Siegfried justly terms it, not only timely, but almost, as one might say, of real necessity. For three centuries, our French fellow citizens have dwelt on that portion of the continent which they first discovered, settled and civilized; for one half of that period they have been under British rule. And to-day, as in 1759, the *problème des races*, to quote the same author's definition of it, the question of the relations of one race to the other, has come to be seen as the most vital and pressing of all the problems which the Canadian nation is called upon to deal with, to solve, if possible, on peril of its welfare, if not of its very existence, since " every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation."

What, in a word, are the real, as distinguished from the official relations between the two main elements of Canadian nationhood? Will the angel of peace, that is to say, typify an attained, or at least an attainable reality, or merely a Utopian aspiration? There will be assurances, at the forthcoming celebration, fervid and rhetorical, as to mutual respect, good-will, and understanding, assurances, doubtless, as sincere as could be expected. The question is, how far are they to be accepted as statements of sober fact?

For, that an antagonism, religious as well as racial, the *damnosa hæreditas* of Old World quarrels, has existed between the French and English colonizers of the American continent, since the very beginnings of their settlements, is a fact that merely needs to be stated. Nor are the causes far to seek. England which, for centuries, had been the bitterest and most relentless enemy of France even when the two countries professed the same faith, was no less bitter an enemy in the struggle for supremacy in the New World between Puritanism

and Catholicism. But, if the Puritan hated the Catholic with a hatred for which Philip II. and his Invincible Armada was largely responsible, the French Catholic, in his turn, was equally intolerant of a "heresy" professed by the only nation whose rivalry was seriously to be feared. That this same antagonism exists to-day, after a century and a half of fellow-citizenship, is a fact both affirmed and denied, but of which the affirmation is more susceptible of proof than the denial, since the very existence of religious differences, both sides being equally sincere, necessarily connotes some measure, at least, of antagonism. When to these are added racial differences, jealousies, and misunderstandings, there can be no further doubt as to the reality of the antagonism.

Its special causes, in the case of Canada, are to be looked for in the policy of the dominant race. England, according to M. Siegfried, in conquering New France, wholly failed to destroy or assimilate the people whom she found there. M. Siegfried, it is not difficult to gather, is not wholly free from a certain traditional anglophobia, traces of which are to be found in Rameau de St. Pierre's *Colonie Féodale*, in Father de Rochemonteix' *Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, and, indeed, in not a few French Canadian writers, and which is, certainly, not wholly inexcusable, all things considered. Yet that to some extent, and in a very definite sense, England attempted a forcible unification, religious as well as racial—as distinct from unity—must, I think, be admitted by anyone who studies the history of the period between the Cession and the Quebec Act. That the same unification, again as distinct from unity, is the aim of a certain section of English-speaking Canadians, is the conviction of not a few French Canadians to-day, and accounts, in great measure, for a strenuous, embittered antagonism which should long since have ceased to exist.

The true domain of this unconquerable race, M. Siegfried continues, is the Province of Quebec, adding that "c'est le bassin du Saint-Laurent qui demeure le théâtre de la destinée française dans le Nouveau Monde." It may be of interest to note, that, on this point, he is in accord with the writer of the

article on Canada, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Sir Daniel Wilson, who states that " the results of Confederation are already beginning to diminish " the influence of the French element on the character of the country as a whole, " and to limit the French population to the old Province of Quebec."

It is this very limitation indeed, this sense of an inevitable loss of influence in the destinies of the Dominion, of being hopelessly outnumbered in their own land, which is accountable for much of the antagonism existing, or said to exist, between the French-speaking minority and a majority which they can only regard as alien in race, speech, and religion. Moreover, it is this minority which may be truly said to constitute their chief ground for maintaining an attitude of antagonism and *intransigeance* in sheer self-defence, or so it seems to them. It is the essential tragedy of their race, a tragedy which the Quebec celebrations cannot fail to recall, in a fresh bitterness, that some two millions of their kindred should be voluntary or involuntary exiles in a foreign land, when they should have taken possession, by the best of all possible titles, of the fertile prairies of the North West,—a tragedy compared with which the expulsion of the Acadians is as of no account. The Acadians have, for the most part, returned to their own land, but what hope is there for these countless exiles? Nor should this tragedy, this sense of minority, be lost sight of by English-speaking Canadians, if only that they may learn to make allowance for an antagonism which, otherwise, might appear unreasonable and causeless.

But it is to religious differences, as already said, that this antagonism must be chiefly attributed. " Les querelles religieuses," M. Siegfried writes, " sont à la base de toutes les divisions Canadiennes," and any unbiased observer of Canadian conditions must admit that the assertion is merely the statement of an unquestionable fact. If so, it is, at least, something gained to be able to define one of the principal, if not the main cause of the antagonism between the two races. Other grave causes, as has been shown, there doubt-

less are, but this must be taken into account first, and above all others.

The antagonism, according to M. Siegfried, is most marked between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. "Entre ces deux provinces," he writes, on page 3, "qui sont le cœur du Canada, la jalousie est aiguë," due, though he does not say so, first to their very proximity, and, not less, to the French "invasion" of Eastern Ontario, practically their only territorial gain. "La race dominante," he continues, "subit la présence des citoyens français, ne pouvant faire autrement. Mais à leur langue elle oppose passionnément la sienne; à leur influence catholique leur influence protestante; à leur civilisation française sa civilisation anglo-saxonne. C'est une guerre ouvertement déclarée, dont il est inutile de vouloir dissimuler l'âpreté."

Without following M. Siegfried into all the details of his able presentation of the various causes and influences which go to make up the race problem and the race antagonism of which he speaks; without, possibly, accepting even his summary as wholly accurate or unbiased, we may express our obligations to him for calling our attention, so effectually, and in so novel a manner, both to the problem and to the antagonism. The phrase, indeed, "said to exist," used above, might well have been omitted, except in so far as it may be taken as typical of a certain official attitude of mind, the attitude, that is, which blandly denies the existence of ugly facts, which will, doubtless, deny them still more blandly, for the edification of our distinguished visitors, at the forthcoming Quebec celebrations.

Some points, however, of M. Siegfried's presentation of the problem under consideration are deserving of special note. If it be an advantage, according to the poet's petition, "to see oorsels as ithers see us," we are certainly indebted to our French critic for affording us ample opportunity of doing so. Yet, M. Siegfried, if, like the proverbial looker-on, he sees most of the game, and views, possibly, its fuller and ultimate issues in a truer perspective than those actually

engaged in it, labours, nevertheless, under the disadvantage of not understanding, of not being able to understand, the real motives of the players, the real ends which they have set themselves to attain. These, it may be said, no one, except each individual, can pretend to understand, and he for his own case only; for, "what man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him?" Still, as I hope to show, M. Siegfried has certain other, and very definite limitations.

In regard to these, we may begin with his estimate of those of his own race and speech. M. Siegfried is, evidently, a "liberal" of no particular religious affiliations; briefly, a free-thinker, and, as such, unconsciously but very distinctly prejudiced not only against Catholicism, but against all dogmatic religion, as tending to the "enslavement" of the human intellect. Now, if there is one characteristic which, more than all others, differentiates the French Canadian from the Frenchman of modern France—a difference which M. Siegfried fully admits—it is, first and above all, his fervent, unquestioning loyalty to the teachings and authority of his Church; secondly, and as it were consequently, his adherence to older, pre-Revolution ideals, social, educational, and even political. The Frenchman, in a word, even though a Catholic, and, therefore, unwillingly, is the heir of the Revolution, as truly as every Englishman is the heir of the Reformation, though to each the heritage be as hateful as that of original sin; the French Canadian, on the contrary, has, to all intents and purposes, escaped—or been debarred from, as may be maintained—the effects of both the earlier religious, and the later social, cataclysm. The "liberal" Frenchman is, therefore, to the extent to which he is the willing heir of the Revolution, incapable of rightly estimating the deepest motives and highest ideals of the Catholic French Canadian. Indeed, since the non-religious man is wholly and utterly out of touch with the man whose life and actions are governed by religion, such a "liberal" is even less fitted to form a just estimate of the religious French Canadian than is the latter's

Protestant fellow-citizen, who has a real and definite faith, however widely different in expression, of his own. The motive, at least, in each case, is, in reality, the same. This "liberalism" of M. Siegfried's must, accordingly, be taken into account, when considering his estimate of the French Canadian's attitude both towards the Church and towards the school, and of their influence on him in turn. Nor must this attitude, in respect of both, be lost sight of by those who are desirous of arriving at a right understanding of the race problem, and, still more, at any satisfactory solution of it, if, indeed, any real solution be humanly possible or attainable. That sense of limitation which, as already stated, is chiefly accountable for the antagonism existing between the French minority and an alien majority is, once more, no less religious than it is racial or political, more intimately so, in fact, than either. All three, moreover, are, for the French Canadian, so closely connected as to be, practically, inseparable the one from the other, and the loss or limitation of his political influence, of his full share in shaping the destinies of the Dominion, means, to him, a loss or diminution of religious autonomy, a curtailment of those Divine prerogatives which, he is convinced, belong to the Church in the domains of conscience and of education. In other words, and at the risk of repetition, it must be insisted on that the race problem in Canada is primarily, and before all else, a religious one. It is a non-religious Frenchman who has once more called our attention to this fact, which no official assurances or courtesies can alter or eliminate; an influence which not the very angel of peace can exorcise or banish. It is for non-Catholic Canadians, of all denominations, or of none, to recognize both its existence and its significance.

But, if M. Siegfried's "liberalism" imposes limitations on his estimate of the French Canadian of a civilization older than his own—which dates from 1789—he is equally, as a Frenchman, incapable of forming a just and impartial estimate of British political ideals, as developed under the newer conditions of our Canadian Federation; and, equally, in the case

of British Protestantism. Towards the former his attitude is that of one living under a professedly logical, written constitution towards those who are governed, politically, by tradition and precedent; in respect of the latter, he stands in the ambiguous position of a "liberal" unconsciously influenced by a Catholic ancestry nurtured in a somewhat narrow and bigoted expression of Catholicism, ignorant, if not contemptuous, of all forms of "heresy," not least of a "heresy" professed by a "natural enemy." His political logic makes him intolerant of traditional constitutionalism; his "liberalism," equally logical, while it is, doubtless, a revolt from an intensely national form of Catholicism, has not disencumbered itself of the prejudices of the faith, as understood and professed by his Gallican and, possibly, Jansenist forbears.

How far, indeed, it is possible for so acute an observer to go astray, even on an elementary point, may be gathered from his use of the word "Anglo-Saxon" to define the civilization of Ontario, and of English-speaking Canada generally. The word is, at its very best, misleading, if not inaccurate, in view of the incalculable influence which the Celt and the Norman-French have had on the growth and formation of British civilization, to say nothing of influences and tendencies best, perhaps, defined as European. Our Canadian civilization, influenced largely, and in a great measure unconsciously, by the presence, in our midst, of the descendants of seventeenth century French colonists, and, still more appreciably, by our proximity to the United States, is ceasing, if it has not already ceased, to be "Anglo-Saxon" in any sense in which that epithet can justly be applied. It is departing just as surely, if not so rapidly, as that of our neighbours to the South—wisely or unwisely, for better or for worse—from its British original, and it is only the presence of the French element, strongly attached to the older European ideals, which has retarded, and must continue to retard, the process of development into a New World, that is, into a definitely American, civilization. To say so much as this is not, however, to admit that, as a recent visitor appears to fear, such a

development must involve a practical alienation from a distant centre of Empire, and assimilation with, if not into, that of our "cousins" across the line—which God forefend! But it does mean that, being transplanted to a new soil, and placed in a wholly new environment, it must, if it is to live and grow, develop on lines, and under forms, widely differing, outwardly, if not essentially, from those of the parent stem.

Yet it is this very divergence between Old World and New World ideals, between those of seventeenth century France and those of twentieth century America, which serves, materially, to complicate our race problem, for the reasons above referred to. French Quebec has, in a word, come to be the last stronghold, on this continent, of ideals and traditions, social, and, more especially, educational, which are, essentially, no less British than French, no less Protestant than they are Catholic; the traditions and ideals of the Churchmen of Virginia, of Puritan New England. Essentially, since, in their ultimate terms, they may be defined as adherence to two main principles; first, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" and, secondly, that any system which attempts to resolve the child's nature into its component elements, spiritual, mental, and physical, and neglects the first and most vitally important of the three, is in no true sense education.

But, to revert to M. Siegfried, it may be said that, making all possible allowance for the limitations indicated, he is well worth listening to, in reference to these very points of religion and education. Speaking, on page 21, of the fear felt by the authorities of the Catholic Church in French Canada, of the influence of "British" Protestantism, he says: "La dispersion et l'absorption sont deux dangers qui menacent sans cesse l'unité de notre race au Canada." Herein, he touches, one may say, the very quick of the problem at issue, since a race so threatened must not only assume, inevitably, an attitude of antagonism towards those whom they credit, with or without reason—and men, in the mass, are not prone to sober reasoning—with designs against their unity, if not against

their very existence as a separate entity, but also tend to ultra-conservatism, and too rigid an adherence to certain lines of policy which might, otherwise, be safely abandoned. It is to this antagonism, or fear, again, that he attributes, on page 22, the realization—or shall we say the conviction—on the part of the Church authorities, that isolation is the first safeguard "of an individuality threatened, on all sides, by the environment of the New World." Both the fear and the conviction must be fully taken into account, and not least by those who see, most clearly, the price which must, in the very nature of things, be paid for such isolation.

Of this isolation, the maintenance and perpetuation of the French language constitutes, obviously, the most important factor; is, indeed, of its very essence. This difference of speech has, therefore, as M. Siegfried points out, on page 23, raised a real barrier between the two races, a barrier which, he says, the clergy have done nothing to break down. Why, it may fairly be asked, should they? Being human, no less than Churchmen, and to the full as racially patriotic as their lay neighbours, why should they be expected to favour a policy which, they honestly believe, must ensure the inevitable absorption of their race in the great mass of an alien population. For a century and a half they have preserved their identity amid surroundings and under conditions which, at first sight, must have appeared to make such preservation and continuance as hopelessly impossible as could be conceived. And the key to their success is their twofold loyalty, to their faith and to their language. It is very possible that they are mistaken, not least, in making loyalty to faith even seem to depend on any human motive, however pure or noble; but the passionate loyalty to race and speech exists, and must be taken into account.

Yet, as M. Siegfried is careful to point out, on page 27, this attitude, on the part of the clergy, is not inspired by any anti-English spirit, but is due, solely, to a perfectly legitimate dread of Protestantism and religious liberalism. To them, these are dangers from which the souls entrusted to them

must be guarded at all costs; national "unity," the growth and development of a "homogeneous Canadian nation," if it entail spiritual danger to any one member of their flocks, is to be avoided, not to be desired. If it be charged against them that their outlook is a narrow one, it may fairly be maintained, in their defence, that it is the only outlook possible under the circumstances. It is on this ground, of race preservation before all else, that the clergy in Quebec have always opposed annexation to the United States, knowing that once drawn into the vortex of the American whirlwind, *le tourbillon américain*, the religious and racial isolation, by which they set such store, would be at an end. If it be said that this is, in effect, the chief incentive of their unswerving loyalty to Great Britain, a loyalty to which governor after governor has borne eloquent witness, it is none the less genuine because founded on the highest, and least selfish, of all possible motives, the welfare, temporal as well as spiritual, of their race.

Concerning the Church's influence on social life, M. Siegfried writes, naturally, as a "liberal" Frenchman, and will, possibly, secure the assent of a majority of non-Catholic Canadians. He writes, that is, as one who questions, if he does not deny, the claims of the Church to supremacy in all matters, political, educational, or social, which nearly or remotely affect the higher, that is, the spiritual interests of mankind. In so far, therefore, as Canadians, not of the Roman obedience, are disposed to endorse his attitude on this point, it may be taken as indicating their real, if unconscious divergence from the older, Puritan standards, which made conscience the supreme arbiter in all things, temporal as well as spiritual, and set, literally, no bounds to its dominion. And, since this "domination of the Church," this "priestly tyranny," as it has come to be regarded, is of the essence of a problem which above all else—let it be repeated—is religious, it may, I trust, be permissible to point out here that, with a Catholic, the authority of the Church is binding only in the domain

of conscience. When, therefore, it is asserted that the Catholic Church claims supreme control over all matters which, in human affairs, are, in any sense, sacred; over all which, directly or indirectly, concerns the salvation of souls, it needs only to be borne in mind that this supremacy, while totally independent of the individual conscience, since its origin is divine, is, ultimately, assented to and recognized by that conscience rightly instructed, in order to make plain the essential agreement, in this respect, between the Catholic French-Canadian and his Protestant fellow citizen, to whom, as to him, the voice of conscience is the Voice of God Himself. Such a recognition may, it is to be hoped, serve to clear away some, at least, of the religious misunderstanding which embitters, so unnecessarily, a problem difficult enough in any case.

It is in this sense, further, that M. Siegfried's concluding estimate of the Church's influence on French Canadian life must, in all fairness, be interpreted. "Its influence," he writes, on page 68, "has made the Canadians serious, moral, hard-working, and prolific ; their domestic virtues are universally admired, their health and vigour show a vitality which is not likely to disappear." If the Church has done all this, has trained her children in so many civic virtues, which, be it noted, are no necessary parts of her Divine mission, but only, as it were, the incidental results of its acceptance, what complaints has our author to make against her, with his inevitable "But" ? The old ones; intellectual subjection, old-fashioned religious ideas, the consequences of which are, he says, that the French Canadians are rendered unfit to compete, in things temporal, with their modern and emancipated "Anglo-Saxon" rivals.

The charge, if true, and it must again be repeated that it is no part of the Church's task to fit men for worldly advancement and prosperity, but only to save their souls, must, obviously, refer to the Quebec system of education, to which M. Siegfried returns, in due course. Yet what, after all, does the charge amount to? That the clergy have insisted, to the

exclusion of less important matters, on "the whole duty of man," namely, that he should "fear God, and keep His commandments," that he should "seek first the Kingdom of God, and His righteousness," and have left "all other things" to be given or withheld as The Giver should see best? Again, if true, is it a fault for which they are to be blamed, or was it their duty to teach every modern religious novelty, to be "carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning craftiness of men," to inculcate the latest and most successful methods of twentieth century finance? Seriously, if they have kept their flocks in "intellectual subjection," or, in other words, failed to instruct their people after the current fashions of the faddists in "education," has it not been due, largely, if not wholly, to the circumstances in which, on M. Siegfried's own showing, their race has been placed, in the very midst of an alien population far outnumbering them? The faith and the existence of their people have been, in the estimation of the clergy, of such paramount interest as, possibly, to cause lesser matters to be relegated to a position of too little importance. Yet, even so, they may fairly claim the indulgence of those, at least, who are still loyal to the older, and less worldly ideals, to whom the spirit by which a race is governed is of greater moment than its learning, its wealth, its trade, or its temporal prosperity.

It may be permissible, however, at this point, rather than later, to consider, briefly, this charge of "intellectual subjection" which, as has been said, amounts, in fact, to an arraignment of the school system of the Province of Quebec. Apart from the general statement, which might in itself, perhaps, be taken as a sufficient rejoinder, namely, that the whole trend of modern "education" during the last thirty years has been in the direction of over-elaboration and over-instruction, the circumstances peculiar to the Province and the people must, obviously, be taken into account, before and beside all else. In so doing, moreover, we must go back to the very beginnings of French colonization in this continent. We have to do, that is, with a community almost wholly

agricultural, and by no means wealthy; the system of education most suited to their needs must, therefore, be subject to the limitations which these two characteristics necessarily involve.

That the trend of all modern rural "education" has not only been towards the over-elaboration and over-instruction just referred to, but, also, away from the true needs and requirements of an agricultural community, is, surely, too evident to be called in question. That, further, rural "education" has, in the main, been as unsatisfactory as it has been over-elaborate and unsuitable, hardly demands proof. It has been crippled, if we choose to put it so, by lack of appreciation, as well as by lack of means, and, in this respect, school boards composed of small tradesmen and agriculturists have, unquestionably, been more at fault than either parson or priest, for the simple reason that they are less independent of popular approval than either. If to all these general conditions you add the special ones affecting French Canada, isolation from the main currents of national life being not the least of them, it becomes evident that the "intellectual subjection" of which M. Siegfried complains is, rather, the inevitable result of circumstances—to which clergy and laity are alike subject—than of a deliberate "clerical" policy.

More might be said on this point, but it would lead too far from our main subject. This much may, however, be added here. The test of any system is its efficiency, which can be measured, roughly, by the percentage of illiteracy. The figures for Quebec, as for the other Provinces, may be obtained from the Dominion Census Returns, or, more easily, perhaps, from the comparative statements, for all the Provinces, contained in the Atlas recently published by the Department of the Interior. Lastly, since efficiency of education depends, primarily, on the amount of funds available, it may be of interest to note, here, that the sum contributed to education in the Province of Quebec for the year 1905-06 was, according to the last Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, $4,338,552 (p. xxvi); the actual cost being

$4,039,730.99 (p. 243). The Report, together with the statistics above referred to, may be studied to advantage by those interested in such matters, and may serve to qualify, if not to dispose of, some of M. Siegfried's complaints against the French Canadian clergy; though, indeed, the charge is of the vaguest and most characteristically " liberal," since " intellectual subjection," in some form or another, has been the condition of the great mass of mankind in all ages, and will, to all seeming, continue to be till the end. It is the despair of all teachers that their pupils cannot be brought to " think for themselves," an accomplishment acquired by fewer of us than we are disposed to admit. It is merely a question, for most of us, not as to the fact of our " intellectual subjection," but to whom we are subject, and there exists no intellectual tyranny, at the present day, so complete and absolute, as that aimed at, and, to a great extent, attained, by M. Siegfried's Republican friends in France.

But, if M. Siegfried—to whom it is time to return—his limitations notwithstanding, has that to say concerning the influence of the Catholic Church in Canadian national life, and on the race problem, which is well worthy of our attention, he is no less deserving of it in his estimate of the influence of Protestantism, even though his limitations be, as suggested, even more clearly defined, in this respect, than in regard to a religion with which he is, at least, familiar. " Protestantism," he says, on page 69, " holds no less a place in the formation of English (Canadian) society " than Catholicism holds in that of the French race in Canada. Beginning with the most numerous of the Denominations, the Methodists, he has something noteworthy to say about each of them; the critical judgment of a shrewd, and not unsympathetic, yet wholly unbiased observer—unconscious, that is, of any bias, but not, necessarily free from it. As bearing, therefore, on the religious aspect of the race problem—the only aspect that needs to be taken into serious account—it may be allowable to quote his words, on page 73, to the effect that, " the Methodism of Ontario is the centre of anti-French opinion, and of aggres-

sive Protestantism." To make such a statement is not to criticize, still less to impute blame; it is only, moreover, by a clear recognition of such facts as these—if they are facts—that we shall arrive at a just estimate of the problem we are considering.

Rightly or wrongly, then, the Methodists are credited with a hatred of "Popery" and of "French Domination," which, be it said, they have a perfect right to hate,—on their view of both. But, on the same principle, and as a free-born British subject, the French Canadian has an equally good and inalienable right to hate Protestantism, and to resist "English Domination." And it is this antagonism, well or ill-founded, reasonable or unreasonable, which, it cannot be too often repeated, constitutes the very essence of the Canadian race problem. Contiguity, if it has engendered a measure of mutual respect, more or less hostile, has, assuredly, not engendered mutual understanding, forbearance, or toleration.

It would, in fact, be a great mistake, as M. Siegfried assures us, on page 79, to doubt, or, we might add, to underestimate, the depth of anti-Catholic feeling among Canadian Protestants generally, which attributes to a certain "aggressiveness" on the part of the Church, in the Colony, as contrasted with her methods in England. It would be no less serious an error, in view of what may be gathered, not only from his preceding pages, but also from the most casual observation, to doubt the anti-Protestant sentiment of the great majority of French Canadians, including not a few of the lower clergy. It is an antagonism, however, which dates back to the founding of Quebec, to an age when the "heretic" was rigidly excluded from New France, and when it was death for a Jesuit to be found within the limits of Puritan New England. It is an antagonism, moreover, the continuance of which is due, in no small measure, to the fact that both communities are, in a very real sense, heirs of a tradition which has survived here in a more strenuous form than in the Old World, and are, so to speak, less affected by the currents and influences of religious and social life to which European

nations are subject, than, perhaps, Canadians themselves might be ready to admit. And, while this is truer, probably, of the French Catholic, than of the English-speaking Protestant element, there can be no doubt as to the extent to which both are affected by it. Nor does the fact that it may be taken to indicate a more sturdy and uncompromising loyalty to truth, as each understands it, than is compatible with the tolerant indifferentism of Northern European nations, tend to lessen, but rather to increase, the antagonism between the two elements. The question, therefore, is not as whose "aggressiveness" is to blame, seeing that it must, in all fairness, be pretty evenly distributed between Popish pot and Protestant kettle, but, rather: Is this age-long antagonism to continue to exist under the shadow of the Angel of Peace, after so many years of fellow citizenship in the greatest and freest empire the world has ever seen? If so, it must be asked, once more: What, then, shall the Peace Angel symbolize? A goal to be attained, or one that is hopelessly unattainable?

Before, however, venturing to suggest that there may, possibly, exist a solution of this race problem, a means of ending this secular conflict; that, out of this root of hatred, there may yet spring the flower of peace and mutual charity, it may be well to consider, briefly, M. Siegfried's estimate of a cause of difference which, as it lies at the very foundations of religion and nationality, lies by so much the nearer to the innermost essence of our problem: the question of education.

It has been said of the Quebec system, that it is the necessary result of conditions and circumstances originating with the first beginnings of French colonization in this continent. It may be said, here, that these conditions and circumstances were not only left unchanged, but accentuated, emphasized, by the cession of Catholic New France to Protestant Britain. And, lastly, that between the ideals of French and of British Canada there exists a new and vital difference to-day, which did not exist a century and a half ago. British Protestant and French Catholic, however widely

they might differ as to the essentials of religion, were at one in this, that education must be, first of all, and above all, religious. And, as an inevitable consequence, they were agreed that the twofold right, of parent and of conscience, was inviolable and supreme. To this ideal the French Canadian Catholic is as loyal, in 1908, as he was in 1608, or in 1759; it is his Protestant fellow citizen who has transferred to the state that supremacy over the child which his forbears conceded to the parent. The divergence may, perhaps, be better expressed by asking, simply: Is the State supreme, or God? That is Canada's education problem, and on its solution depends that of the resultant race problem.

The education question has, in fact, as our author points out, on page 81, inevitably become the shuttlecock of national and religious ambitions. Two races, he continues, live together under the same laws, who speak different languages, and are of different faiths. Each is so wedded to that which constitutes its individuality, that it would not yield a particle of it for the sake of national unity. We have here a statement of fundamental facts, or principles, simple enough of themselves, out of which have grown the infinite complexities of our various provincial systems, and prevent the attainment of the true ideal, namely, that since education is a national concern, it should be paid for by the nation, due regard being had to the rights of conscience and of the parent. But, in the main, these are the facts which we have to take into account. To the French Canadian Catholic, the primary school, all education, indeed, is, above all else, the nursery of religion and of race loyalty, the very innermost stronghold of his faith and of his nationality. To lose that, is to lose all. To the majority of English-speaking Canadians, as to most Americans, the school is, primarily, the agent of national unification, and, in both countries, those who hold aloof from the "national" system are regarded, more or less openly and resentfully, as "disloyal" and "unpatriotic." Yet it may be that, even in this, the French Canadian sees more clearly, and is better advised, than his English-speaking fellow citizen,

since the unification which is built on a common speech and a common school system does not, necessarily or logically, stop short at an abitrary political boundary. If, therefore, absorption is, of all else, that which the French Canadian most dreads, next, of course, to any danger, as he conceives it, to his children's faith, how can he possibly accept the English Canadian's solution of the school question? Why should his "patriotism," his zeal for the " unification "of and with an alien people be expected to go as far as deliberate race suicide; the extinction, that is, of his race as a separate element in Canadian national life? And lastly, would not the nation lose, rather than gain, by such a unification?

Yet, even here, as in respect of the main problem, the solution may not, after all, be so impossible of attainment as it certainly appears to be, provided, only, that it is approached in the spirit worthy of a great and growing nation, heirs to a threefold heritage, Saxon, Celtic, and French, the proudest and noblest in all human history. Recognizing, as we must, the existence of religious and racial antagonism, in what must its chief cause be said to consist? The answer is, surely, plain enough. In the misunderstandings which inevitably arise from the very conditions in which we are placed. Religiously, as well as racially, we speak different tongues, how can there fail to be misunderstandings?

It may be well, therefore, in conclusion, to recapitulate two main points, religious and political, as briefly as possible. If it were understood, plainly, by every honest non-Catholic, that the " Dominion of the Church " resides, for her children, in that supremacy of conscience which is admitted by all good men, one fruitful ground of misunderstanding, at least, would, in large measure, be removed, both in respect of religion and education. If, on the other hand, it were possible for the French Canadian to realize that his " heretical " fellow-citizen is as surely guided by the dictates of conscience as he knows himself to be, he would have gone a long way towards a better understanding of one who, hitherto, has been an incomprehensible alien, if not an inveterate and

relentless enemy, bent on the destruction of his race and his religion.

Again, if the English-speaking Canadian could be made to realize that the racial aspirations, ideals, and traditions, the political status in a word, of his French-speaking fellow British citizen are entitled to at least as much weight and consideration as he rightly demands for his own, and *vice versâ*, the race problem would be advanced yet another stage towards solution. Moreover, it is on the English-speaking majority that this duty of a courteous consideration primarily rests; of whom this recognition of the inalienable rights of others is chiefly demanded, if for no other reason than that they are the majority.

Of all of which it may be said that it is, essentially, in a right understanding of good citizenship, in the cultivation of mutual respect, forbearance, and of that charity which "thinketh no evil," that any hope of a final solution of the race problem consists. This citizenship, moreover, is something higher and nobler than even that which every British subject boasts, though from a truer conception of that, with its obligations and privileges, we may surely look for much. But the citizenship here referred to, and which I venture to commend to all patriotic Canadians, is that of which the Quebec Angel of Peace is to be the symbol and expression; the citizenship of all "men of good-will," whereof the charter, as Saint Paul tells us, is in Heaven. It is as citizens of that Kingdom, which is peace, that we shall understand, bear, and forbear with one another, and only as Canadians of whatever race, creed, or speech, rise to, and realize, its dignity, its obligations, and its privileges, may they hope to find the solution of a problem which must, otherwise, remain insoluble, and will as surely bring, in the future as in the past, the full measure of its merited penalty.

FRANCIS W. GREY

AFTER THE CESSION

THE volume of documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, selected and edited with brief notes by Professor Adam Shortt and Mr. A. G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, will be received with delight by all students of Canadian history. It may be regarded as the first fruits of the new Archives Department, and our gratitude for it is increased by the hopes it excites of favours to come.

It brings together for the first time a mass of materials of which a great part had not been printed before, and was accessible only to the specialist who had the time and inclination to prosecute researches among the manuscripts stored in the government archives at Ottawa or in London.

For the first time it is possible for the ordinary student to read in comfort by his fireside the first hand sources for the history of this period and to form his own impressions. The documents are arranged in chronological order, and the intelligent reader of them will find that they present a thoroughly connected and reliable narrative of the most critical period in our annals. Party feeling raged with exceptional bitterness, and the conflict between French and English was transferred from the field to the council chamber.

Among the most important documents are the reports of the officials in Canada to the English government. The editors say in their introduction that the report of Chief Justice Hey in 1769 has not yet been found. I have very little doubt that this is the report which is printed without date or signature as an appendix to volume I. of the "Lower Canada Jurist." This report was published in part in a Quebec newspaper, the "Star," in 1828, and was there described as "from a manuscript work written by Hey, C. J."

In Wilcox and Wilcox, 8 L. C. R. at page 43, Sir L. H. Lafontaine, C. J., refers to this report as that of Hey, and I can hardly believe that he did so without knowledge. It is by far the fullest and most elaborate report of the period, and in a subsequent issue of the "Constitutional Documents" it should most certainly be included.

Another document which might well have been included if it is still extant is the opinion given to the Lords of Trade by Sir Fletcher Norton and Sir William de Grey of 18th. January, 1768, though it deals with a matter which has long ceased from troubling. This opinion, also, is cited by Sir L. H. Lafontaine.

By Article IV. of the Treaty of Paris the King had bound himself to allow his new Roman Catholic subjects to profess "the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish Church *as far as the laws of Great Britain permit*." The more extreme members of the British party in Canada contended that the last part of the clause rendered the whole concession nugatory, as the statute of Elizabeth prohibited the Mass in all parish churches in Her Majesty's dominions. Upon this important matter the Board of Trade consulted the English law officers above named, 10th. June, 1765. Their report, in which Sir James Marriot, Advocate General, concurred, was for some reason or other not presented until two years and-a-half later. The law officers gave it as their opinion, "that the several acts of parliament which imposed disabilities and penalties upon the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion do not extend to Canada, and that His Majesty is not by his prerogative enabled to abolish the Dean and Chapter of Quebec, nor to exempt the Protestant inhabitants from paying tithes to the persons legally entitled to demand them from the Roman Catholics."

After the Cession, the small band of English-speaking persons, consisting chiefly of traders, who delighted to call themselves "the King's old subjects," demanded in season and out of season that the English laws and the English language ought to prevail in Canada, and that the govern-

ment of the country should be entrusted to their hands. Forming not more than five per cent. of the population, they clamoured for an assembly from which their Roman Catholic fellow subjects would necessarily be excluded by their inability to take the oath renouncing the authority of the Pope. In their petition, which the editors assign to the year 1770, the British Freeholders, Merchants and Traders narrate, "That there is now a sufficient number of Your Majesty's Protestant subjects residing in and possessed of real próperty in this Province, and who are otherwise qualified to be members of a General Assembly."

It is not surprising that the French Canadians showed no enthusiasm for a representative government in which their opponents alone, whom they outnumbered by twenty to one, would be represented. The consistent policy of the British government was to remember their treaty obligations, and to protect the French Canadians in the enjoyment of all rights which were consistent with the safety of the country as a whole, and with the maintenance of the Imperial connexion. As General Haldimand put it in 1780, "I coincide with the majority of the Legislative Council in considering the Canadians as the people of the country, and think that in making laws, and regulations for the administration of these laws, regard is to be paid to the sentiments and manner of thinking of 60,000 rather than of 2,000, three-fourths of whom are traders and cannot with propriety be considered as residents of the Province."

This policy led to great friction between the Governors and the "old subjects." Sometimes both parties expressed themselves with a freedom too rare in State papers. In a petition to the King asking for the recall of General Murray the Quebec traders say that the Governor "doth frequently treat them with a rage and rudeness of language and demeanour as dishonourable to the trust he holds of Your Majesty as painful to those who suffer from it."

In Murray's Report of 29th. October, 1764, he says, "Little, very little, will content the new subjects, but nothing will satisfy the licentious fanatics trading here but the ex-

pulsion of the Canadians, who are perhaps the bravest and the best race upon the globe; a race who, could they be indulged with a few privileges which the laws of England deny to Roman Catholics at home, would soon get the better of every national antipathy to their conquerors, and become the most faithful and most useful set of men in this American Empire." And after Murray's return to England, in his report to Shelburne of August 20th. 1776, are port which the editors of this volume might well have inserted, the ex-governor uses very strong language to describe the new English settlers. He calls them broadly the most immoral collection of men he had ever known, and says, "Magistrates were made and juries composed from four hundred and fifty contemptible settlers and traders. The judge pitched upon to conciliate the minds of seventy-five thousand foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain was taken from a jail, entirely ignorant of law and of the language of the people."

It is probable that at no period in the history of Canada were legal questions so much discussed among the mass of the population as in the first ten years of the English *régime*. This is not surprising when we consider that the question whether the English or the French law was in force in the Province was one of no little difficulty It was contended with much plausibility that Murray's Ordinances were of no legal validity because, under the King's proclamation, legislative authority in the Province was to be exercised only by the governor with the consent of a council and assembly, and that no assembly had ever been summoned. This is not the place for a discussion of this subject. I prefer the view of those who maintain that the English law was introduced by the proclamation of 1763. The case of Campbell and Hall is sufficient authority for the proposition, that the King had the power without parliament to alter the law of Quebec. It seems to me that the natural construction of the proclamation itself is, that the King intended to introduce the English law there and then. Murray, as Masères says in his very convincing argument, "meant only to erect

and constitute courts of judicature to administer a system of laws already in being, to wit, the laws of England." The whole affair was to a great extent a misunderstanding. The English government had no intention to force the English laws on an unwilling people. They understood that they were giving "Home Rule" to the Province of Quebec, and expected that the Canadians would abrogate such parts of the English law as they did not consider suitable, and would re-enact the portions of the old French law which they desired to retain. They did not foresee that, owing to the impracticability of calling an assembly, the Province would be left without any authority competent to legislate. Upon this matter the letter of Hillsborough of March 6th., 1768, is very instructive, though his explanations cannot, of course, control the legal sense of the Proclamation.

Among the British traders who took an active part in the agitations of this period, it is interesting to notice the name of James McGill. We find him among the signatories to the petitions for a General Assembly in 1770, 1773, 1774, 1785, and to the report of the merchants of Montreal to Lord Dorchester's Committee of 1787, charged to inquire into commercial affairs and police. The chief *desiderata* at that time were, according to the merchants, "a proper 'goal' for the district of Montreal," a "respectable college in this city with able professors," and "the establishing throughout the Province, at proper distances, of public schools for the instruction of youth."

If the merchants of 1908 were called upon to make a report, I do not know that they could name objects calling more urgently for public support than those named by James McGill and his colleagues. The name of James McGill does not appear at the foot of the petition for the repeal of the Quebec Act, though that of his brother and partner, Andrew McGill, is there.

The central point of this period is the Quebec Act of 1774, and the great problem for the historian is the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy to which that act gave effect. Upon this entrancing subject the documents collected in this

volume are full of instruction. The Quebec Act restored the French civil law *in toto*, declared that the Roman Catholics were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, that the clergy might levy tithes on Roman Catholics only, and amended the oath of allegiance so as to make it possible for an honest Roman Catholic to take it. It was in a sense a formal renunciation by the British government of any attempt to anglicize the Province of Quebec. Opinions will always differ as to the wisdom of this step. I am inclined to think that it is an illustration of the maxim that honesty is the best policy. The British government had always professed its desire to protect the laws and institutions of the French Canadians, and the Quebec Act is the final ratification of these promises.

General Haldimand, writing in 1780, says, "It requires but little penetration to discover that, had the system of government solicited by the old subjects been adopted in Canada, this colony would, in 1775, have become one of the United States of America." This seems to be the view of Mr. Garneau and other French Canadian writers, and it is on the face of it extremely plausible.

Mr. Victor Coffin, in his valuable monograph on "The Province of Quebec and the early American Revolution," has presented with considerable force the arguments to the contrary. He strives to show that the French Canadians, so far from being conciliated by the generous treatment they received, did in fact sympathize with the American rebels, and would have joined them even after the Act if they had been approached with reasonable tact. This is one of the "might have beens" which cannot be either proved or disproved.

It is true that the Americans behaved with almost inconceivable stupidity. In their famous proclamation at Philadelphia in 1774, they said of the Quebec Act, "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your Island in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of

the world." It is true that a few days later, in calling on the French Canadians to join them, the Congress at Philadelphia used very different language. In that remarkable *argumentum ad homines*, which might very well have been inserted among our documents, the Americans say, " We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in the cause above all such low-minded infirmities."

The whole address, which is well worth reading, may be found in the first volume of Christie at page 17. A conversion so remarkably sudden was hardly likely to inspire confidence in the Canadians. But with all that, if they had been exasperated instead of conciliated by the Quebec Act, it seems hard to believe that they would not have thrown in their lot with the rebels. They were almost entirely illiterate, and their only leaders were the clergy and the seigneurs. The whole influence of these leaders was exerted to restrain them. They were threatened with excommunication if they joined the Americans. The priest and the seigneurs were vitally interested in maintaining the British connexion. But why? Was it not because the Quebec Act had guaranteed to them the securities for the rights which they most valued? A new republic was not likely to find room for a system so redolent of the old world as the seigniorial system. The Roman Catholic Church could at the best hope for no more from the Americans than bare toleration. Its quasi establishment would inevitably go by the board. And no church which has ever enjoyed tithes can think of them without emotion. There may be a presumption against any act of George the Third and Lord North displaying wisdom; but even foolish persons act wisely at times, and I cannot help thinking that we have an example of this in the Quebec Act. The volume of documents does great credit to its editors, and no serious student of Canadian institutions will in future be able to dispense with it.

F. P. WALTON

PROTECTION AND POLITICS

THE Germans have a proverb which runs: there is no sorrow when there is bread in the house. Applied to a nation, this summary of truth means, there is no political unrest in a country which is prosperous. Canada has enjoyed a long period of unbroken prosperity and political problems have been left to solve themselves. But, in the by no means miraculous event of a series of lean years, there is bound to be an examination of the principles upon which our economic situation is founded, or even a reversal of those principles without sufficient consideration. That has been our experience in the past.

The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866 wrought much hardship to this country. For a series of years before the denunciation of the treaty by the United States, the traffic between the two countries had an average yearly value of seventy-five million dollars. For a corresponding period after the abrogation of the treaty the value of the trade fell to fifty-seven million dollars a year. The aggregate of Canada's foreign trade for the last year in which the treaty was in full force amounted to $160,409,455. The year following it declined to $139,202,615. The loss fell with grievous force upon the agricultural community, which had then no foreign markets but the United States; and there are men yet living who can recall the poverty of those years. The direct result of those "hard times" was the complete overthrow of the Liberal Government and the return of the Conservatives, who proclaimed that they were in possession of a sovereign remedy—Protection.

It is not too early to attempt to forecast the criticism to which the protection of our industries will surely be subjected in the not improbable event of commercial and financial distress.

Indeed, such criticism is already to be heard, not in parliament, it is true; but that is because the politicians are the last men in the world to hear anything. When the public mind begins to work freely, when ideas begin to play, when questions are subjected to examination by men who are intelligent and disinterested, a policy must be well founded in reason, justice, or expediency, if it would resist so relentless a process of thought.

The men in a community who are the most dangerous to the settled order of things are those who have the habit of exercising their minds, of forming opinions, and arriving at conclusions. These men are usually to be found in the professional classes, and it is upon them the present situation bears most hardly. Their salaries are fixed and prices are rising. Wages are stationary or falling, which brings the wage-earners also into the class of the discontented. Many farmers in the West have lost their wheat; and they are not consoled by the knowledge that the price of wheat is enhanced, when they have no wheat to sell, when indeed they are purchasers of wheat for seed and for bread.

It is easy, for example, for a professor in a university to appeal to the facts, and the notion that a professor is, *propter professor*, a fool is not now so commonly held as it used to be. The fact is, that in the United States the cost of the necessities of life has not been so high since the Civil War. According to an investigation undertaken by the Labour Bureau, covering 2,567 families, the average cost for food per family in 1906 was $359.53, against $296.76 in 1896, and against an expenditure of $349.27 in 1905, a difference between 1896 and 1906 of $62.77 or 21.2 per cent. The increase in cost of living in 1906 over the cost in the previous year was something under three per cent.

In Toronto, Professor Mavor has shown that the prices of commodities sold in the markets advanced 50 per cent. between the years 1897 and 1902; and 64 per cent. between 1897 and 1906. In 1907 the increase over 1897 was 67 per cent. He cites specific instances: eggs advanced 67 per cent.; potatoes 62 per cent.; mutton 57 per cent.; lard 50 per cent.; butter 24 per

cent.; clothing 20 per cent.; fuel 24 per cent.; and rent 95 per cent., in ten years.

According to a memorial presented to the Royal Commission by the Civil Servants Association in Ottawa, the cost of living is shown in great detail to have increased by 28 per cent. in 10 years; and the police force in Montreal have demonstrated that in Montreal it has increased by 36 per cent. It is quite true that wages have also increased, but the rate has not been quite so rapid as the rise in the cost of living, as the following dismal reading will show.

An hour's wages in 1906 in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States would purchase only 1.4 per cent. more food than an hour's wages in 1905; and a full week's wages in 1906 would purchase only one per cent. more food than a full week's wages in 1905, whilst the cost of living had increased by three per cent. As compared in each case with the average for the years from 1890 to 1899, the average wages per hour in 1906 were 24.2 per cent. higher, the number of employés in the establishments investigated was 42.9 per cent. greater, and the average hours of labour per week 4.6 per cent. lower. The average earnings per employé per full week in 1906 were only 18.5 per cent. higher than the average earnings per full week during the ten years from 1890 to 1899, whilst the increase in the cost of living was 21.2 per cent. more than in 1896.

This calculation shows that the increase in wages has corresponded pretty closely with the increase in the cost of living. But this was during a period in which employment was fairly constant and the payment of wages continuous. During the present year employment has been difficult to obtain and the total of wages paid has been correspondingly less. Nor does the calculation touch the case of persons with fixed salaries. In Canada the salaries of Chief Clerks in the Civil Service are only 5.55 per cent. higher than they were in 1882, and in the United States there has been no increase since 1880. The same comment will apply generally to professors, physicians, ministers, and clerks.

In former times of depression the price of necessities always declined, but not immediately, after the financial panics by which those periods were ushered in. The financial markets in the United States experienced their heavy stress in 1893, but it was not until three years later that prices of food had fallen to the low level. Indeed it is probable that the rate of decrease will be slower in the present instance, since traders have acquired greater skill in supporting prices by the now familiar process of combination.

When the established order was near its end in France before the Revolution, there were but two alternatives open to the class upon whom it bore so hardly—to eat grass or starve. To men in these days there is the safe middle course of political revolt; and a searching examination of our economic policy can only be postponed by unusually favourable climatic conditions during the approaching seed-time and the more remote harvest. Indeed it is questionable if even the much-to-be-desired good harvest will balk this inquiry.

Until October 23rd, 1907, we were under the delusion that the old order had passed away, and that all things were made anew. Cut off as we are from the stream of history and ignorant of its course, we imagined that we had risen superior to that inexorable law which is contained in the statement that two and two make four. We have found to our cost that this epitome of truth is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, and there are men in gaol to-day for lack of that conviction. These problems which we think are new were all elucidated in the dream of Pharaoh.

The course of events has always been something like this. In times of prosperity loanable capital and credits based upon capital are put into new enterprises, some of which for the time being are profitable. The increase goes on by arithmetical progression. Expenses of operation, interest charges, rate of wages mount upwards, accompanied by waste and extravagance of living. The assets become less and less convertible. Suddenly men discover that there is no more available capital procurable because all the capital is already invested in more

or less permanent form. Then comes disaster. There is nothing new in this. It has always been the finish of every commercial community from Nineveh to New York.

When the inevitable has happened men begin to explain why it occurred. In the United States the soothsayers found an explanation of the recent troubles in the wrong-headedness of the President. That is the practice of all primitive peoples, to attribute an eclipse to the anger of a dragon; an earthquake to the disturbed sleep of a great bird; and a pestilence to the wrath of a god. When the trial comes to us we shall lay it to the charge of our system of protective duties, just as a certain section in England always puts the blame upon Free Trade.

The common argument in favour of Protection is that it develops natural resources, stimulates trade, encourages the investment of capital in new enterprises, and increases the rate of wages, even if it does somewhat increase the cost of production; that it encourages the free spending of money and prevents the hoarding of capital. From Australia comes the newest reading of the formula: "to promote regular employment, to furnish security for the investment of capital in new as well as existing industries, to render stable the conditions of labour, and to prevent the standard of living from being depressed to the level of foreign standards."

If all these allegations be true, it means that the natural causes which lead to disaster are accelerated in their operation under a system of protective duties. A more useful argument in favour of Protection would be that it retards manufacturing and trade; and there is a considerable bulk of evidence in favour of this view of the case. Those who favour the system should develop this new argument against the day when every device will be required for its defence. Yet it will probably occur to their opponents that a less elaborate system than Protection could be devised for the purpose of doing nothing.

It would, I think, be the wiser plan to survey the ground in advance of the contest which sooner or later is bound to occur, to determine if a secure footing cannot be discovered.

The truth is that Protection is a political device, and has not often been adopted consciously as an economic advantage. At times it is a strong weapon of defence, quite apart from its effect upon industrial development. That argument is unanswerable by its opponents; and if they could be persuaded of its political necessity, they might endure cheerfully the hardships which it imposes. Once the eel is convinced of his food-value estimated in calories, he might the more readily assent to the process of being skinned. But he must be well convinced.

So definite a statement of fact will bear some amplification by tracing the causes for the existence of Protection in certain countries in which it is accepted as a cardinal principle. The United States, Germany, France, and Canada will serve for purpose of illustration; and it will be possible in a few paragraphs to set forth that Protection was adopted in all these cases for a sound political reason, and not primarily from commercial considerations. It has happened, however, as so often happens, that the effect is mistaken for the cause, the fish-hook for the fish, as befel the poor man of whom Aristophanes relates the sad history.

Under the Articles of Confederation of 1777, the new Government of the American colonies was declared to be merely "a firm league of friendship." At the end of seven years the French minister was able to report, "There is now in America no general government, neither Congress, nor President, nor head of any one administrative department." This state of affairs continued for five years longer.

A convention was summoned for May 14th, 1787, in Philadelphia, under the presidency of Washington. The convention had scarcely opened before dissension arose between those who favoured the "large state" plan and those who favoured the "small state" plan. The large states had proposed two Houses, based entirely on population. The small states, following the lead of Patterson of New Jersey, contended for a single House elected by equal state vote. The division of opinion was so clear that, in July, the small

states were threatening a concerted withdrawal from the deliberation. The dead-lock lasted until Connecticut suggested a compromise—two Houses, one representing the state in proportion to population, the other giving an equal vote to each state. This compromise prevailed.

It is worth noting that Connecticut alone of all the states had a definite Constitution at that time, which dated from the year 1639, when it was established by the Fundamental Laws. This constitution was drawn up by Thomas Hooker, who claimed that he drew his plan from the rules of government laid down in the first chapter of Deuteronomy. John Cotton, however, alleged the same authority for the model of "Moses His Judicials," which he had made for Massachusetts. A less esoteric exegesis must refer the constitution of Connecticut to the practice of England, inasmuch as it provided for two Houses differently constituted. This then is the genesis of the Constitution of the United States.

The convention adjourned 17th. September, 1787, after having adopted a Constitution, but it yet required the ratification of the several states, and it could not pass into effect until at least nine out of the thirteen had signified assent. It was nearly a year before the Constitution passed from theory into fact, when nine signatories were obtained; yet the contest between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists, the friends and the opponents of the Constitution, continued. By small majorities New York and Virginia ratified, but North Carolina and Rhode Island were still recalcitrant. Then the pressure was applied. The duties imposed on imports from foreign countries were expressly directed to apply to imports from those states. Carolina was brought to terms but Rhode Island was obdurate. A bill was then introduced directing the President to suspend commercial intercourse with the little state. Rhode Island yielded. Thus was Protection born in America.

In the preamble to the first Tariff Act it is affirmed that its object was the protection of domestic manufactures. This was a mere subterfuge. The various states would never have

ratified voluntarily; and secession, which actually did occur in 1861, was always a possibility which every statesman had to keep in mind. To hold the states together, Alexander Hamilton, according to his own showing, appealed to the self-interest of the individuals composing them by the assumption of the state debts, the establishment of a National Bank, and a system of Protection by which a class of manufacturers would be created, dependent for prosperity on the Federal Government. The system worked admirably, and yet remains as the bond which holds together, if not the Government, at least the Republican party.

In Germany the principle of Protection was adopted for a precisely similar reason, to secure the interest of an interested class. Hamilton appealed to the manufacturers. Bismarck appealed to feudal and agricultural interests. Besides, Bismarck needed the money to relieve the penury of the Imperial treasury. His object was to keep intact the force which he had created, and he had no thought of either commercial or colonial expansion. "I was not born a Colonial," he said. In 1879, in presenting his case before the Reichstag, the Chancellor protested that he was not actuated, "through any desire to assist certain branches of industry by means of tariffs and duties."

In France the retention of the protective system is due entirely to other considerations which have their origin in peculiarities of the national character and in national necessity. The French have a way of doing things to suit themselves. They accept the fact that their trade is decreasing, yet they are able to procure such necessities as they require for the living of their own life. The Government thinks it well that the people shall eat certain food, wear certain clothing, and live in a certain style. In the main this way of living is good, and they do not propose to accommodate it to the changed situation which would arise from the free flow of foreign goods into their market. The argument is frank, logical, and intelligible.

Canada was face to face with a curious situation after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866. Commerce was violently dislocated and a bitter cry went up for annexation to the United States. This contingency was in the minds of those who denounced the treaty. There was nothing foreign in the idea. Article II. of the original Articles of Confederation reads, "Canada, acceding to the Confederation, and joining in the new measures of the United States shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union." The Canadian statesmen, led by Macdonald, faced the situation boldly. They replied by the enactment of a policy of Protection which had in it a certain justification for being characterized as National. The scattered colonies which fringed the northern border of the United States were driven together by a community of interest which in time developed into that community of sentiment which now prevails.

The value of Protection as a political measure is quite apart from its effect upon manufacture and trade. The industrial development of Germany originated quite independently of Protection. It began in 1870 and has continued to this day, though distinctly protective duties were not in force until 1879. In 1885 a Parliamentary Commission was created in England to enquire into all matters pertaining to commerce. It sat from August, 1885, till December 1886, and took the evidence of every person who might be supposed to possess any information upon the subject and of many who could not possibly know anything. In the first report the Commission declared that the Germans "gain ground on us by means of their superior acquaintance with the markets, their desire to subordinate their own taste to that of the customer, their fixed intent to obtain a footing everywhere, and their tenacity in keeping what they have once gained." (Blue Book C. 4893, p. xx.) No mention whatever was made in the report of any advantage which the protective tariff gave, although the Commission was pressed in many ways to make the admission.

The success of Germany is due, the Commission reported, not to its system of Protection but to its system of education, to German thoroughness, energy, experience, self-reliance, and attention to the minutest details. I am not saying that this is a good thing for the nation. On the contrary I think it is a bad thing. In forty years Germany has lost her preeminence in the world of thought and imagination; but that is the price which every nation pays for commercial supremacy.

The industrial development of the United States is due in reality to the richness of their natural resources. Indeed that country affords an example of the internal results of Free Trade and the external results of Protection. Their commerce has succeeded within their borders; but their flag has been driven from the high seas. The reason for this is, that the moment commerce ventures beyond the three mile limit it is beyond the protection of the tariff and is in competition with the world's carriers. American workers are accustomed to high wages ashore and will not accept less afloat. Therefore American shipping, with its increased first cost, cannot compete with foreign shipping except in times of prolonged commercial depression. To complete an analogy which would be instructive to us in Canada, we should imagine a system which protected Pennsylvania against New York, each one of which states contains a population larger than exists in the whole of Canada, and in a much more concentrated form.

By a confusion of thought all duties upon imports, be they high or low, are classed as protective. In 1902 England exacted a duty of a shilling the quarter on corn and fifteen pence on flour; and yet no one assumed that Protection had triumphed. The same remark applies to the duties upon wines, spirits, tobacco, and silver plate. The average of the customs duties levied upon goods entering England is five per cent.; in Germany it is nine per cent.; in Canada 16 per cent.; in the United States 19 per cent. There would seem to be a point at which duties become protective, though that

point varies in different countries and even on different articles in the same country. Below this level—it is five per cent. in England—a revenue may be obtained comfortably. Above this level, as in the United States, a new situation is created.

It is therefore not a question between Free Trade and Protection, but between duties of one height and of another. What this level shall be is determined by a variety of considerations. In the United States the consideration is the protection of an interested class. In Canada the conduct of rival communities is taken into account and preferences are given in exchange for like favours. In Germany also Bismarck's policy of frank Protection which had been in operation since 1879 gave way in 1892 to a policy of arrangement. In the latter year the new Chancellor laid before the Reichstag the alternative proposal. In presenting the new order he said, "Now that our industry has grown, our principal preoccupation must be to find outlets for it and obtain on the most favourable terms possible raw materials in exchange for our manufactured products. It is by no means impossible to conclude commercial treaties. Such treaties are even the means of maintaining a fair *quantum* of Protection, and so avoiding that deplorable uncertainty which leaves to all European States, unrestrained within contractual limits, the too absolute latitude of vieing disastrously with one another in a mad course along the way of Protection."

What von Buelow meant was that Germany intended to maintain her schedule but would endeavour to induce other countries not to increase their duties. In fact the German tariff stands to-day substantially where it did in 1892, for once a policy is established it is extremely hard to dislodge it, as those persons in England who call themselves Tariff Reformers are finding out. However, if they do not succeed in imposing duties in their own country, they have by their talk alone put an effective stop to the further imposition of duties against their goods in other countries. In the United States to-day the extremest Protectionist is satisfied if he is allowed

to "stand pat." More talk in England for foreign consumption would do good.

At the present moment in the United States—and in Canada also—the "stand patters" would do well to recite the liturgy of their arguments. A protective system makes for stability of government, or rather, for the stability of a party. The relations of political affairs have grown so complicated in all democratic communities that they are adjusted by an expedient known as a "machine," and free men appear to be unable to conduct those affairs in any other way. The first duty of the managers of the machine is to keep in sympathy with the protected interests. The first law of business is to get into relation with the machine. An increase of one per cent. in the duty, upon an article would, in the case of a manufacturer producing a million dollars' worth a year, amount to a considerable sum; and yet it "would not be felt" by the consumer. The mere suggestion of a diminution of five per cent. in the duty which "would be much appreciated by the consumer," would bring all but the most recalcitrant manufacturer to a realization of the advantages of the system. In England, where this incentive to stability does not exist, political parties are changing at the mere whim of the people. In the United States the Republican party has been in power for forty out of the last forty-eight years. In Canada the Liberals have ruled for 12 years and the Conservatives for 18 years before that. In England there have been since 1867 nine changes of Ministry.

Protection also makes for the organization of industry whereby steady work is secured. These large combinations of capital, known as "trusts," ensure "stability of price," and prevent the pernicious practice of underselling. The late Mr. Havemeyer, who was being examined in connexion with a transaction by which fifty thousand dollars was donated to the managers of both parties impartially, declared in his evidence that the tariff was the mother of all the trusts. By the easy argument that the part is greater than the whole, self-interest has been expanded into "patriotism." In this

way the splendid patriotism of the United States has been created, and its beginnings go back to the days of Alexander Hamilton.

But there is a justification even more profound for a protective system in a democratic community. We may admit at once that all men are born equal, inasmuch as all men are conceived in iniquity and born in sin. To preserve the fiction that all men continue on the same plane of equality is an essential of democratic government. This is done by the device of preserving an appearance of equality in deportment, dress, manner of living, ideas, and speech. It is conceivable that, in an old-world community which suffers from an aristocratic government, a poor man might be invited to a rich house where he would suffer the bitterness of seeing portraits upon the walls, silver upon the table, and Turkey rugs upon the floor. By centuries of oppression he might be sufficiently poor-spirited to enjoy the contemplation of these objects with never a glimmering that his manhood was outraged because he did not possess such treasures. This diversity of possession is hostile to the spirit of a free community. If a man cannot attain to these marks of greatness, he must have within his reach something which at least resembles them. Accordingly a spirit of imitation is created, and in the end all men look alike, dress alike, live in the same kind of houses, and think alike, which means that they do not think at all. A protective system keeps in operation the full machinery for producing these objects of imitation, by which all men are persuaded that, if they are not in reality equal, they are very nearly alike.

A nation cannot endure without an aristocracy of some kind. In many countries there is an aristocracy made so by birth. In others there is an aristocracy of intellect. Failing these, an aristocracy of wealth will do, and such select body is created by Protection, composed of "merchant princes," "copper kings," and "iron magnates," who withdraw the common mind from a contemplation of the baser life. Their conduct in public places stimulates the imagination. It gives

a glamour to the criminal courts. Their success arouses in the meanest an emulation to rise to an equal greatness. No toiler need despair. One day he may sit and spend with the great ones, and no creature of the pavement is so low that she may not consider herself worthy to become his consort, as the newspapers will say. Thus is established the eternal truth that all men are free and equal.

Competition is the life of trade but the death of the trader. Protection restrains competition and so saves the trader alive. The enemy within his gates is easily disposed of by combine, trust, or gentlemen's agreement. The enemy on the outside is kept in his place by a thirty-five per cent. tariff against him. The stranger may have better and cheaper goods, made so by natural advantage, by honesty in his nature, intelligence in his conduct, and industry in his business. But this avails nothing to those who would buy of him, since to admit his goods would be to put the native and patriotic competitor to the labour of acquiring the characteristics of honesty, intelligence, and industry.

This "interested class" had descended into that profundity of cynicism in which they believed that this condition of complacency would endure forever, and the twenty-third of October found them entirely unprepared for the revelation that the deeper convictions and the conscience of the people had not been dead but only asleep. Their present attitude is one of expectancy until these uneasy stirrings of the moral nature of the community shall have subsided.

And yet, it may well be doubted that these arguments for Protection will prevail in face of the judgement of President Roosevelt upon the conduct of this interested class. In his situation he must have some first-hand knowledge of the thing of which he speaks. In a message to Congress in February, 1908, he affirms that, "every measure for honesty in business that has been passed during the last six years has been opposed by these men on its passage and in its administration with every resource that bitter and unscrupulous craft could suggest and the command of almost unlimited money secure.

The methods by which those engaged in combinations have achieved great fortunes can only be justified by the advocacy of a system of morality which would also justify every form of criminality on the part of a labour union, and every form of violence, corruption, and fraud, from murder to bribery and ballot-box stuffing in politics. . . . Their wealth has been accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-workers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities."

You may persuade the consumer that he does not pay the tax; that internal competition will regulate prices; that trusts and combines lead to efficiency and a consequent cheapening of production; that the money which circulates in the home market is more desirable than money which comes from the foreigner; that a tax which is paid to a manufacturer is as useful to the community as if it were paid into the exchequer; that it is well to buy dear—and yet, if his moral sense is outraged; if he becomes convinced that the doing of these things leads to corruption of public life, the degradation of Parliament, the debasement of the law-courts, the debauching of society, then he will calmly ignore these excellent arguments and declare that industrial excitement may be purchased at too high a price, and that prosperity has turned to disaster. This condition of unrest is fatal to industry which must have a basis of permanency. For example, the manufacture of steel is a precarious business when the system under which it is protected may be destroyed by the moral delinquencies of a person who is engaged in it.

Strong as these arguments are in favour of Protection, manufacturers in Canada also are beginning to suspect that the people at large will not be influenced by them forever. The world is not governed by argument when moral issues are involved. They see what is happening in certain communities which enjoy the ineffable blessings of Protection—legislators bought as one would buy a drove of swine, men who have grown rich under Protection divorcing the wives

of their poorer days and publicly consorting with harlots, their sons committing murder in public places with impunity. Corruption of public life and the degradation of society to a condition of savagery is—so runs the feeling—too high a price for the people to pay for the enrichment of an interested class.

Until Canadian manufacturers are convinced that Protection of some kind will endure for ever or at least for forty years, they can have no success in any industry which is other than indigenous to the country. Sir William Van Horne, above all others, should understand these matters. In an interview in the *Standard*, January 25th, 1908, he affirms that industry cannot develop under a tariff which is liable to be suddenly changed. He urges that duties should be decreased at stated periods until a uniform ten per cent. limit is reached. "If then," he said, "the manufacturer, on a ten per cent. basis, could not "make good," it might be assumed that the particular manufacture was not indigenous to the country, and would have to perish."

We should now be pretty well assured that Protection is a political device, that at times it may be a valuable weapon of defence, rarely a commercial necessity, and not often an advantage to the community as a whole. These facts should be well apprehended, since the adoption of a protective system is the means by which it is proposed to bind more closely the various portions of the Empire to which we belong. The basis of Protection has always lain in the establishment of an interested class. In Germany, it was the agrarian and feudal interests which were appealed to. In the United States and Canada the manufacturers were set apart. In England also it is the manufacturers whose self-interest is solicited. If those who live near the soil were to be benefited that would be a valid argument, because they are in a bad case, and it has always been the hardy Saxon peasants who saved England in her last extremity. But it would appear that only the manufacturers and their employés are in reality "Canadians"

and "the people of England." That is the fallacy into which the nine tailors of Tooley Street fell.

To professed Free-Traders there may come a time when they are willing to assent to a measure of Protection. Mr. Cobden did not hesitate to make a treaty of reciprocity with France, and Mr. Bright did not hesitate to approve of his action. Even Adam Smith advocated retaliation under certain conditions and he gave support to the Navigation Laws.

At the present moment it may possibly be that there are political circumstances in England which might justify the adoption of a protective tariff and Free Trade within the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain thinks there are. In a speech delivered at Newcastle, October 20th, 1903, he said, "I think that without preferential tariffs we will not keep the Empire together;" and again, "You cannot draw closer the bonds that now unite it, except by some form of commercial union." And yet, in a speech delivered at West Birmingham, May 15th, 1903, he said, "We have had a war, a war in which the majority of our children abroad had no apparent direct interest, and yet at one time during this war, by their voluntary decision, at least 50,000 Colonial soldiers were standing shoulder to shoulder with British troops, displaying a gallantry equal to their own, and keenest intelligence." Such a state of affairs must appear to be fairly satisfactory, and it is a matter of common knowledge that, since those events, the bonds have been drawn closer by the simple device of knowing each other better, and developing a mutual respect and affection. Indeed it is entirely questionable if the most cunningly devised tariff would induce 50,000 swords "to leap from their scabbards" as the saying is. A patriotism which is based on trade does not fight; it pays—in the same way as a coward hires a bully, as the Greek colonies hired Attica after Salamis, and a century afterwards turned upon her and rent her in pieces.

The clamour for Protection in England is based upon that fiction dear to the English mind that "the country is going

to the dogs." And yet the Board of Trade Returns for the year 1907 show an increase in imports, exports, and re-exports of near a hundred millions sterling over those of the previous year. In Berlin, at the same moment, where such things should not happen, the people were demanding in riotous assemblages that the duties on the necessities of life be removed. In the United States there were at the end of the year three million men out of employment. In Chicago alone, according to the Association of Commerce, there were eighty thousand unemployed; and in New York, during the month of December, five thousand applicants for admission to the army were refused at the nine recruiting stations.

There is a class of mind to which the name Retaliation is dear. It has a considerable sound. If Empire is Commerce, as Mr. Chamberlain asserted on another occasion, Retaliation may do very well. But the British Empire has attained to a considerable bulk by quite the contrary method. In the last thirty years its borders have extended by four million square miles, including a population of 128 million persons. This progress has been almost entirely unopposed, because all the world knew that trade would be carried on in those regions without reference to any real or supposed advantage which might accrue to England as a nation—without Retaliation, without Protection.

But the greatest feat of England in Empire-building since 1759 is that, during the past twenty years, she has won back her colonies by the cords of affection alone, not by Preferences within nor by Retaliation without. Now England may say, " What I spent, I had: What I saved, I lost: What I gave, I have." There is that scattereth and yet increaseth.

ANDREW MACPHAIL

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

He loved our Country. In the court of kings,
  Paris or Fontainebleau, wherever turned
His honoured ways, in pomp and fret of things,
  In mart or street or cloister, ever yearned
His errant soul o'er wastes of sundering foam
  For these wide skies, this fenceless liberty
  Of wood and wave. Old mounds of Brittany
Were not for him; here lay his last long home.
Here lay our Corner-Stone. Lulled at his birth
  By wild Atlantic thundering from the West,
He loved the sea-thrall. On the dust of Earth
  Blown mists would seem to sting his eyes; in rest
He dreamt of iron coasts, sheer walls of fog
That broke in argent. By the burning log
He smelt the breath of pines that blackly loom
  On flaming compact of the sunset clouds
  Piling the mountains, where white winter shrouds
Dumb waters in a solitary gloom.

So dreamed he, and with spring his fantasy
Was winged to see the unfettered land rejoice,
Roused as a giant; to hear the myriad voice,
A noise of waters hurrying to the sea,
The snow-fed torrent's heavy plunging spray,
The duller rumble where the ice grew worn,
The swift continuous dropping all the day,
The gurgle of the tundras. Many a morn
He heard the crash of hurtling stalactite
Shivering to atoms: in the sharp sunlight
The first wild geese came honking up the vale,
Again the Red Man called him, and the trail
Threading the labyrinthine forest through
To the sudden lake. He saw through city bars
Slow-dipping paddles of the birch canoe
Spill silver on the silver shining stars
Reflected overside. Still called the wind,
Luring him further, further yet again,
To pierce the serried ranges or to find
The mystery of the illimitable plain.

Beneath the chestnut avenues at noon
There came a vision of a white cold moon
Above a dark and frowning cliff. Thrice called
He came, he built his fort, his palisade,
Between the waters and that dark cliff, walled,
And sowed a nation where his bones are laid.

W. P. Osborne

ENGLISH POETRY SINCE TENNYSON

THE man of science has one notable advantage over the poet. His inheritance is of short date, but it has accumulated at compound interest. He begins to build upon the highest achievement of his predecessors. A Darwin, a Pasteur, a Curie, give him his sure foundations, to which every hodman of science may add his stone. If it is dislodged a thousand more are there to take its place. By sheer accumulation, therefore, a mighty edifice is raised, which must bulk ever more huge in the eyes of coming generations.

The timid lover of poetry reflecting on the infinite quarries from which science draws its material, and on the limited range of poetic themes, despairs for the future of his art. Here no man can build upon his neighbour's foundation. A *Divina Commedia* in one generation does not imply a greater *Divina Commedia* in the next. Keats abandons *Hyperion* because the *Paradise Lost* was written. A literary type, the Sophoclean tragedy, ripens to perfection and wholly dies away. A succeeding age may imitate, it cannot reproduce a vanished mode. The poetic imagination is a new birth from individual to individual, and every age must fashion for itself its own imaginative life. Thus halting is the faith of the timid lover of poetry.

But the past is not utterly dead, and it is a gospel of pessimism which prophesies our poetic doom. Unobserved by the vulgar mind a hidden stream of imaginative energy flows down the ages. The impalpable air is alive to the subtle sense with yearning and hope and vision which are the poet's inheritance. The poet's mind is the converging point of past and present and future, and we do not need to read the mystics to be assured that intellectual energies are never

wasted. Keats wrote to his brother in America: "I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone, than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me....According to my state of mind, I am with Achilles shouting in the trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily, or throw my whole being into Troilus, and, repeating those lines, 'I wander like a lost soul upon the Stygian bank, staying for waftage,' I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate, that I am content to be alone."

The scientific inheritance is measured in terms of tangible result, the poetical inheritance is shadowy by comparison—mere phantasms of the mind. But we must not minimize the value of poetical influences. A great poet shows an equipoise of forces. On the one hand there is the action upon him of the pre-existing intellectual energies that have gone to the shaping of his mind, and the constant pressure of his immediate environment, on the other hand the reaction of his personality upon these forces. The measure of the poet's capacity may be gauged by his ability to absorb a vast sum of influences external to himself, and the measure of his originality may be gauged by his power to react upon these influences and to impress his personal view of life upon his own time and upon succeeding times.

In Tennyson we do not find the perfect equipoise that constitutes the pre-eminently great poet. In him the assimilative power was developed in excess, and it is for this reason that he is in such an absolute sense a representative poet of the Victorian period, and in a lesser though no inconsiderable degree a representative poet of his race. We see mirrored in him the scientific exaltation and the religious doubts which divided the middle years of his century, and he reflects with equal clearness the political sagacity and the temperate wisdom of the Anglo-Saxon mind. By his limitations Tennyson is intensely English. His wisdom loses its temperate quality and passes into petulance only at the contemplation of generous ardours that were alien to his genius. His poetry is

rarely capable of that fine mounting rapture which springs from temperamental excess, the rapture which gave wings to Shelley's verse, and from which Byron's most ragged rhetoric derives its vigour. Tennyson is by preference a dweller in the valleys where the keen breath of dangerous ideals is tempered. Tenaciously orthodox, he has given us no new code of morals, and no new code of belief, but he has reinforced with unwonted power and beauty the timid and traditional ideals of our race. This moderation, this spirit of not ignoble compromise are consistent with a certain dignity and strength,—may indeed contribute to it,—but to be a leader of thought in one's own age, and an inspiration for the ages which follow, there is needed an intellectual strenuousness, a fine intoxication with ideals, which are surely the two things which are most lacking in Tennyson's poetry.

Fifty years hence there will be among our poets no Tennysonian in the sense in which we say that Matthew Arnold was a Wordsworthian. He had not that passion for ideas which, even when those ideas are most illusory, makes Shelley's poetry (*pace* Matthew Arnold) so stimulating intellectually. Will the purely æsthetic influence of the octogenarian poet and peer surpass that of Keats whose work was done at twenty-four? We need not hold the answer in suspense, for better than the best of Tennyson already is in Keats. Tennyson's style is a richly distilled composite,—honey from many climes. Something of the organ tones of Milton he has, something of the piercing sweetness of Shelley, the grave simplicity of Wordsworth, the luxuriousness of Keats. But the poets of the future will still turn to Milton for sublimity, to Shelley for the wayward haunting music of his rhythms, to Wordsworth for simplicity plus a meaning, and for concentrated richness of phrase to Keats. And the philosophers and sociologists of the future, who care nothing for mere style, seeking to formulate the spiritual temper of the Victorian age will count Tennyson for much, but from Arnold they will gain a subtler insight into the curious hesitancies of the period, its ebbing faiths and its flowing doubts,

a robuster formulation of its creed of hope in Browning, and essentially a saner equation of faith and reason in a poet to whom Browning must yield alike in obscurity and depth of thought, George Meredith.

A poet so overwhelmingly popular as Tennyson lies under suspicion of shallowness. This word applied to him would be an impertinence. He is the greatest English poet who was ever widely popular in his life-time, and I say this remembering even Byron, and not wholly forgetting Burns. His death closed a great epoch which Browning and Tennyson commanded, and in which Rossetti, Arnold, Morris, Swinburne, Patmore and Meredith moved with power scarcely less commanding. The year 1892 found us then in the trough of the wave. Swinburne, Morris, Meredith and Patmore still lived, but their vital work was done. Bridges and Henley were in full song, but artistic as is the work of the former, and however vigorous the genius of the latter, there was not in them the performance or the promise of really great achievement. No one noticed the *Wanderings of Oisin* of 1888, and the *Barrack Room Ballads* of 1892 did not suggest to many persons that a new chapter of English poetry had begun.

In these two books we now know that two rival armies met in battle. Kipling has gained a stormy popularity. Yeats is still caviare to the general. The one plays a kettle-drum in the public square; the other breathes into a flute in the hushed forest. It will be not unprofitable to review their work for the sharp contrast which such a review affords. It is the age-long conflict again renewed between the idealist and the realist. Sometimes this has been a conflict within a single breast, in which case there is not always dissonance between the warring elements. The temper of the poetries of Keats and Wordsworth is prevailingly ideal, the principle of beauty governing the one, and beauty subdued to the service of moral truth being the master passion of the other. Yet both are distinguished for their realism. In our present instance we see rather one camp set over against the other, each on its hill-top with a deep valley between. Kipling's work reveals

the minimum of idealism, unless we count as such his worship of energy, which is but little better as he views it than a god of brawn and muscle. Yeats and his Irish following are such intractable idealists that their mysticism revolts from a materialism so unobtrusive as that even of Tennyson, and finds its spiritual affinities in the ghostly abstractions of Blake and among the fairy divinities of their country's mythology. In Kipling's verse we seem to hear the whir of the machinery that moves the world. But there are poets now living whose ears are strained to catch a subtler harmony, whose eyes are not dazzled by the glamour of commerce, whose hearts are dead to temporal pomps and shows. They pursue their imperishable dreams, and seek to touch the hem upon the robe of Beauty as she vanishes over the world.

Addition and subtraction, multiplication and division, such is the task of the critic. Even if he does his sum correctly the next generation too frequently alters the integers, and new values necessitate a new solution. In attempting to strike a balance between positive qualities and positive or negative defects I would not be understood as criticizing Kipling, because he lacks the subtle delicacy of Yeats, nor the latter for his insensibility to the imperial enthusiasms which inspire the English poet's verse. Is it a reasonable hope that we may view the work of each in relation to some standard that will not shift like a fickle vane when the wind changes from north to south? Poetry has been long enough written in England that we should recognize some of its governing principles. Rimed wit and eloquence of the Popean kind appeal immeasurably less to our æsthetic sense than an ode of Keats. In the *Ode to Autumn*, for example, qualities of harmony and imagination are united to a severe poetical logic with so triumphant a result as to convince us that harmony and imagination intellectually controlled lie beneath all great poetry. These qualities at the least must be present, add to them what you will. Subtract them, and no addition will furnish forth a poet.

Now in so far as Mr. Kipling is a poet he is not wholly destitute of harmony or imagination. But in each of these qualities he is palpably inferior to Mr. Yeats. His rhythms are forcible but declamatory, and there is no subtle magic in his phrases. They enclose no mystery, open no imaginative vista save for the sportsman and the politician. In their ranks he counts his recruits, and great is his reward. Was ever poetry so concrete, so cruelly clear?

But my present quest is in search of new developments in English poetry, and whether one approves or not the general direction of Kipling's work, one must pay an ungrudging tribute to his originality. Let us consider what he has done. He has introduced into poetry an appeal to the primitive nature sentiment which descends to us from the times when the hunter man went forth to get him his daily food. He does not employ nature like other poets as a storehouse for beautiful imagery, and there is nothing noteworthy about his descriptions save their vividness. They are bitten upon our minds as an image is bitten by acid upon the etcher's plate. It is not to be assumed that Kipling is alone among contemporary poets in his sentiment of wild life. The academic poets show no trace of it, but our Canadian poets have it abundantly, and the sentiment in its less genuine form goes back in modern literature to Byron and Rousseau. But there is nothing in Kipling of the merely literary tradition. When I read "*The Feet of the Young Men,*" as I never can refrain from doing at this season of the year when the Red Gods sound their call, I cannot discover in the poem the remotest hint of a literary influence. It rests directly upon the primitive, hunting, slaying instinct in our blood, which centuries of civilization have been powerless to annul:

Now the Four-way Lodge is opened, now the Hunting Winds are loose—
Now the smokes of Spring go up to clear the brain ;
Now the Young Men's hearts are troubled for the whisper of the Trues,
Now the Red Gods make their medicine again !
Who hath seen the beaver busied ? Who hath watched the black-tail
mating ?
Who hath lain alone to hear the wild goose cry ?
Who hath worked the chosen water where the ouananiche is waiting,
Or the sea-trout's jumping crazy for the fly ?

He must go-go-go away from here!
On the other side the world he's overdue.
'Send your road is clear before you when the old Spring-fret comes o'er
you
And the Red Gods call for you!

What modern verses have such tonic quality? They have in them the trumpet-call of Chevy Chase.

Do you know the blackened timber—do you know that racing stream
With the raw, right-angled log-jam at the end;
And the bar of sun-warmed shingle where a man may bask and dream
To the click of shod canoe-poles round the bend?
It is there that we are going with our rods and reels and traces,
To a silent, smoky Indian that we know—
To a couch of new-pulled hemlock with the star-light in our faces,
For the Red Gods call us out and we must go!

Reading such verses, so bracingly true to the stirring fact, yet withal so genuinely poetic, one becomes momentarily impatient of mere æsthetic beauties.

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burned the topless towers of Ilium—

comes after all less intimately home to the common son of Adam than that

"couch of new-pulled hemlock with the star-light in our faces—"

* * *

Kipling's ocean too is a wonderful thing. Other poets convey beyond comparison a fuller sense of its beauty. No other poet save Hugo conveys a stronger impression of its mystery, or a more terrifying impression of its strength. And the sea for Kipling is not a waste of empty desolation. Here the creature man has made his habitation, and pits his courage and his cunning against a foe never wholly mastered, and lovable even in its wrath. You remember how the souls of the jolly, jolly mariners proclaimed:

If we worked the ship together
Till she foundered in foul weather,
Are we babes that we should clamour for a vengeance on the sea?

And the sweaty, grimy stokers and sailors of the *Bolivar*, do they not afford a new aspect of those that go down to the sea in ships? Are they not, and their brothers of the land, the vast upheaval into modern poetry of the half-slumbering volcano fires of democracy? With them vanish reserve, dignity, and the formerly prescribed decencies of art; with them disappear the ideals of the spirit, and in their stead arise the baser ideals of the flesh,the apotheosis of physical courage, the consecration of animal strength. Yet these swearing, tearing, fighting soldiers and sailors for all their ugliness impose themselves upon our imagination. Their creator has seen them, lived with them, and loved them; and it is because he has seen the nobility behind the grime that he has painted them as they are with no attenuation of their vices, and assuredly with no exaggeration of their virtues. They are ugly, no doubt, but they have the value in art of all things that are completely realized and characteristically presented.

* * *

The transition is abrupt from the brawn and muscle of Kipling to the shrinking delicacy of Yeats, from the trumpet blast of the triumphant Saxon to the melodious wailing of the disinherited Celt. This, however, is the gulf which we must cross, or remain in ignorance of the most interesting aspect of contemporary poetry.

The history of the Celt is a history of material defeats and spiritual triumphs. He is scattered at the dawn of history in Central Europe, he is crushed in Gaul, in Britain the remote lordship of the Roman is exchanged for the unendurable and immediate yoke of the barbarian, and the remnants of a proud race now cling to the western fringes of a continent from which they have been dispossessed, feeding their pigs and pursuing their imperishable dreams. A scattered few passed over in the fifth century to Armorica, in order to found a new Brittany, and establish there a rallying point for what was left in Gaul of the old Celtic civilization. A negligible factor in the practical affairs of the world, it was nevertheless these

dreamers of dreams who fashioned the imaginative life of Europe for centuries, and to whom the modern world is still in debt for all that yet remains vital of the legends of Cornwall, Wales and Brittany.

The Celts of Ireland and of Scotland have not as yet succeeded in moulding the imagination of Europe, although their capabilities of doing so are attested by the astonishing popularity of the spurious eighteenth century *Ossian*. But this failure to achieve the intellectual conquest of Europe is not due to any lack of power in the imaginative records of their race. Rather do I think that these records excel in point of beauty and in power the remains of Welsh and Breton traditions. The evident reason for the solitary eminence of these latter is the isolation from the tenth century onwards of the Irish and Scottish civilizations. The Welsh and Breton traditions, on the contrary, were caught up into the general current of European thought, for the minstrels of Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales alone were heard in the courts and castles of England and France. It was from their records, therefore, that Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth compiled the fabulous history of Arthur which dominated the imagination of the Middle Ages, and still binds us with its magic.

At this late date a new literary revival is upon us, deriving its energy from the renewal of intellectual life in Ireland. Much has been written of this new birth, scoffingly from the outside, and with single-eyed enthusiasm from within. A swarm of books and pamphlets exists for our instruction, and the matter is important enough to justify me in appending a note to this paper enumerating the books and articles which it is most necessary for the curious to read. Let us in remote Canada imagine ourselves in the position of the Irish of to-day. We are not Fenians here, but we have a rooted love of liberty. We recognize defects in the Irish temper, but we know how that temper has been rasped on the file of arrogance and ignorant contempt. Ireland's sons and daughters had left her shores by the scores of thousands, her commerce was dying of inanition, her traditions were ebbing with her lan-

guage, and with these traditions were bound up her intellectual inheritance, an inheritance whose value scholars first and poets in their train have revealed to us. Parnellism brought no healing, but served merely to irritate the old scars. To Parnellism the Gaelic League has succeeded, and Ireland has roused herself as from a hag-ridden sleep. What politics may lie behind the operations of this Gaelic League I am unable to say. Home Rule is probably its goal, but its immediate labours at least are non-political. Its avowed purpose is to stimulate the Celtic pride of race, to foster industry and agriculture, and to create that seemingly chimerical thing—a happy and prosperous Ireland. We can but wish it God-speed in such an enterprise. The first-named purpose more especially bears upon our inquiry. Canada, and be it said in no contemptuous spirit, is raw and new. We complacently possess ourselves of the future because we can boast no past. Our good forefathers cut down trees, made roads (execrable roads), and shouldered their muskets when need was. They did and made these things, but ideas they never made. A sponge might be wiped over the surface of Canada, and intellectually the world would be hardly the poorer. Our potentialities it would be folly to deny, and our immense pent-up vitality will some day find other outlets than in the mere building of bridges and driving of spikes. This at least is our hope. With Ireland the case is different. Bankrupt in the present, she now learns that she has a past. For centuries her intellect has been a mere asset in Britain's ledger. Irish writers have been contented to be lesser English poets or novelists. But now, whether their medium is the native speech, or the speech of England, these writers have at last something distinctive to say, and something distinguished. The return to the national past prepared the great modern era in the literatures of England, France and Germany, and in these movements be it remembered the inspiration of the past implied no surrender of originality. In these countries this impulse is now exhausted. In Ireland the contact with old tradition is a fresh and vital thing, and if the enthusiasm

born of this contact is sanely directed the results for literature will be significant.

Much responsibility for success or failure rests with Mr. Yeats, whom I inevitably choose for his prominence as the representative Anglo-Celtic poet. Fortunately for English literature Mr. Yeats has never mastered his country's speech, and is compelled to employ the language of the dreadful Sassenach. But he compensates himself for this concession by making our vocables sing a new tune and reveal meanings which only the initiated will apprehend. For Yeats is steeped in mysticism, and his genius owes its intensity and its purity to the narrowness of his vision. His is not one of those full-orbed minds which can love at once the things of the world and the things of the spirit. For him, as for William Blake, reconciliation is impossible. The tangible realities which we pursue are shadows, the visions which the mind projects alone are real. King Goll in the din of battle hears an inner voice which comes to him like the murmur of fluttering leaves. He casts aside his crown, and in his madness reaches wisdom:

> And now I wander in the woods
> When summer gluts the golden bees,
> Or in autumnal solitudes
> Arise the leopard-coloured trees;
> Or when along the wintry strands
> The cormorants shiver on their rocks;
> I wander on, and wave my hands,
> And sing, and shake my heavy locks.
> The gray wolf knows me; by one ear
> I lead along the woodland deer;
> The hares run by me growing bold.
> *They will not hush, the leaves a-flutter round me,*
> *the beech-leaves old.*

The Shadowy Waters puts the symbol of divorce from the world in another way, and still more exquisitely. At the close Forgael and Dectora drift alone on desolate seas. The rope which binds them to the homeward-sailing ship is severed. The sailors return to the ale-cup and the wine, and to treasures

which may be spent. The lovers have only the world of inward vision which suffices:

Dectora—The sword is in the rope—
The rope's in two—it falls into the sea,
It whirls into the foam. O ancient worm,
Dragon that loved the world and held us to it,
You are broken, you are broken. The world drifts away,
And I am left alone with my beloved,
Who cannot put me from his sight forever.
We are alone for ever, and I laugh,
Forgael, because you cannot put me from you.
The mist has covered the heavens, and you and I
Shall be alone for ever. We two—this crown—
I half remember it has been in my dreams,
Bend lower, O King, that I may crown you with it.
O flower of the branch, O bird among the leaves,
O silver fish that my two hands have taken
Out of the running stream, O morning star,
Trembling in the blue heavens like a white fawn
Upon the misty border of the wood,
Bend lower that I may cover you with my hair,
For he will gaze upon this world no longer.

Forgael [*gathering Dectora's hair about him*]—
Beloved, having dragged the net about us,
And knitted mesh to mesh, we grow immortal;
And that old harp awakens of itself
To cry aloud to the grey birds, and dreams,
That have had dreams for fathers, live in us.

This is exquisite poetry, and conveys to those who are prepared a no less exquisite meaning. To many it will prove mere moonshine madness, and their impatience will not grow less when in other poems they encounter a hound with one red ear pursuing a white deer without horns through impossible regions for a purpose not specified. Mr. Yeats has counted the cost of his obscurity, and has wilfully cut himself off from the great mass of the readers of poetry. But his symbolism once mastered has no terrors, and much of his alleged obscurity lies with the reader who is unfamiliar with the body of traditional symbols which the older literature had elaborated, and from which the modern practical world has

drifted far. If Mr. Yeats has sought a facile popularity, he has blundered. If he has preferred to consult the impulse of his own nature we cannot quarrel with his choice. After all enough of the world still clings to him to make him intelligible with not too much effort. He has not, like William Blake in the Prophetic Books, multiplied arbitrary symbols to such an extent that the poet comes at last to commune with himself alone, or as Blake naively puts it to write for the delight of the archangels.

Theoretically, Mr. Yeats tells us to cast out the world, to hate knowledge, and to despise the moral law. His views, as is the case with all advanced mystics, lead on the one hand to a quetism in which all action dies, and on the other hand by virtue of the mystical paradox to an anarchy where no impulse of passion is restrained. But Mr. Yeats himself is neither apathetic nor lawless. He reads the papers I know, and is a practical propagandist. Nor have I heard that he has ever come into sharp conflict with the blue coat of authority. Indeed, it is his boast that at the representation of his *Countess Cathleen* in Dublin " something over a score of police were sent into the theatre to keep order."

All great literature comes at some point into sharp conflict with those things which the opinions of men hold sacred. Mr. Yeats's affirmations and denials, for all the shining words which cover them, are no less radical than the patently revolutionary doctrines of Shaw or Ibsen. But the naked sword he proffers us is tipped with honey, and the blade is charactered with images of beauty. We may then, if we will, seek no hidden meanings, but taste only the savour of the sweetness and see only the traceries of exquisite design. If we rise but ever so little above the common round of life we must feel the sheer beauty of the following verses:

THE POET WISHES FOR THE CLOTHS OF HEAVEN.

Had I the heavens' embroidered cloths,
  Enwrought with golden and silver light,
The blue and the dim and the dark cloths
  Of night and light and the half light,

> I would spread the cloths under your feet.
> But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
> I have spread my dreams under your feet;
> Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.

Mr. Yeats's verse always has that singing quality, and moves to a delicate fastidious music which haunts the ear long after the echoes have died from the strings. Many aspects of his work I have left unregarded, my purpose having been merely to establish the contrast which I designed to make. Is it possible in conclusion to estimate the scope of the Celtic influence upon the poetry of Saxon England? Mr. Yeats with true proselytizing zeal, and in the full consciousness of the beauty of his country's legends, anticipates for them, thanks largely to Lady Gregory's translations, a poetic future as brilliant as that which flowed from Welsh and Breton sources.

"Modern poetry," he writes, "grows weary of using over and over again the personages and stories and metaphors that have come to us through Greece and Rome, or from Wales and Brittany through the Middle Ages, and has found new life in the Norse and German legends. The Irish legends," Mr. Yeats continues, "in popular tradition and in old Gaelic literature, are more numerous and as beautiful, and alone among great European legends have the beauty and wonder of altogether new things. May one not say, then, without saying anything improbable, that they will have a predominant influence in the coming century, and that their influence will pass through many countries?"

The only consideration which operates adversely to this eager theory is that outside of Ireland we have lost our temper of belief. Mr. Watts Dunton speaks confidently of the renascence of the spirit of wonder, but the fact remains that we are still a sceptical and sophisticated race. We must also use some discernment in our estimate of this new influence, or all beautiful things in poetry will forthwith be set down as Celtic. In spite of the irruption into poetry of material idealists like Kipling in England and Paul Déroulède in France, the forma-

tive minds of Europe are shaping a philosophy of subtle mysticism which will react against the poetic materialism of the nineteenth century, as it in turn reacted against the unpoetic rationalism of the eighteenth century. The Celtic revival is then in a measure caught up, in so far as it is mystical, into the stream of a larger movement, and it would be uncritical to attribute any future strain of imaginative symbolism in English poetry to the specific influence of Celticism. Nor must we use the phrase "The Celtic Revival" in the wide loose fashion in which it is too habitually applied. Matthew Arnold, in my judgment, went beyond the facts in attributing certain qualities in English poetry to some Celtic infusion in the Saxon race. He sought to prove in his memorable essay on Celtic poetry that the Saxon poetry of England, wherever it revealed a certain strangeness added to beauty, was permeated by the Celtic spirit. To it, in his opinion, we owe the natural magic of some of the most beautiful passages in our literature, to it we owe the vein of piercing regret and passion, and to it we owe our sense of style. Mr. Yeats himself does not claim these fine things as a victory for the Celt. The passages which Arnold quotes merely display in Mr. Yeats's opinion qualities which any poet must exhibit whose ears are not so dulled by the clamour of modern life that he cannot hear the promptings of the great earth-spirit, the mother of all, who was so near to the simple-minded creators of the beautiful mythologies of the world. Such passages we may regard as examples of that ancestral memory to which Fiona Macleod has drawn attention, and which may appear in any land and at any time. For example, we will not find in all Celtic tradition a more mystical philosophy than that of the Cockney, William Blake. The magic of Keats's poetic phrase and the elfin melodies of Coleridge were moulded in the dingy streets of London, and Shelley's idealism and his note of piercing passion and regret are Celtic only in that loose sense in which we too often employ the term.

Tennyson's influence at the present time is impaired by the fact that he attempted before all things to put into his

poetry the current theories of his day upon politics, philosophy and religion. With characteristic Saxon bluntness Tennyson says all that he means to say, and says it beautifully. It is the aim of the poet now to mean more than the words express, to imply rather than to state, to suggest rather than to define. There is a semblance of remoteness from temporal interests in much of the poetry that is written to-day, and this bodiless ecstasy we find particularly in the continental symbolists, in Pagan mystics like Russell and Yeats, and in Catholic mystics like Francis Thompson and Lionel Johnson. It is possible that the profounder poetry is that which deals with human life in a more immediate and absolute sense than is possible for a poetry to which the muse proffers only the food of vision and the wine of rare ideals. But the full-blooded virility, the practical wisdom, and the academic dignity which make English poetry at its best the greatest poetry in Europe, can be freed from material hardness and from too servile a dependence upon concrete fact, only by absorbing something of the keenness of spiritual vision which a rare few among the English poets have possessed, and which is reflected to-day most clearly in the poetry of Yeats.

PELHAM EDGAR

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"Ideas of Good and Evil." By William B. Yeats.
"The Celtic Twilight." By William B. Yeats.

POETRY.—"A Treasury of Irish Poetry." Edited by Stopford C. Brooke and T. W. Rolleston, (Macmillan.)

This book will direct interested readers to the work of the leading poets of the present day in Ireland.

LATIN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

"Pains, reading, study, are their just pretence,
And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense.
Commas and points they set exactly right,
And 'twere a sin to rob them of their mite.
Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel graced these ribalds
From slashing Bentleys down to peddling Tibbalds."

THESE words, in which Pope girds at the critics, find many echoes in the present age, which is dominated by a radically false idea of what it is pleased to call the practical or the useful. They are especially typical of the attitude toward classical studies of many men of more or less light and too much leading in this progressive twentieth century. We have grown accustomed to oracular utterances, as many and various, indeed (and just as highly inspired), as the leaves of the Sibyl, but all agreeing that the dead languages are dead, "and there's an end on't."

Yet, somehow or other, the classical scholar persists in the belief that, when living with Homer and Plato, Virgil and Tacitus, he is encircled by as ample an ether and as divine an air as he would enjoy if he were superintending the construction of a locomotive or of a bridge. He knows that he has in those old-new writers of Greece and Rome something which the world, with its "bustle, noise, glare, and whirling motion," cannot give and cannot take away. He does not necessarily hold himself as a being apart from the world; he does not believe that his studies unfit him for taking his due place in it; rather do they enable him to "see life steadily, and see it whole." He is convinced that what the classics

have done for him they can do for others, that even as "the good die not," so the message of bygone ages will live on, placing things in their true perspective, and raising men above a narrow or a petty view of the facts of life.

Such is the faith of the classical scholar, and it is shared by many who would not dignify themselves with that title. In England the reaction which naturally sprang from the excessive and exclusive place held by Greek and Latin in the educational systems of fifty years ago has been followed by a counter-reaction. In these democratic days one cannot quote Virgil or Horace in Parliament as the old stalwarts, from Chatham to Gladstone, frequently did with great effect; for the Romans are not understanded of the Labour members. But it is recognized that education without the classics is as seriously "lopped and shorn," as is oratory (in the opinion of Tacitus) when not grounded in a general knowledge of the liberal arts; and that the would-be educationist who excludes Greek and Latin studies from his system stultifies both himself and his scheme. The same opinion is prevalent in the United States, and, in spite of some disquieting signs to the contrary, it is not unknown in Canada. Greek has, unfortunately, become the luxury of the few; the pressure of other subjects need not have squeezed it into quite so small a corner; but Latin, at any rate, like the greatest man who ever spoke it, has come and seen and conquered, and as the ages roll on it will always find fresh worlds to subdue.

Accusations, however, are brought against the classical scholar even by those who are generally well-disposed to the classics. He concerns himself too much, they say, with parts of his subject which are practically devoid of interest and profit. It must be sorrowfully admitted that there is some justice in the charge, but it is often grossly exaggerated; and the object of this short paper is to show, with particular reference to two recently published works of the Principal of McGill University,* that a department of scholarship which

* *Collations from the Codex Cluniacensis s. Holkhamicus, a ninth-century Manuscript of Cicero*, by William Peterson, C.M.G., LL.D. Oxford, 1901.
M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Verrinae, rec. Gulielmus Peterson Oxonii [1907].

is repeatedly condemned as arid and barren is not necessarily either one or the other.

In the *Spectator* (August 29th, 1712) Addison deals rather severely with textual critics. He begins in this wise: "I have been very often disappointed of late years, when, upon examining the new edition of a classic author, I have found half the volume taken up with various readings. When I have expected to meet with a learned note upon a doubtful passage in a Latin poet, I have only been informed, that such or such ancient manuscripts for an *et* write an *ac*, or of some other notable discovery of the like importance." After going on in this strain to the end of the paragraph, Addison continues, "I question not but the ladies and pretty fellows will be very curious to understand what it is that I have hitherto been talking of." Accordingly he writes down four English stanzas, and proceeds to deal with them after the manner of classical editors. The first stanza runs thus:

> "My love was fickle once, and changing,
> Nor e'er would settle in my heart;
> From beauty still to beauty ranging,
> In every face I found a dart."

On these lines he writes the following scholarly annotations:—

Stanza the first, verse the first. *And changing.*] The *and* in some manuscripts is written thus, &; but that in the Cotton library writes it in three distinct letters.

Verse the second. *Nor e'er would.*] Aldus reads it *ever would*; but as this would hurt the metre, we have restored it to its genuine reading, by observing that synaeresis which had been neglected by ignorant transcribers.

Ibid. *In my heart.*] Scaliger and others, *on my heart.*

Verse the fourth. *I found a dart.*] The Vatican manuscript for *I* reads *it*; but this must have been the hallucination of the transcriber, who mistook the dash of the *I* for a *T*.

One other note may be mentioned. The third stanza begins with the words:

> "But now a long and lasting anguish
> For Belvidera I endure."

On the proper name the essayist-commentator writes:

"Did not all the manuscripts reclaim, I should change *Belvidera* into *Pelvidera*; *Pelvis* being used by several of the ancient comic writers for a looking-glass, by which means the etymology of the word is very visible, and *Pelvidera* will signify a lady who often looks in her glass; as indeed she had very good reason, if she had all those beauties which our poet here ascribes to her."

But even Addison would not wholly dispense with critical notes, and we may accept, with very little qualification, his opinion, that "when a different reading gives a different sense, or a new elegance in an author, the editor does very well in taking notice of it; but when he only entertains us with the several ways of spelling the same word, and gathers together the various blunders and mistakes of twenty or thirty different transcribers, they only take up the time of the learned reader, and puzzle the minds of the ignorant." If anyone doubts the applicability of Addison's strictures to editions published in the first half of the eighteenth century, let him look at some of the work of Peter Burmann the elder; if he wishes to see an *apparatus criticus* which would have pleased Addison, let him look at the edition of the Verrine Orations by the Principal of McGill.

The great importance of textual criticism may be illustrated from English literature. The early editions of Shakespeare are so full of absurd errors that, had not their text been improved out of all recognition by generations of scholars, chief among whom is the much maligned Theobald,* we should be quite unable to read the greatest of all poets with any reasonable enjoyment. We should still have to read of the dying Falstaff that 'his nose was as sharp as a pen and a table of green fields,' for '. . . . a' babbled of green fields' (*Hen. V.*, II. 3); we should still have to imagine that Shakespeare wrote 'besom conspicuities' in *Coriolanus* (II. 1), 'bank and school of time' in *Macbeth*, and innumerable other absurdities. Latin texts, which depend on

* Theobald's incomparable services to Shakespearian scholarship are effectively set forth in a very interesting paper by Professor Churton Collins, published in his "Essays and Studies," London, 1895.

manuscripts copied and re-copied and altered throughout many centuries, necessarily require the work of the textual critic at every turn, and his task is often as difficult as it is laborious, but it is quite necessary. Bentley tells of "the Popish Priest, who for XXX years had read *Mumpsimus* in his Breviary instead of *Sumpsimus;* and when a Learned Man told him of his blunder, *I'll not change*, says he, *my old* Mumpsimus *for your new* Sumpsimus." But, as thinking beings, we cannot rest content with a meaningless *Mumpsimus*: change it we must. This the textual critic can do for us.

The qualities required in one who is to be an ideal critic and emender of the text of a Latin author are so many and so diverse that the mere thought of them gives us pause. He ought, in the first place, to know his author from cover to cover, to have soaked himself in his style and spirit. He must also, of course, have an excellent knowledge of palæography, and of the blunders to which scribes were liable at one period or another, or at all periods alike. He must, in particular, know the character of the manuscripts of the work with which he is specially dealing; he must discover how they are related to one another and to their archetype or archetypes; he must know what were the favourite errors of their scribes, what confusions are wont to recur, what manuscripts are prone to make omissions or additions; he should also ascertain as much as possible about the outward form of his *codices*, the number of lines to the page in them and in their archetypes, and so forth. If to these requirements we add what may be called the critical faculty, and general scholarly taste and feeling, we shall see that the ideal textual critic, if he exists at all, is indeed a *rara avis*. Yet some approximation to these attainments is necessary in every editor of a critical text.

Latin textual criticism has made great advances in recent times. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was largely, though not wholly, in the hands of scholars of the dilettante type, who flooded the market with worthless or almost worthless collections of conjectures made in the most light-hearted

fashion to beguile their leisure hours. In 1577 Joseph Scaliger, who, says Mark Pattison, had " the most richly-stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge," issued an edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, which showed the way to better things. The Englishman Bentley and the Dane Madvig are leading names in a long line of scholars who have contributed to the improvement of our Latin texts, and sometimes, it must be admitted, to their mutilation. The *furor emendandi* is still strong in some people. The Dutch now, as in former times, are seriously affected by it, and find much amusement (would that we could call it harmless amusement!) in mangling the *corpus poetarum.* In the fifth book of Lucan's poem on the Civil War (often without sufficient reason called the *Pharsalia*) there is a famous description of a storm in the Adriatic. " Not on that shore do waves so mighty arise," says the poet (*non illo litore surgunt Tam ualidi fluctus*); they come from the " great ocean," and the stream that encircles the earth rolls thither its waters teeming with monsters. For *illo* Nicolas Heinsius would read *Indo* (" not on the Indian shore ")! This is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the art of textual 'emendation' as practised by some. Peerlkamp's Horace and Baehrens' (not Statius') *Siluae* will furnish the curious with examples of the same *ad nauseam.* Bentley was a wonderful scholar, marvellously learned and acute, and he has made many brilliant and certain emendations. But he was deficient in poetical feeling, and, though he had a wonderful gift of sarcasm, he lacked a sense of humour. Thus his handling of Horace and Terence is only partially successful, and he has almost re-written Lucan, often in an absurd fashion. In Horace, Odes I. 23, 5f., we have the exquisitely poetical words—

> Veris inhorruit aduentus foliis.
> " Spring's coming has quivered on the leaves."

Bentley reads *Vepris* for *Veris* and *ad uentum* for *aduentus,* " a thorn has trembled in its leaves before the wind," thereby cleverly spoiling the poetry. *In Lucan's description of a storm mentioned above we have a reference to " the chill

*See, however, the critical note in Gow's Edition, Cambridge Press Series. Ed. U. M.

north wind" (*gelidus Boreas*). What is the use, asks Bentley, of an epithet like 'cold,' 'icy,' when it is of the strength of the wind that the poet is thinking? He would, therefore, read *ualidus*, 'strong,' for *gelidus*. It would be a crowning mercy if respect for a great name could draw a veil over the same scholar's 'emendations' of Milton, which are inglorious, but never, alas! can be mute.*

Bentley, however, as has already been said, has restored many corrupt passages by brilliant conjectures, and, thanks to him and a host of other scholars, our Latin texts are infinitely in advance of those in use a few centuries ago. As an example of a certain restoration we may take the famous emendation made by Madvig on Seneca, *Epp*. lxxxix. 4. The text of this passage formerly ran thus:

> Philosophia unde dicta sit, apparet; ipso enim nomine fatetur. Quidam et sapientiam ita quidam finierunt. . . . .

The first sentence means, "Whence philosophy gains its name is clear, for by its very name it confesses it." The next sentence seems to have no meaning unless we strike out one *quidam*. Madvig, however, knowing that wrong division of words is a common error in MSS., wrote *quid amet* for *quidam et*; "for by its very name it confesses what it loves" (*philosophia* literally 'love of wisdom'). The last sentence will then begin with the word *Sapientiam*. Similarly in Richard III., Act IV., Sc. 4,—

> "Advantaging their loan with interest
> *Oftentimes* double gain of happiness—"

Theobald made a great improvement by reading *Of ten times*.

It is impossible within the narrow compass of this paper to multiply such instances of emendations. We must conclude with a phase of the subject which brings us nearer home. Up to the early part of the nineteenth century the use made of MSS. in determining a text was most unscientific. They

* "Thy mighty scholiast, whose unwearied pains
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains.
Turn what they will to verse, their toil is vain,
Critics like me shall make it prose again."
—Pope, *Dunciad*, Bk. IV

were counted, not estimated. The reading which was found in the greatest number of MSS. was supposed to have the most authority. The absurdity of this method—or want of method—may be illustrated from the case of Plautus. The fourth century palimpsest (*Ambrosianus*) often preserves the true reading where all the other MSS. are wrong. The fact is that these other *codices* are derived from one and the same original, in other words, they belong to the same family, so that their combined authority ranks only as the authority of one MS. It is, therefore, necessary for the editor of a critical text to construct a genealogical tree of his manuscript authorities, tracing their relationship to one another. This is a task which requires gifts of no mean order. It is attended with great difficulties, especially in the case of "conflated" MSS., that is, MSS. which are copied from more than original. The collation of new *codices* often helps, but often makes confusion worse confounded, and happy indeed is he whose powers suffice to unravel one of the tangled skeins which Latin MSS. so frequently present to us. The work, however, is not hopeless, and "sometimes a light surprises" the critic when he least expects it.

The task of editing Cicero's *Verrines* for the new series of *Oxford Classical Texts* was intrusted to Principal Peterson, who had amply proved his interest in Latin rhetoric in general and Cicero in particular by his editions of Quintilian and Tacitus' *Dialogus*, and his work on Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*. All scholars have reason to be thankful that the task was committed to his hands, for the result has been one of the most interesting discoveries made in the sphere of Latin scholarship in recent years. It came to Dr. Peterson's knowledge that there was in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham a manuscript containing a portion of Cicero. By the kindness of the owner he was allowed to examine the book, whereupon some letters which looked like a library mark were discovered on the upper margin of the second column of the first folio. The application of a chemical re-agent showed that the letters were *de conuentu Clun* (i.e., *Cluniacensi*),

that is to say, the MS. once belonged to the abbey of Cluni, that famous French monastery which exercised a hegemony over thousands of similar institutions in its most powerful days, and supplied no less than three popes to the Church. In the catalogue of the Cluni library compiled about the middle of the twelfth century there is mentioned a *codex* of some Ciceronian orations which Dr. Peterson has shown to be the very one which he has brought to light. It has now been considerably mutilated. It once contained the second and third speeches of the second *Actio* against Verres; now it contains only some portions of the second speech. "But," as Dr. Peterson says, "it is the scholar's duty not only to bring hidden things to light, but also to point the way by which we may repair the ravages of time and fill and restore the breaches that age has made."* If this can be done even partially, it is surely no mean accomplishment, and Dr. Peterson seems to have performed his task so well that his edition will be the standard one for years to come, indeed till some other discovery like his own brings an unexpected addition to the manuscript evidence. It is too late to congratulate him on that discovery, but it is only due to him to say that he has successfully vindicated his opinion as to the *provenance* of the manuscript against all opponents, including a doubting Thomas who occupies—and deservedly, too—a very commanding position in the realm of Latin scholarship. The Cluni *codex* is a ninth-century manuscript, older and palpably better than all the others.

But the learned Principal did not rest content with this discovery. In 1548 a Louvain professor, Petrus Nannius (that is, Nanning or Nanninck), issued *Scholia et Castigationes* to the second and third speeches of the second *Actio in Verrem.* Here he mentioned many valuable readings from an old MS., which subsequent scholars have denoted by the symbol N. What N was no one knew till Principal Peterson showed conclusively that it was the Cluni *codex.* He has shown also that readings sent by Fabricius to Lambinus and

*Preface to ed. of the *Verrines*, p. ix. (translated).

mentioned by the latter in the margin of his second edition of the speeches come from the same source, as do also the readings which appear in Gruter's edition as taken from a *codex Metellianus* (i.e., of Jean Matal, 1520–1597). Thus not only N but F and M (the originals of the readings mentioned in the last sentence) are proved to be no other than C (*Cluniacensis*), and now that we have the original MS. we may dispense with the evidence of those other authorities for the portions still preserved in the *codex*. To crown all, Dr. Peterson has shown that a later MS. (Lagomarsinianus 42, in the Laurentian library at Florence), which the latest Teubner editor, with his usual sanity and penetration, regarded as the chief basis for the text of the second and third orations of *Actio* II., is copied from the Cluni MS. Thus in the parts still extant in C we may discard the evidence of N, F, M, and O (the Lagomarsini codex), and for the remainder of the speeches named above we may with more confidence than before trust the evidence of O.

It is not within the scope of the UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE to go fully into the details of Dr. Peterson's work on the *Verrines*, which is indeed far from being confined to the Cluni *codex*. One half-paragraph from the opening of the Third Oration may suffice to give an idea of the superiority of the new text. Cicero is dwelling, with special reference to Crassus, on the fact that when a very young man undertakes the impeachment of a public official he is restrained in after-life by the necessity of living up to the standard of conduct set up in his early speech. Thus Crassus went so far as to express regret that he had ever prosecuted Gaius Carbo. The text then reads as follows, according to Dr. Peterson's edition:

> " Atque ille his praesidiis ingeni fortunaeque munitus tamen hac cura continebatur, quam sibi nondum confirmato consilio sed ineunte aetate susceperat, *atque eo magis quo* minus etiam *percipitur* eorum uirtus et integritas qui ad hanc rem adulescentuli, quam qui iam firmata aetate descendunt. Illi enim, ante quam potuerunt existimare quanto liberior uita sit eorum qui neminem

accusarint, gloriae causa atque ostentationis accusant: nos qui iam et quid facere et *quantum* iudicare possemus ostendimus, nisi facile cupiditates nostras teneremus, numquam ipsimet nobis praeciderемus istam licentiam libertatemque uiuendi."

"And though fortified by the protection of talent and station which he (i.e., Crassus) still enjoys, he was nevertheless kept in restraint by this charge, which he had undertaken in eariy years before his judgment was fully formed,—and the more so as there is less notice taken even of worth and probity in the case of a very young man addressing himself to this task than in the case of those of mature years. The young men engage in a prosecution with a view to glory and display, before they have been able to realize how much greater is the freedom of those who have prosecuted no one; whereas we, who have already shown what ability we have to act and to form judgments, would never of our own accord cut ourselves off from such untrammelled freedom in our manner of life, if we did not find it an easy matter to restrain our desires."

The meaning of these words is quite clear, but the same cannot be said of the text of the Teubner edition, on which scholars have chiefly relied for several years. There the words marked in italics above are not to be found. Instead of *susceperat atque eo magis quo*......the Teubner editor reads *susceperat. Quamquam*...... It is evident that a new sentence beginning "And yet" spoils the sense here. Dr. Peterson's reading seems at first sight very bold, for the MSS. read *susceperat quo;* but the emendation is palæographically sound as well as ingenious. One of the commonest errors committed by ancient scribes is "haplography," that is, writing a letter or series of letters once instead of twice. Thus the *at* of *atque* might easily be omitted after *susceperat*. Now let us suppose that a copyist had in his text *susceperat atque* (or *atq;*) *eo magis quo*. He lifts his eyes, we may assume, after writing *at*, but before lifting them he has noticed that a *q* and an *o* follow. When he continues his task his eyes light on the wrong *q* and *o*, and thus he copies *quo* and omits *que eo magis*. Errors of this kind are frequent.

The other two differences between Dr. Peterson's text of this passage and that of C. F. W. Müller can be dealt

with in very few words. *Percipitur* is read for *perspicitur* because it has the authority of the Cluni codex and gives perfectly good sense. *Quantum* instead of *quantulum* ("how very little") is an emendation which ingeniously accounts for the reading *quantulum dicere*, which was given in a lost part of the *Cluniacensis*. Dr. Peterson suggests that *quantuiudicare* (i.e. *quantum iudicare*) was miscopied as *quantuludicare* (confusion of *i* and *l* is common); this will account both for *quantulum iudicare*, the reading of most MSS. and editors, and for *quantum dicere*, which, as has been mentioned, was the reading of the Cluni codex. The diminutive *quantulum* does not seem to fit the context.

It is hoped that enough has been said to show that such work as Dr. Peterson has been engaged in is not only fruitful but full of interest and stimulus, demanding patient research, logical common-sense, and acumen. Textual criticism is not barren. If it is performed by competent hands, we do not see

> "Standard authors . . . like trophies borne,
> Appear more glorious as more hacked and torn."

The competent critic does not "admire new light through holes himself has made." In tackling a work so stimulating, so useful in its results, so rigorous in its demands on the reasoning powers, the young student or the mature scholar is not busying himself with a task unworthy of a progressive age.

W. B. Anderson

LAKE MAGGIORE

HAD it been my fortune to approach Lake Maggiore six years ago from Lake Geneva and the valley of the Rhone, I might have written of a wonderful journey by diligence, of the steep ascent of Mont Simplon, of narrow mountain valleys bounded by snow-capped mountains, of deep gorges and ravines, of towering crags, and of occasional tiny mountain villages from which one looked out upon a white world of mountains, peak succeeding peak in a continued variety of shape and size.

But I made the journey in 1906, and instead of the diligence, as present day travellers, we take the electric railway, and at Brieg dive deep into the blackness and mystery of the very heart of the mountain. When once more we see daylight, we look out upon Italy.

But there is still three and-a-half hours travelling through wild mountain scenery always descending until we reach the more level spaces and Pallanza-fonda-Toce, where our railway journey ends. A scramble and a rush, and if you are lucky, you find yourself perched high on the front seat of the diligence in which the remaining four miles to Pallanza are to be covered. The gathering twilight deepens, and the surrounding mountains seem to soften and draw nearer as we follow the level plain which forms the bed of the Toce River. Chestnut-trees line the road on either side, and the air is laden with sweet perfumes. And soon the shore of the lake is reached, or rather that arm of Lake Maggiore in which the Borromean Islands are found, and across its waters twinkle the lights of the small town, our destination, Pallanza.

The first awakening in a new place brings a stir of excitement to one's blood that no other experience quite equals—

that moment of hesitation before throwing back the blinds —when all one's power of imagination is brought to bear on the prospect that is to be, a moment of gloating, one might say, over the pleasure that is in store. But back go the blinds at last, and in pours a flood of southern sunshine and soft balmy air. And what is there before us? Palm trees, and magnolias in blossom, and beyond, the shimmering blue surface of the lake, broken here and there by the slow progress of a fishing-boat. And deep blue hills and mountains close in the view, with tiny white villages nestling at their feet and casting their reflections back to us across the waters.

But we must first visit the small town so essentially Italian in its characteristics, and we seem to breathe Italy when we step out onto the level white road and see about us the light-coloured villas with gaily frescoed walls and luxuriant gardens. Close by the water are the public gardens and promenade, with shady palms and chestnut-trees, and on the open bank near by, sheltered by the projecting pier, the boatmen gather and in lazy happiness await their call. Not far from the landing-stage is the town-hall, a large, rather flat-roofed, light-coloured building, but noticeable at once by reason of the whole ground story being open to the street through the open arcaded wall. This forms a most picturesque market-place, where the vendors cluster their wares about the various pillars. The main street of the town is of such narrow proportions that unless forewarned you would hardly recognize it as such. Large flat stones replace what in our country would probably be wheel-ruts, while rough cobble-stones form the rest of the paving. This gives an excellent foothold to four-legged animals, but is most trying to a two-legged one, shod in leather. The reason and use of the native wooden shoes, the "zoccoli," seem at last partly explained. And straight from the pavement rise the light-coloured walls of the houses, an occasional archway allowing passing glimpses into narrow courtyards, where stone-supported balconies trail with vines, or brilliantly glow with rows of "gran turco," their yellow corn, set out to dry in the

sunny air. This "gran turco" forms one of the staple food materials of this part of the country, and is ground into a coarse meal much used in baking. The most common form in which this food appears is a concoction called "polenta." Water is poured upon the meal, which is then allowed to boil until it thickens. The mixture is put into pans, where it hardens, and can then be cut into pieces. A most nourishing dish, I may add, if well prepared, but unusually unhealthy if badly cooked.

Many of the shop-windows appear to be heavy canvas curtains which, drawn up during the day, give access to an otherwise windowless room—the shop. Strange varieties of fruit and vegetables are here exposed for sale, also in baskets arranged along the streets; pomegranates, nespole (which resemble the English medlar), unfamiliar varieties of beans, and of course, chestnuts, grapes, oranges, and lemons, in inexhaustible supply. And the dark-eyed peasants who sell the wares, with their bright brown eyes, are always ready with a smiling word uttered with the low musical intonation of their country. Their appearance, too, is always gay, for whatever the blouse and skirt may be, a bright handkerchief folded cornerwise is loosely knotted at the throat, and sometimes as well, to replace our western hat, a handkerchief covers the hair. And what of the passers-by?—the many soldiers in their light blue uniforms, and the women and children with their "gerli" on their backs, cornucopia-shaped baskets used to carry any and every article imaginable, from a bundle of faggots to a tiny child. And the constant clatter, clatter of the wooden "zoccoli" becomes a music to one's ears and is closely associated in one's mind with the smoothly-flowing language of their owners.

Of the various excursions to be made from Pallanza, perhaps the best known one is that to the Borromean Islands, a group of four, called after the family of that name. The smallest of these, San Giovanni, lies close to the north shore of this western bay of Lake Maggiore, and is owned by an Englishman, who with his family spends several months out of each year in these picturesque surroundings.

Isola Madre, much larger in size, is laid out in six or seven terraces, with beautiful trees and shrubbery, and winding paths that lead up to open lawns and an unassuming-looking "palazzo." Trees of every description are found here, the dwarf oak, a few feet high, and the most variegated species of holly.

But perhaps the best known island of the four is Isola Bella, much less natural than Isola Madre, though more strikingly Italian in its arrangement. Terrace after terrace rises in closely-built and narrow succession, with stone vases and statues occupying all prominent points, while heavily laden orange and lemon-trees grow flat against the southerly exposed walls. And at the summit of it all are open terraces, with beautiful statuary, climbing roses, and flowering shrubs, and lazy lizards which whisk away at one's approach. The rest of the garden is thickly grown with cork-trees, cedars, magnolias, laurels, camphor trees, eucalypti, magnificent oleanders, and other trees of southern growth, while shell-grottoes, arbours, and statues abound. And through it all a snow-white peacock is seen to strut, uttering at intervals its discordant cry. The huge Château rises in imposing grandeur, strongly contrasted with the handful of tiny peasant cottages close by. Rare treasures of art are found within its walls, in the picture gallery, and handsome reception-rooms, hung with 17th. century tapestry.

But the most unique and picturesque of these islands is that one known as the Isola dei Pescatori, occupied almost entirely by a fishing-village, hence its name—a lazy, sleepy village, with its narrow streets and vinegrown houses, with its fish and nets hung out to dry, with the brown stained walls of the dyeing house, where fishing-nets are dipped in the chestnut dye to make them brown and weed-like, so that the fish will not observe them.

Just opposite these islands, on the south shore of this western bay, lies Stresa, overshadowed by the mountains which tower up behind. Here are situated the palaces of the Duchess of Genoa, and her daughter, the Queen Mother

Marguerita, and each day at three they may be seen to drive forth in an open landau, accompanied by the " major duomo " and attended by four guards on bicycles.

An interesting walk from Pallanza may be made along the lake shore, turning north to " Intra," a small town so called because situated between two dry rocky river-beds which in the rainy season are no doubt transformed to rushing torrents. The beauty of this walk is the splendid view of the high pinkish cliffs of the opposite shore, so wonderfully reflected in the clear water of the lake.

But beyond and high above Intra is the mountain village of Bee, reached after a long, steep, winding drive through many a picturesque village with its stone-paved " vicoli " and street pumps inserted in the wall of some house or garden —past open doorways with their busily knitting women, through shady vineyards and chestnut groves. And sometimes in the distance sounds the clatter, clatter of the wooden "zoccoli," gradually coming closer, until suddenly a bright-eyed girl, with her heavily laden " gerlo " on her back, emerges from some shady stone-paved " salita " or mountain-path, and smilingly greets one with her late afternoon greeting, " Buona sera, signorina."

Occasionally one encounters a cart labouring heavily along with splashing wine-butts, from which emerges the smell of freshly pressed grapes. These are on their way to be made into wine. A noticeable feature of the Italian countryside is the wayside shrine, found, perhaps at a turn in the road, perhaps in the terrace-wall of some far-away olive-orchard, or occasionally in the wall of some house, upon whose inmates special blessing is invoked. It is delightful, too, to wander beneath the shade of spreading vines and to pick the luscious grapes fresh from their stalks.

But the object of our excursion is not the village of Bee, but the wonderful view to be obtained there of Lake Maggiore. Some two thousand feet below lie the smooth waters of the lake, dotted here and there by some small fishing-boat, or by the square white sail of so larger craft, while above rise

ever new mountains, unrevealed to the eyes of the inhabitant of lower levels.

The sunset hour of descent from Bee is a thing never to be forgotten—the deepening shadows in the hills, the dazzling snowy peaks in their many-coloured raiments, and the opalescent waters of the lake gathering to itself every form and hue, and reflecting them back with an added glory on its smooth, calm surface.

No account of Lake Maggiore would be nearly complete without some mention of the quaint boats and barges which are such necessary means of conveyance. How picturesque it all is !—The rounded staves of the smaller boats, over which canvas is stretched as a protection from sun and rain, the high sides of the boats and their long pointed ends, and the standing figure at the oars, be it man, woman or child. The rower faces the direction in which he goes, the oars are long and heavy, hence a couple of steps are taken backward to get the necessary length of sweep, then a quick step forward throws the weight of the body into the stroke, and progress is established. And the larger boats, with their heavy cargoes of stone and marble from the quarries, are managed by their high, square-topped sails, or, if near the shore, sometimes by a man in the bow poling his way until a certain speed is attained, when he returns to the stern and the rudder. And the rudder is a long, heavy, pole, with a wide, flat end, like a beaver's tail. Secured to the boat over the high stern, a tremendous sweep and leverage is obtained. Some of the larger boats have a second, smaller rudder attached to one side of the stern; this is used as an auxiliary rudder in very rough weather.

And on the shores of the lake, and on the banks of the streams, wherever a level piece of shore presents itself, some housewife is sure to be found washing her household linen. The ordinary washer has a small raised platform which stands in the shallow edges of the water, and upon which there is just room for her to kneel, with a place for her soap and her scrubbing board in front of her. Needless to say her tub is the lake. Those washerwomen of better means have sometimes

what resembles a large, low-sided wheel-barrow, with square front, and two wheels instead of one. A pointed roof is supported by two posts and shades the worker's head from the hot sun. Again, those of fewest worldly possessions are apt to kneel upon the least uncomfortable stone they can find.

But we have still a most interesting trip to make across the lake, an hour's row by a sunny-faced Giuseppe, one of the many fair-haired Italians of this district, the result, no doubt, of intermarriage with the neighbouring Swiss. Blue as the lake are his eyes, and the brightest sunshine finds no mean rival in his golden hair. As we row southward, the eastern shore of the lake becomes each moment more rocky and sheer, until high above the water, literally clinging to the crags, appears the convent church of Santa Caterina del Sasso. Formerly owned and occupied by Cistercian Monks, the pilgrimages and services have now ceased, and the buildings are no longer in regular use. A steeply-paved path leads from the tiny landing-place to the arcaded convent buildings and the open court, where an ancient fig-tree still spreads its low, blunt branches. In the low wall of this court is inserted a bucket with pulley attachments; and glancing over the side you see that far below you the supply-well is no other than the lake itself.

Beyond the court is the church, with its frescoed walls and medallions. But the especial point of interest is to be found inside. In the small chapel, imbedded in the roof, is a huge crag which, falling from the cliff above, far back in the 17th. Century, was caught and held, so the story goes, by some Divine Power, and there it hangs suspended to this day—Santa Caterina del Sasso—Saint Catherine of the rock.

Again the sunset hour, and from the arches of our convent church we look westward across the lake of molten gold to the soft, deep purple of the hills. Farther away, and fainter they grow, as mass succeeds mass, until Monte Leone rises in its snow-white purity, and faintly blushes 'neath the sun's caress.

EVELYN MOLSON

THE "SONS OF MARY"

"It is their care, in all the ages, to take the buffet and cushion the shock,
It is their care that the gear engages, it is their care that the switches lock.
It is their care that the wheels run truly; it is their care to embark and
entrain,
Tally, transport, and duly deliver the Sons of Mary by land and main.

They say to the mountains, "Be ye removed!" They say to the lesser
floods, "Run dry!"
Under their rods are the rocks reproved—they are not afraid of that
which is high.
Then do the hill-tops shake to the summit; then is the bed of the deep
laid bare
That the Sons of Mary may overcome it, pleasantly sleeping and unaware."

Rudyard Kipling—"The Sons of Martha."

Rudyard Kipling has the trick of ringing, swinging metre, so that when he writes poetry his way of saying a thing rivets the thing itself into one's memory. Hence, for the vast army of folk who do not sharply distinguish between what they remember and what they believe, he is a moulder of opinion, and one is tempted to a word of protest when he states one side of a case only.

There was room in the little household at Bethany for Martha and for Mary too. And in the great world there is not only room but need for the Sons of Mary.

Martha cared for the seen things, for the household food and clothing, for its cleanliness, fire, and light. We think of her as the thrifty housewife who looked well to small savings and allowed no waste.

Mary cared for the unseen things. She sat at Jesus' feet and heard His words. She thought oftenest and most earnestly of the things which endure and which cannot be bought or sold.

So the Sons of Mary are the men who seek and value ideas. They search for truth; they work for mental and spiritual results, and some among them see visions and dream dreams.

Chief among them is the preacher. He has what seems to one in doubt and despondency his dream of a cleansed earth and an attainable heaven.

Of them, too, are the reformers, and the workers in settlement or slum. The eyes of these sons or daughters of Mary may see a child of misery and degradation malformed, stunted, ugly, dirty, ignorant, surly, blasphemous. Their souls see a soul with an undeveloped but almost infinite power to grow, learn, and love. Here, surely, is faith, the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen.

The artist with his vision of beauty or truth beyond the reach of his technique, the musician, the poet who finds language ever inadequate to convey his loveliest thought—are they not Sons of Mary one and all?

Thanks to them, there can be a lilt to lighten the long day's work and a tale or song to cheer its close. Thanks to them, we remember that the life is more than meat, and forget that to-morrow we die.

And Mary has yet other sons, bringing to the sum of the world's work a contribution better valued by a mercantile age. There are dreams of practical utility, as well as dreams which comfort and cheer.

Every great architectural structure, every new machine, every triumph of engineering is, at first, a vision in the mind of the man who brings it into being. It has, so to say, a body and a soul.

The Son of Martha blasts out the rock, but the Son of Mary calculates the level of the tunnel. In his mental vision trains speed over well ballasted tracks to thriving towns, where, to the unimaginative man, there are only desolate and silent spaces, the homes of the hawk, the bittern, and the mink.

Among the Sons of Mary, too, we find great healers: men who have studied year after year, with patient reverence,

the laws of life. There are yet others in this brotherhood, discoverers of hitherto unsuspected properties and powers in the natural world. Of such are the Newtons, the Darwins, and the Kelvins. With submissive and open minds such men seek after universal law and absolute truth. To them, too, spiritual vision of a sort has been given. No great scientist lacks imagination. The law must be, as it were, guessed out, before it can be verified.

And when, after hard work and long waiting, the knowledge of laws and facts is gained, the Son of Mary has not yet finished his task. He must devise means to liberate and then control the power he has brought from outer darkness, so that the Sons of Martha can make practical use of it.

Night after night one wakeful woman, looking out over the dim masses of a sleeping city, sees the tower of a university building looming black against a sky already paling with the dawn. High in this tower there burns, until an unconscionable lateness, one solitary light. There is the laboratory, where one of the Sons of Mary seeks some evasive secret of inorganic chemistry or of organic life. And down among the domestic lilac bushes, also to an unconscionable lateness, there is too often a steady glow shed by the study light of the Son of Mary, subject semi-occasionally to her control. It is his mission to teach and train those who, when they have achieved the A.M., or B.S., or Ph.D., shall command the Sons of Martha. And it is hers to see that the witching hour of 2 a. m. shall find him, not revising lectures, nor reading theses, nor writing technicalities, but "sleeping and unaware."

E. M. HARDINGE

THE MODERN VIEW OF HEREDITY

THE essence of reproduction is that the parent shall separate a small portion of its substance, called the germ, which, by growth, will assume the form and likeness of the parent. If the environment is exactly the same in the case of parent and child the likeness between the two will be perfect; but, of course, the environment never is the same, and hence there is always some difference between parent and child. This difference was one of the many formerly grouped together under the name of variation. So far, however, as experiment has gone, it appears that this kind of variation is not inheritable, that is to say, it seems that, when the child in turn comes to reproduce, it will act as though it exactly resembled the parent; the variation, or difference between parent and child being merely the resultant of the child's unchanged constitution and of the differing external conditions to which it has been subjected. Such variation is now known as "fluctuation."

Reproduction is of two kinds, non-sexual and sexual. In the former case one parent only is concerned, in the latter, two. When, for instance, the fresh water polyp gives rise to a large number of daughters by budding from its body-wall, when the strawberry plant is propagated by its runners, or a geranium from slips, or a potato-plant from tubers, one parent only is involved. Non-sexual reproduction has not been much investigated. As a general rule heredity through this kind of reproduction seems to be extraordinarily stable and invariable. No one expects to get a new variety of potato through planting the tuber. Darwin has, however, collected a number of cases in which what he terms bud-variation takes place; in these cases a change in the offspring of non-sexual

reproduction makes its appearance and proves inheritable. Thus, a peach tree has suddenly given rise to a branch bearing nectarines, and the seed contained in these has produced nectarines in turn. We may, however, pass from this kind of variation with the single remark that, whilst it offers a most interesting field for future work, there is as yet practically nothing known about it.

Nearly all the work on variation in heredity has been done on inheritance through sexual reproduction, and to this variety we must now turn our attention. Two great characteristics of this kind of reproduction stand out pre-eminently; first, the germs separated from the two parents must coalesce before development can take place; and, secondly, one of these germs is in nearly every case astoundingly minute, and yet it is just as potent in transmitting the characteristics of the parent as the other somewhat larger germ. The bodies of animals and plants are built up of partially separated units of living matter termed cells, and in each cell there is an active centre, the nucleus, without which growth cannot go on. The two germs in sexual reproduction are two cells. The body formed by the coalescence of the two germs is called the zygote—from the Greek word meaning yoke—and the two germs whose fusion has created it are termed respectively the spermatozoon and the egg or ovum.

The spermatozoon is a portion of the male parent whilst the egg is provided by the mother. In animals the spermatozoon is provided with a vibratile tail by means of which it travels till it finds the ovum, but this tail is dropped before the spermatozoon enters the ovum; and the only part of the spermatozoon which counts in heredity is the so-called head, which in the case of man is about $\frac{1}{3000}$ of an inch in length. In the higher plants the tail is absent, but the fertilizing nucleus of the pollen tube is not much larger than the head of the spermatozoon, which indeed consists merely of a nucleus. The other germ, the egg, is very variable in size. In the human race it is only $\frac{1}{125}$ of an inch in diameter, but in the common fowl it may attain a diameter of one and a half to

two inches, while the spermatozoon remains about the same size.

Since the larger egg has no more influence than the smaller on heredity, and since neither counts for more than the spermatozoon, the conclusion is forced on us that the really significant part of the egg is the minute nucleus contained in it, and that the rest of its bulk is only a smaller or larger supply of food material, that is of capital, on which the young zygote can subsist till it is sufficiently advanced in development to earn its own living. This conclusion is confirmed when the process of the union of the two germs or fertilization, as it is termed, is studied in detail. The head of the spermatozoon, which, as we have seen, is purely a nucleus, after having buried itself in the egg travels forward until it meets the egg nucleus. The two then combine to form a single nucleus, the nucleus of the zygote. The development of the zygote is initiated by the division of the compound nucleus so as to form the numerous nuclei which are distributed to the cells of the growing animal. Each of these daughter nuclei contains portions both of the original male and of the original female nucleus, and so every part of the body of the offspring bears the impress of both father and mother.

Now the first question which arises in our minds is, What is the purpose of the wonderful conjugation or union of the two germs? If reproduction can go on without it, why does Nature go to so much trouble to bring it about? Why should the common polyp for instance produce ova and spermatozoa every autumn when all summer long it reproduces itself by budding? But before trying to give an answer to this question we may attempt to solve a preliminary one, Why is the male different from the female? To this preliminary question a pretty clear answer can be given. The distinction between the two sexes is purely a matter of convenience, a matter of the division of labour. In many animals there is no difference whatever between the two sexes except in the colour of the germ-cells which can be seen shining through their transpa-

rent tissues. Thus in the simplest fish, Amphioxus, only the microscope can decide the sex. In such cases ova and spermatozoa are cast into the sea, and it is left to chance to determine their union. When we descend to the lowest animals such as the Foraminifera, whose beautiful little shells form thick deposits on the bottom of the sea, and the skeletons of whose extinct relatives form the great mass of the English chalk, the distinction between ovum and spermatozoon vanishes, and we are presented with the spectacle of two precisely similar germ-cells engaging in conjugation. When, on the other hand, we ascend the scale of animal life we find an increasing difference between the sexes manifesting itself.

We find the female gradually developing arrangements to receive and store up the spermatozoa and to nourish the young zygote during the early stages of its development, whilst the male develops not only organs for transmitting the spermatozoa to the female, but also weapons—such as the horns of cattle—to aid him in the fight for her possession, and arms to embrace and hold her.

Reviewing the evidence it is clear that to the male cell, or spermatozoon, has been assigned the duty of finding the other germ-cell and bringing about the conjugation, whilst to the ovum is given the function of providing the capital for starting the young zygote in life. Later this same division of labour is extended to the parents which have produced the germ-cells. The female provides the nourishment, the male brings about the conjugation. In the case of animals which are fixed to one spot during life—and there are many such, I need mention only the European oyster and the sea-squirts—there is a tendency, whilst retaining the two kinds of germ-cells, to abandon the two-fold type of parent; and one parent produces both kinds of cell. But in these cases the two kinds of cell ripen at different periods, so that the spermatozoa do not often fertilize the ova of the same individual. The object of the abolition of sex is believed to be this—to render it likely that the proximity of any two individuals of the species will bring about a fertilization. Since the individuals are not

able to move freely about we might, were two sexes present, have ineffective colonies of males unable to find females and *vice versa*. For this reason hermaphroditism, as it is called, when it occurs in the animal kingdom, is regarded as a secondary condition of affairs. In the vegetable kingdom amongst the higher plants it is well-nigh universal.

But all this reasoning only emphasizes the fundamental question, Why is conjugation necessary at all? Many suggestions have been made as to what the answer should be, but the real answer has been found by experiment. It has been already hinted that, in the case of some animals, non-sexual reproduction alternates with sexual reproduction. This is found to be very widely true. When some of the simplest microscopic animals are allowed to reproduce non-sexually, a start being made with one carefully selected individual and all others being excluded, it is found that everything goes on merrily and well for some hundreds of generations, and then, in spite of abundance of food, trouble begins to manifest itself. Succeeding generations become weaker and smaller, and finally unable to feed themselves, and at last death occurs in the midst of plenty. Before the period of decay begins attempts at conjugation between members of the brood take place, but the degeneration is not thereby avoided. If, however, at the critical period, members of a totally distinct brood are mixed with the brood which has been the subject of the experiment, widespread conjugation takes place and is followed by a marvellous rejuvenescence or return to life and youth. The following generations are as large and perfect in their vital energies as the original mother of the whole brood. The answer to the question has now become obvious. The ultimate purpose of conjugation is not reproduction but the rejuvenescence or reinvigoration of living matter by the mingling of the products of two distinct stocks—to be more precise, by the union of two nuclei which have come from different sources.

But this answer only suggests a further question: Why should a certain amount of difference between the nuclei

cause such benefits to arise from their union? Too great a difference produces no effect; we know how impossible it is in most cases to hybridize two distinct species. If we take a simple animal which consists of one cell and divide it into two pieces, one of which contains the nucleus and one of which is devoid of the nucleus, then the piece without the nucleus will perform all the characteristic actions of the animal of which it is a part, except the digestion and assimilation of food. In a word, without the nucleus the continual consumption of living matter which yields the power to produce motion still goes on; but the repair of waste, the formation of new living matter, is impossible. The life of the enucleated fragment soon burns itself out. The great function of the nucleus is therefore to preside over digestion and assimilation; from it, for instance, are given off the active particles of the digestive juice. Of course in this process the nuclear substance would be used up were it not constantly repairing itself.

Now, if we examine our simple animal of which we have made a pure brood free from inter-crossing, at the moment when the first signs of decay are manifesting themselves, it will be found that it is the nucleus which is the seat of this decay. It shows by its lessened avidity for staining fluids that it is losing its characteristic chemical composition. In a word, the wear and tear of the constant production of fresh living matter necessitated by the long-continued non-sexual reproduction have exhausted the nucleus. Its waste has never been made quite good. It has thus become the subject of a progressive weakening. The peculiar form of this weakening will depend on the surrounding circumstances; that is, on the particular food the brood is supplied with and the particular form of waste to which they are subjected.

If now two nuclei which have undergone different forms of weakening are united there will be the probability that each will compensate for the other's defects, and a compound nucleus of great vigour will result. This then seems to be at the bottom of the rejuvenation effected by sexual repro-

duction. When once the principle lying at the bottom of sexual reproduction is grasped, a host of obscure traditions and prejudices on the subject receive illumination. The strong prejudice against the marriage of first cousins is seen to have a definite physiological basis. It is true that these unions do not always show as a result a weakened progeny; for amongst the higher animals there is no non-sexual reproduction to wear out the nuclei of the germ-cells, and the union of germ-cells alike in constitution can go on for a considerable time before the evil effects are seen. Thus we account for the fact that the kings of Egypt used to wed their sisters; but perhaps this also helps to explain why there were thirty-three dynasties during the historic period of that country.

The farmer, as every one knows, often resorts to the mating of near relations, or, as it is familiarly termed, inbreeding. He does this in order to preserve and increase the special points of a breed, such as the fleece of a sheep and the slender legs of a race horse. But the permanence of type secured in this way is gained at the expense of a weakening of the constitution, and most breeders at intervals cross their thoroughbreds with another strain in order to gain vigour, even though by this process the risk is run that some of the desired qualities may be lessened or lost. The distribution of the distinctive qualities of two breeds, when they are crossed, is something which indeed cannot be predicted. It is by no means true that the hybrid is always intermediate in character between the two parents. Sometimes it follows one parent exclusively; occasionally it exhibits a completely new character. But one feature is common to such hybrids, their offspring is most variable. When two such hybrids are mated, or when, in the case of plants, the hybrid is fertilized with its own pollen, the next generation seems to show a perfect orgy of variation.

The meaning of this phenomenon remained dark for a long time, but the clue to it was discovered by a Benedictine monk, the Abbot Gregor Mendel, in the solitude of his cloister at Brünn in Moravia. His results were embodied in a mono-

graph published in 1865, but it escaped the notice of all contemporary naturalists and it was only rediscovered by Professor De Vries of Amsterdam in 1900. The emergence of Mendel's paper has given rise to as much stir in the biological world as did the rediscovery of the Book of Deuteronomy in the reign of King Josiah amongst Jewish religious circles.

W. Bateson, F.R.S., one of the leading biologists in Cambridge, repeated Mendel's experiments, and not only confirmed his results but largely extended them. He showed that they are applicable to a wide range of animals and plants, and his example has been followed, with less conspicuous success, by investigators all over the world. The French zoologist Cuénot has also made valuable researches in this subject.

We may then commence our survey of the results obtained in this new field of research by a brief account of Mendel's experiments and the results which he deduced from them. Mendel showed that many garden plants show marked varieties which occur in pairs, so that one character is always present to the exclusion of the other. Thus, the common pea-plant showed many pairs of such characters. The dried peas might be yellow or green, they might be smooth and rounded, or angular and wrinkled. The plant might stand up as a tall shrub, six to eight feet high, or it might be a weak procumbent herb not growing more than eighteen inches high. Mendel did not for a moment deny that there might be varieties characterized by ill-defined characters; but, as he stated in the beginning of his treatise, he resolved to have nothing to do with them, but to confine his attention solely to varieties of which the characteristic features were clear and unmistakable.

Starting with yellow and green peas, he raised plants from them, and then transferring pollen from one variety to the stigmas of the other variety he produced a hybrid. To his surprise all the hybrids bore yellow peas, and this was true whether the yellow variety was used as pollen, or ovule

parent, that is, whether it was father or mother. This prepotence of one parent is termed by Mendel dominance, and the yellow colour is called by him the dominant character, whilst the green is termed the recessive character.

When the hybrids were selfed, that is, fertilized with their own pollen, they gave rise to offspring of which three-fourths showed the dominant yellow colour whilst one-fourth showed the recessive green colour. The hybrid therefore, whilst apparently resembling the yellow parent, had carried in its innermost constitution the quality of the green parent also. When the members of this second generation were individually tested by self-fertilization, it was found that the green ones gave rise to nothing but green offspring, for however long they might be cultivated. Of the remaining three-fourths, however, one-third, that is a fourth of the whole generation, gave rise only to plants producing yellow peas, but two-thirds of the yellow, that is, two-fourths or one-half of the whole generation, behaved exactly as did the first hybrid. Each gave rise to offspring three-fourths of which were yellow and one-fourth green, and these on further cultivation behaved as did the second generation.

To account for this curious result Mendel brought forward a simple hypothesis which has been practically universally accepted. Mendel supposes that when the hybrid comes to form reproductive cells—in the particular case oospheres and pollen grains—these reproductive cells are in each case of two kinds, each kind inheriting one of the two characteristic features which were combined in forming the hybrid, and further that these two kinds are produced in equal numbers. Thus in the case of the pea we have to assume that there are some pollen grains inheriting the green character and also some inheriting the yellow character. Similarly the oospheres are of two kinds, one sort carrying the green and the other the yellow character. For the sake of brevity, let us agree to speak of yellow and green pollen grains and yellow and green oospheres, although it is the peas to which they will give rise and not they themselves which are yellow and

green, and let us consider what will happen when fertilization takes place. If we consider the oospheres as a whole, since the yellow and green pollen grains are in equal numbers, on an average half the oospheres will be fertilized by yellow pollen grains and half by green pollen grains. Again, since half the oospheres are yellow and half green, and since each has equal chance of meeting a yellow or a green pollen cell; a half of the green oospheres, that is, a quarter of the whole number of oospheres, will be fertilized by green pollen cells, and thus the quarter of the offspring showing the pure recessive character is accounted for. In a similar way one-half of the yellow oospheres will be fertilized by yellow pollen cells, thus leading to the formation of a strain of pure yellows numbering one-quarter of the offspring. One-half the green oospheres, or one-quarter of the whole number, will be fertilized by yellow pollen grains, and an equal number of yellow oospheres will be fertilized by green pollen grains. These last two sorts of union yield the same result, therefore two-quarters, that is, one-half the whole offspring, will be hybrids; but owing to the dominance of the yellow character these will resemble the pure yellows in appearance, and thus the second generation will consist three-fourths of yellow peas and one-fourth of green peas.

This explanation of the results of crossing introduces the idea of pure germ cells being formed by a hybrid. It is found that this conception fits all the facts so far recorded. But, as everyone knows, the characters or distinctive qualities of a plant or animal are numerous; and Mendel's next step was to try crossing two varieties which differed from one another in two characters. Here again the pea-plant offered the desired opportunity. Mendel selected two varieties of peas, one of which was, when dry, round and yellow, whereas the other was green and angular. When these two varieties were crossed, the resulting peas of the first generation were all yellow and round, showing that yellowness and roundness were dominant characters whilst greenness and

angularity were recessive. When these hybrids were selfed, three-quarters of the second generation were found to be yellow and one-quarter green, and three-quarters were round, one-quarter angular; but roundness and angularity were distributed amongst the offspring with no regard to yellowness and greenness; for there were not only round yellow peas and angular green peas in this generation, but two totally new varieties had made their appearance, viz., angular yellow peas and round green peas.

Since three-quarters of the peas were yellow and three-quarters round, but these two qualities were distributed independently of each other, three-quarters of three-quarters of the whole number, that is, nine-sixteenths, will be yellow and round; whilst similar reasoning leads to the conclusion that one-quarter of one-quarter, or one-sixteenth, will be green and angular; three-quarters of one-quarter, or three-sixteenths, yellow and angular ; and one-quarter of three-quarters, or three-sixteenths of the whole, green and round. Thus the proportions in which the four varieties found in the second generation are as follows: nine yellow and round; three yellow and angular; three green and round; and one green and angular. When these varieties are tested by self-fertilization, it is found that only the green angular, forming the sixteenth of the whole, breed pure. The other varieties contain some that are hybrid with respect to one character or both. Thus, of the yellow and angular, for instance, one-third, that is one-sixteenth of the whole, are pure. The remainder are hybrids as far as yellow is concerned; that is to say, in the following generation they give rise to peas all of which are angular but some of which are yellow and some green. The green are pure. Of the round and green, one-third, or one-sixteenth of the whole generation, are pure; the remainder on further breeding yield green peas, but some are angular and some round. The angular remain pure on further testing. Therefore, in three generations it is possible to obtain from the original cross two new varieties, in small numbers it is true

but of such purity that they will remain true to type, however many generations are raised from them.

All these results can be explained by an extension of the hypothesis of pure germ-cells. We have only to suppose that, when the hybrid resulting from the union of two parents which differ from each other in two characters comes to form its reproductive cells, it produces not two but four kinds of pollen grains and an equal number of varieties of oospheres, namely, those carrying the yellow round, the yellow angular, the green round, and green angular combinations of characters respectively. Mendel carried out the further experiment of crossing two varieties of pea which differed from each other in three characters and found exactly the same laws to apply. Each pair of characters is distributed amongst the second generation independently of the other two pairs, so that eight varieties of peas are found in this generation, of which six are new. The proportions of the varieties are exactly what would be calculated on the theory of probabilities from the assumption that there are now eight kinds of pollen and eight kinds of ovules produced in approximately equal quantities by the hybrid.

In sketching the advances made by other workers I shall first mention some results of enormous practical importance. Mr. A. Biffen, a lecturer on botany in Cambridge, examined the cereals, wheat and barley, and found that these plants like the pea present a large number of varieties which occur in pairs, and which, when crossed with one another, behave as did the varieties of peas. Confining ourselves to wheat, Biffen found that the hardness of the Manitoba grain and the softness of the English grain were a pair of such characters, as were also the possession of a sparse ear leading to a comparatively light yield and of a heavy ear causing a very heavy yield per acre.

English wheat has a soft starchy grain and a heavy yield. For this reason, in spite of its inferior quality, it is grown by English farmers who can only make its growing

remunerative when they get a crop of from 40 to 50 bushels per acre. It had been usually supposed that it was impossible to grow the hard Manitoba wheat in England, but according to Mr. Biffen this is a mistake. It would not, however, pay the English farmer to grow it in spite of the higher price which it brings in the market, because he would only reap at most 20 to 25 bushels an acre. English and Manitoba wheat, therefore, differ in two pairs of characters, and it will be clear that, by crossing them, two new varieties will emerge in the second generation, one a wheat combining the light yield of Manitoba wheat with the soft grain of English wheat, which is, of course, valueless, and the other a wheat combining the high yield of English wheat with the hard grain of Manitoba wheat. This variety, if stable, would no doubt increase the profit of the English farmer about twelve per cent., since the value of the hard grain exceeds that of the soft by that amount, but it would double the profits of the Canadian farmer by doubling his yield. The new varieties when just produced of course contained a certain number of plants which were hybrid with respect to one character, but in the course of the next generation these can be sifted out and an absolutely stable variety secured. Mr. Biffen's experiments are still proceeding; and he has found that susceptibility to, or immunity from, the attacks of rust are another pair of alternative characters, as are also length of straw and shortness of straw. By appropriate crossing the desirable members of these pairs of qualities can be fixed. It will be obvious what a large prospect of economic advantage for the farmer is here indicated.

But, although of immense practical importance, Mr. Biffen's experiments have disclosed no new principle. The first of the advances on Mendel's position must be credited to Mr. Bateson, and it concerns the nature of dominance, that is, the peculiarity of the hybrid in showing only the features of one of the parents. Bateson showed that dominance, so far from being one of the most important of Mendel's discoveries, was by no means of universal occurrence; that in

some cases the hybrid was intermediate in character between the two parents, and that in other cases it showed a new character not found in either parent. A notable instance of this latter alternative is shown by the blue Andalusian fowl, a variety distinguished by a fine bluish-grey colour of plumage much admired by fanciers, who have endeavoured without success to secure a pure strain of the breed. Bateson showed that the blue Andalusian fowl is always a hybrid, the parents being members of two breeds, one distinguished by black plumage and the other by plumage of a white colour splashed with black. When the Andalusian fowl reproduces, none of the germ-cells carry the blue quality, but half carry the black character and half the white splashed with black. The next generation then, if two Andalusians are crossed, will yield on an average half its number like the parents, for only half the second generation will be hybrids as we know from Mendel's experiments. A much better yield will be given by making the original cross again. According to Bateson the nature of the first hybrid is something that can as little be predicated as can the nature of the compound resulting from the union of two chemical elements. Sodium is a bright silvery metal and chloride is a greenish-yellow gas, but sodium chloride or common salt is like neither.

The next advance was made by the French zoologist Cuénot. He discovered that, just as the meeting of a pair of qualities in the hybrid may produce a result different from either, so the meeting in an individual of two qualities not belonging to the same pair may produce a definite result. When he crossed grey mice with albinó mice the offspring were grey, showing that grey was dominant over albino, and in the second generation one-quarter of the mice were albinos and three-quarters were coloured; but—this was the extraordinary thing—the coloured mice were not always all grey. What colour they showed depended partly on the former history of the albinos used. In one case in the second generation the proportions were—nine grey mice, three black and four albino. The albino mice had descended on one side from

a black strain. Cuénot gave the following explanation of his results. He supposed that there was some character, probably a peculiar group of atoms, the presence of which was necessary to allow colour to show itself. This he called the chromogen. The presence or absence of this constituted a pair of qualities. Blackness and greyness likewise constituted a pair of qualities. The cross then had been made between mice which were grey with the chromogen element and those that were potentially black, but without the chromogen element, and which therefore appeared white. In the second generation we should therefore, according to Mendel, obtain four varieties of mice in the following proportions: out of a total of sixteen we should have nine grey with chromogen, three black with chromogen, three grey without chromogen, and one black without chromogen. The one black and three grey without chromogen will be indistinguishable from one another, for all will appear to be white. Hence the four albinos out of sixteen which appear in this generation are accounted for.

In the analysis just given one pair of qualities consists in the presence or absence of the chromogen. A review of other pairs of qualities has suggested to Bateson that in most cases the difference between the members of a pair consists in the presence or absence of something. Thus for instance let us take the case of yellow and green peas. The greenness is due to chlorophyll, almost universally present in plants. The yellow peas have also chlorophyll, but it is prevented from showing itself through being overlaid by a yellow pigment. Hence the presence or absence of this pigment really constitutes the difference between the members of this pair. So with roundness and angularity. Round peas possess a chemical which causes all their circulating sugar to be deposited as starch. Hence even when dry they retain their form. Angular peas on the other hand are without this chemical, and therefore they are full of a sugary sap which causes them when dried to lose volume and shrink. It is even suggested that the case of the mice quoted above can be brought under this

rule. If we suppose that in both grey and black mice there is a fundamental black pigment which can only be seen when grey is absent, then the difference between the members of the pair will be the presence or absence of this grey colour.

In the beginning of this paper it was pointed out that it is the nucleus which is the bearer of heredity. It is surmised, and is becoming more and more probable, that it is a definite portion of the nucleus in which the hereditary qualities are concentrated. This portion, when the nucleus divides, becomes arranged in the form of short rods which, from their affinity for certain colouring matters, such as magenta, dahlia, gentian-violet, are called chromosomes. The number of chromosomes in a nucleus is constant for the given species of animal. When the nucleus divides into two, each chromosome is split longitudinally into two halves and one half goes to each daughter nucleus, so that each daughter nucleus has the same number of chromosomes as the original nucleus. The germ-cells, however, contain only one half the number of chromosomes characteristic of the species. The halving occurs at a definite stage in the production of these germ-cells. One of the mother nuclei divides without the chromosomes being split. One half the number of these then passes to each of the daughter nuclei. This particular division is called the reducing division. Now it is suggested that, when the varieties originally sprang from the parent stock, an irregularity in this reducing division led to one of the daughter cells obtaining one chromosome too many, while another obtained a chromosome too few, and thus two kinds of germ-cell with differing hereditary qualities were produced by one parent. New varieties of the kind we have been discussing would be in one sense defective offspring, since their characteristic feature would be the absence of something normally found in the ancestral species.

A remarkable confirmation of this view has been obtained by Bateson by crossing two varieties of sweet-pea. Both varieties had white flowers. They differed from one another,

as far as the eye could tell, solely in the nature of their pollen. One variety had the ordinary round grains of pollen, whilst another had long grains. When these two varieties were crossed a hybrid with purple flowers resulted. Now the vetchling (Lathyrus), or wild sweet-pea, has purple flowers, and this result might be described as a reversion to the original type. The interesting thing is that we can now interpret this reversion. The purple colour is due to two factors which have been separated in the production of the two white cultivated varieties, so that each has one of them. But one alone can not produce colour. When, by crossing, these two long separated factors are brought together colour results. Darwin has related similar cases among pigeons, but as he was ignorant of Mendel's results he was not able to explain the phenomena. The difference between this case and that of the albino mice is that all albino mice—and this seems to be true of other albino animals also—are deficient in the same factor, to which deficiency their albinism is due, so that when crossed with one another they never give rise to anything but albinos, whilst the white races of sweet-pea owe their whiteness to deficiency in different qualities, so that by their mating the original colour may be restored.

The last point in what may be termed Mendelian inheritance to which I shall refer is one which has been worked out by Miss Saunders, a pupil of Mr. Bateson's. The garden plant known as the stock exists in many varieties. Some of these are smooth-stemmed and others have their stems covered with a down of white hairs, a condition termed by botanists hoary. The colours they exhibit are classed as cream, white, red, and purple. Now these colours fall into two categories. Red and purple owe their quality to the colour of the juice or sap in the cells of the petals. Cream and white have no colour in the sap, but each variety has in the cells of its petals a series of little balls of denser protoplasm termed plastids which in the white variety are colourless but in the cream variety carry an oily yellow colouring matter. Now when these different varieties are crossed

with one another very curious results occur. In detailing these it will be remembered that the adjective smooth applies to the condition of the stem. It was found that:

Smooth cream crossed with smooth white gave hoary purple; smooth cream crossed with smooth purple gave hoary purple; smooth cream crossed with smooth red gave hoary red; smooth white crossed with smooth purple or with smooth red gave hoary purple; smooth red crossed with smooth purple gave smooth purple.

The explanation of these facts is as follows. Hoariness is always associated with the possession of plastids; but hoariness is unable to show itself unless the sap is coloured. The forms with plastids, like the white sweet-peas, have each of them one of the factors necessary for colour. When they are crossed, these two factors combine and give colour, and then the factor for hoariness is able to show itself. The varieties with coloured sap contain of course both factors necessary for colour but are without the factor for hoariness. In addition to the factors necessary to allow the red colour to appear there is a factor for blueness, and this is carried by the variety with white plastids. Hence when red is crossed with white a purple hoary form results owing to the co-existence of the redness and blueness in the sap, whereas when cream is crossed with red only red results. The association of hoariness with the possession of plastids is called gametic coupling, gamete being a general word for reproductive cell. Still more curious is the fact that hoariness cannot manifest itself unless both factors for colours are present, though these may be present without it. The fact is thereby emphasized that the qualities of animals and plants as appreciated by our eyes are in many cases resultants of the interaction of factors present in the germ.

When we now survey the wonderful series of discoveries which I have just related two questions naturally arise in our minds. First, what bearing have these facts on human heredity; and, secondly, in what relation do they stand to the origin of species? Since attention has been directed to the matter

it has been found that various monstrosities to which human flesh occasionally falls heir act like what we may term Mendelian qualities in inheritance. Thus the possession of only two joints in the fingers is dominant to the normal condition, as is also the possession of an extra finger or toe. So, too, is colour blindness and the opaque lens of the eye known as birth-cataract. There is strong reason to believe that liability to certain diseases acts as recessive character, for in this way the curious phenomenon of a disease skipping a generation can be explained.

As to the deeper question of the relation of Mendelian inheritance to the origin of species, enthusiastic disciples of Mendel have no doubt on the subject. They are sure that the variations with which they are experimenting are similar to those which have led to the differentiation of one species from another. It may be so; perhaps in some cases it probably has been so. But in most cases it appears as if specific characters were of a different kind. It has been pointed out that the human monstrosities which—to coin a new word—"Mendelize" so well have never become characteristic of any of the permanent races of mankind, which must be regarded as incipient species, but that whenever two groups of people originally of one stock have been separated by a difficult barrier, such as a mountain range or the sea, differences begin to manifest themselves and a recognizable type is discriminated on each side of the barrier. These differences are, however, precisely of that kind which Mendel excluded from his experiments. They are differences of degree in the same quality—such as taller and shorter stature, greater or less amount of pigment in the skin or hair, higher or lower bridge of the nose. When we think of the hundreds of thousands of species of insects, for example, we find it difficult to believe that they have been formed by successive subtraction of definite units from the hereditary potentialities of an ancestral species. Rather we must believe that by differences in the blood caused by different foods the germ-cells have been affected in such a way to stimulate one potentiality and hold

back another. This, however, is a point which must be left to future research, but in any case I think that the researches of Mendel and his modern followers constitute a tremendous advance on our knowledge and give a wonderful insight into the nature of heredity.

E. W. MacBride

AWAKENING

There is a far, faint calling in the night,
(O, violets in the grass!)
A misty glimmer in the long twilight,
A sweet, strong singing as the glad birds pass.

Upon the southern slopes of pleasant hills
(O, red of maple buds!)
There is a touch of greenness where the rills
Pour down, all golden with the Spring-time floods.

There is a restless stirring of the earth,
(O, fall of Spring-tide rain!)
A new, hushed laughter for the hour of mirth,
A softened sorrow for the hour of pain.

A. Clare Giffen

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND HUMAN IMMORTALITY

METAPHYSICAL arguments in general have never carried much weight with the popular mind, which fact, taken in itself, is, of course, no proof of their lack of forcefulness, since it might equally well be interpreted as reflecting the incapacity of the ordinary intelligence to pursue abstract reasonings. But at the present time even many philosophers and scientists appear to regard metaphysical method and moral arguments as applied to the problem of human immortality in particular as either irrelevant or unconvincing. Metaphysics seem to them as completely helpless in this matter. The most which, in their opinion, it can achieve is the deduction of human immortality as the consequence of some speculative theory about the nature of things, which theory in itself cannot be raised much, if at all, above the level of a possibility. It seems impossible to define the relation of thinking beings to reality as a whole. What many people, and amongst them some of the best educated, are therefore now inquiring after are not philosophical speculations about the ultimate nature of reality and human consciousness, but facts, if there be any, which will prove that consciousness does actually survive the cessation of the vital processes. Are there any experiential facts of such a nature as to render the belief in the continuance of human personality after the dissolution of the physical organism, more probable than the opposite view ? It is well known that a respectable number of scientifically trained and cultivated individuals assert that there is experimental evidence for this belief. Their number has of recent years

been slightly on the increase in England and the United States. The object of the present article is to examine the grounds of the asserted induction, which, if true, has not only a practical interest but is of theoretical importance, because it would carry us beyond a guiding principle of modern psychology, namely, that all mental states and activities are materially conditioned. Is there then really any *instantia crucis* forthcoming by which the existence and identity of human consciousness in isolation from bodily connexion can be established?

It is a somewhat hopeful sign that the more refined and less unphilosophical upholders of the hypothesis of Spiritism are becoming less and less inclined to attach any importance to the crude and vulgar materialistic phenomena of the *séances*; such, for example, as the raps, which have been the long-recognized mode of communication with the "spirits," the movement of furniture and playing of musical instruments without human agency or apparent contact, the appearance of materialized spirit-forms, the levitation of the human body without perceptible force, the introduction of physical objects through brick or stone walls,—a supposed proof of the passage of matter through matter—and the handling of red hot coals and other burning substances with impunity. They are beginning to recognize, what has been for years obvious to the more critical, that the conditions under which these performances have taken place are not of such a character as to satisfy the requirements of a scientific test, since they do not exclude the possibility of fraudulent manipulations. No materialization *séance* can be regarded as satisfactory which necessitates continuous observation on the part of the inquirer; and none, so far as we know, has ever been conducted under conditions which enable one to dispense with the fulfilment of this requirement. Moreover, the fact that most, if not all, the material phenomena alleged to have been wrought by the activity of the spirits have been produced equally well, if not better, by those who have claimed no other sources of aid than their own skilful fingers and certain

mechanical devices, has been of considerable pedagogical value in shaking the faith of those who were perhaps at one time inclined to the hypothesis of spirit aid. And finally, these material phenomena are in themselves devoid of any special significance. They could never prove the identity of the agent concerned. For this psychological phenomena are indispensable. Hence, the more educated believers are now turning from the physical to prosecute with renewed vigour the manifestations more peculiarly psychical, such as those connected with hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance and prevision; and they believe that they have finally found in the trance utterances of Mrs. Piper, if not of others, sufficient evidence to warrant a belief that we are able to hold intercourse with the spirits of departed relatives and friends.

As is now generally known, Mrs. Piper is a very remarkable medium who, on passing spontaneously or otherwise into a state of trance, purports to be clairvoyant, and is then able to inform those who consult her of matters relating to departed relations and friends, which in some cases have not been, it is said, known to the inquirers themselves. The strong features of this medium's case which distinguish her favourably from predecessors are, firstly, that she has been the subject of unusual precaution against deception during the past twenty years, and, secondly, that the accuracy of her communications has reached an unusually high level. On some occasions such intimate knowledge has been displayed about people who have been introduced to her for the first time without foreknowledge, that it is difficult to understand how ordinary channels of information could in *all* cases have sufficed to convey it. Without being aware beforehand of their impending visits she has given people who have come to see her, correct accounts of their families and their homes; has told them in some cases that they have had business troubles or recently lost some valuable articles, and that they have such and such things in their pockets: much of which has turned out to be correct. Now in many of these cases it is not unlikely that Mrs. Piper derives her information by some

process of thought transference—the basis of which is apparently physical—from the brain of the inquirer. In other cases, however, facts have been correctly stated which, it is said, were not known to any of those present at the interviews. And of recent years Mrs. Piper, who at first purported to be under the control of a French physician, Finné, or Phinuit, whose identity, however, was never established, has, we are informed, given such life-like personations of deceased persons that they have been hailed by relatives and friends as the very spirits themselves of the dead.[1]

But the question at once presents itself, can those who are very deeply concerned in the result weigh the evidence scientifically, *i.e.*, dispassionately? Most of those who attend these *séances* come in the hope of communicating with deceased relatives and friends. Any one who is aware of the force of expectant attention knows how easy it is for people to unconsciously deceive themselves under these conditions. They perceive only what they want to experience. Their attitude is the opposite of impartial and critical. It is doubtful, as has been suggested by an acute but sympathetic critic, whether if the details of domestic interest and the common-place expressions of affection be left aside, there is anything striking in the reported personations. What we might expect the spirits to communicate owing to their special attainments and qualifications is left unsaid. Thus to consider a case on which much stress has been laid by the late Mr. Myers, Dr. Hyslop and others, that of George Pelham, one of the most striking of the alleged spirits communicating through Mrs. Piper. George Pelham, as he is known by his pseudonym, had been a student of philosophy and an author of some promise. He had published several works which received high praise from competent judges. When, however, very naturally asked to give his opinion about the relation of mind and body, he scarcely showed any comprehension of the problem and was apparently unable to use abstract terms at all. The "spirit"

1 Phinuit, who can only be regarded as a "secondary personality" of Mrs. Piper, ceased to appear about eleven years ago, viz., in January, 1897.

of Stainton Moses has never given correct replies to questions concerning the identity of "Imperator" and "Rector" mentioned in his "Spirit Teachings." Such a state of disembodied spirit-existence as disclosed in these and other typical cases of spirit-utterances certainly appears strange and discouraging. At one time it used to be said that the higher inhabitants of the spirit-world had not yet come forward, and that this accounted for the intellectually low character of spirit-utterances. But now that some of the better minds have purported to appear and have added considerably to the existing amount of the world's twaddle, this explanation has had to be relinquished.

The hypothesis with which the convinced spiritist is now-a-days wont to meet the difficulty involved in the above and similar instances of halting and imperfect communications from the spirit-world is well known, but of very doubtful force. It is that the channels of communication are and must necessarily be faulty, not only because our minds are still limited and hampered by their connexion with our bodies; but also because the medium is in an abnormal condition and the spirit who is communicating through the medium has also to place him or herself in an unusual and inconvenient mental attitude. He or she is ignorant of the mechanism to be used, and the communication is further hindered by the necessity of the spirit being obliged to partially resume the coarse vesture of materiality.

Here we meet with some naïve and mystical assumptions of rather antique origin. Mind is regarded as trammelled by connexion with body. There is an underlying assumption which has been handed down from Plato, of the grossness and imperfection of matter as such, with the consequent belief in the degradation and limitation of consciousness through its association with a material body, as if the existence of human mind independently of a bodily structure were self-evident or otherwise established. Failing this, it is simply the merest assumption to speak of consciousness being hindered through a bodily connexion since we know of

mental phenomena only in connexion with bodily structure and changes. But apart altogether from these gratuitous beliefs, the procedure of the spiritist is here logically indefensible, for whenever supplementary and *ad hoc* hypotheses have to be called in without independent evidence to support the original hypothesis, which is not otherwise proved or rendered probable, they arouse the suspicion of being mere fictions, since each of them requires for itself the same justification as the fundamental idea in the light of which they are formulated, and which, therefore, they alone cannot serve to support. Such auxiliary hypotheses or assumptions, unsupported by further facts, can really claim no authority except what they derive from the hypothesis which was to yield the chief explanation of the phenomena in question, and which they, in reversal of all scientific method, are now called upon to defend. An hypothesis thus bolstered up assumes the aspect of a mere prejudice.[1]

In order that any hypothesis may be regarded as probable, it must be adequate to determine *à priori* through development of its consequences what phenomena are likely to occur; and, in order that it should be considered proved, it must be shown to be the only one capable of explaining the phenomena in question. Thus the hypothesis of a central force, whatever its nature may be, controlling the solar system and operating according to the law of the inverse square, is the only supposition compatible with Kepler's second law; the undulatory theory of light, in contrast to the emission theory, can alone account for the phenomena of interference and polarization, and it is because the disintegration hypo-

1 For reasons to be mentioned later, it is not satisfactory to accept the mere statement of the "communicator" as proof of an abnormal condition on the part of the alleged "spirit." The case is not analogous, as Dr. Hyslop supposes—(Science and Immortality, p. 319) fortunately, perhaps, for the character of the spirits—to that of inferring when a man is insane or a writer a crank simply by what he says or writes. In this case the utterances proceed directly from an individual whose identity is verifiable by an immediate perception; whereas in the case of spirit-communication they come to us indirectly through another person, while the supposed personality responsible for them remains imperceptible to everyone. The matter would be on a different basis if at least the discarnate existence of the alleged personality were independently proved. Then it might be necessary to frame some supposition to account for the triviality and disconnected character of the messages from Spirit-Land. But until then, it may be superfluous to suppose anything more further than an abnormal, and, in some cases, enfeebled condition of the medium.

thesis of radio-activity approximates more than does any other to the above conditions that it holds the field at the present time. How does the spiritist's assumption look when judged by these criteria? Has Mr. Myers, Dr. Hyslop, or anybody else really proved that any one who pays Mrs. Piper a moderate fee can hold a day's intercourse with the dead? Have the spiritists proved the existence of human mind apart from and independent of a physical organism? Have they shown that their hypothesis is the sole means of accounting for the phenomena in question? The answers to these questions must, I think, be in the negative.

In the first place, notwithstanding assertions by spiritists to the contrary, there is really no proof forthcoming of the identity of the communicating agent with the personality of the deceased. Such a proof could be conceivably founded only on an identity of bodily appearance or identity of memory and activity, or on a combination of both; neither of which in any of the cases reported is realized. The first is indeed excluded by the conditions of the case. For identity of a material object depends on the continuity of its existence; but continuity of body cannot be shown where either no body exists or where none at all events appears. And without the same material body, it may be difficult to prove that the same self is now existing. If, for example, an individual stated now that he felt himself to be A whom we knew formerly, and yet resembled a man B whom we knew formerly more than he did A, we would scarcely regard his mere statement alone as against the object of marks of bodily similarity with B as proving his identity with A. Supposing that A's body remained the same to outward appearance for ten years, but that during this time his personality underwent a great change so that his later activity showed no inner connexion with his former self; we should still regard him as the same individual on the ground that his organism had persisted throughout this period, although he might be no longer conscious of the identity.

Belief in identity seems indeed finally based on conviction of the identity of body, and this depends on actual or possible continuity of perception. But how is identity to be established in cases where continuous perception is excluded, as, for example, when an individual has been removed out of our sight for a period to some other part of the globe, and then afterwards re-appears perhaps in a changed condition? The answer is, either by a proof that the individual in question is not at the moment elsewhere or has not in the meantime died, or by the credibility of his statement combined with the fact that he resembles the individual we used to know more than anybody else could. When we can satisfy the requirements of these different lines of evidence, our conviction will be well founded. Can we apply these tests in the case of the problem under discussion? Obviously we cannot apply the first; for bodily identity based on continuity of attributes is excluded where no body is producible. We are thus thrown back upon other marks of the identity of the communicating self, and here again the proofs are lacking in cogency.

For with the evidence contained in the communications, and having regard to the unknown possibilities of spirit-land, it is altogether doubtful whether it could be said that "no other individual could resemble the alleged former acquaintance or friend to the same extent, either consciously or by unintentional coincidence." The prevailing vagueness of the communications affords in the matter of interpretation the widest scope to the unconscious bias of the sitter. Indeed, secondly, judging by the utterances from this spirit-land, we might go further and say that the agents who are supposed to be communicating with us through the medium, granting they are discarnate spirits at all, need not necessarily be human. They may be extra-human. The nature of their communications, which must serve as the ultimate criterion, would lead us to suppose that they are of a lower order than human, for they seem to be feebler and less intelligent. And thirdly, there is nothing to show that they

have no connexion with material bodies. This point is strangely overlooked by spiritists. Because these spirits may not depend on the very same matter or on similar combinations of it to those with which our minds are connected, does it follow that, they are altogether bodiless and depend on no matter at all? They may be connected with invisible matter, that is to say, with matter which remains for us normally imperceptible. When hard pressed by circumstances the spiritist has to admit, as I have already mentioned, that when the departed spirits desire to inform us of their existence they have to partially resume the coarse garment of materiality. But unfortunately, apart from such times and conditions, we do not know anything about their existence. How then can we know that they exist at other times, and in any different state? Where is the proof that they exist apart from all connexion with matter? Thus, granting disembodied spirit existence to be a conceivable hypothesis, it is on the spiritist's own showing a pure assumption; so that Mr. F. H. Bradley in a characteristically subtle article, as well worthy of perusal now as when written over twenty years ago, was quite justified in asserting that in the premises of the spiritist there is nothing incompatible with the most thorough-going materialism.[1]

Fourthly, it must still be shown that the communicating spirits or agents are worthy of belief. Assuming that they desire to inform us truthfully, how can we be certain that they possess the requisite mental capacity to do so? From the trifling though sometimes rational, but frequently silly character of the communications, this would appear doubtful. Moreover, too, the spiritists themselves admit that there may be mischievous and counterfeiting spirits; and these may mislead even the excellent Mrs. Piper. Hence, even if we could proceed so far as to reach the alternative suggested by Mr. Bradley, which we cannot at present,

1 See *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1885, p. 811. As Mr. Bradley says delightfully: "If they pass through our key-holes, perhaps we pass through theirs, and should bewilder them if, like ourselves, they were wise enough to wonder how our high matter could affect their gross bodies." p. 814

"the agent is either my relative or a devil;" in some instances we might have to accept the second alternative and say, "we are not sure whether, indeed, the alleged spirit is not a devil who is attempting to abuse our confidence." After all, assuming as charitable an attitude as reason permits in a scientific matter, it must be borne in mind that the hypothesis of fraud is not entirely excluded. When we consider how men like Sir William Crookes, the late Professor Sidgwick and Sir Oliver Lodge have been egregiously deceived by common bunglers, it would not surprise us if cleverer mediums were still more successful in covering up their tracks. Although seemingly improbable, at the moment, I do not consider intentional deception absolutely excluded even in the case of Mrs. Piper. That unconscious self-deception on the part of the sitters is in many cases an important factor, seems certain.

Fifthly, and lastly, granting that human personalities existed for a while after the dissolution of their bodies, it would not follow that they would continue to persist forever; it would not follow that they were immortal. It is well known that an effect can persist after its cause has disappeared, and this has been suggested as a conceivable explanation of some ghostly apparitions. But if psychical states and physical events are concomitant and strictly simultaneous phenomena, a causal connection between them being excluded, as a not improbable theory regarding their relation, namely, psychophysical parallelism, supposes, then this possibility need no longer be considered. In any case, the ghost stories would have to be better authenticated than they actually are. For they are neither numerous enough nor verifiable in a satisfactory form to serve as the basis of a theory. Their value is impaired by the frequency of hallucinations. And whatever force they might have otherwise is neutralized by the fact, that there are apparitions of the living, for which the hypothesis of discarnate spirit is unnecessary. In the important work on the census of hallucinations undertaken by the late Mr. Gurney and others,

there were twice as many apparitions of the living as of the dead. It would, of course, be very interesting to show that human consciousness could exist, if only for a short time, after death. But this would be of real importance only if evidence were simultaneously forthcoming, that its persistence was independent of all association with any kind of matter. It is at this point it seems to me that the spiritistic argument completely breaks down.

Any one who has undertaken the weary and unstimulating task of working through the reports on Mrs. Piper's performances, must as Mr. Podmore has remarked, been struck by the " tentative and piecemeal character " of the information supplied, " as if the medium were angling for signs of assent or dissent on the part of the sitter." He must have also been impressed, as Mr. Podmore further remarks, by her extreme suggestibility, and, unfavourably, by her reluctance in admitting lack of knowledge or mistakes.[1] On the other hand, the emotional excitement of most of the sitters assuredly tends to obscure their judgment, so that evidence of identity conveyed by gesture or speech is not likely to be weighed critically. It is well to bear in mind the remark of a rather sympathetic critic, Dr. Leaf, to the effect, that leaving aside details of domestic interest and ordinary expressions of affection, the personations cease to be at all striking. The common lack of definiteness pervading the communications, involve great uncertainty in their interpretation, because they obviously afford wide scope to the bias of the inquirer. The following instance exemplifies this even in the case of a well trained investigator. Professor Hyslop informs us that he has of recent years had a communication from his father through Mrs. Piper which gave information regarding a certain " Uncle John," who purported to have lost a finger in the Civil War in the United States. Knowing nothing about the incident in relation to this relative, he investigated the histories of his father's and mother's families for a hundred

1 This intellectual (or moral ?) weakness is not confined to Mrs. Piper, but infects many of the best adherents of spiritism.

years back. It then turned out that a certain John McClellan, "probably a distant relative of an uncle, James McClellan," had been an ensign in the war of 1812, and had lost a finger. It is surely a very lenient method, like that of Pragmatism, whose boast it is to have no rigid canons of proof, and whose methods are, according to Professor James, "various and flexible," which can see in this and similar instances a satisfactory proof of the identity of the communicating agent. Mr. Podmore, who has been investigating the phenomena of spiritism for over twenty years, and who speaks with an authority equal, at least, to that of any other investigator, after examining most exhaustively the best recorded utterances of Mrs. Piper, gives it as his opinion that "not a single instance can be pointed to in which a precise and unambiguous piece of information has been furnished of a kind which could not have proceeded from the medium's own mind, working upon the material provided, and the hints let drop by the sitters."[1] Such a pronouncement is of the greatest weight.

That Mrs. Piper in a state of trance is possessed of some faculty beyond the normal, may be admitted. It must also be admitted that a few of her achievements, if correctly reported, are incapable of a rational explanation at the moment. Some of her successful shots may probably be ascribed to chance coincidence, and some perhaps to clever conjecture. Her training and experience must surely have afforded her great opportunities for developing any native gift in this direction. The fact of observers of the capacity of Professor James, Dr. Hodgson, Mrs. Sidgwick, Dr. Leaf, and Professor Hyslop, being impressed by Mrs. Piper's honesty, is not in itself sufficient proof of the fact. Sir William Crookes was equally confident about Foster's and Home's; so were Sir Oliver Lodge and A. R. Wallace about other highly accredited mediums, including Eusapia Palladino, and yet they were all deceived. And surely ability to impress one's clientele

1 Modern Spiritualism, II, p. 345. This admirably lucid and judicial work is a rich mine of critically sifted material and should be carefully studied by those who wish to form an intelligent opinion on the subject.

with one's integrity is an essential part of a successful medium's capital. If fraudulent mediums always misled people, they would never gain anybody's confidence. But is it possible to apply satisfactorily any criterion of distinction between fraudulent and reliable mediums and spirits? Sceptics may say that all mediums are reliable until they deceive.

It is important to bear in mind that in the case of Mrs. Piper, as in the case of other mediums, the conviction of the medium's honesty is based on experience of Mrs. Piper's working state, whilst the communications take place when she is entranced. Now it is not only possible, but from what we know very probable, that an individual may exhibit different qualities in the hypnotic and in the waking states. When, however, we believe in the desire and capacity of an individual to tell us the truth, actual observation of his mental make-up forms the basis of our conviction. But how are we convinced of the absence of any motive to deceive? Surely such conviction rests on the assumption that if the individual in question were actuated by such a motive, we should have become aware of it; which involves a further assumption that the whole of his mental life is known to us. And this, of course, implies further that there exists in him no other life which may be directed by other motives than those which we have been able to discover. Unfortunately, these criteria cannot be applied in a case of medium communications. For the fact that the mediums display in the trance state qualities differing from those displayed in the waking condition, disturbs our assurance that we know the whole of their mental composition. Even were it possible to obtain the assurance of their honesty of purpose, a doubt must still remain as to the trustworthiness of their information. There are things which may remain unknown to them. We may even go further than this and say that there is positive ground for distrusting their information; for, from the facts observed, including those depending on Mrs. Piper, we are obliged, as we have seen, to conclude that the intelligence of the "spirits" falls below the human standard. Even with regard to Mrs.

Piper's communications, it remains therefore doubtful whether the assumptions on which human testimony is received can any longer be made. But if our experience of human nature in general, and special information about the particular spirit be insufficient, then nothing remains but to fall back upon the character itself of the communications. The nature of these, however, is, as we have already seen, not such as to give us encouragement, much less to afford sufficient evidence of spirit identity.

The fact that what may be regarded as the real test questions which have been put to the alleged personalities appearing during Mrs. Piper's trances have remained unanswered constitutes a weighty objection to taking them at their own estimation. Thus, a certain Hannah Wild left a sealed letter for the express purpose of a test; but the different versions of the letter dictated by her supposed spirit have all proved erroneous.[1] The *soi-disant* spirit of that harmless and probably self-deceived man, Stainton Moses, has on every occasion given the names of his earthly guides incorrectly. George Pelham refused at first to answer similar questions on the ground that the tests would be unsatisfactory; but afterwards he gave answers all of which were wide of the mark. It was recommended by the late Mr. Myers to the members of the S. P. R. that they should all leave sealed letters at their death, the contents of which should be known to nobody but themselves. Thus far, the task of reading such letters has not been satisfactorily undertaken.

If the mediums be really clairvoyant and possess prophetic power, let them answer a few questions of the following simple character. Let them inform us of the exact condition of the Canadian wheat crop on the 25th. of next August, or the price of British Consols on the first settling day nine months hence; or supposing them gifted with scientific attainments, let them tell us whereabouts in Meyer and Men-

1 If "death" be followed by amnesia, as has been suggested in order to account for the "spirit" of Hannah being unable to give the correct version of the letter, then it is difficult to see what test can be satisfactorily applied.

deljeff's classification of the chemical elements the next element will be found, or whether the α particle of radio-active bodies is or is not helium.[1] To reply to these demands that such matters do not interest the spirits seems to me to surrender the case. For how does the defender of spirit action know this? If his information be derived merely from the fact, as it surely can only be, that these questions remain unanswered, his argument simply involves a vicious circle. But unless these or equally satisfactory tests be met, he must not be surprised and pained if other people, whose liking for arbitrarily formulated hypotheses is not so strongly developed as his own, consider him to be groping in a hopelessly befogged atmosphere.

Only if information be furnished on matters known to the dead and unknown to the medium, to the inquirer or to any living individual, would we be entitled, I think, to seek the explanation along other than any already known psychophysical channels. At present, the personalities appearing in Mrs. Piper's communications strike one much more as *creations* than as *re-incarnations*. And unless attempts to gain information which lies beyond what could be supplied from terrestrial sources meet with more success than they have up to the present time, it will be a thoroughly justifiable conclusion that the alleged spirits are after all simply creations of this mediums' subliminal activity. Able thinkers like Mr. F. H. Bradley and Professor Muensterberg are disposed to deny that tests of any kind could suffice to prove the existence of discarnate spirits, or that any conceivable evidence could establish their identity in view of the unknown and unimaginable sources of deception arising out of the presumed other world. In regard to the question whether departed spirits enter or can enter into communication with the living through the agency of mediums, Muensterberg emphatically says there is no compromise; " the facts as they are claimed

1 The "spirits" do wonderful things for believers, but will do almost nothing for the unconvinced scientific inquirer.

do not exist and never will exist."[1] Perhaps this indicates too dogmatic an attitude. It is true that human testimony can never supplant the principles of rational experience. Where there is irreconcilable conflict between them, it is obvious that the former must give way. But it is not inconceivable, and hence not absolutely irrational, to suppose that mind can exist without body. Is it then absolutely inconceivable that discarnate spirit could communicate with mind associated with body? The fundamental difficulty is and will be to prove that the "spirits" are really discarnate.

Assuredly at present the burden of proof still rests with the spiritist to show that messages *are* received from the spirit-world, from spirits identical with those that have previously existed on this earth. It is not taking up an unreasonable attitude to expect that the hypothesis of discarnate spirit activity will, even in Mrs. Piper's case, be shown by some crucial instances to be superfluous; although now defended by psychologists and physicists of great ability. It is not our business here to discuss the possible natural alternative explanations that may be put forward with regard to Mrs. Piper's performances. But it may be suggested that the excellent maxim of parsimony of hypothesis and the principle of continuity enjoin us to extend the already known means of explanation over as large an area as possible; in accordance with which we may expect that hypnotism, thought transference, and better information regarding the nature of subliminal activity will eventually throw light on certain residual phenomena of Mrs. Piper's trance utterances.

The facts connected with thought transference all point in the direction of a physical explanation in analogy with other physical forces, since it is found that increase of distance between agent and percipient has an unfavourable effect on the results. The intensity of the rapport between

1 Psychology and Life, p. 253.

them appears like the intensity of gravitation to decrease with the distance. The phenomena of hypnotism are fairly well known at the present time even if their ultimate cause be not wholly understood. Although no thoroughly satisfactory theory is forthcoming, hypnotism may be said to consist in a psychophysical condition of increased suggestibility, during which there is less resistance than in ordinary waking life to the sequence of certain ideas. As to its physical conditions, while difference of opinion is very noticeable, it is possible that dissociation between the brain tracts of the cerebrum ordinarily connected allows of an increased functioning of the lower nervous centres along with the removal of the controlling influences of the higher ones, the activity of which corresponds to the consciousness of ordinary waking life. Hypnotism is not at all mystical, but it is unfortunately often employed at the present time for the introduction of mystical theories, which by this means gain a semi-scientific aspect. It is completely misleading to represent the hypnotic subject as Mr. Myers and others obliged by the requirements of fantastic theories have done, as always an intellectually and morally superior being to the waking one. Along with increased perceptual power in certain directions there are equally obvious limitations, and the hypnotic subject is to a great extent, if not indeed in some cases wholly, under the control of the operator, so that his volition is decidedly limited and curtailed. The hypnotic patient is to a certain extent a stunted individual, especially in the condition of deep hypnosis. Now the similarity between the phenomena of hypnotism and those of secondary personality is very striking.

It has been ingeniously suggested that through the trance utterances of Mrs. Piper we are not brought into contact with departed relatives and friends, but by some means with fragments of their decaying memories. But the how of this still remains obscure. It is quite possible that Mrs. Piper is able by some hitherto unrecognized physical means to tap the subliminal cerebral stream as well as the supra-

liminal consciousness of those who consult her, and so give them back their own ideas as communications from the spirit world. If this be the case, then it will be intelligible that she should be able to communicate facts which were not consciously known to any of those present at her *séances.* If telepathy is here to be employed as a means of explanation, it seems that its conception may have to be extended in order to cover all the cases of Mrs. Piper's communication. It may have to be made to embrace the acquisition of knowledge from the memories of sitters, and not merely facts consciously known to them. But I do not see that there is any insuperable difficulty in the idea of such an extension. It is true that there is not the same scientific evidence for this sort of telepathy as there is for the influence of actually present mental states, and even for the latter the evidence is on a decidedly limited scale. At the moment there seems to be no evidence for the first mentioned sort at all. Yet it would involve an extension of the telepathic hypothesis only along fundamentally similar lines. Everything points to a physical basis for telepathy. Nobody supposes that mental states as such are transferred. It can only be the physical and physiological excitement which accompanies them that can influence the brain of the recipient.

The acquisition of knowledge from the memories of sitters, would apparently mean nothing more than that their subliminal cerebral activity influenced by former experiences, though insufficient to arouse any distinct states of consciousness in them, is nevertheless able to influence the medium's brain, endowed with intensely greater physical sensitiveness, and thus produce corresponding ideas. If telepathy in this form is to be accepted, it will probably be as only one factor in the process necessary to explain some of Mrs. Piper's records. Secondary personality of an unusually remarkable kind will have to be added; and it is just a question whether this is not always indicative of a pathological condition. An important objection to the telepathic hypothesis lies, according to Dr. Hyslop, in the fact of the change of communicators,

while another is involved in what he has called the dramatic play of personality. Those who have been present at the *séances* may perhaps be more impressed by the latter, but in the reports this factor does not stand out in any striking way. A skilful medium ought in this expect to be able "to fill the bill."

I do not see that we are necessarily reduced, as Dr. Hyslop supposes, to choosing between the alternatives of telepathy or spiritism. It appears very doubtful whether at the moment we have got far enough to frame any definite hypothesis which is at all adequate. The scientific attitude would seem to consist rather in suspense of judgment, along with the resolve to continue patiently the investigations of the respective phenomena. Properly sifted these may in themselves form valuable contributions to psychology, even should they never, as the present writer is inclined to think, lead to the establishment of human immortality. For this purpose numerous and better editions of Mrs. Piper will be required. Because we are unable at the moment to frame an adequate explanation of all hers, or Eusapia Palladino's performances, it does not follow that recourse must be had to the supposition of the interference of disembodied spirits. We are equally unable to explain the feats of clever jugglers and necromancers.

Before inquiring what new agencies require to be inferred from the facts, it ought to be seriously considered whether any new agencies require to be inferred at all, or whether an extension of the sphere of operation of those already known will not suffice to account for the phenomena in question. In a time which has seen the introduction of wireless telegraphy and the electron theory of matter, we should be on our guard against postulating new forces, particularly extra-physical ones, since it is probable that the mode of operation of previously recognized forces may not yet be wholly understood. Hyperphysical hypotheses can in any case never be considered until it has been shown that no physical explanation is conceivable. The late Mr. Myers in

his work, " Human Personality and its Survival after Death," took a very different view of the problem, and attempted a positive reply to the question of positing a new agency. But it seems that his speculations will scarcely stand the test prescribed by logical method. His theory, dressed out with much literary skill and unfortunately also with much paralogism, and depending on many doubtful facts, involves so many assumptions, and is so complex, as to show up unfavourably even against the ordinary spiritist interpretation. Had choice to be made between these, there could be no doubt, according to all established rules of scientific reasoning, which would be preferable.[1]

It is a perfectly hopeless procedure to attempt, as Mr. Myers does, to found an argument for the survival of the soul after death upon the uncertain basis of a shifting aggregate of multiple personalities. Throughout his whole exposition there seems to be an extraordinary confusion between the self as a co-ordination of psychophysical activities and the self as an independent, indivisible, and permanent unity. What astonishes one most and represents a fundamental weakness in Myers' hypothesis, which is an obvious attempt to reconcile belief in the immortality of the soul with the known results of experimental psychology, is this: that no step is made towards showing that the subliminal self exists independently of physiological conditions. And does not the doctrine of this subliminal and larger self of which the normal or waking consciousness is only a part or a fraction, a selection like the visible spectrum of a larger whole, and forming only an inferior part of a more comprehensive psychic organism, involve a desertion of the ground of verifiable hypothesis? Further, Mr. Myers introduced into the question the conception of ethical values where they really have no place at all. Certainly there is no rational ground for attributing a high moral value to " the subliminal " as such. There is just as much reason to revive a medieval view which attributed its

1 See on this point the able review of Myers' work by W. McDougall, in Mind, N. S., vol. xii., October, 1903.

activities to the influence of evil spirits or the powers of darkness. Myers was here misled, through his over-estimation of some of the results obtained in the hypnotic trance. With the exception of certain cases which undoubtedly represent pathological types, such as Felida X, the Misses Beauchamp, Ansel Bourne, etc., it is doubtful that the subliminal activity exhibited in hypnosis displays a sufficiently developed and connected system of ideas and mental states as to warrant its being designated a self in the psychological sense. It is certainly more than doubtful that such an "other self" exists in every individual.[1] But leaving this point undetermined, a second fundamental feature of weakness in Myers' theory in so far as it concerns human immortality is this: that the self whose indefinite continuance it aims at guaranteeing, is not the self which we ordinarily know, and which we have endeavoured to discipline and educate in this life. Human existence is simply cut up into separate lives between which no memory exists. Of what value then would be the conservation of this other self?

Without memory of personal identity, immortality is surely deprived of all meaning and ethical significance. That subtle dialectician, Mr. McTaggart, has indeed laboured in "Some Dogmas of Religion" and in "Studies in Hegelian Cosmology" to prove the contrary, one of his main arguments being that although the actual experiences are forgotten, their results may somehow be carried over into the succeeding life, so that the individual will be wiser and better in the second life on account of what happened in the first one.[2] He will be able to build in the new life on the foundations laid in a state of previous existence. "In spite of loss of memory," we are told, "it is the same person who lives in the successive lives." This will I think sound plausible only so long as the ambiguity in the term "person"

1 A large amount of subliminal activity involves doubtless nothing more than unconscious cerebration.

2 How the results of the first life can be carried over into the successive incarnations is a further problem which can be passed over here. Some sort of metaphysical soul substance would seem to form the indispensable vehicle and substrate.

is not perceived. If it be the same person because there is an identity of substance, or continuity between the metaphysical substrate underlying the two lives, there is nothing in this that a materialist might not admit; but then there is nothing more distinctive of human immortality in this than there is in the persistence of substance generally, as illustrated for physical objects in the conservation and identity of matter and energy. In both cases the identity that exists is the identity of something for an objective thinker or on-looker. No identity exists for, because it is not experienced by, any of the successive appearances of matter in the one case or of consciousness in the other. Both are on the very same footing in this respect. Identity of substance in no way guarantees personal identity.

Without personal identity there seems nothing peculiar in human immortality at all. Mr. McTaggart's theory of immortality seems to be the most mechanical possible. Does it really amount to anything more than the view that nothing is lost in reality, and that spiritual energy goes on increasing generally, regardless of human personality? Mr. McTaggart asks, "Why should men who are so anxious to-day to prove that we shall survive after this life is ended, regard the hypothesis that we have already survived the end of a life as one which is beneath consideration?" Is it not just because they are not conscious of the continuity, and hence the question of pre-existence has no special meaning for them? Mr. McTaggart admits that it will be difficult to prove a man wrong if he should say that he takes no more interest in his own fate after memory of his present life had gone, than he would take in the fate of some unknown person? Quite so! If he is not aware of his previous existence and is not to be conscious of his future existence, why should these interest him any more than the continued persistence of matter throughout the series of physical changes? It is quite logical to hold that any evidence which will establish immortality will prove pre-existence, for without doubt the persistence of substance applies as

much to the past as to the present and future. An indestructible soul substance may be easily conceived as eternally existent. But why should an individual show any special interest about the unknown personalities who are afterwards to be housed in his soul-substance, any more than he would display it in regard to the unknown persons who enjoyed the use of it before him? The identity of the successive incarnations remains, too, a mere possibility. It is impossible to exemplify or perceive it as is the case with the indestructibility of matter and energy. Here the idea of an identity is experimentally illustrated through a proof of the quantitative agreement between the successive transformations or series of changes. The identity, it has been said, exists for an observer, who can follow the continuity of substance in its various changes. But such an on-looker or subject is lacking in the case of the successive editions of human selves.

If Mr. Myers's exposition goes to show anything, it proves that the flame of personality is neither definite nor permanent. It involves an attempt to interpret the unexplained by means of the still less intelligible and more unknown, a procedure opposed to all sound principles of scientific method. It makes a mystery out of the phenomena of hypnotism; and either fails to take account of or else does violence to some of the facts of experimental psychology. There is no more reason for asserting that a hypnotic patient is intellectually improved because his range of sense perception is in some directions extended, than there is to say of a dog or a bird, that it is a higher being than a man because its senses of smell or sight are immeasurably keener. "If the mediums perceive what we do not perceive, so also to some extent do the lower animals." At the same time they do not seem to know all that we know. Where patients have shown signs of moral improvement through hypnotic treatment, this has depended on the persistent suggestions of the operator, and has also held good eventually of their waking condition.

The unusual or strange is not necessarily higher or better than the known. Like all mystical theories, however, that of Mr. Myers has a tendency in this direction. It is rather discouraging, even if psychologically interesting, to hear it defended by a prominent physicist as a good working theory, seeing that it ignores all canons of scientific method, and refers the obscure to the still more obscure. In their recent pursuit of radio-activity and the electrons, some physicists seem to have thrown logic altogether aside. Their scientific imagination has hurried them along without much critical doubt as to the proofs of their theories. Their attempts to show the origin of matter out of something which originally has neither extension nor weight, are eagerly welcomed by spiritualistically inclined metaphysicians, into whose hands they are unconsciously playing. We must therefore bear patiently with attempts to revive an obscure concept of the soul " which pours spiritual energy to the body and keeps the latter alive by constantly attending to it;" as well as with a hypothesis of " psychorragic diathesis," which though insusceptible of proof is yet so intangible as to elude disproof. The view that clairvoyance and prevision, the evidence for which falls far below that for telepathy, which itself, except in a very limited degree, has not yet been rendered plausible, must be and are transcendent faculties to the full use of which we cannot attain under present conditions of existence,[1] appears to illustrate a form of a well-known prejudice, not by any means confined to the unscientific: that the more unusual, the less known, anything is, the higher and more valuable it in all probability is.

This fallacy has been exemplified in all ages, in the importance attached to seemingly miraculous and obscure events, and is well illustrated at the present time in the keen sense for and hunt after the marvelous. But it is obviously quite irrational to make our ignorance a reason for thinking better of anything, or to assume that the unknown as such must be superior to the known. Surely it is on the principle of worshipping the unknown and the obscure that we are

1 An opposite supposition is more plausible: that these are remnants of decaying capacities which may from the mental side throw an interesting light on the animal origin of man

told by a prominent scientist that " the subliminal is probably the more real and more noble, more comprehensive and more intelligent self." For such a statement I venture to assert that not even the beginning of a proof is forthcoming. The glimpses of its operation occasionally vouchsafed to us show it to be sadly limited and frequently incoherent. Would its indefinite continuance really be worth contending for? Why should we throw overboard a self of whose activity we are really aware and whose capacities we have laboured to develop in order to embrace a so-called self of a problematic and most frequently of a pathological nature, with whose capacity and qualities we are only fitfully acquainted (in the case of other individuals), and between which and our better known self there is no internal connexion or identity?

We maintain that the required experimental evidence is not forthcoming to show that mental states and activities exist apart from physiological changes. There is every reason to suppose that even the much-worshipped subliminal consciousness is physiologically conditioned. All the experimental evidence we possess goes to support the view that mental processes always have nervous changes, either as antecedents, or, as I am inclined to think, concomitants. Physical changes affect not only the degree but the very existence of consciousness. It may be said that these considerations afford no proof against immortality; that they amount only to negative evidence. Granted; yet actual experience does not afford us the smallest indication of any set of conditions other than material with which mental activities are associated. While it is true that this does not suffice to prove that mental states cannot exist apart from a material organism, it certainly throws the burden of proof on those who contend that human consciousness can exist without a brain.[1]

[1] Were we, instead of confining ourselves to a discussion of the problem from the "natural science" standpoint, discussing the philosophical arguments on behalf of human immortality, account would have to be taken of the idealist position, according to which in the last analysis the brain and matter in general, so far from being necessary conditions of our perceiving and thinking, really depend upon our perceptional and ideational activities If the pnysical universe be, as it is on this interpretation, ultimately mental, or if it depend somehow on consciousness, then the relation of mind to a nervous system is radically altered. The present writer is not disposed to regard the relation between physiological changes and mental states as one of cause and effect; such a connexion being excluded by the principle of the conservation of energy

Those who dislike this conclusion will still say: "It is nevertheless possible that human consciousness is independent of material conditions." The resort to possibilities is a favourite device of those who will not be convinced of a distasteful theory by anything less than a mathematical demonstration, which kind of test is never required in the case of their own, and it serves also to divert attention from the logical conditions under which the problem presents itself. It attempts to ignore the burden of proof. It fails to take account of the character of the ascertained evidence; for it is not a question of possibility but of probability. Whatever is conceivable is possible, and since disembodied consciousness is not inconceivable, it is not impossible. But inconceivability is only a negative criterion of truth. It can never be employed for the establishment of a particular scientific hypothesis. To urge mere possibilities against probabilities is logically indefensible, and hence wholly irrational. It was against such a procedure that Newton rightly directed his well-known rule: "in experimental science, propositions obtained from the phenomena through induction must be considered as established or at least as probable until others equally well established are forthcoming, which either refute them or render them more precise." Otherwise, as he saw, any induction might be overturned by the veriest fiction of the undisciplined imagination.

The fact that the system of knowledge is continually in a process of becoming, affords no ground for believing just what one pleases. For if the content of science be still fragmentary, its methods on the other hand are well established and perfectly definite. They afford us criteria of proof and disproof, and enjoin us to waste no time over mere conjectures which are not submissible to definite tests. But these uncompromising methods naturally repel those who prefer the more tractable and elastic one of personal conviction, and who, aiming at "unstiffening" all received scientific theories, decry rigid canons of evidence. It is useless, however, for these individuals to appeal to the verdict

of history to discover loop-holes for a general attack on scientific method, on the ground that history shows some beliefs as acknowledged to be true to-day which were not accepted in earlier times, while some formerly received scientific theories are now discarded. For whatever history teaches, it certainly seems to show this, that the extension of the sphere of science has been at the expense of the field formerly claimed by mystical wisdom. Theories and alleged facts have always had to be remoulded until they fitted in with the general principles of causal explanation. "If the scientist of earlier times disbelieved in phenomena as products of witchcraft and believe to-day in the same phenomena as products of hypnotic suggestion and hysteria, the mystics are not victorious but defeated. As long as the ethical category of Satanic influence was applied to the phenomena they were not true; as soon as they were brought under causal categories they were accepted as true, but they were then no longer mystical—it was not witchcraft any more."[1] No prudent thinker will deny that there are probably many things in heaven and earth which have not yet been taken account of by our scientific philosophy. At the same time he will certainly not be disposed to admit that what has been modestly called by the late Mr. Myers "palæolithic psychology" will be driven from the field by incoherent messages of alleged bodiless spirits, uttered after long stammering, from presumably one of the many dimensions of an hypostasized non-Euclidean space.

J. W. A. HICKSON

1 Psychology and Life, p. 276.